

On the Pronominal Suffixes in Proto-Colloquial-Arabic

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0. Background

Modern Arabic dialects, which are radically different from Classical or Literary Arabic in many respects, have hitherto been studied mainly from the synchronic point of view, with the result that the collected vast lingual material of individual dialects remains to be analyzed diachronically in terms of comparative dialectology or dialect geography. The diachronic analysis of modern Arabic dialects is of no less significance for the comparative study of the Semitic languages than for Arabic dialectology, partly because of their nature as living speech, and partly because of the cyclic nature of linguistic changes in general. For the former reason, we can not only make up for data in which written records are deficient and but also correct theoretically reconstructed forms that are exclusively based on written forms. For the latter reason, we can shed light on dark periods of the Old Semitic languages that are considered to have gone through changes similar in quality to those experienced by Arabic dialects. It is for the former reason that we concern ourselves with modern Arabic dialects here in this paper.

It is generally accepted in Arabic dialectology that Arabic dialects can be classified into two large socially distinguishable groups, namely, nomadic dialects and sedentary ones. This classification, being both socially and linguistically motivated, has historical and demographical justification. After the appearance

of Muhammad in the 7th Century A.D., Arabic-speaking people began to spread their habitat mainly by their military expeditions tinted with religious eagerness. In the earlier stage, they conquered many cities, where people speaking languages other than Arabic had lived, and settled down there as a ruling class, and in other empty areas they built military camps (misr), some of which developed into large cities in due course.¹⁾ In these cities, the linguistic contacts between indigeneous city-dwellers and Arabic-speaking newcomers or among various Arabic-speaking tribes who are considered to have spoken various, though mutually intelligible, tribal dialects were inevitable and gave birth to a sort of pidgin language.²⁾ From this stage onwards, each pidgin-like sedentary Arabic through processes similar to creolization and decreolization and later through the process of parallel development grew into what is, in Ferguson's terms, called a "koine".³⁾ These koinized sedentary dialects, naturally enough, were structurally different from Classical Arabic, which was systematized and standardized for literary purposes by many medieval Arabic grammarians on the base of the language of the Holy Qur'an (Koran), which is characterized as a pre-koinized variant of pre-Islamic standard Arabic.⁴⁾ This is the beginning point of the so-called diglossia which characterizes the Arabic-speaking world. It is also natural that the contact-induced Arabic language in urban areas differed immensely from the language of the "pure Arabic speakers", that is, the nomadic tribes that were still roaming in the deserts of the Arabian Peninsula.

Judging from this rather simplified version of the history of the Arabic language, modern nomadic dialects are expected to be direct offspring of the parent language, namely, what we call in this paper Proto-Colloquial-Arabic,⁵⁾ whereas sedentary ones

are not. To put it more linguistically, the diachronic process of nomadic dialects conforms to the tree-model theory, whereas that of sedentary ones to the wave-model theory. But this overall picture of the linguistic history of the Arabic dialects may turn out to be too much simplified, if we turn more of our attention to the actual linguistic situation, in which the dialects of sedentarized Bedouins or the dialects of Bedouinized city-dwellers or the mixed dialects of semi-nomadic or semi-settled population can be discerned.⁶⁾ In addition, the diglossic situation must be taken into consideration. As far as the relationship between Classical Arabic and modern Arabic dialects and Proto-Colloquial-Arabic is concerned, this relationship may well be compared with the relationship between Latin and Romance dialects (or languages) and Proto-Romance. The Romance languages are assumed to be derived from Proto-Romance, which, though closely related to Latin, can not be considered to be identical with it.⁷⁾ This holds true for the Arabic language. The Arabic dialects are assumed to spring from Proto-Colloquial-Arabic, which, though close to pre-Islamic standard Arabic (from which Classical Arabic emerged), can not be regarded as exactly the same language as it. It sometimes is the case that the forms to be reconstructed in Proto-Colloquial-Arabic are different from those of Classical Arabic. In the following, I would like to adduce the case of pronominal suffixes for this thesis.

1. Problem

Pronominal suffixes in Classical Arabic and the other principal Semitic languages are as follows.⁸⁾

	Akkadian	Ugaritic	Hebrew	Aramaic (Syriac)	Arabic	Ethiopic (Ge'ez)	
CV-suffixes	Sg.1(noun)	-ya	-y	-ī	-ī, (-y)	-ī, (-ya)	-ya
	(verb)	-ni	-n	-nī	-n	-nī	-nī
	2 m.	-ka	-k	-kā	-k	-ka	-ka
	f.	-ki	-k	-k	-k	-ki	-kī
	3 m.	-ś(u)	-h	-hū, -ō	-(h)i, -h	-hu	-hū, -ō
	f.	-ś(a)	-h	-(h)ā, -āh	-h	-hā	-(h)ā
	Pl.1	-ni	-n	-nū	-n	-nā	-na
	2 m.	-kunu	-km	-kem	-kōn	-kum(u)	-kəmmū
	f.	-kina	-kn	-ken	-kēn	-kunna	-kən
	3 m.	-śunu	-hm	-(he)m	-hōn	-hum(u)	-(h)ōmū
	f.	-śina	-hn	-(he)n	-hēn	-hunna	-(h)ōn
	Du.1		-ny				
	2		-km			-kumā	
	3		-hm			-humā	

(Note. /ś/ corresponds to palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ])

It is of compelling interest to reconstruct the Proto-Semitic forms of the pronominal suffixes by comparing these forms, although the same interest has so far induced many scholars of the comparative Semitics to regard the Classical Arabic forms or those closely related to them as the Proto-Semitic ones.⁹⁾ This priority of Classical Arabic to other Semitic languages in the comparative reconstruction will turn out to be groundless, as soon as we examine the linguistic status of Classical Arabic in detail. As discussed in the preceding section, Classical Arabic hardly deserves to be elected as a legitimate representative of the Arabic branch for the comparative Semitics. It is not Classical Arabic but Proto-Colloquial-Arabic that is of significance for the comparative Semitics.

Limiting our concern to CV-suffixes, which consist of one consonant and one short or long vowel, we can chart the forms of modern Arabic dialects as follows.

	San'a	Cairo	Damascus	Tunis	Najdi (Central)	Najdi (Northern)
Sg.1(noun)	-i,-ya	-i,-ya	-i,-yi	-i,-ya	-i,-yi	-i,-ya
(verb)	-ni	-ni	-ni	-ni	-ni -ya	-an,(-nan)
2 m.	-ak,-k	-ak,-k	-ak,-k		-ak,-k	-ak,-k
f.	-iś,-ś	-ik,-ki	-ik,-ki	-ik,-k	-iĉ,-ĉ	-iĉ,-ĉ
3 m.	-ah,-h	-uh,-h	-o,-(h)	-u,-h	-uh,-h	-uh,-h
f.	-ha	-ha	-a,-ha	-ha	-ha	-ah
Pl.1	-na	-na	-na	-na	-na	-na

(Note. /ĉ/ corresponds to palatal fricative [ç])

Though not being exhaustive, this chart may make an inevitable question come to our mind --- do all the forms of modern Arabic dialects reflect those of Classical Arabic?, or, to put it in other words, are the forms of Proto-Colloquial-Arabic identical with those of Classical Arabic? Roughly speaking, the answer to this question seems to be in the negative.

In the following, we will discuss this problem with special reference to the third person singular pronominal suffixes, and draw linguistic data mainly from nomadic dialects in the Arabian Peninsula and neighboring areas, confining ourselves to making *ad hoc* use of sedentary dialects, owing to their historical status as already stated above.

2. Data, comparison and reconstruction

2.1. The nomadic dialects in the Arabian Peninsula

Nomadic Bedouin dialects may be found in almost all the

Arabic-speaking world, except for Malta and inner Asia apparently. In the Arabian Peninsula, we can find four major dialect groups, namely, (1) North Arabian, (2) Hijazi, (3) South West Arabian (Yemen), (4) Oman.¹⁰⁾ The last two reveal extremely different features because of South Arabian influence upon them. Hijazi dialects will not be dealt with here due to the paucity of data. North Arabian dialects, with which our investigation is concerned, can be further subclassified into three groups, namely, (1) Anazi group, (2) Shammar group, (3) Syro-Mesopotamian group,¹¹⁾ whose data we owe mainly to the painstaking works of Cantineau (1936, 1937), Johnstone (1967) and Ingham (1982).

2.2. Syllabic structures of the suffixal forms

If we leave untouched the debatable question whether or not the syllabic structures of Proto-Colloquial-Arabic are identical with those of Classical Arabic, we can discern five types of syllabic structure, as far as the suffixal forms in Proto-Colloquial-Arabic or Classical Arabic are concerned. They can be diagramed as in the following.¹²⁾

(a) -CVC	}	+ Vα + CV	*/qatal+a+hā/	'he killed her'
(b) -CVCC			*/kalb+u+hā/	'her dog'
(c) -CVC			*/dār+u+hā/	'her house'
(d) -CVC	}	+ ∅ + CV	*/qatalat+∅+hā/	'she killed her'
(e) -CVC			*/qatalū+∅+hā/	'they killed her'

(Note. Vα = */a/~/i/~/u/)

2.3. Third feminine singular suffix

We will begin by examining how these five types are reflected in each dialect in the case of the third feminine singular suffix.

because it seems to be less difficult to deal with than its masculine counterpart. According to Cantineau (1937), the dialect of Bani Khalid tribe, which belongs to Shammar group, provides us with the following examples.¹³⁾

Bani Khalid

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (a) [jmalah] | < */jamal+ah/ | 'her camel' |
| (b) [bētah] | < */bayt+ah/ | 'her house' |
| (c) [ʃāfah] | < */ʃāf+ah/ | 'he looked at her' |
| (d) [ḍrebatha] | < */ḍarabat+ha/ | 'she struck her' |
| (e) [ḍrebōha] | < */ḍarabū+ha/ | 'they struck her' |

where we have -ah for (a)(b)(c), and -ha for (d)(e).

Though being genetically related to this dialect, Bani Khalid dialect in Saudi Arabia which is described in Johnstone (1967) shows a slightly different pattern.

Bani Khalid (Saudi Arabia)

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (a) [jmelah] | < */jamal+ah/ | 'her camel' |
| (b) [baytah] | < */bayt+ah/ | 'her house' |
| (c) [ʃāfah] | < */ʃāf+ah/ | 'he looked at her' |
| (d) [ḍrebtah] | < */ḍarabat+ah/ | 'she struck her' |
| (e) [ḍrebūh] | < */ḍarabū+h/ | 'they struck her' |
| cf. [lḍgāh] | < */laqā+(a?)h/ | 'he met her' |
| [karāsīh] | < */karāsī+h/ | 'her chairs' |

where -ah for (a)(b)(c)(d), and -h for (e) are obtained.

According to Cantineau (1937) and also Ingham (1982), the dialect of Shammar tribe, a central branch of Shammar group, has -ah for all the syllabic types.

Shammar

- (a) [wliḏah] < */walad+ah/ 'her child'
(b) [ḏindah] < */ḏind+ah/ 'she has (lit. with her)'
(c) [ʃāfah] < */ʃāf+ah/ 'he looked at her'
(d) [ḏrebtah] < */ḏarabat+ah/ 'she struck her'
(e) [ḏrebwah] < */ḏarabū+ah/ 'they struck her'
cf. [liḡāh] < */laqā+(a?)h/ 'he met her'
[ʃilyah] < */ʃīlī+ah/ 'take her away'

(Note. /ḏ/ stands for voiced pharyngeal fricative)

The dialect of Mutair tribe, which is described as the furthest north of Anazi group in Ingham (1979), shows the fourth pattern, where we have -ha for (a)(d)(e), and -aha for (b)(c).

Mutair

- (a) [rajiḏha] < */rajul+ha/ 'her husband'
(b) [bētaha] < */bayt+aha/ 'her house'
(c) [ʃāfaha] < */ʃāf+aha/ 'he looked at her'
(d) [ḏrabatha] < */ḏarabat+ha/ 'she struck her'
(e) [abuḏha] < */?abu+ha/ 'her father'

The last pattern is represented by the dialect of Mawali tribe, a branch of Syro-Mesopotamian group, described in Cantineau (1937).

Mawali

- (a) [ḏarabhe] < */ḏarab+ha/ 'he struck her'
(b) [ḏēlḏbhe] < */kalb+ha/ 'her dog'
(c) [ḏawāthe] < */ḏawāt+ha/ 'her stocks'
(d) [ḏrebathe] < */ḏarabat+ha/ 'she struck her'
(e) [ḏrebuhe] < */ḏarabu+ha/ 'they struck her'

where -ha is obtained for all the syllabic types.

We can diagram these five patterns with regard to allomorphic distribution as follows.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Bani Khalid	Bani Khalid	Shammar	Mutair	Mawali
	(Saudi Arabia)				
	*-ah [~] *-ha	*-ah [~] *-h	*-ah	*-ha [~] *-aha	*-ha
(a)	*-ah	*-ah	*-ah	*-ha	*-ha
(b)	*-ah	*-ah	*-ah	*-aha	*-ha
(c)	*-ah	*-ah	*-ah	*-aha	*-ha
(d)	*-ha	*-ah	*-ah	*-ha	*-ha
(e)	*-ha	(\bar{V})*-h	(a ^w y)*-ah	*-ha	*-ha

As this chart clearly shows, the patterns of (1), (2) and (4) have two allomorphic forms, whereas those of (3) and (5) have only one form. Which pattern is more archaic? The answer to this question involves a general principle of historical reconstruction. If some language(s) or dialect(s) expresses a given set of paradigmatically related items in a homogeneous way and another one in a heterogeneous way, and if the heterogeneity of the latter can not be explained reasonably by a conditioning factor which must have broken up an originally homogeneous situation, then the heterogeneous situation must be considered to be more archaic. Levelling processes that homogenize an originally heterogeneous situation may occur at any time of the history of a language, whereas the breakup of a homogeneous situation always presupposes special conditioning factors that affect part of the set concerned, not all of it. Homogenization as a universal tendency needs no outside motivation, but heterogenization always results from an

external influence.

In our case, the patterns of (1), (2) and (4) are heterogeneous and those of (3) and (5) are homogeneous. The most reasonable candidate for the original set appears to be the pattern of (1). The patterns of (3) and (5) can be assumed to have generalized -ah and -ha respectively in other environments. The pattern of (2) can be considered to be in the intermediate stage between the pattern of (1) and that of (3), and in a similar way, the pattern of (4) between the pattern of (1) and that of (5). Given this stage of -ah and -ha alternation, which may well be called the post-*proto* stage, we can reconstruct *proto*-forms in a somewhat speculative manner as follows.

$$\begin{array}{l} -CV + ha \quad (*-ha > *-ah) \\ -CVC\sim-C\bar{V} + h\bar{a} \quad (*-h\bar{a} > *-ha) \end{array}$$

2.4. Third masculine singular suffix

As far as the third masculine singular suffix is concerned, the overall picture is much more complicated than that of its feminine counterpart. But, roughly speaking, all dialectal forms may be classified into two main groups, that is, those that are made up with the back vowel -u or -o, and those that have the more front-open vowel -a or -e (or sometimes close -i).¹⁴⁾ The former type is more widely distributed in both sedentary dialects and nomadic ones.

We begin with the dialect of Sirhan tribe which is a branch of Shammar tribe. Cantineau (1937) provides us with the following examples.

'Emur

- (a) [ɣnemo] < */ɣanam+uh/ 'his sheep'
(b) [bēto] < */bayt+uh/ 'his house'
(c) [ktēbo] < */kitāb+uh/ 'his book'
(d) [ḍrebtō] < */ḍrebatuh] < */ḍarabat+uh/
'she struck him'
(e) [karāfī(h)u] < */karāfī+hu/ 'his chairs'

where *-uh for (a)(b)(c)(d), and *-hu for (e) can be discerned.

The same source provides us with the examples of the dialect of Slute tribe, also a branch of Shammar, which shows the entirely homogeneous pattern, having *-uh for all the syllabic types.

Slut

- (a) [jmalō] < */jamal+uh/ 'his camel'
(b) [bēto] < */bayt+uh/ 'his house'
(c) [ktēbo] < */kitāb+uh/ 'his book'
(d) [ḍrebtō] < */ḍarabat+uh/ 'she struck him'
(e) [rḍmāo] < */ramā+uh/ 'he threw him'

Homogenization in the opposite direction can be observed in the dialect of Mutair tribe, in which all the syllabic types have *-hu. Ingham (1979, 1982) provides the following examples.

Mutair

- (a) [ɣḍlāmāh] < */qalam+ahu/ 'his pen'
(b) [bētāh] < */bayt+ahu/ 'his house'
(c) [fāfāh] < */fāf+ahu/ 'he looked at him'
(d) [ḍrabatāh] < */ḍarabat+ahu/ 'she struck him'
(e) [fifnāh] < */fifnā+ahu/ 'we looked at him'

We can diagram these patterns as follows.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Sirhan	'Emur	Slut	Mutair
	*-uh [~] *-hu	*-uh [~] *-hu	*-uh	*-ahu
(a)	*-uh	*-uh	*-uh	*-ahu
(b)	*-uh	*-uh	*-uh	*-ahu
(c)	*-uh	*-uh	*-uh	*-ahu
(d)	*-hu	*-uh	*-uh	*-ahu
(e)	*-hu	*-hu	*-uh	*-ahu

Unlike the case of the feminine suffix, we can find no dialect that should be situated at the intermediate stage between the stage of (1) and that of (4), but we can reconstruct similar proto forms speculatively.¹⁷⁾

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{-CV} + \text{hu} \quad (*-\text{hu}> *-\text{uh}) \\
 \text{-CVC -CV} + \text{hū} \quad (*-\text{hū}> *-\text{hu})
 \end{array}$$

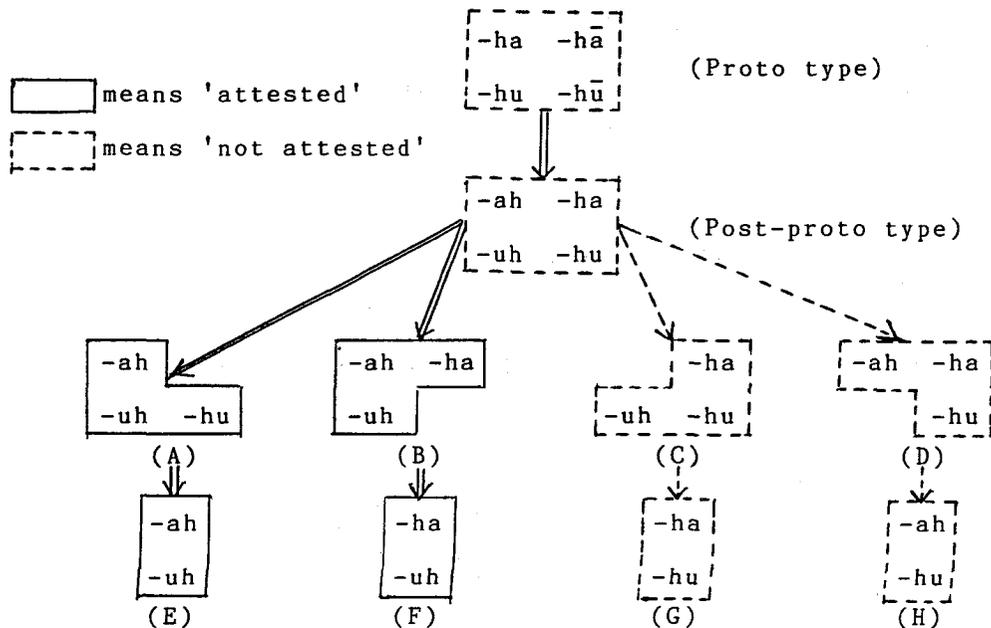
3. Variation of the opposition between *-hu[~]*-hū and *-ha[~]*-hā

So far we have dealt with each suffix in a separate manner with paying no attention to the opposition between them, which is maintained phonetically (or formally) and semantically (or notionally) throughout the history of the Arabic language.¹⁸⁾ In this section, we will discuss how the opposition is treated in the successive stages of historical development.

In accordance with our reconstruction, the opposition consisting of four allomorphic members can be presumed to exist in the proto stage. This may be diagrammed as follows.

	-CV	-CVC~C \bar{V}
feminine suffix	*-ha	*-h \bar{a}
masculine suffix	*-hu	*-h \bar{u}

From the theoretical point of view, we can trace the course of historical development in the succeeding stages, which may be schematized as follows.



(E)'s subtype: -ah vs. -o, -eh vs. -o, -a(h) vs. -u

(F)'s subtype: -ha vs. -ah, -ha vs. -ih

In the first stage, in which each suffix has two phonetically conditioned allomorphs, that is, a suffix with a short vowel (henceforth "light suffix") and one with a long vowel (henceforth "heavy suffix"),¹⁹⁾ the opposition is doubly maintained with regard to vowel quality (front vowel vs. back vowel) and vowel quantity (short vowel vs. long vowel). We are correct in saying that the opposition of the latter is more redundant than that of

the former. One might also successfully claim that Classical Arabic which had lost the original phonetic conditioning elected a pair consisting of heavy front -hā and light back -hu, whose opposition is maintained in a twofold manner and therefore more sharply distinguished.

In the second stage, the redundancy pertaining to the quantitative opposition yielded the total reduction of long vowels to short ones. As a result of final vowel deletion, which also operated on other phonetic environments, the original light suffixes lost their qualitative opposition for which assimilated Vα was to compensate. In the third stage, the process of homogenization started to operate on part of the system, and finally made the totally homogenized types emerge in the last stage. This explanation for the diachronic process of pronominal suffixes in the Arabic language will enable us to offer a tentative opinion that (E) type of modern Arabic dialect elected the opposition of vowel quality, whereas (F) type elected that of vowel quantity.²⁰⁾

Of these theoretically possible types, (A) (B) (E) and (F) are attested in modern Arabic dialects. (A) and (B) are rare in number, being limited to the nomadic dialects. Most of dialects including both the nomadic and the sedentary, in fact, belong to either (E) type or (F) type with the reservation that each type might be further classified into several subtypes as regards its phonetic realization.

A special interest attaches to the geographical distribution of these types as it might shed light on the diachronic relation among them in terms of linguistic geography.

Figure 1 shows the present tribal distribution in the Arabian Peninsular and neighboring areas. In this figure, a dotted line

Present tribal distribution in the Arabian Peninsula:

Tribal distribution before 15-16 century estimated according to Ingham (1982) and Kahhalah's dictionary of the tribes:

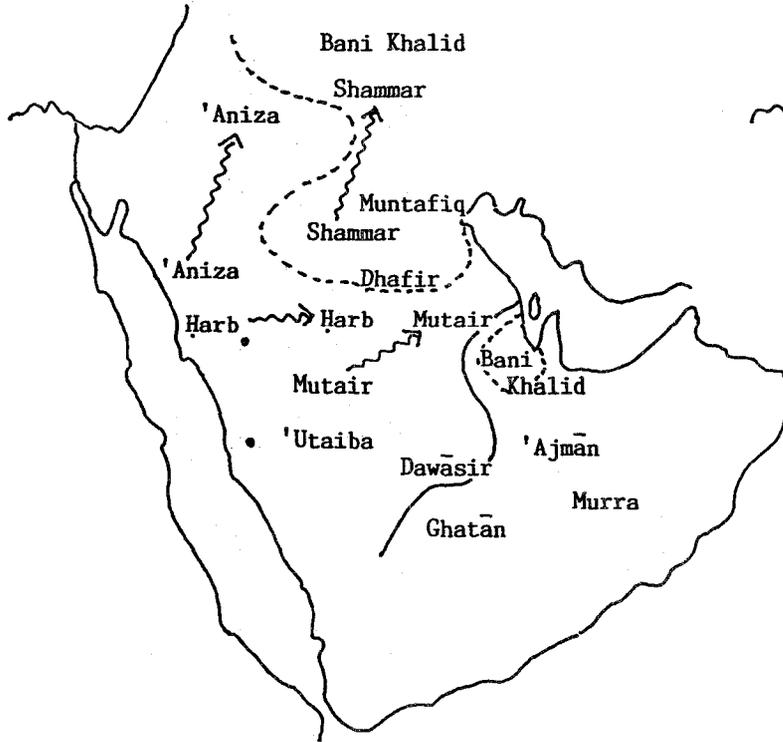


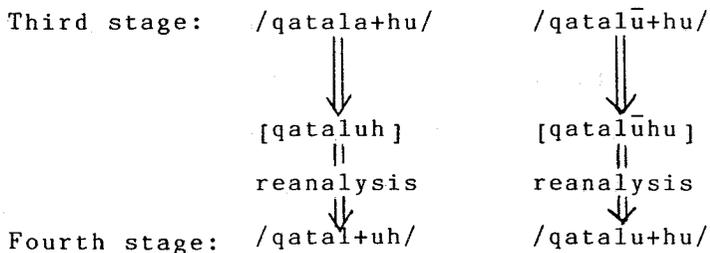
Figure 1.

Figure 2.

	/qatala/	/qatalū/	/qatala+hu/	/qatalū+hu/
R1				qatalūhū
R2			qataluhu	
R3	qatal	qatalu	qataluh	qatalūhu
	[qatal]	[qatalu]	[qataluh]	[qatalūhu]

This stage corresponds to the post-*proto* stage in the preceding section. As far as *Vα*, a connecting vowel, is concerned, it ought to be regarded as maintaining its original function at least at the level of the underlying phonological representation, though it has already changed into part of the suffix concerned at the level of the surface phonetic representation. If we reexamine this derivational diagram from the more naturally concrete phonological point of view, we can discern two types of allomorphic heterogenization, that is, one concerning a word to which a pronominal suffix is attached and one concerning a pronominal suffix. This heterogenized situation causes homogenization in the succeeding stage.

In the fourth stage, the former type of homogenization or allomorphic reduction results in the change of underlying forms through the reanalysis of suffixal forms. This change may be schematized as follows.



At the same time or immediately after this change, the latter type of homogenization causes the reduction of allomorphic suffixes, yielding several types of distributional pattern as already stated in the preceding section.

Modern Arabic dialects, including both nomadic and sedentary, belong to various intermediate stages between the fourth stage and the later fifth stage in proportion to the degree of homogenization, but the phonological formalization of individual dialects is beyond the scope of this paper.²²⁾

5. Concluding remarks

Though Proto-Colloquial-Arabic, as a rule, is more or less identical with Classical Arabic in a considerable number of cases, they differ from each other. The aim of this paper was to emphasize this fact. Therefore, I adduced the case of pronominal suffixes with special reference to third singular ones, concluding that the proto forms to be reconstructed in Proto-Colloquial-Arabic are different from those of Classical Arabic in that the former has two allomorphic forms, that is, a light suffix and a heavy suffix, according to phonetic conditionings of the preceding word.

As being confined to the case of third singular suffixes, our work of reconstructing proto forms seems to have proceeded in a fairly consistent way, but in order for our reconstruction to be complete, other suffixes must be taken into consideration. In addition, we must formalize the phonological processes of individual dialects in more detail, and in doing so, we must deal with not only the phonological aspect of pronominal suffixes but also their syntactico-semantic aspect to which no attention was paid in this paper, because in most of modern Arabic dialects pronominal suffixes are characterized as clitics which exhibit

interesting properties bearing on the old and still debated question of the relationship between the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic components of the grammar.

NOTES

- 1) For general information about the early Islamic conquests, see Donner (1981).
- 2) The socio-linguistic description of the early Islamic cities is given early by Fück (1950) and recently by Versteegh (1984).
- 3) Ferguson (1959). His "koine" is challenged or modified mainly by Cohen (1970), Blau (1965,77), Fischer and Jastrow (1980), Diem (1974,78), Corriente (1976). For the overview of the debate, see Versteegh (ibid., pp.17-34). And for the theoretical problem of dialectal koinization, see Trudgill (1986).
- 4) My notion of "pre-Islamic standard Arabic" is slightly different from Rabin's generally accepted "poetic koine", which means an inter- or super-tribal language especially used for poetry, in that I regard all varieties of Arabic in the pre-Islamic period as naturally consisting of different registers and regional varieties. But Rabin's recent view of the South Arabian influence on the Arabic literary vocabulary is worth noticing here. For the language of pre-Islamic poetry, see also Zwettler (1978).
- 5) The term "Proto-Colloquial-Arabic" should not be misinterpreted as a spoken variety of Proto-language. This term means nothing but a sort of Proto-Arabic which is reconstructed by comparing modern Arabic dialects which are exclusively used for colloquial purposes, as opposed to Modern Literary Arabic.
- 6) See Katakura (1977) for a detailed and revealing account of this process, especially pp.55-9.
- 7) See Hall (1972).
- 8) This chart is not exhaustive, for more information, see Moscati et al. (1969).
- 9) This attitude that all forms can be derived from Classical Arabic forms is obvious in such a case as the so-called "n-suffixes" in Biblical Hebrew, see Lambert (1903), Ungnad (1906) and especially Barth (1907,13).
- 10) For general information of the Bedouin Arabic dialects, see Rosenhouse (1984).
- 11) Perhaps, we should add to these also Eastern Arabian which is closely related to Anazi group. See Johnstone (1967).
- 12) In Arabic, a pronominal suffix can be attached to a verb as an object pronoun or to a noun as a possessive pronoun or to a particle such as a preposition and a conjunction.

- 13) Here and in the following the transcription has been somewhat simplified to avoid unnecessary confusion which will result from different notations adopted by each author.
- 14) The consonant /h/, which is originally part of the suffix, is not always audible, probably as a result of phonetic weakening, see Blanc (1970).
- 15) Here, /.../ stands for underlying phonological representation and [...] stands for surface phonetic representation.
- 16) Rwala dialect (Anazi group) has [drebátto] as a surface form, see Cantineau (1937).
- 17) According to W. Fischer (1972), the existence of * $\bar{h}\bar{u}$ has already been proposed by A. Fischer (1926), which unfortunately was not available for this paper. Also note Sibawayhi's reference to /- $\bar{h}\bar{u}$ / (Tome II p.318).
- 18) Nubi-Arabic, an Arabic creole in Kenya, is an apparent exception to this, in which the opposition is lost, see Heine (1982, p.37).
- 19) The terms "heavy", "light" are originally used in Ethio-Semitic, see Hetzron (1969).
- 20) In fact, (A) (B) are only found in nomadic dialects, not in purely sedentary ones. The reason seems to be that the former has developed through naturally motivated gradual change, whereas the latter through rather unnatural abrupt change such as pidginization and creolization, in which dispensable linguistic items or rules tend to be eliminated or context-sensitive rules tend to be replaced by context-free rules. See Bickerton (1981).
- 21) According to the generally accepted view, this vowel reduction was first applied in pause, giving birth to the so-called "Pausalformen", and then in context. For this much debated problem, especially see Corriente (1971) and Blau's critique.
- 22) Such a case as Cairene Arabic [bētaha] < * /bayt+a+ha/ 'her house' ($V\alpha = a$) appears to be exceptional to these rules. For this problem of vowel insertion ($\emptyset \rightarrow V / CC_C$), see Broselow (1976).

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