

Tāngri-ning arslány vāli kālūr
 žümläsi qārşú kālúb kōrüştilār
 Tāngri-gā şükr aşhāb kōb qýldýlār
 ól késik bāş kāldi Rāsul qátýnā (251)

Rāsul aldý any óldām ālínā
 du'ā qýldý ól késik bāşqā Rāsul
 Haq Ta'alā du'āsýn qýldý qabul
 ól késik bāş bir jigit bōldý jinā
 él adāqý žümläsi kāldi jinā

dürüst bōldý žümlā aşhāb kōrdilār
 Haq idi-ning şun'ýnā tānglāndýlār
 ruḡsat täjü hátúnýn ysmārlādýlār

16 qúb-qúrúy sūgāklārī qávuşdýlār
 ólý-nyñg étin dév jāmiş idi (261)

qúrumýş sūngāklārī qálmyş idi

Haq Ta'alā aḡā žān báyyşlādý

zāhī ḡyl'at kī ṭarāfāt ājlādī

Māvlānā šāms tārāzī jāryñā

sān tégürgil 'āžizlār murādýnā

fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilāt

piş qadām ūstādýmyznyñg rūḡý šād.

*

Qazán-iskí méş şanín ḡasan Mürtāzī-óly Maqsūt-nyñg ḡarā-
 žātý ilān nāfi 'ibād-ül-müslimīn ūčün óqújánlārdān du'ā-i ḡajr
 ūmīd édúb Qazán Ünivērsitēti-ning Aziјátskój nām ṭab'ḡānāsīdā
 ḡazīnālikdān bāşmā ólunmuşdūr 1846 neý sāndādā.

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AL-IDĀFA IN THE ARABIC DIALECT OF MŌŞUL AND MĀRDĪN

1. One of the characteristic features distinguishing the contemporary Arabic dialects from the classical language is the lack of *i'rāb*, i.e. of auslauts, both at nouns and verbs, caused by the laws of economy, a very relevant factor in the development of the language. This lack of auslauts has involved the reduction of flexion and, often, the liquidation of the opposition which once permitted the identification of the reciprocal relation between two juxtaposed lexemes representing two different forms, now deprived of their external exponents. This is e.g. the case with Arabic nouns, especially with the identification of the noun's syntactic function of genitival character, the subject and object of a sentence being easily identifiable thanks to the syntactic environment. This situation forces the dialect to look for substitutional means of expression in order to prevent the incomprehensibility of transmission.

The aim of the present paper is the description of status constructus (*al-idāfa*) in the dialect of Mōşul and Mārdīn, with special regard to the ways in which the dialect in question compensates the lack of flexional opposition between *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum*.

2. The inserted below examples of *al-idāfa* come from the folkloristic texts from Mōşul and Mārdīn collected and published by Socin¹. They have been arranged according to the frequency

¹ Albert Socin, *Der arabische Dialekt von Mōşul und Mārdīn*, Leipzig 1904.

of their occurrences. For the clearer presentation of the syntactic structure of *al-idāfa*, we have used a quasi-arithmetical notation proposed by Bar-Hillel² and based upon Harris³, and Lambek⁴ which we have tried to adapt for our purpose. The applied symbols present themselves as follows:

n — nomen regens	$\frac{n}{n}$ — a nomen in a qualifying function
n_1 — nomen rectum ₁	
n_2 — a qualifier or nomen rectum ₂	$\frac{n}{[n]}$ — a qualifier to the left of a given n
n_3 — a qualifier or nomen rectum ₃	$\frac{n}{(n)}$ — a qualifier to the right of a given n
$\frac{s}{n}$ — an element connecting nomen regens with nomen rectum	
$\frac{v}{(n)}$ — morphem forming the Genitive case	

In our material, the above-given symbols represent:

n, n_1 — nouns or pronouns
n_2 — nouns or adjectives
n_3 — nouns or adjectives
$\frac{n}{[n]}$ — definite article or demonstrative pronoun
$\frac{n}{(n)}$ — personal suffixes or adjectives
$\frac{s}{n}$ — auxiliary māl, or conjunction li-
$\frac{v}{[n]}$ — suffix -i -in -a

For the sake of comparison and registration of eventual differences between the classical and dialectal forms of *al-idāfa*,

² Joshua Bar-Hillel, *A Quasi-Arithmetical Notation For Syntactic Description*, „Language“, vol. 29, 1953, pp. 47—58.

³ Zellig S. Harris, *Discourse Analysis*, The Hague 1963.

⁴ Joachim Lambek, *On the Calculus of Syntactic Types*. Proceedings of the Twelfth Symposium in Applied Mathematics, vol. XII, 1961, pp. 166—178.

we shall precede these last ones with the samples of the main types of *al-idāfa* which occur in classical Arabic. They let themselves to group as follows:

I. Composed of nomen regens generale definitum and nomen rectum indefinitum or definitum, endocentric type:

1. expressing the relation of appartenance, belonging to the ل — group of the medieval Arab grammarians:

- a) $n \frac{n_1 \frac{v}{(n_1)}}{(n)}$ — بيت رجل — ‘the man’s house’, ‘the house of a man’
 بيت بعض — ‘somebody’s house’
- b) $n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1 \frac{v}{(n_1)}}{(n)}$ — بيت الرجل — ‘the house of the man’
- c) $n \frac{n_1 \frac{v}{[n_1]} \frac{n}{(n_1)}}{(n)}$ — nomen rectum with a personal suffix: بيت أبي — ‘his father’s house’
- d) $n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} \frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1 \frac{v}{(n_1)}}{(n)}$ — nomen rectum qualified by a demonstrative, بيت هذا الرجل — ‘the house of this man’
- e) $n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1 \frac{v}{(n_1)}}{(n)} \frac{n}{(n)}$ — nomen regens qualified by a demonstrative: بيت الرجل هذا — ‘this house of the man’

2. expressing the relation of provenience or denoting the art of nomen regens; it belongs to the من — group of the medieval Arab grammarians:

- a) like 1a —: ساعة ذهب — ‘the watch of gold’
- b) like 1b —: ساعة الذهب — ‘the watch of the gold’

3. expressing the fact of comprisement of nomen regens by nomen rectum, and belonging to the في — group of the medieval Arab grammarians:

- a) like 1a —: شمس شتاء — ‘the winter’s sun’, or ‘the sun in winter’
- b) like 1b —: شمس الشتاء — ‘the sun of the winter’, or ‘the sun in the winter’

II. a) $n \frac{n}{[n_1]} \frac{v}{(n_1)} \frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2$ composed of nomen regens generale definitum provided with an adjectival attribute and of nomen rectum definitum; endocentric type: $يَتُّ الْرَجُلِ الْوَاسِعُ$ — 'the large house of the man'

b) $n \frac{n}{[n_1]} \frac{v}{(n_1)} \frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2 \frac{v}{(n_2)}$ — nomen rectum provided with an adjectival attribute: $يَتُّ الْرَجُلِ الْكَبِيرِ$ — 'the house of the great||old man'

c) composed of nomen regens generale definitum, and of nomen rectum definitum, both provided with adjectival attributes; endocentric type:

$n \frac{n}{[n_1]} \frac{v}{(n_1)} \frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2 \frac{v}{(n_2)} \frac{n}{[n_2]} n_3$ — $يَتُّ الْرَجُلِ الْكَبِيرِ الْوَاسِعُ$ — 'the large house of the old||great man'

$\frac{n}{[n]} n \frac{n}{[n_1]} \frac{v}{(n_1)} \frac{s}{[n]} \frac{n}{(n)} \frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2 \frac{v}{[n_2]} \frac{n}{n_2} \frac{n}{[n_3]} n_3 \frac{v}{(n_3)}$ — $أَلَيْتُ الْوَاسِعُ لِّلرَّجُلِ الْكَبِيرِ$

III. Composed of nomen regens generale definitum and of nomen rectum qualified by a genitival attribute; exocentric type:

a) $n \frac{n_1}{(n_1)} \frac{v}{(n_1)} \frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2 \frac{v}{(n_2)}$ — $يَتُّ أَبِي الْرَجُلِ$ — 'the house of the man's father'

b) $n \frac{n_1}{(n_1)} \frac{v}{(n_1)} \frac{n_2}{(n_2)} \frac{v}{(n_2)}$ — $يَتُّ أَمِيرِ بَغْدَادَ$ — 'the house of the emir of Baghdad'

The above-listed main types of the classical Arabic *idāfa* find the following counterparts in the dialect of Mōṣul and Mārdīn:

$A_1: n \frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1$ — corresponding with the type I1b of classical Arabic, 52 examples, 132 occurrences:

rās etteir — 'the bird's head' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 55, l. 12 (twice), 16; p. 56, l. 4, 9/10, 11, 12; p. 57, l. 4, 7; p. 58, l. 3, 6, 8 — 12 occurrences)

bint essultān — 'the sultan's daughter' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 35, l. 8, 9; p. 37, l. 6, 15, 17; p. 72, l. 1, 3 (twice), 5, 9, 17 — 11 occurrences)

fu'ād etteir — 'the bird's heart' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 55, l. 13, 16; p. 56, l. 4, 10, 11/12, 12; p. 57, l. 8; p. 58, l. 4, 7, 8 — 10 occurrences)

umm elkāzi — 'the mother of the judge' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 63, l. 6, (twice), 9, 11, 12, 14; p. 64, l. 6; p. 66, l. 10, 11, 16 — 10 occurrences)

kissār el'asākir — 'the conqueror of the armies' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 82, l. 7, 9, 11; p. 83, l. 12, 14 (twice); p. 84, l. 3, 6, 7; p. 81, l. 1 — 10 occurrences)

kaul allāh — 'the words of God' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 35, l. 12; p. 60, l. 8; p. 61, l. 3; p. 62, l. 2; p. 76, l. 10/11; p. 78, l. 11/12; p. 85, l. 15 — 7 occurrences)

kaul errasūl — 'the words of the Prophet' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 35, l. 12; p. 60, l. 8; p. 61, l. 3; p. 62, l. 2/3; p. 76, l. 10/11; p. 78, l. 10/12; p. 85, l. 15; — 7 occurrences)

iben essultān — 'the sultan's son' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 60, l. 5, 6, 7; p. 73, l. 2, 4, 9/10, 11; — 7 occurrences)

ġild eġġamel — 'the camel's skin' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 77, l. 9/10; p. 80, l. 9; p. 81, l. 2, 3; — 4 occurrences)

bēt elkāzi — 'the house of the judge' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 13, l. 7; 11; p. 66, l. 10; — 3 occurrences)

beit etta'leb — 'the fox's house' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 67, l. 8, 12/13; p. 68, l. 2; — 3 occurrences)

aḳel elkurdi — 'the reason of the Kurd' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 13, l. 1; p. 15, l. 5; — 2 occurrences)

rās iġġebel — 'the hill's top' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 17, l. 12, 14; — 2 occurrences)

- bāb elkaṣer* — 'the gate of the palace' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 39, l. 5; p. 78, l. 7; — 2 occurrences)
- belād eššām* — 'the country of Syria' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 51, l. 2; 14; — 2 occurrences)
- ibn eddibba* — 'the son of the she-bear' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 51, l. 9, 18; — 2 occurrences)
- bint eddibbe* — 'the daughter of the she-bear' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 11; p. 86, l. 2; — 2 occurrences)
- idāija lmarā* — 'the woman's hands' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 19, l. 11; — 1 occurrence)
- rās ettōr* — 'the ox's head' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 21, l. 2; — 1 occurrence)
- ḥauš ässerai* — 'the courtyard of the palace' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 29, l. 8; — 1 occurrence)
- bēt essultān* — 'the house of the sultan' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 35, l. 11; — 1 occurrence)
- ḥāfijet elbaḥer* — 'the sea-shore' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 37, l. 9; — 1 occurrence)
- wakt eljadā* — 'the morning-time' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 37, l. 19/20; — 1 occurrence)
- ḡāmb elbaḥer* — 'the coast of the sea' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 41, l. 10; — 1 occurrence)
- ṣaḥer ālkālb* — 'the dog's shoulder' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 43, l. 2; 12; — 2 occurrences)
- nuṣṣ ālbaḥer* — 'the middle of the sea' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 43, l. 15; — 1 occurrence)
- ḡōf essāmāke* — 'the belly of the fish' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 43, l. 20; — 1 occurrence)
- beit eddibbe* — 'the house of the she-bear' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 47, l. 4; — 1 occurrence)
- isem allāh* — 'the Name of God' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 49, l. 6; — 1 occurrence)
- mōṣa' etteir* — 'the place of the bird' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 54, l. 4; — 1 occurrence)
- beiza atteir* — 'the bird's egg' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 55, l. 2; — 1 occurrence)
- beit elhürme* — 'the woman's house' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 55, l. 7; — 1 occurrence)

- ulād ālfaḳīr* — 'the boys of the poor' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 55, l. 11; — 1 occurrence)
- lahm atteir* — 'the meat of the bird' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 55, l. 15; — 1 occurrence)
- kalām eḡḡērije* — 'the advice of the she-slave' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 56, l. 7; — 1 occurrence)
- riḥet ellaḥem* — 'the odour of the meat' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 64, l. 4; — 1 occurrence)
- mōṣa' elkāzi* — 'the judge's place' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 66, l. 16; — 1 occurrence)
- beit essāb^e* — 'the house of the lioness' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 67, l. 13; — 1 occurrence)
- umm ässāb^e* — 'the mother of the lion' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 67, l. 14; — 1 occurrence)
- eklāb eddibbe* — 'the dogs of the she-bear' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 68, l. 5; — 1 occurrence)
- ulād essultān* — 'the sultan's sons' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 69, l. 14; p. 69, l. 15/p. 70, l. 1; — 2 occurrences)
- nās elmiḡlis* — 'the counsellors' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 70, l. 11; — 1 occurrence)
- wuṣṭ ālbāb* — 'the middle of the gate' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 71, l. 5; — 1 occurrence)
- wuḡḡ eddinjā* — 'the world's surface' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 71, l. 12; — 1 occurrence)
- ḳalb essultān* — 'the sultan's heart' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 76, l. 2/3; — 1 occurrence)
- arṣ allāh* — 'the earth of God' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 76, l. 14; — 1 occurrence)
- mar'et essultān* — 'the sultan's wife' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 77, l. 6; — 1 occurrence)
- bāb ässerai* — 'the gate of the palace' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 77, l. 9; p. 79, l. 13; — 2 occurrences)
- wuḡḡ elbaḥer* — 'the surface of the sea' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 77, l. 13/14; p. 78, l. 4; — 2 occurrences)
- bint elkāzi* — 'the daughter of the judge' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 86, l. 3; — 1 occurrence)
- beit etteir* — 'the house of the bird' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 86, l. 12/13; — 1 occurrence)

ümm eddibbe — 'the mother of the she-bear' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 91, l. 14; — 1 occurrence)

$A_2: n \frac{n_1 \frac{n}{(n_1)}}{(n)}$ — corresponding with the type I1c of classical

Arabic, 9 examples, 14 occurrences:

beit abū'i — 'the house of my father' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 74, l. 2; p. 78, l. 5, 12; — 3 occurrences)

beit abūk — 'the house of your father' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 71, l. 6; p. 74, l. 3; — 2 occurrences)

beit abūhu — 'the house of his father' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 74, l. 6 (twice); p. 75, l. 15/16; — 3 occurrences)

mišgān ulādi — 'the provision for my children' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 6, l. 3; — 1 occurrence)

bāb kaşri — 'the gate of my palace' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 35, l. 18; — 1 occurrence)

īd şāhibin — 'the hand of their lord' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 45, l. 1; — 1 occurrence)

ālet feddānin — 'the instrument of their field' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 47, l. 3; — 1 occurrence)

beit abū'a — 'the house of her father' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 72, l. 8; — 1 occurrence)

nikāh ühtü — 'the marriage contract of his sister' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 73, l. 10; — 1 occurrence)

$A_3: n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1}{(n)} \frac{\frac{n}{n_2} n_2}{n}$ — corresponding with the type IIa of classical

Arabic, 2 examples, 2 occurrences:

wabn essultān alāhid — 'and one son of the sultan — one of the sultan's sons' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 62, l. 9; — 1 occurrence)

iben essultān ezzeğir — 'the little son of the sultan' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 74, l. 10; — 1 occurrence)

$A_4: n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} \frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1}{(n)}$ — corresponding with the type I1d of the

classical Arabic — 1 example, 1 occurrence:

'am'k hād-ēlgāli — 'the depth of this small valley' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 17, l. 10; — 1 occurrence)

$n_1 \frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2$

$A_5: n \frac{\frac{n}{(n_1)}}{(n)}$ — corresponding with the type IIb of the classical

Arabic, 1 example, 1 occurrence:

bāb kaşer eğgedid — 'the gate of the new palace' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 37, l. 4; — 1 occurrence)

$A_6: n \frac{n_1}{(n)}$ — corresponding with the type I1a of the classical

Arabic, 1 example, 1 occurrence:

rās küm-min — 'the head of that one' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 57, l. 2/3; — 1 occurrence)

$A_7: \frac{n}{[n]} n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1}{(n)}$ — corresponding with the I1e type of the classical

Arabic, 1 example, 1 occurrence:

hāda abu'l'ülbe — 'this box owner' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 73, l. 10; — 1 occurrence)

$A_8: n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1}{(n)} \frac{n}{(n)}$ — no counterpart in the classical Arabic;

1 example, 1 occurrence:

iben essultānve — 'the sultan's son himself' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 81, l. 8; — 1 occurrence)

Total amounts in the A group — 68 examples 152 occurrences.

B = like A_1 corresponding with the type I2b of classical Arabic, 19 examples, 36 occurrences:

sultān elhind — 'the sultan of India' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 61, l. 3, 7, 8, 10; p. 62, l. 13, 15; — 6 occurrences)

sultān elbār(r) — 'the sultan of the land' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 61, l. 4, 17; p. 62, l. 1/2, 10, 13; — 5 occurrences)

- abu-l'ülbe* — 'the box owner' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 73, l. 10, 11, 14; p. 74, l. 9; — 4 occurrences)
- egbār ālbālād* — 'the town's outstanding||prominent people' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 27, l. 18, 20; p. 72, l. 18; — 3 occurrences)
- ṣāhib elbistān* — 'the owner of the garden' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 9, l. 6, 11; — 2 occurrences)
- ṣāhib eḡḡahēš* — 'the owner of the ass' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 11, l. 10, 12/13; — 2 occurrences)
- ṣāhib el'ūlbā* — 'the box owner' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 73, l. 5, 6; — 2 occurrences)
- ḡemā'et lekrād* — 'the community of Kurds' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 17, l. 9; — 1 occurrence)
- ṣāhib ettōr* — 'the owner of the ox' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 19, l. 15/16; — 1 occurrence)
- sultān elḡaijāt* — 'the king of the snakes' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 33, l. 6; — 1 occurrence)
- sultān estambūl* — 'the sultan of Stambul' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 57, l. 2; — 1 occurrence)
- ṣēḡ elḡazal* — 'the prince of the gazelles' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 71, l. 1; — 1 occurrence)
- nuṣ(ṣ) ettārīk* — 'the half of the way' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 80, l. 11; — 1 occurrence)
- ehwās essaltāna* — 'the royal robes' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 80, l. 14; — 1 occurrence)
- ḡanṣer ḡalāb* — 'the consul from Aleppo' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 82, l. 11; — 1 occurrence)
- ṣāhib elfaras* — 'the owner of the mare' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 82, l. 16; — 1 occurrence)
- rā'i elfaras* — 'the owner of the mare' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 82, l. 17; — 1 occurrence)
- nuṣṣ elbaḡer* — 'the middle of the sea' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 85, l. 12; — 1 occurrence)
- ṣāhib elkāser* — 'the lord of the castle' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 88, l. 7; — 1 occurrence)

B = like A₁ corresponding with the type I2b of classical Arabic. Nomen regens = the name of kind; Nomen rectum = the name of specimen. 6 examples, 24 occurrences:

- fārḡ elḡaije* — 'the young of the snake' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 31, l. 10, 12, 13, 18, 19; p. 33, l. 1, 2, 15; p. 35, l. 3; — 9 occurrences)
- teir ennisēr* — 'the eagle' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 86, l. 8; p. 87, l. 11; p. 89, l. 1; p. 91, l. 19/11; p. 92, l. 1; — 5 occurrences)
- ferāḡ eddibbe* — 'the youngs of the she-bear' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 45, l. 11; p. 91, l. 5, 14; — 3 occurrences)
- fārḡ essännōr* — 'the young of the cat' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 79, l. 12; p. 80, l. 4; — 2 occurrences)
- fārḡ ālkālb* — 'the young of the dog, the puppy' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 31, l. 16, 17; — 2 occurrences)
- nās elmuselmīn* — 'the Moslems' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 87, l. 3; — 1 occurrence)

Total amounts in the B group — 25 examples, 60 occurrences.

$$C_1: n \frac{n_1 \frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2}{(n_1)} — \text{corresponding with the type IIIa of classical}$$

Arabic, 7 examples, 14 occurrences:

- bint sultān ālbār(r)* — 'the daughter of the sultan of the land' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 60, l. 9, 15/26, 16, 18; — 3 occurrences)
- bint sultān elḡind* — 'the daughter of the sultan of India' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 60, l. 17; p. 61, l. 2 (twice); p. 62, l. 7, 16; — 5 occurrences)
- beit teir unnisēr* — 'the nest of the eagle' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 91, l. 10, 10/11; — 2 occurrences)
- iben sultān elḡaijātana* — 'the son of the king of snakes' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 31, l. 20; — 1 occurrence)
- bāb ḡaṣēr essultān* — 'the gate of the sultan's palace' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 37, l. 4/5; — 1 occurrence)
- iben ṣijād āssāmāk* — 'the son of the fisherman' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 78, l. 3; — 1 occurrence)
- ūm(m) ḡild eḡḡemāl* — 'the she-owner of he camel's skin' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 81, l. 12; — 1 occurrence)

$C_2: n \frac{n_1}{(n)}$ — corresponding with the type IIIb of classical

Arabic. Nomen rectum₂ = a proper name definite by nature, 2 examples, 2 occurrences:

ibn sultān stambūl — 'the son of the sultan of Stambul' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 60, l. 9; — 1 occurrence)

ḥaṭab ḡebel 'abdāl'azīz — 'the firewood from the Abd al-Azīz mountains' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 91, l. 15; — 1 occurrence)

Total amounts in the C group — 9 examples, 16. occurrences.

D_1 : = like A_1 corresponding with the type I3b of classical Arabic, 5 examples, 5 occurrences:

ahl ezḡē'a — 'the country-people' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 19, l. 11; l. 11; — 1 occurrence)

wuṣṭ elwēlāje — 'the middle of the town' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 56, l. 15; — 1 occurrence)

bilād eṣṣōrk — 'the Eastern provinces' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 59, l. 5; — 1 occurrence)

ḡaww elbeit — 'the inside of the house' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 71, l. 9; — 1 occurrence)

wuṣṭ elbeit — 'the inside of the house' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 71, l. 10; — 1 occurrence)

$D_2: n \frac{n_1}{(n)}$ — corresponding with the type I3a of classical

Arabic. Nomen rectum = a proper name definite by nature, 2 examples, 2 occurrences:

nās stambūl — 'the people of Stambul' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 57, l. 4; — 1 occurrence)

nās ḥalāb — 'the people of Aleppo' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 84, l. 15; — 1 occurrence)

Total amounts in the D group — 7 examples, 7 occurrences.

$E_\alpha: \frac{n}{n} n \frac{s}{n} \frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1$ — no counterpart in classical Arabic. The inserted below example expresses the relation of appertenance, 1 example, 1 occurrence:

eṣṣebba māl eddāmr — 'the column of the room' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 19, l. 3; — 1 occurrence)

E_β : = like E_α . The inserted example expresses the relation between the container and that what is contained in it.

eḡḡerāb māl eddaḡīk — 'the sack of flour' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 19, l. 2/3; — 1 occurrence)

Total amounts in the E group — 2 examples, 2 occurrences.

$F_\alpha: n \frac{n_1}{(n)}$ — Nomen rectum indefinitum, 1 example, 2 occurrences:

rās zelemet — 'the head of a person' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 57, l. 3, 7; — 2 occurrences)

F_β : = like F_α , — Nomen rectum = a word of foreign origin, and as such definite by nature.

āḥwān — 'the people from the caravan' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 17, l. 2; — 1 occurrence)

Total amounts in the F group — 2 examples, 2 occurrences.

3. Looking from the statistical point of view at the material presented above, it appears that the group A shows the highest frequency and is represented by 68 different examples occurring 152 times altogether. It is followed by the group B with 25 examples occurring 60 times, then comes the group C — 9 examples, 16 occurrences, D — 7 examples, 7 occurrences, and finally groups E and F with 2 examples and 2 occurrences each.

One of the most striking features common to all presented above examples of *al-idāfa*, with the only exception of the F type, is the consequent definiteness of nomina recta. They are all defined either by the definite article, or by personal suffixes, or they are simply definite by nature, like: pronouns, proper names etc. The few examples which appear in our texts and in which the nouns in the second position occur in an indefinite form, like: *fārḥ haije* — 'young snake' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 31, l. 15;), *raḡīfēn ḡubēz* — 'two loaves of bread' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 23, l. 2;), *ḡūmel zebīb aswad* — 'a sack full with black zebibs' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 17, l. 3/4;), *gamšet dahab* — 'a handful of gold' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*,

p. 72, l. 1, 15; p. 73, l. 9; p. 74, l. 1;), *mukdār sene* — 'a period of one year' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 86, l. 13;) and several others very much like these cited ones are easily explicable. In the first two cases, they represent compound words which are the result of a juxtaposition of two nouns, one denoting kind the other species, while in the remaining ones, the first nouns represent a kind of numeratives. Besides, in classical Arabic, all these examples could have been joined together permutatively, since they denote respectively: kind and species, measure and that what is measured⁵. Thus, we cannot be certain that we have here really with an *idāfa* to do. This fact, on one hand, confirms the correctness of our identification of two juxtaposed nouns, first of them indefinite, the other — definite, as *al-idāfa*, and on the other hand it points out that, after the loss of *i'rāb*, the definiteness has taken over the function of flexional opposition which occurred in classical Arabic between *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* and which permitted to identify such a juxtaposition as *al-idāfa* without difficulty. In other words $\frac{v}{(n)}$ has been replaced by $\frac{n}{[n]}$.

The examples of *al-idāfa* which appear in Socin's texts have, generally speaking, their almost exact counterparts in classical Arabic, naturally with the exception of *al-i'rāb*. However, some of the classical types can be found in the dialect of Mōṣul in a somewhat changed form, some of them underwent a transformation, and what is more, some new types, unknown to classical Arabic have developed. Thus, the classical Arabic type IIb:

$$n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1 \frac{v}{(n_1)} \frac{\frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2 \frac{v}{(n_2)}}{(n_1)}}{(n)} \text{ i.e. nomen rectum with adjectival attribute}$$

has become in our dialect A₅: $n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_2]} n_2}{n_1 \frac{(n_1)}{(n)}}$, i.e. nomen rectum indefinite and its adjectival attribute with the definite article. This seems easy to explain by the fact that in the dialect of Mōṣul

⁵ S. H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, pp. 67—68.

a noun and a qualifying it adjective appear, also apart from *al-idāfa* in such form, s.e.g.: Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 76, l. 2: *bint elēgbire* — 'the oldest daughter||girl'; or ib., p. 77, l. 4/5: *kālbein āssud* — 'two black dogs', etc. This phenomenon perfectly corresponds with that of *al-idāfa*, since in both cases, the definite article and thus the definiteness serves as a designation of the qualifying function of the defined nomina in relation to the preceding them undefined ones. Hence, when in an *idāfa*, both *nomen rectum* and a following it adjective are provided with the definite article, like in the case of A₂, the adjective refers in our dialect always to *nomen regens* and not to *nomen rectum*, and the whole structure has its counterpart in the type IIa of classical Arabic and not in IIb as it might appear.

In certain connection with the above-described phenomena seems to stay the transformation of the classical Arabic type I1e:

$$n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1 \frac{v}{[n_1]} \frac{n}{(n)}}{(n)}, \text{ i.e. nomen regens qualified by a demonstrative pronoun into the dialectal A}_2: \frac{n}{[n]} n \frac{\frac{n}{[n_1]} n_1}{(n)}, \text{ i.e. with the demon-}$$

strative preceding *nomen regens*. In classical Arabic, this kind of structure would have generated a nominal sentence and not a word-group, because of the incongruency in the sphere of definiteness, the demonstrative being definite by nature and the noun in status constructus only generale definitum. In our dialect however, thanks to the new developed syntactic laws exposed above, according to which the only difference between *al-idāfa* and a noun with an adjectival attribute lies not in the structure but in the parts of speech to which the second element of the juxtaposition belongs (in the first case it is a noun, in the second — an adjective), *al-idāfa* may then be, per analogiam, syntactically treated like a noun with an adjectival attribute, since in both instances the same kind of incongruency in the sphere of definiteness occurs. Hence, as the demonstrative precedes a noun qualified by an adjective, when used as its attribute, also according to the laws in classical Arabic (only in classical Arabic

they are both, i.e. noun and adjective, definite), it precedes also *al-idāfa*, when it performs the same function.

The type $F_{a, b}$ seems to stay in a certain contradiction to our considerations exposed above, since in both cases nomina regentes appear without the definite article or other formal exponents of definiteness. This contradiction proves however to be apparent, at least for the F_b . Here, nomen rectum is a word of foreign, i.e. non-Arabic origin, and as such it has been generally used in our texts without definite article, like e.g.: *čai* — 'tea', and other similar words, because they are regarded as definite by nature. Therefore, there was no need to provide it with the article when it appeared in *al-idāfa*. As for the F_a , we propose the following explanation. The fact that the word *zeleme* — 'person' appears, apart from *al-idāfa* in the forms: *hazzelemä* — 'this person' (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 57, l. 4/5), *äzzälemä* — 'the person' (s. ib. l. 6;); *zälämä* — 'a person', (s. ib., l. 16;), etc., and only in *al-idāfa* with an auslaut -t, suggests that the function of the opposition between nomen regens and nomen rectum has been taken over by this auslaut. Though, in both occurrences of F_a , *zelemet* as nomen rectum precedes the relative pronoun *älladi* — 'who, which', which has a vowel in its anlaut, and the auslaut -t of the word *zelemet* could serve to prevent a hiatus, we find however on this very 57-th page, l. 8 of *op. cit.*: *wa ahūhu älladi* — 'and his brother who...', where exactly the pronoun *älladi* is preceded by a vocalic auslaut, or on the page 59, l. 3: *warāh äzzälämä ila...* — 'and the person went to...', where the very word *äzzälemä* occurring this time in status absolutus, precedes a preposition with a vocalic anlaut, or on the page 60, l. 12: *anī ahūk* — 'where is your brother?'. Thus, it seems that in our dialect, the phenomenon of hiatus is at least not too consequently, if at all, avoided. Hence, we feel authorized to present a supposition that, in the absence of other distinctive features, the auslaut -t serves here to compensate the lack of opposition between nomen regens and nomen rectum, especially that in the above-cited occurrences of F_a , the definite article has been omitted in order to emphasize the indefiniteness of this person, what agreed with the demand of the context. In these circumstances, the dialect could not have served itself with the definite article as a formal exponent of the oppo-

sition between nomen regens and nomen rectum, and had to reach for other means of solution. As it seems, it has found them in the rule which governs the nouns ending in $\ddot{a}$ —. According to this rule, the nouns in question drop the auslaut -t in pronunciation when they appear in status absolutus, but this auslaut has to reappear when they occur as nomina regentes in an *idāfa*. To this category of nouns belongs also the word *zeleme*. This word appears many times in our texts but it is only in an *idāfa*, where it occurs as nomen rectum that it has the ending -t. Might it not then be that we have here to do with a transfer, or an extension of rigors valid for the nouns with the ending -t from, when they occur in an *idāfa* as nomina regentes to, when they occur as nomina recta, and the definiteness usually applied in the dialect of Mōṣul, as a token of nomen rectum, cannot be used? Unfortunately, we dispose of too scarce occurrences of this example as well as of other ones of this type, to dare to come to a definitive conclusion in this regard. However, the above-presented interpretation seems not at all improbable⁶.

⁶ We would also like to draw attention to the fact that, when we compare '*rās zelemet*' with the above-cited examples like: '*fārḥ haije*', or '*muḥdār sene*', etc., it appears that the only structural difference between these two syntagmes is the auslaut -t at '*zelemet*' in the case of '*rās zelemet*', absent in the remaining examples though '*zeleme*' belongs to the same category of nouns ending in $\ddot{a}$ — like '*haije*', or '*sene*', etc., and both syntagmes are formally very much like each other. This suggests that '*rās zelemet*' has to be a juxtaposition of a different kind than '*fārḥ haije*' or '*muḥdār sene*', because it differs from them by this auslaut. Now, the relation between two juxtaposed nouns can be only, either appositional with no obligatory markers pointing to the qualifying function of one of the nouns in relation to the other, or genitival, where the nouns have to be flexionally opposed to each other. '*Zeleme*' belongs to the same category of words like '*haije*', or '*sene*', etc., but it is only at '*zeleme*', that the auslaut -t appears, and this, when '*zeleme*' occurs as a second element of the juxtaposition, while, as we have shown above, it is absent, when '*zeleme*' occurs separately. Thus, the presence of the auslaut -t at '*zeleme*' in juxtaposition '*rās zeleme*' appears obligatory. In these circumstances, we felt authorized to consider this juxtaposition as *al-idāfa*, the auslaut -t as a formal exponent of the opposition between nomen regens and nomen rectum, and the syntagmes like '*fārḥ haije*', or '*muḥdār sene*' as nouns with appositional attributes.

Finally, the examples cited as types A₈ and E_{αβ} demand few words of explanation.

The examples E_{αβ} represent the periphrastic or analytical type, unknown to classical Arabic. The function of opposition between nomen regens and nomen rectum is here performed by the auxiliary word 'māl'. Similar kinds of *al-iḍāfa* or at least their traces can be found in other contemporary Arabic dialects, (s.e.g. the dialects of Syria or Egypt with the auxiliary *bta'* or *mta'*, etc.). They are the result of the development process of the dialects which, in our opinion, consists in parting from synthetism to analytism on the way to synthetism again. The type E_{αβ} (α belonging to the group ١, and β to the group ٢), occurs only twice in our texts, which seems to prove that it finds itself in regression.

As for the type A₈, its nomen rectum is provided, beside the definite article, with a pronominal suffix '-ve' which functions as a personal suffix of the 3-rd person M. Sg. It occurs many times in our texts, s.e.g.: *'arīd lehmār tebi'nive* — 'I want you to sell the ass to me', (Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 83, l. 5/6), etc. According to our opinion, the form of the pronoun seems to be Kurdish⁷ which is not at all surprising, the Kurdish being the adstratum language in the regions where our dialect is being spoken. We consider this pronoun as a pronomen emphaticum which serves to emphasize nomen regens by referring to it once again after it has been already qualified by nomen rectum, like *ar-rāḡi* in a relative sentence points to the subject in the subordinating clause. This supposition finds its confirmation in the idea conveyed by sentences like: *hāl-wälād ibn essultānve* — 'this boy is the sultan's son himself' (lit.: this boy, it is *he* the son of the sultan), (s. Socin, *Der arabische Dialekt...*, p. 81, l. 8), a sentence from which our *iḍāfa* in question comes, or: *källū einve beitek* — 'he asked him: where is *it*, your house?', (s. Socin, *op. cit.*, p. 89, 12). In both these cases, it was just the emphasis that has been attained by means of the suffix -ve.

⁷ S. Albert Socin, *Die Sprache der Kurden in Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Strassburg 1898, vol. I 2, pp. 272—273.

4. In the light of what has been said above, we have come to the following conclusions:

a) Apart from the types of *al-iḍāfa* known to the classical Arabic, the dialect of Mōṣul and Mārdīn has developed two new types, viz.: A₈ and E_{αβ} which are not attested in the classical language.

b) The opposition between nomen regens and nomen rectum is being realized chiefly by the definiteness of nomen rectum attained, with the help, first of all, of the definite article *al-*; but this opposition may also be marked by the use of some auxiliary words or other morphological exponents.

c) The fact that the synthetic types of *al-iḍāfa*, (A—D, and F) represent more than 98% of our material, while the periphrastic type (E) only less than 2% seems to prove that this last one finds itself in regression and that in the dialect in question, the process of regrammaticalization i.e. synthetization has already begun. According to our point of view, this process is of permanent character and consists of the stages successively following each other: synthetism-analytism — synthetism, but the synthetism, each time, on a higher level. In the case of *al-iḍāfa* in the dialect of Mōṣul and Mārdīn, we have the remnants of the periphrastic type (developped from the previous synthetic one, corroborated by the examples from classical Arabic), which prove that there must have been an analytical stage, and the prevailing synthetic type — a prove for resynthetization. This process is also evidenced by the verb, but there is no place here to discuss it now.