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#### ARTICLES

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#### THE DESCRIPTIVE IMPERATIVE OF NARRATIVE STYLE IN SPOKEN ARABIC

##### INTRODUCTION

Modern recording techniques have made it possible to reveal features previously unknown or inadequately known in the Arabic dialects. This is particularly true of „plain colloquial”, but to some degree also of the stylistic variant called „artistic colloquial”. In the latter category the more or less bound form of songs, proverbs, riddles, and the like facilitated their recording in an authentic form with older methods, but as far as the formally unbound oral narrative prose is concerned, the situation was different. The narrator had to dictate the stories and was thus compelled to give up his normal speech tempo. Consequently, the narration lost much of its natural vividness and the style became more literary. In addition to the stylistic changes due to the unnatural tempo, the eventual questions and other factors affecting the narrative situation inevitably disturbed the narrator. Modern recording methods have certainly not done away with all problems of this kind, for the very presence of the microphone and a stranger may turn out to have a considerably disturbing effect. This is, however, not necessarily the case, since a skilled storyteller usually seems to be able to speak undisturbed.

The narrative situation involves the presence of several listeners who are supposed to take part by setting themselves into the

course of the events and by identifying themselves with the persons of the story or the *gaṣīde*. In the most dramatic passages they usually react with exclamations and sighs. The narrator frequently draws the listeners' attention to the culminations by addressing them; when he has finished the *sālfe* and starts tuning his *rabāba*, the listeners in turn address the narrator asking him to 'tell' (*gāl*) the song. The rhyme words are often repeated by the listeners, and many verses obviously stir up the minds of the audience. The spell of the narrative and the song thus demands mutual contact. This inimitable atmosphere is a necessary condition for a genuine oral narrative style. It is only natural, then, that the narrative texts recorded with modern techniques reflect this style more authentically than those written from dictation.

A feature typical of vivid narrative style is the use of the imperative instead of the perfect or imperfect in certain contexts. Until recently this feature was practically unknown in dialect studies. Some instances of such use can be found in older studies, but these have passed unnoticed or have received only limited attention<sup>1</sup>. The first scholar to call attention to the feature seems to have been Jean Cantineau, who, on the basis of two instances recorded by himself and those found by him in Montagne's texts, supposed that this imperative would be used in narratives in order to encourage a woman to do what she normally does not dare to do<sup>2</sup>. Bernhard Lewin is no doubt right when he points out that Cantineau's assumption was borne out by the accidental

<sup>1</sup> Imperatives of this kind are to be found at least in the following older studies: J. G. Wetzstein, *Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Wüste*, ZDMG 22, 1868, pp. 69—194; C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in 'Omān und Zanzibar*, Berlin 1894; Hans Schmidt—Paul Kahle, *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina gesammelt bei den Bauern von Bir-Zet und in Verbindung mit Dschirius Jusif herausgegeben*. Bd. 1—2, Göttingen 1918, 1930. (= Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments I, 17, 18); R. Montagne, *Contes poétiques bédouins* (recueillis chez les Šammar de Ġeziré), BEO 5, 1935, pp. 33—119. The instances will be given below.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Cantineau, *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient*, AIEO 2, 1936, pp. 1—118; 3, 1937, pp. 119—237; the feature is discussed p. 187 f.

fact that all the instances known to him happened to have feminine subjects<sup>3</sup>. The feature was well known to Lewin since the texts from Hama published by him include numerous instances of imperatives called *imperativus narrationis* by the author. This term states the stylistic environments of the form but does not say anything about its function. Haim Blanc, who reports this use of the imperative in the dialect of the Negev Bedouins, has likewise noted it only in stories, but has been told that it occurs in conversation as well<sup>4</sup>. Meir Bravmann states in a short footnote both the stylistic environments and the function of the use explaining it as „a tense of narration (historical imperative, a use not unfrequent in Modern Arabic, but not observed until now)”<sup>5</sup>. The feature is also discussed by Josua Blau in his syntax of the Palestinian dialect of *Bir-Zēt*, where he uses the same term as Havers, i.e., *imperativus descriptivus* (an alternative term by Havers being *imperativus historicus*). According to Blau, this function of the imperative is related to the direct addressing of the listeners, aimed at calling them to be eye-witnesses and at actualizing the story for them; in his opinion, the descriptive imperative is the result of this visualizing and actualizing tendency typical of the narrative style<sup>6</sup>. Lewin compares the descriptive imperative with the popular imitative words, e.g. *ġabb ġabb šareb naṣṣ al-brī?* „gluck, gluck, hat er die halbe Flasche ausgetrunken”,

<sup>3</sup> Bernhard Lewin, *Arabische Texte im Dialekt von Hama, mit Einleitung und Glossar hrsg.*, BTS 2, Beirut 1966; Einleitung pp. 39 f.

<sup>4</sup> Haim Blanc, *The Arabic Dialect of the Negev Bedouins*, Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, IV: 7, Jerusalem 1970, pp. 139f.

<sup>5</sup> M. M. Bravmann, *Studies in Arabic and General Syntax*, Le Caire 1953, p. 105, footnote 1.

<sup>6</sup> Josua Blau, *Syntax des palästinensischen Bauerndialekts von Bir-Zēt*. (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients, Heft 13), Walldorf—Hessen 1960, pp. 101—103. Cf. Wilhelm Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg 1931, pp. 152f., where instances from esp. Slavic languages are given. Reference is also made to animated speech: „Der Erzähler wird dann ein Ereignis aufs Lebendigste vergegenwärtigen, wenn er mit den Augen der es erlebenden Personen sieht, mit ihrem Munde redet” (Schuchardt, cited by Havers and further by Blau).

but he also gives another explanation: according to him, much of the feature can be explained by the phenomenon called animated speech<sup>7</sup>.

The purpose of this paper is to gather the available materials and to classify them in order to illustrate the functions of the descriptive imperative in the instances known so far<sup>8</sup>. It has been found necessary to give the instances in a longer context where possible. On the *synchronic* level, the following questions are asked: (1) in which stylistic environments does the descriptive imperative occur; (2) which are the syntactic constructions used; (3) which are the functions of the form in different instances and constructions; (4) is it possible to find any dialect differences in the use of the form. On the basis of the results of the synchronic study, two *diachronic* problems will be discussed: (1) which is the point of departure for the use of the descriptive imperative, and (2) is it possible to discern any plausible historical development in the use of the form.

The materials could be arranged in several different ways, one of which would be to gather all instances from one dialect in one

<sup>7</sup> Lewin, *Hama*, Einleitung p. 40, with reference to Andreas Tietze, *Erlebte Rede im Türkischen*, Oriens 15, 1962, pp. 337—344. Typical of animated speech is an abrupt discontinuity in the syntactical structure, e.g. *kānet hīye šmali hēk* „she was: do this!”, where the imperative *šmali* is an animated continuation to *kānet* instead of the normal imperfect form *təšmel*.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to the references above, instances and short comments are to be found in the following studies: Giseler Schreiber, *Der arabische Dialekt von Mekka*, Abriss der Grammatik mit Texten und Glossar, Diss. Münster 1970; Manfred Woidich, *Ein arabischer Bauernndialekt aus dem südlichen Oberägypten*, ZDMG 124, 1974, pp. 42—58; Heikki Palva, *Balgāwi Arabic 3. Texts from Šāfūt*, St. Or. 43: 1, Helsinki 1970; id., *Studies in the Arabic Dialect of the Semi-Nomadic al-Šağārma Tribe* (al-Balqā District, Jordan) [Or. Goth. 2], Göteborg 1976. In Peter Fouad Abboud, *The Syntax of Najdi Arabic*, Diss. Texas, Austin 1964, there is a systematic description of the functions of the form in the dialect of *Hāyel*. Some instances occurring in the recordings by the present author are used as additional material. These are referred to by the place names *Turšān* (in Lower Galilee, *fellāhīn*) and *Ḥasbān* (between the Dead Sea and *šammān*, previously small-cattle nomads, now *fellāhīn*).

group; another way would be an arrangement according to the functions. Instead of these, a third way has been chosen: the instances have been arranged according to certain purely formal differences which can be seen in the subtitles below. This arrangement has been preferred since it presumably can illustrate some features in the diachronic development which otherwise could be overlooked.

#### (a) REPEATED IMPERATIVES

##### THE INSTANCES

a1. *u-hāda ṭeleš masak ha-ṭ-ṭanğara: kətt kətt kətt!* Er nahm den Kochtopf, ging auf das Dach und schüttete (das Essen) in die Dachrinne) aus. (Lewin, *Hama*, 12: 65).

a2. *säkkar ha-l-bāb. ṭəʔpi ha-s-sandū? wənno ṭālš ha-l-ğrāb, šədd šədd šədd! šaddet sābš mīt lēra dahab.* Er schloss die Tür. Sie öffnete die Kiste, nahm den Strumpf hervor und zählte, zählte. Sie zählte 700 Goldpfund her. (Lewin, *Hama*, 5: 49).

a3. *rāḥat šala sağarat al-yāsamin — gaṭṭif gaṭṭif gaṭṭif — laḍamat libsat fustān ...* Sie ging zum Jasminbaum und pflückte und pflückte. Sie knüpfte sich ein Kleid ... (Schreiber, *Mekka*, III 38).

a4. *rikk el-faras l-imliha. laḡagu: Pīdbah Pīdbah Pīdbah Pīdbah!* He mounted the good horse and pursued him. Kill him, kill him, kill him, kill him! (Palva, *Balgāwi* 3, a17).

a5. *wənno gbālo w-yağī mātəlbo — lūḥo — lūḥo.* (The wolf) was there before him, and he started pursuing it. At its heels! At its heels! (Palva, *šAğārma*, 36).

a6. *ntebšūlne rāšāt l-maḥsane killhum s-sayyāf sayyāf w-et-teffāg teffāg ḍrub ḍrub.* Die Einwohner von l-Maḥsane fielen über uns her, allesamt, (wer) Schwerträger (war, tat es als) Schwerträger, der Scharfschütze war, als Scharfschütze. Schlag schlage! (Reinhardt, *šOmān*, p. 357, 7—9).

a7. *gaṭṭif lā tgattif.* Sie pflückte und pflückte. (Schreiber, *Mekka*, p. 94, footnote 1).



a8. *bigyat in-nās siyyibat il-bēš wuš-šira btāšha w-ġāt šašān iġ-ġadaš illi šāwiz yištiri r-ribšiyya di. uṣul ma tuṣulš fir-ribšiyya ...* Die Leute verliessen also ihren Kauf und Verkauf und kamen herbei wegen des Burschen, der das Zicklein kaufen wollte. Da ging das Feilschen los um dieses Zicklein! (Woidich, *Oberägypten*, I 16f.).

#### DISCUSSION OF THE INSTANCES a1 — a8

The instances given above can be divided into two categories, the first of which comprises a1 to a3. All these are characterized by a sequence of three asyndetic imperatives having a depicting effect and thus being related to descriptive repetitions popular in narrative style<sup>9</sup>. Another phenomenon deserving special attention — as pointed out by Schreiber<sup>10</sup> — is the lack of gender agreement: *šadd* — *šaddet*, *gattif* — *laḍamat*. This being the case, the words are virtually not used as true imperatives. Semantically they are verbs and morphologically imperatives, but syntactically they are used as independently as interjections, having affective and intensive implications. The instances a1 to a3 seem to imply rather little affectivity and can therefore — as suggested by Lewin<sup>11</sup> — be ranked in the same category as the syntactically independent popular imitative words.

The instances a4 to a6 obviously have another character. On the one hand, they do not follow the three-part pattern, and, on the other hand, they undoubtedly imply a higher degree of affectivity, which explains the deviation from the schematized three-part pattern. In a4 and a5 the repeated imperatives give the impression of a feverish, urgent need for a quick and violent

<sup>9</sup> Most usual are descriptive abbreviations such as (*qāl: al-quṣṣa*) *hēk hēk hēk* and (*qāl panno*) *šār šār šār* „(he told:) this and that happened”; other examples are: *marru šala qašer šāli šāli šāli* „they passed a high, very high castle” (Palva, *Turṣān*), *qul wiṣlu šala bīr, bīr ġamiq ġamiq ġamiq* „then they came to a deep, very deep cistern” (*ibid.*), *w-insall min tiht idyāl il-xēme w-šabar b-račāde b-račāde* „er kroch unter dem Saum des Zeltes durch und kam behutsam, behutsam hinein” (Schmidt — Kahle, *Volkserzählungen* I 41, 5); cf. Blau, *Syntax*, pp. 268—271, and Havers, *Erklärende Syntax*, pp. 152f.

<sup>10</sup> Schreiber, *Mekka*, p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> Lewin, *Hama*, Einleitung p. 40.

decision. The abrupt substitution of the perfect or imperfect form of the predicate verb by the imperative apparently serves to actualize and visualize the critical situation of the narrative for the listeners who are supposed to identify themselves with the person having nothing but one imperative thought in his mind<sup>12</sup>.

The situation here is suddenly seen through the eyes of the subject person for a short while. This is, then, a typical case of animated speech used as a stylistic means in narrative style. As far as a6 is concerned, Reinhardt's footnote „sagten sie zu einander” is hardly to the point, but the number of imperatives is most likely conditioned by the word pairs *s-sayyāf sayyāf* and *t-teffāg teffāg*, and the imperatives seem to describe vividly — probably as kinds of self-addressings — the readiness for battle without implying any explicit exchange of words. According to Bravmann, the translation must be „sie schlugen, schlugen”<sup>13</sup>, but this is not necessarily the case.

The two instances (a7 and a8) where the descriptive imperative is followed by the prohibitive of the same verb are vivid descriptions having a lively depicting effect. In spite of the difference in the syntactic construction they are closely related to the instances a1 to a3. The negated forms are not true prohibitives but rather more expressive stylistic variants of the imperative, often having a shade of urgent or impatient command<sup>14</sup>. In this case

<sup>12</sup> Related to this kind of descriptive imperative are self-addressings, e.g. *hāda waddaš insibe w-ričib u-rāh. wēn arūh wēn alaikkī kāl ...* „Dann nahm er Abschied von dem Verwandten und ritt fort. „Wohin soll ich gehn, wohin soll ich mich wenden?” Er sagte...” (Schmidt — Kahle, *Volkserzählungen* I 51, 6—8). The brevilouquent construction illustrates the situation much more effectively than a construction *kāl wēn arūh*, etc. Another example of a brevilouquent change of the subject is *hāda paxwto šāru hžār w-alla yirhamhin, w-ana?* „his brothers had been changed into stones — may God have mercy on them — how will it go with me?” (Palva, *Turṣān*).

<sup>13</sup> Bravmann, *Studies*, p. 105, footnote 1.

<sup>14</sup> *mā* plus imperfect in this function is a well-known feature of many dialects, see e.g. Wilhelm Spitta-Bey, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, Leipzig 1880, p. 344; Heinz Grotzfeld, *Syrisch-arabische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1965, p. 83; Haim Blanc, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, p. 117; Heikki Palva, *Notes on the Alleged Coptic Morphological Influence on Egyptian*

the formally negated repetition serves to level the abruptness of a single descriptive imperative and, so doing, to convey a depicting effect instead of the idea of suddenness.

(b) ASYNDETTIC BUT NOT REPEATED DESCRIPTIVE IMPERATIVES

THE INSTANCES

b1. *xalləta la-ħatta nāmet hiye w-pəbna. u-ħādike ya sēni mən ġūsa Paklet ha-l-Pakl u-rāhet drīxa ma šādet ħasset. rūhi ġibi tħin əl-šades tħəxi w-ərfašila dēla w-kəttiya Piyā bēn rəġlēha!* Sie wartete, bis die Schwiegertochter und der Sohn eingeschlafen waren. Nun hatte diese leider vor Hunger so viel gegessen, dass sie schwindlich war und nichts mehr merkte. Sie holte Linsenmehl, kochte es, hob den Saum (des Kleides der Schwiegertochter) und schüttete (die Linsensuppe) zwischen ihre Beine (Lewin, *Hama*, 3: 23f.).

b2. *səkkar ha-l-bāb. təpPi ha-s-sandū? wənnə tālš ha-l-ġrāb ...* Er schloss die Tür. Sie öffnete die Kiste, nahm den Strumpf hervor ... (Lewin, *Hama*, 5: 49).

b3. *bādā Piyā ġōza yrūh, šili ha-l-ħatbe šħabi ha-l-ħatbe mən ha-l-matbax w-ətlasilo. Pālətlo: dāle? əd-dāmm!* Sie wünschte eben, dass ihr Mann gehen sollte. Sie holte ein Holzseil aus der Küche und ging auf den šēx los. Sie sagte: Du verdammter! (Lewin, 10: 60f.).

b4. *hāda sam binazzəlla šāyāt, ġibi ha-s-šāye ftahīya, bi-Pida s-sikāra, ħəttiya šala ha-s-šāye hrəfiya Parbaš hrūpa w-təbətəta w-xalləta.* Während er šāye-Packen herunternahm, nahm sie ein šāye-Stück und entfaltete es mit der Zigarette in der Hand, setzte diese auf das šāye-Stück und brannte ihm vier Brandmale auf, faltete es zusammen und liess es liegen. (Lewin, *Hama*, 13: 8).

b5. *ha-z-zālame sam bišədd faršto mən ša-s-sāmāndra, mrəPi ha-l-šāġūz təlšet la-barra waPafet bi-nəšš ha-l-ħāra w-šāhet.* Während

*Arabic*, Or. Suec. 18, 1969, pp. 130—134. About repetitions with *mā* (e.g. *Pūm rūh ma pūm rūh* „geh doch, geh doch!“), see Ariel Bloch und Heinz Grotzfeld (hrsg.), *Damaszenisch-arabische Texte*, AKM 35, 2, Wiesbaden 1964; Glossar, s. v. *ma*.

der Mann sein Bettzeug aus der Nische holte und das Bett her richtete; schlich die alte Frau hinaus, blieb mitten auf der Strasse stehen und rief. (Lewin, *Hama*, 13: 28).

b6. *hūwe s-sabbāġ ħamal ha-t-twāb u-rāh, kānet hiye sməli hək, dləPi xawābi ha-n-nūl bi-ha-l-Pard u-sarPet əl-mašāri l-mxabbihon əs-sabbāġ b-əs-sandū? u-rāhet.* Während der Färber mit den Klei- pungsstücken hinlief, machte sich die Frau daran, die Tonnen mit Indigofarbe über den Fussboden auszuschütten, stahl das Geld, das der Färber in einer Kiste verborgen hatte, und ging. (Lewin, *Hama*, 13: 55).

b7. *kām ašrat šalēh in yudrub b-čill išdāh, b-rāse, b-ižrēh, b-idēh b-danabe u-tālš tālš. hāda ġiši l-kōm mitl il-ġūl. ihni, udrub, iktas, irmi, časar il-kōm u-saffak u-ġāb.* Er legte ihm die Bedingung auf, dass es schlage mit allen seinen Gliedern, seinem Kopf, mit seinen Füßen, mit seinen Händen, mit seinem Schwanz und so weiter. So überfiel er die Feinde wie ein Ghul: „Tritt nieder! schlag zu! verstümmele! zerschmettere!“ Er besiegte die Feinde, klatschte in die Hände und war verschwunden. (Schmidt—Kahle, *Volkserzählungen I*, 53: 10).

b8. *daggat fi-rāsih, udrubha* ‘she touched his head — he hit her’ (Blanc, *Negev*, p. 140 [29]).

b9. *zarāġ fi-galb al-ġmāl silāh, šuggah b-aš-šibriyyih* ‘he rushed upon him in the midst of the camels and stabbed him with the dagger’ (Blanc, *Negev*, p. 140 [29]).

b10. *u-hū yəġūr bih — wənnə šāgo l-wašt rāso — Pənšor — wənn hadōlāka šāru šāhbīn əs-syūf — u-hū yəmled ġəddāmhom.* He stabbed with it and hit him in the middle of the head. He stabbed him quickly to death. Now they had pulled out their swords, but he darted away before them. (Palva, *šAġārma*, 93).

b11. *u-hāda təmadnāh — u-hu yzərr wənnə gādeb əd-dib b-əkrāšo — madd ido t-tānya wənnə gādbə b-šaršūrto mən hān b-ərgābto — Pəzərgo mən hān Pəgədbə b-ido.* He came close to it. When he reached the wolf he caught it by the ankles. He held out the other hand and caught it by the back hair. He seized it here, by the neck. He laid hands on it here and caught it with one hand. (Palva, *šAġārma*, 36).

b12. *zēn* — *danneġ ʕa-n-nʕaġa w-zəmmha — zəmm ən-nʕaġa b-īd u-zəmm əd-dīb b-īd — u-yəġi nāʕes*. Well now, he stooped over the ewe and held it. He caught the ewe with one hand and the wolf with the other. Then he came back (Palva, *ʕAġārma*, 37).

b13. *lədd hič yōm ladd — gāl ʕabdalla?* He looked hastily, and looking at him he asked, „Are you ʕAbdallah?” (Palva, *ʕAġārma*, 92).

b14. *mənhom yəgdaru yəgəḍbu d-dīb — gəm ʕala d-dīb w-ədbaho*. Who are those who can catch a wolf? Thereupon they took the wolf and killed it immediately. (Palva, *Aġārma*, 37).

b15. *Pəṣ-ṣəbəh yōm talaʕ ən-nəhār gālat la-rāʕi d-l-bel ʕaġġel əd-dəlūl ha-dič w-šədd ʕalēha w-ṭaġgsiha*. In the morning at sunrise she said to the camel-herd, „Bring quickly that riding-camel” ... Then she saddled it and decorated it. (Palva, *ʕAġārma*, 29).

b16. *yaʕtū<sup>h</sup> bəʕīd mn-əs-sāmʕīn — bəhīm — šəddūlo sawwūlo ha-l-əmʕaraga ʕalē<sup>h</sup> u-ha-l-xərəġ u-yḥəttūlo zəhāb u-yərkab*. They gave him — what a disgrace! — a donkey. They saddled it for him. They tied a saddle on it, and they gave him a saddle-bag and provisions, and he rode away. (Palva, *ʕAġārma*, 21).

b17. *wallah iġib gōm ətlətt ball əš-šəx u-ʕərbāno — w-ʕənd ma lat-tato — fazzʕu — ʔər-rəʕyān ifazzʕu*. It happened that a group of enemies came to rob the camels of the sheikh and his fellow tribesmen. When they were robbing them, the camel-herds immediately called for help. (Palva, *Həsban*).

b18. *ma laqāš — ʔəṭlaʕ ʕa-s-sūr — faṭṭ mən ha-s-sūr — ʔaʕa b-qalb əl-madīne*. He did not find (any opening in the wall). He climbed on the wall, jumped down from the wall, and came inside the town. (Palva, *Turʕān*).

b19. *ʔəmsek ha-s-səf qatt rūš əl- ... kəll əl-ʕənd*. But he drew his sword and cut off the heads of all of the soldiers. (Palva, *Turʕān*).

#### DISCUSSION OF THE INSTANCES b1 — b19

This group of instances is by far the biggest and also the most heterogeneous one, showing striking differences between the functions of the descriptive imperatives in instances taken from

different sources. It is, however, somewhat doubtful whether the heterogeneity reflects actual dialect differences. Much of it could be suspected of being due to the narrators' individual stylistic manners, but bearing in mind the collective and anonymous character of popular story-telling the importance of this possibility must not be overestimated. One could more plausibly speak about different local narrative traditions with specific stylistic features of their own, but for present there are, at least as far as the use of the descriptive imperative is concerned, far too little data to give any characteristics of such features. Before any conclusions can be drawn it is necessary to discuss the functions of the instances taken from different sources.

The six first instances, b1 to b6, all from Hama, are very similar: they are vivid, actualizing descriptions of unexpected, sudden, hurried, furtive, and bold actions<sup>15</sup>. In addition, they all have a feminine subject, a fact apparently not without relevance because it can be supposed that this adds to the surprising effect, thus underlining the unexpectedness of the event. From this point of view, Cantineau is right when he assumes that this use of imperative „parait être, dans la bouche du narrateur, une sorte

<sup>15</sup> The descriptive imperative differs substantially from the Classical Arabic *mā rāʕahū ʔillā bi-* and related constructions implying the idea of instantaneousness or suddenness, and from their colloquial parallels, e.g. *ma šāf ʔilla w-* (see A. Spitaler, *Mā rāʕahū illā bi* und Verwandtes, (Serta Monacensia, Franz Babinger ... dargebracht) Leiden 1952, pp. 171—183; Meir M. Bravmann, *The Expression of Instantaneousness in Arabic*, Le Muséon 84, 1971, pp. 499—523; id., *An Arabic Construction Implying the Concept of „suddenly”*, Le Muséon 85, 1972, pp. 527—529; Blau, *Syntax*, pp. 244—248; Michel Feghali, *Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban*, Paris 1928, pp. 429f). For one thing, these constructions describe taking by surprise of the person or persons of the narrative, whereas the subject person himself plays the active rôle when the descriptive imperative is used. Furthermore, they are not as spontaneous expressions as the — at least asyndetic — descriptive imperatives, because their use involves, as stated by Bravmann (*Instantaneousness*, p. 518), that „in the mind of the speaker, already at the moment at which he starts to utter the sequence of the two sentences closely related to one another, all particulars of the two sentences (that means: also those of the second one) are present”.



d'encouragement à un acte que la femme devrait hésiter à accomplir d'elle-même" <sup>16</sup>. This encouragement must be understood as an inner voice of the subject and not as a direct addressing of the subject by the narrator.

The instances b10 to b16, representing a semi-nomadic Jordanian dialect (belonging to Cantineau's Group C, that of the small-cattle nomads of the Syro-Mesopotamian area), are obviously of a much less dramatic character. Rather than suddenness or unexpectedness they visualize quick action or rapid procession from a close-up situation to another, no doubt often (b13, b15, b16) using imperatives just as clichés. The descriptive imperative has in such cases lost much of its visualizing and affective effect and become a kind of stock description of events frequently occurring in stories and implying rapid action, e.g. *ladd — yōm ladd; šedd* (in b15 without gender agreement but followed by a feminine form *taggsīha*). Most of the remaining instances (b8 and b9 from the Negev, b17 from *Həsbān*, and b19 from *Turṣān*) imply a sudden, unexpected action, whereas b18 (from *Turṣān*) represents the same less dramatic type as b10 to b16.

One of the instances, b6, is an exceptionally illustrative example of animated speech, as pointed out by Lewin. Here the narrator spontaneously and violently transforms the syntactic construction from *kān* plus *y*-imperfect in sing. 3. fem. (*kānet hīye tšmel hēk*) into *kān* plus imperative in sing. 2. fem. (*kānet hīye šmali hēk*), a construction unknown to the syntax of Arabic. Another typical example of animated speech is b7, which, however, does not display a corresponding anomaly in the syntactic structure. As a matter of fact, most of the other instances of this group (b) can also be explained as animated speech, but only in b6 has the syntactic construction been violently changed in the middle of a sentence. The curious construction is called forth by the need for introducing the subject: *hūwe s-sabbāg hamal ... kānet hīye: šmali hēk*. The example is, thus, related to those using direct addressing (cf. d, below).

As far as dialect differences are concerned, no clear-cut distinctions can be made, mainly due to the reasons mentioned

<sup>16</sup> Cantineau, *Nomades* II, p. 188.

above, but a comparison between the instances taken from the sedentary Syro-Palestinian dialects and those from the semi-nomadic dialects of the periphery of the North Arabian dialect area (representing Cantineau's Groups C and Bc), and, in this case, also the dialect of the Negev not belonging to these dialect groups, suggests that the use of asyndetic descriptive imperatives in narrative style is more common and more schematic in the latter group. Since a great number of stories told in the towns and villages of the Syro-Palestinian area are of a nomadic origin, one might plausibly assume that the use of the descriptive imperative is a stylistic feature organically associated with this kind of narrative and has been imported to the sedentary dialects together with these. The Northern Arabian origin of the descriptive imperative could thus be regarded as a natural reason for the fact that the form appears only seldom in Syro-Palestinian texts; that those recorded from Hama seem to be an exception is easily explained by the lively contacts with the neighbouring Bedouin tribes <sup>17</sup>.

Another reason, no doubt less important, is the fact mentioned above, i.e. that relatively few texts spoken spontaneously and with a natural tempo have been published so far. To be sure, the descriptive imperative can be used in the sedentary dialects independently of nomadic influence, but contacts with Bedouins have certainly added to the popularity of the feature, probably also to the heterogeneity of its use.

#### (c) SYNDETIC DESCRIPTIVE IMPERATIVES

##### THE INSTANCES

c1. *wu-gḏebet hedūme<sup>b</sup> u-temāšelxi u-gūm<sup>wi</sup> tašarred<sup>h</sup> geddāmo<sup>h</sup>*. Puis elle enleva ses vêtements, se déshabilla et se mit à s'exhiber devant lui. (Montagne, *Contes* II, 11).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. specially Lewin, *Hama*, Einleitung p. 12, where these contacts are explicitly stated. The tribes most concerned here are the *Ḥadīdīn* and the *Mawālī*, which typologically represent Cantineau's Group C, i.e. that of the pre-*ʿAnazi* small-cattle nomads of the Syro-Mesopotamian area.

c2. *gām<sup>wet</sup> herwe etzegret*, u-denngi *saleih men el-éteb tehābebow*. Herwe se mit à pousser des trilles de joie, et, comme elle était penchée vers lui hors de sa litière, ils se donnèrent un baiser. (Montagne, *Contes VIII*, 36).

c3. *hāda ha-d-dīb itarred ha-l-bent u-zöbni salē<sup>h</sup> u-fākka<sup>h</sup>*. Voici qu'un loup poursuivait une jeune fille; elle se réfugia auprès de lui (un bédouin) et il va sauva. (Cantineau, *Nomades II*, p. 188).

c4. *gālet: lā b-ellā<sup>h</sup>, Pönte trūh maSi sala hali*. u-xdīu *m<sup>wa</sup>se<sup>h</sup> sala hale<sup>h</sup>*. Elle dit: Non, par Dieu! C'est toi qui t'en viendras avec moi dans ma famille — et elle l'emmena avec elle dans sa famille. (Cantineau, *Nomades II*, p. 188).

c5. *Pāletlo: dāle? ad-dāmm! ... w-ənsəfi bi-ha-l-ḥatbe*. Sie sagte: Du Verdammter! ... Sie schlug mit dem Holzseil auf ihn ein. (Lewin, *Hama*, 10: 61f.).

c6. *ma šāf Pella wənno hāda wāhed kälb mən ha-l-klāb al-kbār sāheb ftise u-ḡāyabha*. u-həddi *salē ha-l-klāb. ḡāba hūwe u-ḡasād*. Plötzlich kam ein grosser Hund, der ein Aas mit sich schleppte. Die (anderen) Hunde stürzten auf ihn los. (Der grosse Hund) brachte (das Aas) und setzte sich hin. (Lewin, *Hama*, 14: 49).

c7. *rāHu l-mart at-tānyih w-ḡibūh mčattfinuh w-Ḥāttinu b-hāk at-tābūt w-ḡibūh w-aṣṭuwah iyyāw*. They went a second time, brought him bound and placed him in a casket. So they brought him and gave him to her. (Abboud, *Najdi*, p. 89).

c8. *u-mar riH ha-r-raḡil yišrilaḥam tašām*. Whereupon that man went to bring them food. (Abboud, *Najdi*, p. 90).

c9. *yōm innuh nām w-šilōh w-waddōh b-mičānah w-ḡibuwah hī w-Ḥuṭṭuwah sinduh w-šaḤḤwah w-nawwmōh hū*. When he had slept, they took him and brought him to where she was. Then they brought her, put her beside him, woke her up and put him to sleep. (Abboud, *Najdi*, p. 90).

c10. *ḡaḡalat al-bint al-Ḥiḡriḡ w-ibdi tarḡis*. The girl entered the room and started to dance. (Abboud, *Najdi*, p. 90).

c11. *u-mar gūmū ahl as-safinih w-rūHu b-ḥaššiših w-ḡibuwah la-l-malik*. Whereupon the sailors took the bottle and brought it to the king. (Abboud, *Najdi*, p. 90).

c12. *u-hāda bass račeb eb-dāharha — ḥatt əs-sēf b-ərgəbto — w-ḡaḡab ər-rəməḡ b-īmīno — w-ḡəza šən al-šarab — u-ḥawwed šənha w-šədd əmšaragətha zēn u-račeb əb-dāharha w-əṭlab al-gōm*. As soon as he had mounted the mare, girded on his sword, and taken the lance in his right hand, he left (the camp of) the tribe. But he dismounted quickly and tied fast the saddle: then he mounted the mare and pursued the enemies. (Palva, *Ḥəsbān*).

#### DISCUSSION OF THE INSTANCES c1 — c12

It is characteristic of the instances of this group that the imperative has been smoothly fitted into the context and is used as a „historical present” side by side with the imperfect. Significantly, a great majority of the instances come from the North Arabian dialect area; the converse also holds true: most instances from the North Arabian dialects, probably with the exception of those of the pre-*ʿAnazi* small-cattle nomads of the periphery of the desert (Cantineau's Group C), belong to this group. On the basis of the materials published so far it seems plausible to assume that this is the most common use of the form in the narrative style in the *Šammari* dialect (Cantineau's Group B), most likely also in the dialects of the *Šammari* type influenced by the pre-*ʿAnazi* dialects of the small-cattle nomads of the Syro-Mesopotamian area (Cantineau's Group Bc = B influenced by C). Group B is here represented by the instances from *Ḥāyel* (c7 to c11), Group Bc by the instances from the *Šammari* of *Ḡezira* (c1 and c2) and those from the tribe *ʿÖmür* near Palmyra (c3 and c4). As far as the *ʿAnazi* dialects are concerned, no data are available. The dialects of the small-cattle nomads of the Syro-Palestinian area seem — not unexpectedly — to be more heterogeneous in this respect, even if it must be admitted that the materials are far from sufficient. Among the instances, only c12 belongs to Group C, and those collected from Hama (c5 and c6) are suspected of being influenced by the narrative style of dialects belonging to this group. In any case, the syndetic use of the descriptive imperative appears in this dialect group to be less usual than the asyndetic constructions.



According to Abboud this type of the descriptive imperative is very common in *Hāyel*, where its use does not involve unexpectedness or suddenness of the action, but, „when the events in a sequence represent a development or continuation of an action, or when the actions immediately follow one another, the imperfect or imperative is used and the verbs are connected to each other with another linker, either the consecutive /w/ or /umar/ 'and then, therefore, whereupon'" <sup>18</sup>. Using substitutability as the criterion <sup>19</sup>, one can say that the imperative has in the stylistic environments of historical narrative a syntactically pertinent secondary function as a form denoting continuation or a quick succession of actions.

Considered against the background of Abboud's definition, the instances coming from dialects other than that of *Hāyel* seem to correspond to it surprisingly well. The main function of the syndetic descriptive imperative can in all of them be explained to be expressing rapid succession or immediate continuation, although the idea of unexpectedness or suddenness is present in some of them, at least in c1, possibly in c2, c4 and c5.

The fact that a single descriptive imperative and the first one in a sequence of several descriptive imperatives are also used syndetically, is evidence of a completed development from a form expressing suddenness in an affective, exclamatory manner, into a form denoting a quick succession of actions. A natural point of departure for such a development is a series of descriptive imperatives, the first one of which is used asyndetically, e.g. d3 below. In such a series the first, asyndetically used imperative mainly expressed the idea of suddenness, whereas the following syndetic imperatives chiefly denoted a quick succession. As the use of the consecutive conjunctions was often extended to every position, the idea of suddenness was weakened and that of quick succession gained ground. The development from a violent change of the syntactic structure into a smooth syndetic consecutive construction can, however, only be understood as resulting from

<sup>18</sup> Abboud, *Najdi*, p. 89.

<sup>19</sup> Erwin Koschmieder, *Zur Bestimmung der Funktionen grammatischer Kategorien*, München 1945 (= Abh. der Bay. Ak. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Abt. N. F. 25); see I Theoretischer Teil. [Repr. in:] Erwin Koschmieder, *Beiträge zur allgemeinen Syntax*, Heidelberg 1965, pp. 9—69.

a weakening of the expressive effect of the form, which in turn must be due to frequent use. As the form no longer expressed suddenness but rather the concept of an immediate continuation or development, it became a special kind of consecutive historical present and was used with a consecutive conjunction in every position. All this suggests that the use of the descriptive imperative in narrative style has a long tradition in Northern Arabia.

#### (d) DESCRIPTIVE IMPERATIVES USED WITH DIRECT ADDRESSING OF THE SUBJECT

##### THE INSTANCES <sup>20</sup>

d1. w-gām ʕali w-raawwah ʕala ʔahluh w-tāni yōm ǧāb ǧazūr w-ʕag-garah w-sawwa ʕalēha dīwān w-ʕazam il-ʕarab w-habbās wu-ḥsēn min ʕarḍ in-nās w-xallat ḥamda d-dīwān ʔilyāma tēamal w-inniē yā ḥamda w-lawwidi ʕala ʕali b-wast ha-n-nās igḍabi w-ḥibbi w-ha-n-nās trāʕi. Tags darauf brachte er ein Kamelfüllen, hieb ihm die hinteren Kniesehnen durch und veranstaltete zu dem Schmause eine Versammlung; zu den eingeladenen Nomaden gehörten unter anderen auch Habbās und Hosēn. Als die Versammlung vollzählig war, da tratest du, o Ḥamda, auf ʕAli zu,

<sup>20</sup> Instances such as rūḥ yā yōm/ʕahar/zamān, taʕi yā yōm/ʕahar/zamān „some days /months/ time passed” (e.g. Schmidt — Kahle, *Volkserzählungen I* 33, 6; 38, 10. 21; 50, 11; 51, 11; 57, 3) have not been considered here. This type of imperative can, of course, be classified as descriptive imperative, since its use is called forth by the visualizing tendency common to all descriptive imperatives. The direct addressing of time illustrates the far-going inclination for the concrete manner of expression characteristic of popular story-telling (see Schmidt — Kahle, *Volkserzählungen I*, Einleitung, pp. 33—43). The imperatives have, however, in this case become integral parts of standing formulas serving to cover a certain space of time in the narrative. Thus they are no longer productive verbal forms but have become wholly stereotypic expressions comparable with the opening and closing formulas. Another type of imperative not discussed here is the frequently occurring *qūl* (with various phonetic realizations in different dialects e.g. Schmidt — Kahle, *Volkserzählungen I* 16, 4; 18, 4. 5; 24, 4; 41, 10; 43, 3) which is used as an expletive having only little common with the descriptive imperatives discussed in (a) above, though probably having had the same actualizing and descriptive value.

fasstest ihn mitten unter den Leuten an und küssest ihn, so dass es alle Anwesenden sahen. (Wetzstein, *Zeltlagern*, p. 86: 18f.).

d2. *w-rāh ḥsēn sayyar ʕala bēt habbās w-xalla ʕali wuḥduḥ bi-l-bēt w-gūmi yā ḥisna w-lawwidi ʕala ʕali ʕila l-maḡṣad wu-ḡṣadat ʕinduh wu-tharriḡuh wu-tbaʕʕidluḥ wu-tgarribluḥ w-yā xayyi wuṣ lōn mšāḥi blādakum ...* Und Hosēn ging in Habbās Zelt und liess ʕAli allein zu Hause. Jetzt erhebe dich, Hisna, und gehe zu ihm ins Empfangszimmer! Sie setzte sich zu ihm, fing ein Gespräch an und zeigte sich ihm bald spröde, bald freundlich: Bruder, wie sind die Niederlassungen in eurem Lande beschaffen? (Wetzstein, *Zeltlagern*, p. 88: 15f.).

d3. *f-al-lēl lamma l-kull rawwah, gum yā xālah, w-ūgd an-nār, w-saww gahwah, w-iḥdir ar-ṛabābah, w-irkidha, w-iḥdir as-sīf, ḥuṭṭah fi ʕanbak; ḡāl ugṣud ...* 'at night, when everyone had gone home, his uncle got up, kindled the fire, made coffee, took down the *ṛabābah* and put it down; he took off his sword, put it next to him, and said: „sit up”... (Blanc, *Negev*, p. 140 [29]).

d4. *ḥaḍāk ḡāʕed yəḥazzem hanāk — lədd ya mḥammad — yōm lədd wənno ʕeyno b-ʕeyno.* That man was girding himself there: Look out, Mḥammad! When he looked, he (i.e. ʕAbdallah) was there right in front of him. (Palva, *ʕAḡārma*, 91).

d5. *iḥtarafu ʕala ḡāl ʕannu w-ḥawwalu w-ḡaṣadu yibḥaṣu, w-inte ya-r-riḡḡāl Piṭlaʕ mi-l-muḡāra, ḡā ʕa-l-faras illi ḡāl ʕanha ...* Now they drew away from him, dismounted and started digging. In the meantime the man slipped out of the cave, came to the horse which was at the side of the cave ... (Palva, *Balgāwi* 3, a16).

d6. *nəmt ʕa-ḍahr əḡ-ḡaḥʕs w-əṭʔabbaʕt bi-ha-ḡ-ḡlāl. taʕa ya ha-ḡ-ḡaḥʕs ʔʕōd bakkīr šānha? w-əṭtāḥ əl-bāb u-rāḥ.* Ich schlief auf dem Rücken des Esels mit dem Sattel über dem Kopf. Der Esel wachte früh auf, iahte, öffnete die Tür und machte sich auf den Weg. (Lewin, *Hama*, 1: 43).

#### DISCUSSION OF THE INSTANCES d1 — d6

This group comprises both syndetic and asyndetic imperatives, with obviously the same distribution between different dialect groups as in (b) and (c) above, even if we unfortunately in this

point lack data from *Hāyel*. As far as the syntactic structure is concerned, the instances found in Wetzstein's *Zeltlagern* (d1 and d2) represent the stereotyped nomadic pattern where the descriptive imperatives are smoothly fitted into the context. Direct addressing does not cause any change in the syntactic structure but remains completely parenthetic. This is true of the other instances as well. Direct addressing cannot, however, be omitted without a substantial decrease in comprehensibility; it is necessary for introducing the subject which otherwise would remain uncertain. This is particularly important because the descriptive imperatives usually occur in culminations or at turning points of the narratives. The primary function of direct addressing is undoubtedly to avoid ambiguity about the subject, but it serves secondarily two other functions of great importance: on the one hand, it draws the listeners' attention to the turning point or culmination of the narrative, and actualizes and visualizes the situation on the other. Direct addressing gives the listeners a stimulus which makes it easier for them to enter into the course of the events and to see the situations with the eyes of the subject person.

Direct addressings being syntactically parenthetic, the instances d1 to d6 can actually be analyzed exactly like those in groups (b) and (c) above. Thus, d1 and d2 denote an unexpected, sudden action, whereas the first, asyndetic imperative in d3 implies an immediate continuation of an action stated before and the following five syndetic imperatives depict a series of actions immediately following one another. The implication of immediate sequence is no doubt attached to the instances d1 and d2 as well, but it is not as conspicuous as in d3. In the instance d4 the descriptive imperative is used stereotypically (*lədd — yōm lədd*) as a sort of cliché in a dramatic situation, in d5 it describes a rapid, unhesitating action in a critical situation, and in d6 an unexpected development having a great visual effect. These observations do not add anything of importance to the analysis given in (b) and (c) above, with possibly one exception: d3 displays a natural sequence of an asyndetic imperative followed by a series of consecutive syndetic imperatives. From a diachronic point of view, this sequence can plausibly be regarded as the natural point of departure for the development which has led to the use of the de-

scriptive imperative as a 'consecutive tense' in the manner typical of the narrative style in the North Arabian dialect area, at least in the dialects of the *Šammari* type. This single instance does not, however, justify any adequate comparison between the use of this stylistic feature between the dialect of the Negev Bedouins and different groups of North Arabian dialects.

#### SUMMARY

To sum up, the following answers can be given to the questions of the *synchronic* level:

(1) The descriptive imperative is a form characteristic of vivid narrative style. All the instances published so far occur in narratives, but this does not necessarily mean that the feature is totally absent from other stylistic environments, e.g. in the plain colloquial used in conversation. As yet there is, however, no documentary evidence of the occurrence of the descriptive imperative outside narrative style.

(2—3) Asyndetic, repeated imperatives are often used in a depicting manner not unlike that of the popular imitative words. The spontaneous break of the syntactic structure has an actualizing effect and is used to describe a dramatic situation seen through the eyes of the subject person (animated speech). The descriptive imperative used in this function lacks gender agreement which is evidence of this interjectional character.

Asyndetic, unrepeatd descriptive imperatives are used as actualizing descriptions of sudden, unexpected, hurried actions, or, in some cases — at least in dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian small-cattle nomads belonging to Cantineau's Group C — of events implying rapid action or a quick succession of actions.

Descriptive imperatives used syndetically have been smoothly fitted into the syntactic structure, which reflects their less dramatic function. They do not necessarily imply the idea of suddenness or unexpectedness, and in some North Arabian dialects — attested in the dialect of *Hāyel* (belonging to Cantineau's Group B), but obviously in many others, at least in dialects of the *Šammari* type (Cantineau's Groups B and Be) — the form has developed

into a consecutive historical present which can be used instead of the imperfect when the events described represent continuation or a quick succession of actions. Since the descriptive imperative in this case is substitutable by the imperfect, it can be regarded as a syntactically pertinent secondary function of the imperative, occurring in narrative style.

Both asyndetic and syndetic descriptive imperatives are often preceded or followed by a direct addressing of the subject person. The addressing is parenthetic, having no effect on the syntactic construction, and is used in order to introduce the subject, which otherwise would remain uncertain. It also draws the listeners' attention to a turning point of the narrative and actualizes the situation.

(4) The available data are far too scanty for an adequate definition of the distribution of the descriptive imperative and its different functions in different dialects. Moreover, it is most probable that clear-cut distinctions in this respect do not exist, since the feature is essentially of a stylistic nature and as such easily borrowed together with the narratives from one dialect to another. It does, however, seem that some distinctions actually can be found between different major dialect groups. The use of the syndetic descriptive imperative as denoting an immediate succession of events is attested in *Hāyel* and some other North Arabian dialects of the *Šammari* type (Cantineau's Groups B and Be). In the Syrian dialect area, on the other hand, the descriptive imperative is for the most part used asyndetically, and its use always implies the idea of suddenness or unexpectedness. In the dialect Group C, spoken by many semi-nomadic tribes of the periphery of the desert, both main types occur. As for the great group of the *ʿAnazi* dialects (Cantineau's Group A), no materials are available. The scattered information from other dialects (Mecca, Oman, the Negev, even Upper Egypt) indicates that there are good grounds for presuming that the feature is rather common even outside Northern Arabia, especially in nomadic dialects and in areas having contacts with the nomadic culture.

As far as the *diachronic* questions are concerned, it seems plausible to presume that the point of departure for the use of



the descriptive imperative is the character of the narrative situations as a social act involving a close contact between the narrator and the listeners. The hearers are drawn into the midst of the events which are actualized and visualized for them by using e.g. direct addressings, exclamations, imitative words, and animated speech. The listeners are thus called to be eye-witnesses to the events and are led to identify themselves with the subject persons. This being the case, it is most likely that the descriptive imperative was first used asyndetically in an exclamatory manner. When the form was used in several sentences following one another, the idea of suddenness or unexpectedness was weakened, and this development finally resulted in a new, secondary function of the descriptive imperative, which in some dialects was used syndetically in every position. The form became a special kind of narrative consecutive form expressing quick succession, a development hardly possible without a weakening of the original expressive power as a result of frequent use.

ANDRZEJ CZAPKIEWICZ

### THE VERBS WITH HAMZA AS FIRST OR THIRD RADICAL IN MODERN ARABIC DIALECTS

1.0. The purpose of the present paper is an attempt to present and to clarify the changes which affected the verbs with hamza<sub>1</sub> and hamza<sub>3</sub> in modern Arabic dialects in connection with the disappearance of hamza from their phonetic systems, as well as to show which of these changes reach as far back with their origins as the Middle Ages and earlier and which belong to the later period. The reasons why, in our opinion, these verbs deserve attention are that:

- a) they illustrate more distinctly than other types of verbs the fact that changes in the language start in most of the cases on the phonetic plane;
- b) the main cause of the changes which occurred in them, viz. the disappearance of hamza has led not only to these changes but also to the general reduction of number of the *verba hamzata* in modern Arabic dialects, and finally last but not least;
- c) up till now, they have been somehow left apart by the Arabists in their studies.

The choice of the verbs with hamza as their first or third radical out of the type of *verba hamzata* as the subject of our study has been dictated by the fact that the changes which affected them, though different, gave in certain dialects similar results and caused the concurrence of both kinds of these verbs in one morphological type.

1.1. The inventory of the verbs which we intend to deal with has been collected from the following dialects:

A. Western Ḥassāniyya (H)<sup>1</sup> — in use in Gəbla and S. W. Mau-

<sup>1</sup> The capital letters in brackets beside the names of the dialects are the symbols with which we shall refer to them later on in this paper.