

9. Arabic

9.0.1. In this chapter, we will deal with the ‹neutral modern› pronunciation of Arabic, corresponding to the ‹supraregional› language used in official radio and television broadcastings, free from local characteristics (which are typical of everyday life in each of the Arabic countries). In fact, as for the other languages treated in this handbook, this is the most suitable form for general teaching and learning purposes. It constitutes the basis for local varieties too (which are more or less important from a numerical and socio-cultural point of view), with some simplifications, modifications and additions.

On the other hand, of course, if substantial contact in particular areas is forseen, it is advisable to take on some local lexical, semantic, and morphosyntactic characteristics, as well as the phonic ones (which mainly regard some phonemes).

Our *transliteration* diverges from the more traditional ones used by Arabists (which are far from being homogeneous, however), especially as far as long vowels and diphthongs are concerned: *ii, aa, uu* (not as *ī, ā, ū*), *ai, au* (but *ay, aw* only when final, or followed by *y, w*; therefore, they are not always *ay, aw*). Furthermore, we use *š, ʔ, ʕ, k, ǧ* (for /š; θ, ð; χ, ʁ/, not digraphs: *sh, th, dh, kh, gh* [not even *h, ġ*, for the last two]) and *ħ, ʒ* (instead of *h, j*, for /ħ, ʒ/), while keeping *t, d, s, z* (for /t, ʔ, s, z/), and *q, ʾ, ʿ* as well (for /q, ʔ, ʕ/).

Vowels

9.1.1. Neutral Arabic has three short and three long vowels, with some remarkable taxophones, due to the influence of certain consonants and of syllable structure. There are more variations for /a(:)/ and less for /u(:)/, while /i(:)/ is in an intermediate position. There are two ‹diphthongs› as well, /ai, au/, which are best considered as sequences of /a/ + /i, u/, since their neutral realization is obtained precisely by juxtaposing the two elements, which are subject to the influence of consonants and syllable structure. The influence of the local ways of speaking is very strong, even if unintentional, in teaching recordings as well, especially for /ai, au/, but also for the basic V.

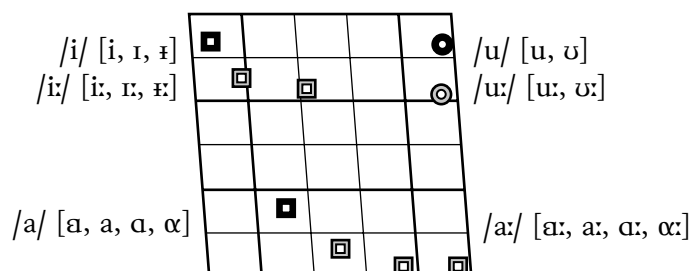
However, the information we will give in this chapter represents the neutral pronunciation, which does not necessarily correspond to everything one may hear even from good native speakers. Nevertheless, the reader who follows exactly what is indicated certainly achieves the ‹neutral› pronunciation (not a regional one), even if –for V– this usage is quite close to that of Levantine Arabic (cf § 19.2 of *NPT/HPb*), in particular for /ai, au/, seen that elsewhere they are generally realized as monophthongs ([e:, o:] or, at most, as narrow diphthongs, [eɪ, oʊ]); consider also Gulf Arabic and Egyptian Arabic (§ 19.1 & § 18.25 in *NPT/HPb*), while

Maghreb Arabic is different still (cf Moroccan Arabic, § 18.2 in *NPT/HPb*). These four different variants of Arabic are not simply ‹accents› of the same language, but four partially different ‹dialects›, which normally affect the language itself. However, here we will consider only ‹supranational› (or ‹international›) Arabic pronunciation (although a few major differences will be dealt with as well).

9.1.2. Always bearing in mind that the unmarked value of /i(:), a(:), u(:)/ is [i(:), a(:), u(:)] (shown by the black markers in the vocogram of fig 9.1), we should note well –and constantly recognize– the list of the Arabic realizations, which have the following distributions (besides, /V:/ in unstressed syllables → [V]):

- /i/ 1.1 [ɪ], in contact with /t, ḍ, s, z, q/,
 1.2 [ɪ], in contact with /ħ, ʕ, χ, ʁ/,
 1.3 [ɪ], in checked syllables (with different C than in 1.1),
 1.4 [i], in unchecked syllables (except if 1.1-2);
 1.5 (in /ai/) as /i/, for 1.1-4;
- /i:/ 1.6 [ɪ:], between /t, ḍ, s, z, q/ (in checked or unchecked syllables),
 1.7 [ɪ:], in contact with /t, ḍ, s, z, q/ (in checked or unchecked syllables),
 1.8 [i:], in all other cases (in checked or unchecked syllables);
- /a(:)/ 2.1 [ɑ(:)], between /t, ḍ, s, z, q/,
 2.2 [ɑ(:)], in contact with /t, ḍ, s, z, q/ (and [t]),
 2.3 [ɑ(:)], in contact with /ħ, ʕ, χ, ʁ, r/,
 2.4 [ɑ(:)], utterance-final unstressed (except 2.2),
 2.5 [ɑ(:)], in contact with other C (also /ʔ, h/),
 2.6 [ɑ(:)], utterance-internal word-final unstressed –even in monosyllables–
 (except 2.1-3),
 2.7 [ɑ] /a(h)/, for *-a-h (taa' marbuuṭa)* in pausal position (with no influence
 as in 2.2-4),
 2.8 (in /ai, au/) as /a/, for 2.2-3 & 2.5;
- /u/ 3.1 [ʊ], between (or in contact with) /t, ḍ, s, z, q, ħ, ʕ/,
 3.2 [ʊ], in checked syllables,
 3.3 [u], in unchecked syllables (except 3.1),
 3.4 (in /au/) as /u/, for 3.1-3;
- /u:/ 3.5 [ʊ:], in checked syllables with /t, ḍ, s, z, q, ħ, ʕ/,
 3.6 [u:], in all other cases.

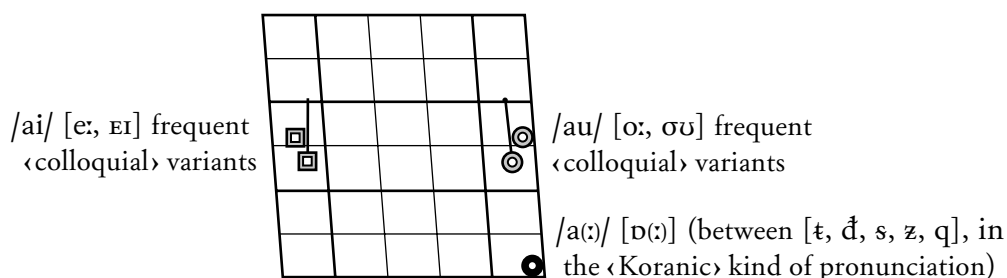
fig 9.1. Arabic vowel elements.



9.1.3. According to the distributions just seen, fig 9.1 shows the realizations of the Arabic –short and long– vowels, [i(:), ɪ(:), ɪ(:)] /i(:)/, [a(:), a(:), a(:), a(:)] (and [ɒ(:)], <Koranic> variant, cf fig 9.2) /a(:)/, [u(:), u(:)] /u(:)/. Here are some examples: [ˈqɪf] /qif/ *qif*, [qɪˈqɑːn] /qiˈqɑːn/ *qiiqaan*, [ˈsɪni] /ˈsiniː/ *šiinii*, [sɑˈdɪːq] /saˈdɪːq/ *šadiiq*, [ˈbɪnt] /ˈbɪnt/ *bint*, [ˈfiːl] /ˈfiːl/ *fiil*; [sɑˈqɪː] /saˈqɪː/ *šaqi*, [ˈsɑːf] /ˈsɑːf/ *šaff*, [ˈtɑːh] /ˈtɑːh/ *taħa*, [ˈbaːda] /ˈbaːda/ *baˈda*, [ˈraːhɪn] /ˈraːhɪn/ *raahin*, [ˈħɑːða] /ˈħɑːða/ *ħaaħaa*, [ˈwɑːlɑːd] /ˈwɑːlɑːd/ *walad*, [ˈbɑːb] /ˈbɑːb/ *baab*; [ˈsuːq] /ˈsuːq/ *šuuq*, [ˈħuna] /ˈħunaː/ *ħunaa*, [ˈsuːf] /ˈsuːf/ *šuuuf*, [ħuˈsuːm] /ħuˈsuːm/ *kušuum*, [ˈfʊndʊq] /ˈfʊndʊq/ *funduq*.

fig 9.1 does not show the different realizations of /ai, au/, which result from the combination [a-, a-, a-] + [-i, -ɪ, -ɪ] or + [-u, -u], according to context: [ˈbɑɪt] /ˈbɑɪt/ *bait*, [ˈʔɑɪna] /ˈʔɑɪna/ *aina*, [ˈħɑɪni] /ˈħɑɪniː/ *ˈainii*, [ˈqɑɪl] /ˈqɑɪl/ *qail*, [ˈfɑʊz] /ˈfɑʊz/ *fauz*, [ˈlɑʊn] /ˈlɑʊn/ *laun*, [ˈħɑʊdɑ] /ˈħɑʊdɑ(h)/ *ˈauda-h*, [muˈqɑʊwɑm, -ɑwwɑm] /muˈqɑʊwɑm/ *muqawwam*, [ʔɑʊˈlɑːd] /ʔɑʊˈlɑːd/ *aulaad*.

fig 9.2. Some Arabic vowel variants.



9.1.4. fig 9.2 shows some frequent realizations of /ai, au/: [eɪ, ɛɪ; oɪ, ɔɪ], which are very widespread outside neutral and Levantine Arabic. However, one's pronunciation may still be considered neutral, although <colloquial>, even if it uses such variants, provided all other articulations are appropriate; in fact, this pronunciation is quite common indeed: [ˈbɛɪt, ˈbɛɪt] /ˈbɑɪt/ *bait*, [ˈʔɛɪna, ˈʔɛɪ-] /ˈʔɑɪna/ *aina*, [ˈħɛɪni, ˈħɛɪ-] /ˈħɑɪniː/ *ˈainii*, [ˈqɛɪl, ˈqɛɪl] /ˈqɑɪl/ *qail*, [ˈfɔɪz, ˈfɔɪz] /ˈfɑʊz/ *fauz*, [ˈlɔɪn, ˈlɔɪn] /ˈlɑʊn/ *laun*.

fig 9.3. Colloquial variants and neutralizations.

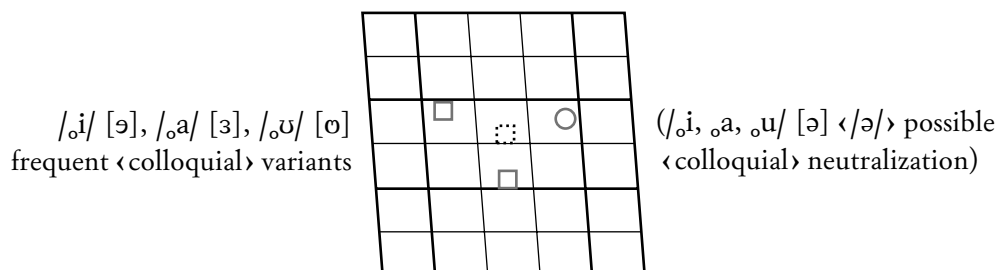


fig 9.3 shows further vocalic articulations, all of which are in the intermediate realizational area (typically unused in neutral pronunciation, as can be seen in fig 9.1), as happens for the variants of /ai, au/ as well. The white markers indicate unstressed realizations of /i, a, u/, [ə, ɜ, ɔ], which are considerably centralized. The

broken-line white marker, in turn, indicates the realization of a frequent neutralization of unstressed /i, a, u/ (unified into [ə]), which is more typical of quick and familiar speech (here given as a third realization): [si'jɑ:z, sə-, sə-] /si'jɑ:z/ *siyaaž*, [tɪm'θɑ:l, təm-, təm-] /tɪm'θɑ:l/ *timtaal*, [sa'lɑ:ma, sɜ-, sə-] /sa'lɑ:ma/ *salaama*, [safi'wɑ:n, sɜfi-, səfi-] /safi'wɑ:n/ *sahwaan*, [su'hɜ:la, sɔ-, sə-] /su'hɜ:la/ *subuula*, [mɔs'tɑq, mɔsʃ-, mɔsʃ-] /mɔs'tɑq/ *muštaqq*.

Another feature –frequent in some colloquial pronunciations– tends to avoid realizations like [ɑ(ɔ)] in whole (even long) words, if they have /t, d, s, z, q, h, ʕ, x, k, r/: [ˈmɑh-ʔab, ˈmɑh-] /ˈmɑhrab/ *mahrab*, [ˈtɑlɑb, -lab] /ˈtɑlab/ *talab*, [ˈtɑmɔɪ, ˈtɑm-] /ˈtɑmɔɪ/ *tamɔɪ*, [mɑnˈsɜ:b, mɑn-] /mɑnˈsɜ:b/ *manşuub*.

Finally, fig 9.2 also shows the rounded realization of /ɑ(ɔ)/ between /t, d, s, z, q/, which is more typical of ‹Koranic› pronunciation, as already said. Scattered examples of it can be found here and there, and in § 9.1.3.

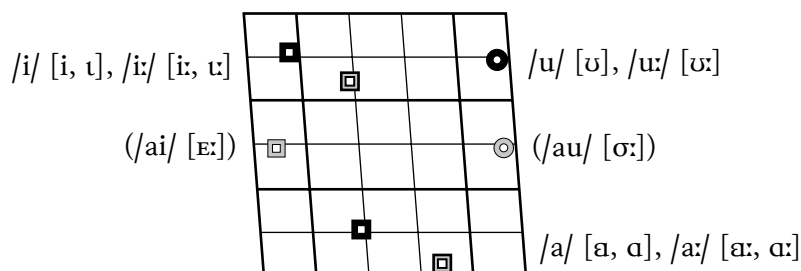
9.1.5. Actually, not every single realization given in fig 9.2-3 is necessary for a good neutral pronunciation of Arabic. Nevertheless, if they are rationed and used in a natural way (speaking fluently), they help to give greater ‹spontaneity›, similar to natives' speech again within a kind of colloquial neutral pronunciation. This will depend on words themselves – for instance, [ɔ(ɔ)] is more likely to occur in ‹lofty› words.

Furthermore, still within the neutral accent (but slightly more ‹international›), there is another possibility taking a different approach, ie towards a reduction in the number of vowel taxophones, as regards the realizations of /ɑ(ɔ)/. In fact, they may reduce to two articulations, in stressed or unstressed syllables: [ɑ(ɔ)], for 2.3-7, and [ɑ(ɔ)], for 2.1-3; thus with a slight overlapping for 2.3, variably resolved by single speakers.

The vocalic realizations belonging to this kind of ‹international› pronunciation are shown in fig 9.4. This ‹clearer› pronunciation generally uses: [i(ɪ), ɪ(ɪ); a(ɪ), a(ɪ); ɔ(ɔ)] (it may also have [ɛ, ɔ:] for /ai, au/), but not necessarily [ə, ɜ, ɔ] (and least of all [ə]), seen in § 9.1.4.

The systematic and complete shortening of unstressed long vowels belongs to ‹modern› and ‹international› pronunciation (and to dialects as well, generally). However, in ‹Koranic› pronunciation, /_oV:/ (appearing in phonemic transcriptions) are realized as half-long, [_oV̄]. It is not difficult to achieve them, if we consider both types of transcription used in this chapter: [qɪ'qɑ:n, qɪ-] /qi'qɑ:n/ *qiiqaan*, [ˈsɪ:ni, -ni] /ˈsɪ:ni/ *şini*, [ˈhɑ:ða, -ða] /ˈhɑ:ða/ *haadaa*, [ˈhuna, -na] /ˈhuna/ *huna...*

fig 9.4. International vowels.



Geographic variants

9.1.6. Among the main variations and deviations from the neutral form (cf § 9.1.3), in certain areas, we find that /a:/ never has the [a:] timbre, in any context (as often happens in Iraq and northern Lebanon). Furthermore, in an almost general way, in several colloquial variants, the diphthongs /ai, au/ reduce to [e:, ɛi; o:, ɔu] (cf fig 9.2), from Maghreb to the Persian Gulf, except in the Levant. However, the diphthongs are kept, generally, when they are in absolute final position or followed by /j, w/: [ˈbait, ˈbɛit, ˈbɛt] /ˈbait/ *bait*, [ˈlaʊn, ˈlɔʊn, ˈlo:n] /ˈlaun/ *laun*, [ˈʕain, ˈʕɛin, ˈʕe:n] /ˈʕain/ *ʕain*; [ˈsajjɪd, ˈsajjɪd] /ˈsajjɪd/ *sajjɪd*, [muˈʃawwɪq, -ɔww-] /muˈʃawwɪq/ *muʃawwɪq*, [ˈnai, ˈnɔj, -j:] /ˈnai/ *nayy*, [ˈlau, ˈlaw, ˈlɑʒ] /ˈlau/ *law*.

Especially in Maghreb, besides (unstressed) /o:, ɔu/, even /o:a/ may be dropped (with possible consequent stress shifts): [ˈʔanta, ɲˈta, nˈta] /ˈʔanta/ *anta*, [ˈqalam, ˈqalm] /ˈqalam/ *qalam*, [liˈsɑ:n, lˈsɑ:n] /liˈsɑ:n/ *lisaan*, [sɑˈlɑ:m, sˈlɑ:m] /saˈlɑ:m/ *salaam*.

Consonants

9.2.0. fig 9.5 gives the articulations of modern neutral Arabic. The main geographical variants of some phonemes are given in round brackets.

fig 1.9-15, instead, show –gathered in groups according to manners of articulation– the orograms of all contoids treated in the chapters of this book, even as secondary, occasional, or regional, variants for the 12 languages dealt with.

fig 9.5. Table of Arabic consonants.

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	uvularized dental	alveolar	uvularized alveolar	postalveopalatal	postalveopalatal protruded	palatal	velar	velar rounded	uvular	pharyngeal	laryngeal
N	m	[m]	[n]		n	[ɲ]				[ŋ]		[ɴ]		
K	p b		t d	ɬ ɗ						k ([g])				ʔ
KS								([dʒ])	([gʝ])					
X		f	θ ð	([ð̤])									ħ	
S			s z	s z				ʃ ʒ						
J								j			w		ʕ [h]	ħ
R						ʀ [ʀ]								
ʀ												ʀ ʀ		
L			[l]		l	(ʎ)	[ʎ]							

/z/ [z, (ð̤)], /ʒ/ [ʒ, (dʒ)], /h/ [h, ħ], /r/ [ʀ, ʀ], /χ, ʁ/ [χ, ʀ]

Nasals

9.2.1. There are two nasal phonemes, /m, n/ [m, m̄, n, ɲ, ŋ, ɴ]: [muˈmaθθal] /muˈmaθθal/ *mumattal*, [tamˈzi:d, ˈdʒi:d] /tamˈzi:d/ *tamžiid*, [ʃams] /ʃams/ *šams*,

[ˈmaɾːjam] /ˈmarjam/ *Maryam*, [muˈħammad] /muħammad/ *Muħammad*, [ˈnimnim] /ˈnimnim/ *nimnim*, [ˈʕan-wa] /ˈʕanwa(h)/ *ʕanwa-h*, [ˈzamb, ˈdʒ-] /ˈzanb/ *žanb*, [mimˈbaːb] /minˈbaːb/ *min baab*, [ˈʔamf] /ˈʔanf/ *anf*, [ˈwinʃ] /ˈwinʃ/ *winʃ*, [ˈðank] /ðank/ *ðank*, [ˈħanq] /ħanq/ *ħanq*, [minˈquːwa] /minˈquːwa/ *min quuwa*. However, the <Koranic> pronunciation tends to avoid assimilating /n/ to the following C: [ˈdʒanb, minˈbaːb, ʔanf, ˈwinʃ, ˈðank, ˈħanq, minˈquːwa].

Stops

9.2.2.1. Arabic has no </p/>, but only /b/, which however is realized as [p] when followed by voiceless C: [ˈbaːb] /ˈbaːb/ *baab*, [ˈlaban] /ˈlaban/ *laban*, [ˈħaps] /ˈħabs/ *ħabs*. On the other hand, neutral Arabic has no </g/>, either; while it has two voiceless stops, velar and uvular, /k, q/ [k, q] (in phonemic opposition): [k(h)uskusu, kusˈk(h)usu] /ˈkus,kusu/ *kuskusu*, [mikˈθaːɾ] /mikˈθaːr/ *mikṯaar*, [ˈmalik] /ˈmalik/ *malik*, [qaˈdiːm] /qaˈdiːm/ *qadiim*, [ʔaqˈdaːm] /aqˈdaːm/ *aqdaam*, [ˈsuːq] /ˈsuːq/ *suuq*, [ʔaˈqʊɾʔaːn] /alqurʔaːn/ *al-Qurʔaan*, [saqˈqaːta] /ˈqɒː- / *saqqaṭa-h*. [q] enjoys great prestige, even among speakers who do not use it, although very frequently it is substituted by other articulations (as will be seen in § 9.2.7). Note: [ˈkalb] /ˈkalb/ *kalb* <dog> and [ˈqalb] /ˈqalb/ *qalb* <heart>.

Furthermore, we have the diphonic pairs /t, d/ [t, d] and /t̤, d̤/ [t̤, d̤] (uvularized), which is quite peculiar. They are dental; and /t/ may be a little <aspirated>, when at the beginning of a stressed syllable (but we will mark it only here). Often, /t, d/ are denti-alveolar if final before a pause (but it is not necessary to use [t̤, d̤]): [taˈdaːwul] /taˈdaːwul/ *tadaawul*, [ʃit(h)ˈaːɾ] /ʃitˈaːr/ *šitaaʾ*, [ħadː] /ħadd/ *ħadd*, [baˈtaːtis; ˈtɒː-] /baˈtaːtis/ *baṭaaṭis*, [ˈdaːɾt; ˈd̤aːɾt; ˈd̤ɒːɾt] /ˈdaːrt/ *ḍaṭṭ*, [ˈdaːziɾ; -d̤ziɾ] /ˈdaːzir/ *ḍažir*.

Although neutral Arabic has no [g], this sound is frequent in different dialects, as a variant of other phonemes, mainly of /ʒ/ and /q/. Therefore, it is natural that the isolated phonemes may currently be brought to normalization, by changing their articulations, in order to form a more homogeneous and coherent system. Even the shift of /ʒ/ to [ʒ] (instead of the more <Koranic> –and ancient– [dʒ]), or to [g], is a part of this trend.

9.2.2.2. The last neutral Arabic stop is /ʔ/ [ʔ], which may occur in every position, as the other C do, and may be geminated as well. In word-initial position, it automatically occurs when no other C is present: [ʔaˈmiːn] /ʔaˈmiːn/ *amiin*, [ˈsaːɾiħ] /ˈsaːriħ/ *saaʾiħ*, [ˈmaːɾ] /ˈmaːr/ *maaʾ*, [ˈzannaɾ] /ˈzannaɾ/ *zannaʾ*, [ruˈʔaːsaːɾ] /ruˈʔaːsaːr/ *ruʔasaaʾ*, [ʔalʔaːn] /ʔalʔaːn/ *al-aan*, [ˈraːs] /ˈraːs/ *raʾs*, [ˈbadɾ] /ˈbadɾ/ *badʾ*, [saˈʔaːl] /saˈʔaːl/ *saʔaal*.

Therefore, in Arabic, any word traditionally beginning with a V (ie vowel), phonically, begins with /ʔ/ [ʔ], because in this language all phono-syllables begin with a C: [ʔab] /ʔab/ *ab*, [ʔiˈdaːna] /ʔiˈdaːna(h)/ *idaana-h*, [ʔumː] /ʔumm/ *umm*. On the other hand, Arabic does not tolerate syllables beginning with more than one C (except rare cases of loanwords not adapted to Arabic phonology). Consequently, in actual pronunciation, a short V is prefixed; generally, it is /i/ (but, sometimes, /u,

a/, in accordance with the following V), and /a/ in neutral pronunciation, for the article – while, in the dialects, we more often find [ɛ, ɪ]); of course, in isolated forms, /ʔ/ is prefixed as well.

However, when words with CC- (ie with an initial consonant cluster) occur – in connected speech – after a word ending in a V, it is not necessary to add the V (nor /ʔ/), therefore the two words are linked. If, instead, the preceding word ends in a C, then the V is added, but /ʔ/ is not. The reader is referred to grammars, where this phenomenon (called *wasla*) is generally treated quite widely. It is to be found in connection with the article, certain verbal forms, the imperative and a dozen nouns. Among these, the most important are: [ʔibn, -bn, -bɪn] /ʔibn/ *ibn*, [ʔimʁuʔ] /ʔimruʔ/ *imruʔ*, [ʔism, -sm, -sɪm] /ʔism/ *ism*, [ʔiθ'nɑ:ni] /ʔiθ'nɑ:ni/ *iθnaani*: [ʔaʔaitub 'ni:] /raʔaitu b'ni:/ *ra'aitu bnii*, [ʔa:buʔ ʔbait] /ʔa:bu l'bait(i)/ *baabu al-baiti*.

Constrictives

9.2.3. Among the phonemes belonging to this articulation manner, we find /f/ [f] (but not the corresponding voiced phoneme): [faʔi:d] /faʔi:d/ *fariid*, [ʔifsa:d] /ʔifsa:d/ *ifsaad*. In addition, there are two diphonic pairs, which pose no problems, /θ, ð; s, z/ [θ, ð; s, z]: [θaʔa:θ] /θaʔa:θ/ *θalaat*, [ʔmaðiʔ] /ʔmaðir/ *maðir*, [ðam:] /ðamm/ *ðamm*, [daʔs] /daʔs/ *dars*, [zaʔ] /zaʔ/ *zaar*, [kanz] /kanz/ *kanz*.

However, there are two more diphonic pairs, with variations that may pose some phonemic dilemmas; they are /s, z/ [s; z/ð] and /ʃ, ʒ/ [ʃ; ʒ/ʒ]. We prefer [z, ʒ] for their voiced members, as they are more modern and more integrated in the phonologic system than their more <Koranic> variants [ð, ʒ], which are considered more prestigious (even by those who do not use them), but have different place or manner of articulation. Therefore, they complicate the phonemic system. However, they can be used – especially in a kind of pronunciation which aims at the traditional more than at the international accent: [maħʔu:z, -ðu:ð] /maħʔu:z/ *maħzuuz*, [za:miʔ, 'ð-] /za:miʔ/ *zaamiʔ*; [ʔsuʔsuʔ, suʔsuʔ] /ʔsursur, surʔsur/ *šur-šu(u)r*, [ʔaʔi:s] /raʔi:s/ *rakii:s*; [ʔiʃha:d] /ʔiʃha:d/ *išhaad*, [ʔaʃja:ʔ] /ʔaʃja:ʔ/ *ašyaaʔ*, [muʃauwaʃ, -awwaʃ] /muʃawwaʃ/ *mušawwaš*, [ʔaʃad:] /ʔaʃadd/ *ašadd*, [ʔaʃja:ʃ] /raʃja:ʃ/ *raššaaš*, [ʔaʃjaʔu] /ʔaʃjaʔu/ *aššarw*, [zaʔmi:l, ʒa-] /zaʔmi:l/ *žamiil*, [ʔaʒmaʃ, ʔaʒ-] /ʔaʒmaʃ/ *ažmaʔ*, [ta:ʒ, -ʒ] /ta:ʒ/ *taaž*.

In the pharyngeal place of articulation, we find the voiceless constrictive /ħ/ [ħ] (currently, the <corresponding> voiced sound is considered to be constrictive as well, but in neutral pronunciation, it is clearly an approximant, /ʕ/ [ʕ], as we will see below, § 9.2.4): [ħubbi] /ħubbi/ *ħubbi*, [maħtu:m] /maħtu:m/ *maħtuum*, [muħadðiʔ] /muħadðir/ *muħadðir*, [faʔiħ] /faʔiħ/ *fariħ*, [faħha:ʃ] /faħha:ʃ/ *fahħaaš*.

Arabic also has a diphonic pair of uvular constrictive trills, [ʁ, ʀ] (as will be seen), which phonemically may be represented with the official symbols /χ, ʁ/.

Approximants

9.2.4.1. Let us first consider the least peculiar ones (although there are rather free occurrences), /j, w/ [j, w], even realized as [i, u], for /Cj#, Cw#/ (and, possibly,

for /#jC, #wC/, in colloquial variants, as no doubt in the dialects) and [ij/jj, uw/ww], for /VjjV, VwwV/): [ʔarwɪɛ] /ʔarwir/ *yaawir*, [wɑʔsɪjɑ] /wɑʔsɪjɑ(h)/ *waʕiiya-h*, [wʊʔsu:l] /wuʔsu:l/ *wuʕsuul*, [ʔaijɪd, ʔajjɪd] /ʔajjɪd/ *sayyid*, [nɑwʔwɑ:m, nɑwʔw-] /nawʔwɑ:m/ *nawwaam*, [nɑi] /nɑjj/ *nayy*, [manʔhi:] /manʔhi:/ *manhiyy*, [ʔɑbu] /ʔɑbw/ *abw* (cf [ʔɑbu] /ʔɑbu/ *abu*).

The <Koranic> pronunciation prefers [-jj-, -ww-], as in the cases seen above. Let us also consider these further examples, which show us the differences between modern pronunciation and traditional <Koranic> pronunciation. In principle, they coincide even with the most important cases where, even in colloquial accents and dialects, /ai, au/ do not change into monophthongs ([ɛ:, ɔ:]).

This happens when they are in absolute final position, and when in front of /j, w/ or after /i:, u:/, respectively, or when final, after C, as the following examples will show: [kɑi, kɑj, -j] /kai/ *kay* (cf [kɑij, kɑj:, -j:] /kaij/ *kayy*), [lɑijɑn, lɑjjɑn] /lɑjjɑn/ *lajyan*, [jɑuʔmi:jɑ, -jɑ] /jɑuʔmi:jɑ(h)/ *yaumiyya-h*, [ʕumi, ʕumj, -mj] /ʕumj/ *ʕmy*, [lɑu, lɑw, lɑʕ] /lɑu/ *law*, [dɑuwaɛ, dɑww-] /dɑwwar/ *dawwar*, [ʕɑdu:wa, -u:ʕɑ] /ʕɑdu:wa(h)/ *ʕaduwa-h*, [sɑhu, sɑhw, -hʕ] /sɑhw/ *sahw*, [ʕafu, ʕafw, -fw, -fʕ] /ʕafw/ *afw*.

9.2.4.2. As we have said above (§ 9.2.3), the Arabic phoneme /ʕ/ [ʕ] is an approximant (and generally it is laryngealized as well, [ʕ̤], which is fairly easy to detect by its lower intrinsic tonality and creaky voice): [ʕain] /ʕain/ *ʕain*, [maʕɑ] /maʕɑ/ *maʕa*, [baʕda] /baʕda/ *baʕda*, [naʕnaʕ, naʕnaʕ:] /naʕnaʕ, naʕnaʕ:/ *naʕna(a)*, [faʕʕaʕli:jɑ] /faʕʕaʕli:jɑ(h)/ *faʕʕaʕliyya-h*, [salʕ] /salʕ/ *salʕ*. It is occasionally possible to hear some peculiar regional –non-neutral– variants, as that with a slight simultaneous laryngeal stop, [ʕ̤], or else a pharyngealized laryngeal stop, [ʕ̥], eg: [naʕnaʕ̤, naʕnaʕ̥, naʕnaʕ̥, naʕnaʕ̥].

The last Arabic approximant is a true laryngeal phone, /h/ [h, h̥], and has a very free occurrence; it is typically (lenis) voiced [h], but it becomes (lenis) voiceless, when near a pause, or a voiceless C, or when geminate: [ʔittiʔɑ:h, -dʒ-] /ʔittiʔɑ:h/ *ittiʔaah*, [muhtaɛ] /muhtar/ *muhtar*, [hɑ:ðifi] /hɑ:ðihi/ *haðihii*, [mahʔbu:l] /mahʔbu:l/ *mahbuul*, [ʔinhiʔzɑ:m] /ʔinhiʔzɑ:m/ *inhizaam*, [hafnaɛf] /hafnaɛf/ *hafnaaf*, [hija] /hija/ *hiya*, [kaɛh] /karh/ *karh*, [biɛh] /bih/ *bih*, [qɑh-wɑ] /qɑhwa(h)/ *qahwa-h*, [wahʔɑ:ʒ, -dʒ] /wahʔɑ:ʒ/ *wahhaʒ*.

In our transliteration, *taaʕ marbuuʔa* is indicated by a hyphen, *-a-h* (while another –only seemingly more recommendable and less complicated– solution could be *-ah*); it is pronounced [ɑ, ah] /a(h)/ (but [ɑ, ɑ], if preceded by C which are capable of modifying timbres). It is to be noted that a realization with [h] represents a very careful, <Koranic> pronunciation, while the normal realization of *-aʕ* is [ɑ]: [hɑzɑ] /hɑzza(h)/ *hazza-h* (<movement>) but: [hɑzza] /hɑzza/ *hazza* (<(he) shook>).

Trills

9.2.5. Typically the voiced alveolar /r/ is realized as a velarized trill, [r̠], generally, in stressed syllable, and as a tap, [r̠], in unstressed syllables. They influence the

timbre of /a/ [a]: [ʔɪpɪq] /ʔɪbɪq/ *ribq*, [maʔbu:ʕ] /marʔbu:ʕ/ *marbuuʕ*, [ʔmaʔiħ] /ʔmar-iħ/ *marīħ*, [miʔʔi:ħ] /mirri:ħ/ *mirriħ*, [miʔʔa:ħ] /miʔʔa:ħ/ *miraħħ*, [ʔfʊʔfʊʔ, fʊʔfʊʔ] /ʔfurfur, furʔfur/ *furfu(u)r*. It is possible to hear [z], mainly for final /r/, but this pronunciation is not recommendable.

As already said above (§ 9.2.4), Arabic has a diphonic pair of uvular constrictive trills, /χ, ʁ/ [ʁ, ʁ]: [baʔʔi:ʕ] /baχʔi:ʕ/ *bakšiiš*, [ʔkauʔ] /ʔχauχ/ *kauk*, [faʔʔa:ʔi] /faχ-ʔa:ʔi/ *fakkaari*, [ʔʔadan] /ʔʔadan/ *ʔadan*, [saʔʔi:ʔ] /saʔʔi:ʔ/ *ʔaʔiir*, [ʔba:ʔɪʔ] /ʔba:ʔɪʔ/ *baaliʕ*, [maʔʔu:ʔ] /maʔʔu:ʔ/ *mašʔuul*, [taʔʔaʔʔu:ʔ] /taʔʔaʔʔu:ʔ/ *tawaʔʔuul*.

Laterals

9.2.6. There is one lateral phoneme, /l/ [l, ɭ, ɮ] (the third taxophone occurs in contact with /t, d, s, z, q/; it occurs as a phonostyleme (ie a stylistic phoneme), too, in *Allaah* and derivatives (provided that it is not preceded by /i/): [mutaʔʔaʔʔliʔ] /mutaʔʔaʔʔliʔ/ *mutalaʔʔi*, [talʔbi:s] /talʔbi:s/ *talbiis*, [ʔla:ʔl] /ʔla:ʔl/ *lail*, [malʔja:n] /malʔja:n/ *malyaan*, [zaʔʔa:ʔa] /zaʔʔa:ʔa(h)/ *zallaaqa-h*, [taʔʔa:ʔiħ] /taʔʔa:ʔiħ/ *talqiiħ*, [biʔmiʔʔa:ħ] /biʔmiʔʔa:ħ/ *bismillaah*, [ʔʔaʔʔa:ħ] /ʔʔaʔʔa:ħ/ *Allaah*. For the typical complete assimilation of /l/ in the article *al*, see below (§ 9.3.1.1).

Geographic variants

9.2.7. Very often, /θ, ð/ are pronounced like /t, d/, mainly in big cities in North Africa, or like /s, z/ as well, particularly in the Middle East. In each one of these cases a phonemic distinction is lost. In Iraq, /z/ is [ð], as in traditional and <Koranic> pronunciations; elsewhere it is often realized as [z], as in Egypt and Syria, but it may even be confused with /t, d/, above all in Maghreb.

The grapheme *žim*, /ʒ/ [ʒ], has very many geographical, social, and religious, variants. The normal [ʒ] prevails in the Middle East and in North Africa, while [dʒ] (typical of Koranic reading) is used in Jordan, Saudi Arabia (typical of Bedouins) and Iraq. But in some areas, as in Egypt (Cairo), Sudan and Oman, we find [g]; elsewhere, even [gʝ], as in Luxor (southern Egypt), and [j].

For instance, /ʔza:b/ *žaab* is [ʔza:b] in the Levant (Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria) and in Africa (except Egypt and Sudan, as we have just said); it is [ʔdʒa:b] in Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Jordan, Iraq and among the rural and the nomadic peoples in Morocco.

The grapheme *qaaf*, /q/ [q], very often becomes [ʔ], above all in Cairo and other big cities; but it becomes [ʕ, k] as well, or even [g], particularly in central-southern Egypt, in rural areas of Morocco, and among Saudi Arabia Bedouins (who often, typically, change /k/ into [tʃ]). For instance, /ʔqalb/ *qalb* may be: [ʔqalb, ʔalb, ʕalb, ʔkalb, ʔgalb].

In the Levant, /ʔʔ/ is generally quite weak, therefore we could transcribe it as [ʔ] (instead of [ʔʔ]). In Maghreb, /ʔʔ/ may not even be present at all.

Structures

9.3.0. Here we will deal with assimilation, quantity, and some typical reductions of colloquial speech, still within neutral pronunciation (although with geographical variants).

Taxophonics

9.3.1.1. The definite article, [ʔal] /ʔal/ *al*, obligatorily assimilates completely to all apical or laminal C following it. Therefore, in such cases we may say that the article is /aC/ with a following homorganic /C/ – ie something like </a*/>, as in the neutral-Italian pronunciation phenomenon called *co-gemination*. With /ʒ/, assimilation takes place if it is pronounced [ʒ], but there is no change if it is pronounced [dʒ], or [g], &c: [ʔaʃʃams] /ʔalʃams/ *al-šams*, [ʔaʔʔaqs, -ʔaqs] /ʔalʔaqs/ *al-raqs*, [ʔatʔutun] /ʔalʔutun/ *al-tutun*, [ʔazʔalal] /ʔazʔalal/ *al-zalal*, [ʔadʔdi:q] /ʔadʔdi:q/ *al-diiq*, [ʔaʒʒamal, ʔaʃʔa-; ʔaʃʔa-] /ʔalʒamal/ *al-žamal*, [ʔalʔkuʃk] /ʔalʔkuʃk/ *al-kušk*, [ʔalʔbaħʔ, -aħʔ] /ʔalʔbaħr/ *al-baħr*, [ʔalʔwalad] /ʔalʔwalad/ *al-walad*.

Even voicing assimilations are quite common indeed, therefore a voiced final C may become voiceless, or devoiced, mainly after voiceless C; while voiceless C may become fully (or partially) voiced, between voiced phones. Besides, many cases of assimilation (regarding place or manner of articulation) are possible, even accompanied by the dropping of some phones: [qasʔsamiʃa] /qadʔsamiʃa/ *qad samiʔa*, [ʔlam ʔjuɾiʃ ʔʃaiʔan] /ʔlam ʔjurid ʔʃaiʔan / *lam yurid ʃaiʔan*, [ʔibʃad ʔðalika] /ʔibʃaθ ʔðalika/ *ibʔaʔ ðaalika*, [ʔuʔtu] /ʔuʔtu/ *uʔtu*, [ʔihʔaz ʔa:ʔaka, -dʒ ʔdʒ-] /ʔihʔaz ʔa:ʔaka/ *ihʔaz ʔaaraka*.

In Arabic both vowel and consonant quantities are distinctive. Consonant quantity is shown by gemination ([CC]) between V, but by lengthening ([C:]) elsewhere: [ʔab] /ʔab/ *ab*, [ʔa:b] /ʔa:b/ *aab*, [ʔaʔma:l, dʒ-] /ʔaʔma:l/ *žamaal*, [ʔamʔma:l, ʔdʒ-] /ʔamʔma:l/ *žammaal*, [ʔum:] /ʔumm/ *umm*, [ʔatala] /ʔatala/ *qatala*, [ʔa:ʔala] /ʔa:ʔala/ *qaatala*, [ʔattala] /ʔattala/ *qattala*.

Unstressed /V:/ are [V] only in the <Koranic> kind of pronunciation, since they are generally shortened, [V] (cf § 9.1.5).

9.3.1.2. In colloquial speech, unstressed /i, u/ tend to drop whenever this does not form three-C clusters. On the other hand, when in connected speech two word-final C are followed by a word-initial C, then a short V, generally /i/, is inserted to divide the cluster. In certain cases, the added V may even bear stress; and sometimes a V inserted in a certain place may cause –or allow– the dropping of another short V.

Furthermore, long V tend to shorten a little in checked syllables (but less than in unstressed syllables); and short final V in polysyllables tend to drop (above all grammemes, and /Vn[#]/ as well, except for accusative /an[#]/, which may become /a[#]/, in any position, even non-pausal). Verbs and pronouns are more likely to maintain the V, since endings have distinctive and pragmatic values.

Let us see some examples: [ħa:ðə ki'ta:b, ħa:ðək 'ta:b] /ħa:ða: ki'ta:b(un)/ *ħaa-ðaa kitaab^{un}*, [ʔalħib-ʔu 'təijib, 'təjjib] /ʔalħibru 'təjjib(un)/ *al-ħibru təyyib^{un}*, [ka'taptu,bihi, -tub,hi] /ka'tabtu 'bihi/ *katabtu bihi*, [kə:nə fil'bait] /'kə:nə fil'albait(i)/ *kaana fi al-baiti*, [ʔa'ʔaitul 'bait] /ra'ʔaitu al'bait(a)/ *ra'aitu al-bait^a*, [ka'tapt] /ka'tabt(u)/ *katabt^u*, [səkə'ki:n] /səkə'ki:n/ *sakaakiin*.

9.3.1.3. As far as <pausal forms> are concerned, let us take from Mitchell (1990) some examples (which we will transcribe again appropriately), keeping in mind that this is an <orthological> phenomenon people use to pronounce words *in intonemes*, including preceding words, semantically and syntactically linked (to the exclusion of grammemes).

This category includes final short V (with or without infinitive *-n*) – [katab] /katab(a)/ *katab^a*, [jaktub] /jaktub(u)/ *yaktub^u*, [liʔan jaktub] /liʔan jaktub(a)/ *li'an yaktub^a*, [fimə'da:ʔis] /fi:ma'da:ʔis(a)/ *fi madaaris^a*, [fil'bait] /fi:l'bait(i)/ *fi al-baiti*; [bait] /bait(un)/ *bait^{un}*, [fi'bait] /fi:'bait(in)/ *fi bait^{i'n}*, [mʊndʊ 'zamanin wə'zi:z, -dʒi:z] /mʊndʊ 'zamanin wə'zi:z(in)/ *mundʊ zamanin wažiizⁱⁿ*. However, (accusative) *-an* /*an*/ may be substituted by /a:/: [ʔaʔtə:ħu ʔiʔi:nə di'nə:ʔa] /ʔaʔtə:ħu ʔiʔi:nə di'nə:ʔa/ *a'ṭaahu 'išriina dinaaran*, except for adverbs like: [ħa:lan] /ħa:lan/ *ħaalan*, [ʔaħdan] /ʔaħdan/ *aidan*.

Lastly, *taa' marbuuṭa* (ie *-atin*, *-atan*, *-atun*) is substituted by /a(h)/, which is generally pronounced [a] (or [aħ] in a [more] <Koranic> style): [zə'mi:lə] /zə'mi:lə(h)/ *zamiila-h* ([zə'mi:lətu:n, zəmi'lətu:n, ^(o)dʒ-] /zə'mi:lətu:n/ *zamiilatun*), [fataħat mə'da:ʔisə lai'li:jə, mə'da:ʔisə] /fataħat mə'da:ʔisə lai'li:jə(h)/ *fataħat madaarisə lailiyya-h* ([lai'li:jətan, lai'li:jətan] /lai'li:jətan/ *lailiyyatan*), [filzu'nainə, -dʒu-] /filzu'nainə(h)/ *fi al-žunainə-h* ([zu'nainəti, zənəi'nəti, ^(o)dʒ-] /zu'nəi'nəti/ *žunainati*).

9.3.1.4. Colloquially, very often /ʔ/ is not maintained when it occurs within words or at the end of words – it is dropped or changed into /j, w/, or else it lengthens a possible preceding V: [miʔə, 'miə, 'mi:jə, 'mi:ə] /miʔə(h)/ *mi'a-h*, [jaʔ-ʔuðu, 'ja:ʔuðu, ja'ʔuðu] /jaʔχuðu, jaʔχuðu/ *ya'kuðu*, [ʔaʔs, 'ʔa:s] /ʔaʔs/ *ra's*, [sa'ma:ʔ, sa'ma:] /sa'ma:ʔ/ *samaa'*. When two *hamzas* occur in contiguous syllables, the first one is maintained: [zaʔə (ʔ)əzə'lufum, 'ʔ)əzə'lufum, (ʔ)ə'zəlfum, 'dʒə:ʔə, -ədʒə-] /zaʔə ʔəzə'lufum, ʔəzəlfum/ *žaa'a ažaluhum*.

In /Cj, Cw, Cr, Cl/ sequences, Arabic syllabification is heterosyllabic, /C[#]j, C[#]w, C[#]r, C[#]l/: [mit'ʔas] /mit'ʔas/ *mitraas*, [ʔatləfə, ʔat'ləfə] /ʔat_lləfə/ *atləfə*, [mədʔasə, məd'ʔə-] /məd_lʔasə(h)/ *madrəsa-h*, [ʔad-lə] /ʔadlə/ *adlə*, [məʔ-jəm] /məʔjəm/ *Marjam*, [mʊsʔiʔ] /mʊsʔiʔ/ *musri'*, [mis'wə:k] /mis'wə:k/ *miswaak*, [məʔ-wi] /məʔwi/ *mašwi*, [ʔafʔəzə, ʔaf'ʔəzə] /ʔaf_lʔəzə/ *afzəzə*, [mək-wə] /məkwə/ *makwə*, [ʔəl-jən] /ʔəljan/ *alyan*, [ʔəħ-wə] /ʔəħwə/ *əħwə*.

9.3.1.5. In final position, after C, the sonants (/m, n, r, l/) may be realized in different ways, according to how accurately one speaks. From a phonemic point of view, they are just C, but –phonetically– they may be plain (or devoiced, mainly in front of a voiceless C), or intense (<syllabic>), or even with a short epenthetic

ic V (like [ɪ, ɛ]): [ˈqɪsm̩, -sm̩, -sɪm̩] /ˈqism/ *qism*, [ˈlɑdn, -dn̩, -dɪn̩] /ˈlɑdn/ *ladn*, [ˈfɑtn̩, -tn̩, -tɪn̩] /ˈfɑtn/ *fatn*, [ˈduhn̩, -hn̩, -hɪn̩, -hɪn̩] /ˈduhn/ *duhn*, [ˈbɑdɛ, -dɛ, -dɪɛ] /ˈbɑdr/ *badr*, [ˈmɪsɛ, -sɛ, -sɪ] /ˈmɪsr/ *Miṣr*, [ˈfɑtl̩, -tl̩, -tɪl̩] /ˈfɑtl/ *fatl*, [ˈɾɑt̩, -t̩, -tɪ] /ˈɾatl/ *ratl*.

9.3.1.6. Here are some examples of typical Arabic phonotactics: [taʔbi:n] /taʔbi:n/ *taʔbiin*, [maʔθu:ɛ] /maʔθu:r/ *maʔtuur*, [ˈmatɕub] /ˈmatɕu:b/ *matʔuub*, [ʔaθqal] /ʔaθqal/ *aθqal*, [ˈmɑdɕal] /ˈmɑdɕal/ *madɕal*, [mɑðʕu:ɛ] /mɑðʕu:r/ *maðʔuur*, [ˈtazhu] /ˈtazhu/ *tazhu*, [ˈmaszid, -dʒid] /ˈmaszid/ *maszid*, [ˈmaʃta] /ˈmaʃta/ *maʃta*, [mɑʃru:l] /mɑʃru:l/ *maʃruul*, [ˈmasraɕ] /ˈmasraɕ/ *masraʕ*, [ʔɑdʒaɕa, ʔɑdʒaɕa] /ʔɑdʒaɕa/ *adʒaʕa*, [ʔɑdʕafa, ʔɑdʕafa] /ʔɑdʕafa/ *adʕafa*, [ʔɑzlɑma, ʔɑzlɑma, -ð-] /ʔɑzlɑma/ *azlɑma*, [maʕzu:n, -dʒu:n] /maʕzu:n/ *maʕzuun*, [maʕru:f] /maʕru:f/ *maʕruuf*, [ʔaʕma:l] /ʔaʕma:l/ *aʕmaal*, [maʕju:ɕ] /maʕju:ɕ/ *maʕsuuɕ*, [ˈmaqha] /ˈmaqha/ *maqha*, [malʔa:n] /malʔa:n/ *malʔaan*, [jaiʔasu, jaiʔasu] /jaiʔasu/ *yaiʔasu*, [ʔauhɑma, ʔauhɑma] /ʔauhɑma/ *auhɑma*.

Stress

9.3.2.1. For words of two or more syllables, we have the patterns given below. It should be kept in mind that </\$/> stands for <light> syllables (/CV/); </\$/> for <heavy> ones, *ie* consisting of <heavy> sequences like /VCC, V:C, VVC/, which are located counting *from their syllabic nucleus onwards*, up to the next (belonging to another sequence). Therefore, in this kind of calculation, we do not consider them to be true phono-syllables. In addition, </\$/> indicates a light or heavy syllable –indifferently– with no direct influence on stress assignment. The symbol </u/ > indicates alternative stressing, which is substitutive (certainly not simultaneous – as a matter of fact, one is free to choose either stress pattern from sequences showing both /' and /u/):

- 2 syll. /'\$\$, \$'\$, '\$\$/,
- 3 syll. /'\$\$\$, \$\$\$\$, \$'\$\$, '\$\$\$/,
- 4 syll. /u\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, '\$\$\$\$\$, u'\$\$\$\$/,
- 5 syll. /\$u\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$/,
- 6 syll. /\$\$u\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$/.

They function as a useful point of reference, for analyses and to find correspondences; in fact, it would not be easy to try to memorize them.

9.3.2.2. The solution to the formulae with variants, to read along columns, provides:

/\$\$\$\$, \$'\$\$/;	/\$\$\$\$\$, \$'\$\$\$\$/;	/\$\$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$\$\$/;
/\$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$/;	/\$\$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$\$\$/;	/\$\$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$\$\$/;
/\$\$\$'\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$/;	/\$\$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$\$\$/;	/\$\$\$\$\$\$, \$\$\$'\$\$\$\$/;
/\$\$\$\$, '\$\$\$\$/;	/\$\$\$\$\$, '\$\$\$\$\$/;	/\$\$\$\$\$\$, '\$\$\$\$\$/;

In patterns with two possible stressings, the variants may be of two types: <Egyptian> (Cairo), as: /'ḤḤḤ, Ḥ'ḤḤḤ, ḤḤ'ḤḤḤ, ḤḤḤḤ'ḤḤḤ/; or <literary> (‰r dialectal, like those of southern Egypt), with the following possibilities: /ḤḤḤḤ', ḤḤḤḤ', /ḤḤḤḤ', ḤḤḤḤ', ḤḤḤḤḤḤ', /ḤḤḤḤḤḤ', ḤḤḤḤḤḤ', ḤḤḤḤḤḤ'.

For /ḤḤḤḤḤḤ', we may find the patterns /ḤḤḤḤḤḤ', /ḤḤḤḤḤḤ' as well (which constitute <loftier> stressings, as can be seen in the story in § 9.4.2.1-2).

All the stress patterns we give belong to modern neutral pronunciation. Therefore, one is free to choose, provided certain structural homogeneousness is maintained.

A dialectal peculiarity found in Lebanon (which should not be followed) puts final stress on words ending in /V:#, VV:#/ (which, in neutral pronunciation, are not <heavy> enough to bear the stress): [ˈminhuma, min'huma] (and [ˌminhu'ma:]) /ˈmin,huma:/ *minhumaa*.

9.3.2.3. Prefixes do not influence the application of the stress rule, in different actual words; nor does the article even when it assimilates completely. But the rule is modified by the dropping of some (vocalic or consonantal) phones, because this changes the syllabic structure, both within words and at their end, before a pause.

As far as secondary stress in polysyllabic words is concerned, it tends to occur on alternate syllables, but preferring the heaviest ones, whenever possible.

Lastly, here are some examples: [ʔa'su:l] /ra'su:l/ *rasuul*, [sa'fanʒ, -ndʒ] /sa'fanʒ/ *sa-fanʒ*, [mu'ʔa:sil] /mu'ʔasil/ *muraasil*, [ta'ʔassul] /ta'ʔassul/ *tarassul*, [ʔa:sima, ʔa'si-] /ʔa:sima(h)/ *ʔa:sima-h*, [muta'fauwɪq, -awwɪq] /muta'fawwiq/ *mutafawwiq*, [mu'fa:ʔaqa, mu'fa:ʔaqa] /mu'fa:ʔaqa(h)/ *mufaaraqa-h*, [mad-ʔa:sa, mad'ʔasa] /ˈmad-ʔasa(h)/ *madrasa-h*, [da'ʔaki] /ˈdaraki:/ *darakii*, [kata'baɦu, 'kata,baɦu] /ˌkata-'baɦu/ *katabaɦu*, [mu'ʔtali:fa, 'mu'ʔtali:fa] /ˌmu'ʔtali:fa(h)/ *muktalifa-h*, [ʔa:ʔaluɦum, ʔa:ʔaluɦum, ʔa:ʔalɦum, -dʒa-] /ˌʔa:ʔaluɦum, ʔa:ʔalɦum/ *aʒaluhum*.

9.3.2.4. We give further useful examples (again completed and retranscribed from Mitchell, 1990), both with <pausal> and <pre-pausal> forms (cf § 9.3.1.3): [ʔa:mat] /ʔamat/ *ramat*, [ʔa'maɦu] /ra'maɦu/ *ramathu*, [ʔaɦad] /ʔaɦad/ *aɦad*, [ʔaɦa'duɦum, ʔaɦa'duɦum] /ˌʔaɦa'duɦum/ *aɦaduhum*, [ʔadda] /ʔadda/ *šadda*, [ʔad-daɦu, ʔad-da-] /ʔad-daɦu/ *šaddaɦu*, [ʔa'ʔda] /ʔarda:/ *ardaa*, [ʔa'ʔda:ɦu] /ʔar'da:ɦu/ *ardaɦu*, [ka'tapti] /ka'tapti/ *katabti*, [ka'taptiɦi, ka'taptiɦi] /ka'tab-tiɦi/ *katabti-hi*, [ʔi'sta'ʔqa] /ʔi'sta'ʔqa:/ *istalqaa*, [ʔi'sta'ʔqa:ɦu] /ʔi'sta'ʔqa:ɦu/ *istalqaaɦu*, [ka'taba, ka'taba] /ka'taba:/ *kaatabaa*, [kata'ba:ɦu] /ka'ta'ba:ɦu/ *kaatabaɦu*, [kata'bata, 'kata,bata] /ˌkata'bata:/ *katabataa*, [kata'bata:ɦu] /ka'taba'ta:ɦu/ *katabataɦu*, [ka'taba:ta, 'ka:ta,bata] /ˌka:ta'bata:/ *kaatabataa*, [kata'ba'ta:ɦu, ka'ta-] /ka'taba'ta:ɦu/ *kaatabataɦu*, [ʔa:ʔa'ʔatun, ʔa:ʔa'ʔatun] /ʔa:ʔa'ʔatun/ *šaʒaratun*.

Here are some more –longer– examples: [ʔadwija'tuɦu, ʔad'wija,tuɦu] /ad,wija-tuɦu/ *adwiyatuhu*, [mu'ʔtabi'ʔatun, mu'ʔtabi'ʔatun] /mu'ʔtabi'ʔatun/ *murtabi'ʔatun*, [ʔa:ʔa'ʔatuɦu, ʔa:ʔa'ʔatuɦu] /ʔa:ʔa'ʔatuɦu/ *šaʒaratuhu*, [ʔa:ʔa'ʔatuɦuma, ʔa:ʔa'ʔatuɦuma] /ʔa:ʔa'ʔatuɦuma:/ *šaʒaratuhumaa*, [ʔadwija'tuɦu,ma, ʔad'wi-] /ʔadwija'tuɦuma:/ *adwiyatuhumaa*, [mu'taʒan'niba,tun, mu'taʒanni,ba,tun, -dʒa-] /mu'taʒan'niba,tun/ *mutaʒannibatun*, [mu'taqa'tilatun, mu'taqa'tilatun] /mu'taqa'tilatun/ *mutaqaatilatun*.

Intonation

9.3.3. fig 9.6 shows the preintonemes and intonemes of modern neutral Arabic. The continuative intoneme is not very different from the suspensive one; therefore, generally, the pause which follows the suspensive type has greater duration. The interrogative intoneme in the Levant is of the rising-falling type, /ʔ/ [·'··], instead of that given here. It will be interesting to compare the tonograms (but also the V and C) referring to the four geographic Arabic varieties (cf § 9.1.1 – which differ in grammar as well, but most of all in their vocabulary). We will merely give some illustrative examples, for neutral intonation, to be used for comparisons:

/./: [ˈlɑː ʔɑʕɪf mɑdɪnɑˈtɑkum.] ([mɑˈdɪnɑːtɑkum.]) /ˈlɑː ʔɑʕɪf(u) mɑdɪnɑˈtɑkum./ *Laa aʕrifu madiinatakum.*

/ʔ/: [ħal ʔalkiˈtɑːb ʒɑˈdɪdː] ([dʒɑ-]) /ħal ʔalkiˈtɑːb(u) ʒɑˈdɪdː(un)ʔ/ *Hal al-kitaabu ʒadiiduʔ?*

/:/: [jumkin ʔannaˈquːm biˈzɑulɑː] ([biˈdʒɑu-]) /jumkin(u) ʔannaˈquːm(a) biˈzɑulɑ(h);/ *Yumkinu an naquuma bi-ʒaulatin...*

fig 9.6. Arabic preintonemes and intonemes.



Text

9.4.0. The story *The North Wind and the Sun* follows. According to the Phonetic method we start with the version in Arabic pronunciation of (neutral British) English (the written text is given in § 2.5.2.0). The Arabic translation follows, in its neutral version.

At the end, as always, there is the version which gives the English pronunciation of Arabic, by neutral British speakers, fluent in Arabic (after prolonged contact with native speakers, but with no help from the phonetic method), who have adequately learned the relative prominences, but who substantially use segmental and suprasegmental elements which are typical of neutral British English (for reference purposes, although, of course, a neutral accent is not so common). Obviously, the same principle is valid for the foreign pronunciations of English, given first.

Speakers of American English could prepare their own version both of the Arabic pronunciation of English and of their pronunciation of Arabic, as an excel-

lent exercise, by listening to native speakers, best of all after recording them. Of course, speakers of *other languages* could do the same thing. The author would be happy to receive their transcriptions and recordings, both in case of help –should they need it– and to make their contribution known to others (possibly in our website on *canIPA Natural Phonetics* – cf § 0.12).

Arabic pronunciation (of English)

9.4.1. [dɛ'nɔʃs 'wind· ʔendɛ'sɛn· wɛʔdis'bjutɪŋ 'wɪʃ wɛzʒɛst'ʃɔŋgɛʃ·] 'wɛn ʔɛt'ʃɛfɛlɛʃ· 'kɛ:m ʔɛ'lɔŋk· ɫ'ɛbt ʔɪnɛ'wɔʃm 'klɔ:k·.] zɛɛ'gʁɪdː; ,dɛtʒɛ'wɛn hu'fɛʃs sɛk'sɪ:dɪd· ʔɪn'mɛ:kɪn dɛt'ʃɛfɛlɛʃ· 'tɛ:k hɪsk'lɔ:k 'ɔf·.] ʃʊdbɪkɛn'sɪdɛʃds "tʃɔŋgɛʃ zɛndɪ'ɛzɛʃ·||

'dɛn· dɛ'nɔʃs 'wind· 'bluː ʔɛz'hɛʃd· ʔɛz'hɪ'kʊd·.] ,bɛtɛ'mɔʃ hɪb'lʊː·] zɛ'mɔʃ 'klɔ:sli· dɪdʒɛt'ʃɛfɛlɛʃː 'fɔːld hɪsk'lɔ:k ɛ'ʃɛʊndhɪm·.] ɫ'ɛndɛt'lɛ(ː)stː; zɛ'nɔʃs 'wind· 'gɛʃ ʔɛb dɪ'ɛmt·|| ɫ'dɛn·] dɛ'sɛn 'ʃɔn ʔaʊt· ɫ'wɔʃmli·.] ʔɛndɪ'mɪ:dʒɛtliː; ʔɛt'ʃɛfɛlɛʃ 'tʊk ʔɔf· ʔhɪs'klɔ:k·|| ɫ'ɛnd'sɔː] zɛ'nɔʃs 'wind· wɛzɛb'lɛɪzɪd tʊkɛŋ'fɛs| zɛtɛ'sɛn· wɔsdɛst'ʃɔŋgɛʃ· ɫ'ɛʃzɛ'tuː·]||

ʔɪdɪdʒu'lɛɪk· ʔɛs'tɔːxi·| ʔɪdʒu'wɔn tɛ'hɪʃɪt ʔɛ'gɛn·'|||]

Arabic text

9.4.2. This passage highlights the fact that the ‹modern classical› Arabic language is a rather artificial concept. In fact, the currently unwritten short V have very fluctuating realizations, due to both their presence or absence and to their timbres (themselves) (/i, a, u/). As the number of recordings (of different speakers) increases, the number of variations also increases (even for stressing and orthology, ie the use of intonemes and pauses).

9.4.3. *Kaanat riihu al-šamaali tatažaadalu wa al-šams^u fi ayyⁱⁿ minhumaa kaanat aqwaa min al-ukraa, wa id bi-musaafirⁱⁿ yaṭla'u mutalaffi^{an} bi-'abaa'^{atin} samii-ka^{tin}. Fa ittafaqataa 'alaa i'tibaari al-saabiqⁱ fi iżbaari al-musaafirⁱ 'alaa kal'i 'abaa'atihi al-aqwaa.*

'aṣafat riihu al-šamaali bi-aqṣaa maa istataa'at min quuwa^{tin}. Wa laakin kul-lumaa izdaada al'aṣf^u, izdaada al-musaafir^u tadaṭṭuran bi-'abaa'atihⁱ, ilaa an usqita fi yadi al-riih fatakallat 'an muhaawalatihaa. Ba'da'idⁱⁿ sata'ati al-šams^u bi-dif'ihaa, famaakaanaa min al-musaafirⁱ illaa an kala'a 'abaa'atahu 'alaa al-tauu. Wa hakaḏaa idṭarrat riih^u al-šamaali ilaa al-i'tiraafi bi-anna al-šams^a kaanat hiya al-aqwaa.

Hal kaanat al-qışṣatu žamiila? Hal turiid^u an nuraddidahaa?

9.4.4. [kɑːnat· ʔiːhʊʃ ʃa'ma:l(i)· ,tata'ʒaːda,lu waʃʃams(u)·] fi'ʔaij(in) 'minhu,ma-ɫ' kɑːnat ʔaɣwa· ,minʔal'ʔuɣʔa·] wa'ʔið bimusa'afɪʃ(in)·| ɫjaɛɫaʃʊ² ,mutal'affi,ʃam· ,bi-

ḡa'ba:ʔa(tin) sa'mi:kə.∥ 'fat tafa'qata.∥³ 'ḡalaḡ ti'ba:ʔis 'sa:bɪq(ɪ)⁴ ,fiʔiʔba:ʔil mu'sa:fi(ɪ).| 'ḡala 'ḡalḡi ḡa,ba:ʔa'tiḡil⁵ 'ʔaḡ-wa.∥

'ḡasafat. 'xi:ḡuʃ ʃa'ma:l(i)∥ bi'ʔaḡsa 'ma: ʔista'ta:ʔat mɪn'qu:wa.∥ wa'lə:kɪn. l'ku'lla-maz⁶ 'da:dal 'ḡasf(u).∥ ʔiʔda:dal mu'sa:fi(u) ta'daθu,ʔan.⁷ ,biḡa'ba:ʔa,tɪh.∥⁸ l'ʔila ʔanʔusqɪ,ʔa.⁹ fi'jadɪ 'xi:ḡ.∥ ,fata'ḡallat 'ḡam muḡhawala'tiḡa.∥¹⁰ baḡdaʔi,ḡin.¹¹ ,sa-ʔa:ʔati¹² 'ʃamsu bi'dɪfɪ,ḡa.∥ ,ʃama'ka:na min,ʔalmu'sa:fi(ɪ).| 'ʔilla ʔan'ḡala,ḡa¹³ ḡa,ba:ʔa'taḡu.¹⁴ l'ḡalat 'ta:u.∥ 'wa 'ḡaka,ḡa¹⁵ ʔiḡ'ḡa,ʔat. 'xi:ḡuʃ ʃa'ma:l(i).| 'ʔilal ʔiḡti'ʔa:f(i). bi'ʔannaʃ 'ʃams(a).| 'ka:nat. 'hijal 'ʔaḡ-wa.∥

ḡ'həl 'ka:nat ʔa't'qɪssatu. ḡʔa'mi:lə.∥ ḡ'həl tu'xi:d(u). 'ʔan ,nuʔad'dida,ḡa.∥¹⁶

¹ min'huma. — ² ja't'ʔaḡu — ³ 'tafa,qata.∥ — ⁴ sa'bɪqɪ. — ⁵ ḡa'ba:ʔa,tɪḡil — ⁶ ku'llamaz — ⁷ ,tadaθu,ʔan. — ⁸ bi,ḡa,ba:ʔa,tɪh.∥ — ⁹ ,ʔanʔus'qɪ,ʔa. — ¹⁰ muḡhawala'tiḡa.∥, muḡhawala'tiḡa.∥, muḡhawala'tiḡa.∥ — ¹¹ -ʔiḡ.∥, 'baḡda,ʔiḡin.∥, -ʔiḡ.∥ — ¹² 'sa:ʔa:ʔati — ¹³ 'ʔanḡala,ḡa — ¹⁴ ḡa'ba:ʔa,tḡu. — ¹⁵ ḡa'kaḡa — ¹⁶ nu'ʔaddida,ḡa.∥

English pronunciation of Arabic

9.4.5. [ˈkħænæt. ˌɹiɦmuʃ ʃəˈmæli.¹ ˌtæʔəˌdʒædɔ,ɦu wæʃʃæmsu.∥ friˌætm ˈmɪnhə-ma.∥² ˈkħænæt ˈɑkwə. mɪnæʔmʊkɹe.∥ wæʔˌɪð ,biiməˈsæfə,ɦu.∥ ˌɹjɔtlə,ɦu³ ,mʊʔə-ˈlæfɪhəm. ,bihəˌbæʔəɦu səˈmiikə.∥ ˈfæʔ⁴ ˌtəwˈkħaʔe.∥ ˈhələʔ ˌtʊbɑɹɪs ˈsæbʊk(w).⁵ ˌfriɖʒˌbɑɹɪt məˈsæfə,ɦu.∥ ˈhəlɪ ˈkħeɦi həbæʔəʔɦuɦt ˈɑkwɛ.∥

'ħa:səfæʔ. 'riɦmuʃ ʃəˈmæli∥⁶ biˈɑksə ˈma: ɪstəˈɦa:ʔ mɪŋˈkmuɑ.∥ wəˈlækɪn. l'kħələ-mæz⁷ ˈdʒædɔt ˈħɑɦu.∥ ɪzˈdʒædɔt mʊˌsæfə,ɦu təˈdʒæθə,ɦən. ,biɦəˌbæʔəɦu.∥ ˌɹiilə ən-ˈmʊskwɹɑ.⁸ friˌædɪə ˈriix.∥ ˌfæɦwˌkħæləʔ ˈhəm məħɑwələʔɦuɦe.∥ bəʔˈdɑə,ḡin.∥ ,sɑ-ʔɑˌæɦʃ ˈʃæmsu biˌdɪfɪhə.∥ ,fəmwˌkħænə mɪnæʔməˈsæfə,ɦu.∥ ˌtɪ læŋˈkħələhə ɑˌbæ-ʔəʔɦæɦu. ˌˈhəlæʔ ˈɦaˌo.∥ ˌwæʔ ˈhækwəḡə⁹ ʔəˈdʔɦɑ:ʔə. ˌɹiɦmuʃ ʃəˈmæli.∥¹⁰ ˌʔiilæʔ ʔiḡtɹɑfi. biˌænəʃ ˈʃæmsə.∥ ˈkħænæt. ˈɦiilæʔ ˈɑkwɛ.∥

ḡ'hæt ˈkħænæt ɑˌt'kħosəɦu. ḡdʒəˈmiilə.∥ ḡ'hæt ˌɦuˌɦiɖɦu. ḡˌæn¹¹ ,nɔəʔəˈdɪɖə,ɦe.∥

¹ ˈmæʔ. — ² mɪn'ɦu:mə — ³ ʒɛʔlɑɦu — ⁴ ˈfæʔ — ⁵ səˈbiik(i) — ⁶ ˈmɑˌli. — ⁷ kɔˌlɑmə — ⁸ ˌænəˈskɪɦə — ⁹ ɦwˈkħæḡə — ¹⁰ ˈmɑˌli.∥ — ¹¹ ḡæʔtəˌɦriɖ. ḡˌæn