A TAGMEMIC CLAUSE - LEVEL ANALYSIS OF MODERN IRAQI ARABIC

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
THERESA McLAUGHLIN AL - AZZAWI
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A TAGMEMIC CLAUSE-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF MODERN IRAQI ARABIC

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Theresa McLaughlin Al-Azzawi

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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MASTER OF ARTS

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PREFACE

This thesis is an attempt to approach scientifically the description of a natural language, namely modern Iraqi Arabic. Since it would be impossible to give a complete description within a reasonable amount of time, an attempt was made to describe adequately a single level within the system.

My main objective in writing this thesis is to show that a tagmemic clause-level analysis of modern Iraci Arabic may be obtained, by the process of transformation, from a single kernel matrix. I also wish to show that the clause types which are displayed graphically in these kernel and transform matrices form the clause level of Iraqi grammar.

The data which supplied the corpus of this analysis were taken from Part Two (A) Spoken Arabic of Baghdad;

An Anthology of Texts, edited by R.J. McCarthy, S.J. and

Faraj Raffouli. Two of the four pieces herein recorded

(and taken from the above work) are stories from Classical

Arabic but spoken in the Baghdadi dialect. The remaining

two pieces consist of a recorded conversation at the market
and a recipe given orally.

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Any questions which arose on matters of pronunciation and/or meaning were answered by my husband and informant Asim Hashim Al-Azzawi, a native of Baghdad, Iraq.

Special thanks are in order to the Michigan State
University Inter-Library Loan for obtaining the above
Volume, to the Princeton University Library for lending it,
and especially to Professor Ernest N. McCarus (University
of Michigan) for suggesting it.

Also I would like to take this opportunity to thank the members of my thesis committee, Dr. Patrick Bennett, Dr. Ruth Brend, and Dr. David Lockwood, for their suggestions and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

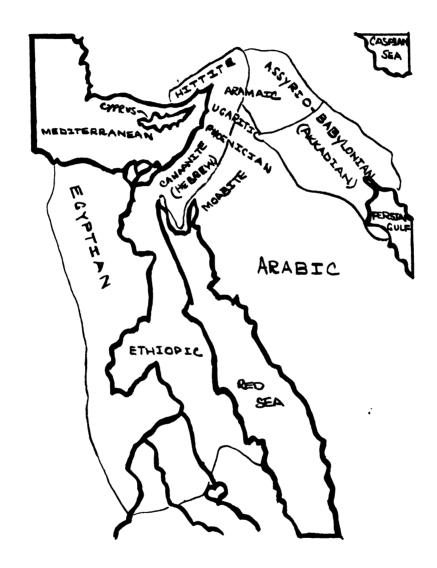
0.1 The Language: Arabic is a member of the language family "designated since 1781 as Semitic" (Chomsky 1957:21) because the peoples employing these languages were said to be descendents of Shem, son of Noah.

They (the Semites) "occupied a territory extending from the Mediterranean to the other side of the Euphrates up to the Tigris, or Mesopotamia, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. Through conquests and migrations these languages spread also to parts of Africa and Europe." (Chomsky 1957:21)

The Semitic languages are generally divided into the following branches:

- A. East Semitic (Assyrian-Babylonian or Akkadian)
- B. Northwest Semitic
 - 1. Aramaic Branch
 - a. Eastern Aramaic (Syriac)
 - b. Western Aramaic (Palestinian)
 - 2. Canaanite Branch
 - a. Moabitic
 - b. Phoenician
 - c. Hebrew
 - d. Ugaritic
 - 3. South Semitic
 - a. Arabic and its dialects
 - b. Ethiopic and its dialects (Chomsky 1957:23)

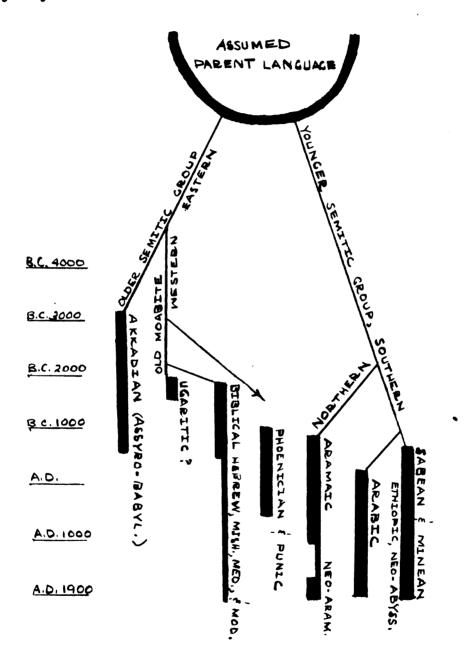
These divisions are geographical as can be seen on the following map.



(Chomsky 1957:21)

This map is meant to illustrate the language areas given in the outline above and is not intended as a synchronic representation but as a diachronic one. Therefore all of the languages in the outline appear, even though some of them had ceased being spoken before others of them had appeared. Not all the languages shown on this map are Semitic, e.g. Esyptian.

Linguistically, however, the Semitic Language
Family may be divided as shown in this chart. (Chomsky 1957:22)



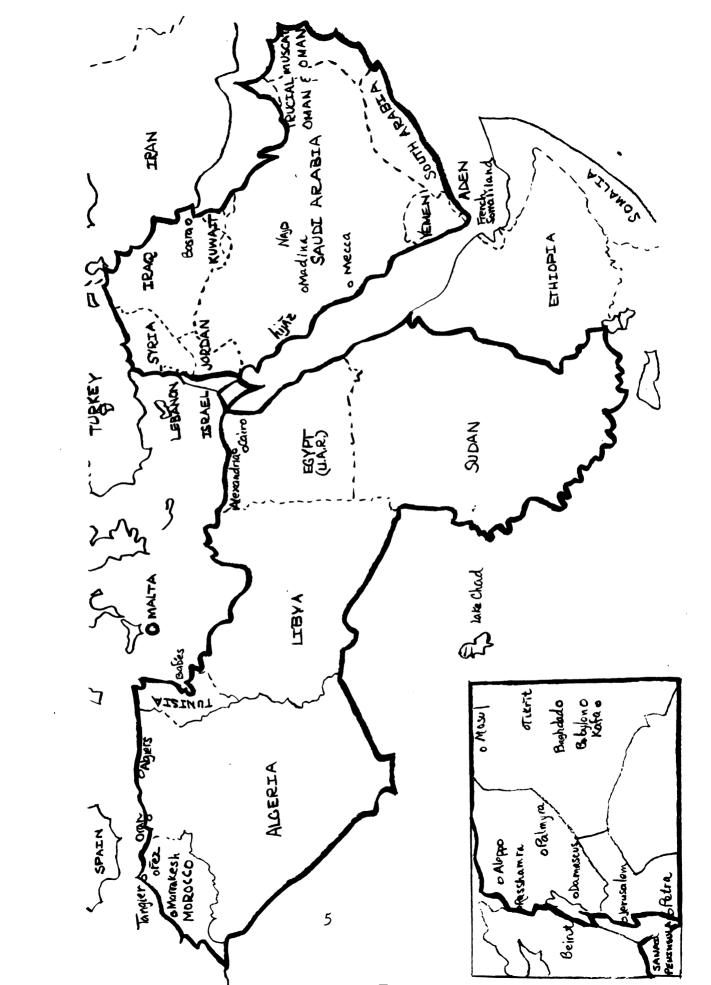
This map represents one possible analysis. The dates shown are dates of earliest inscriptions found and do not necessarily indicate the actual ages of the languages.

"These are quite rough groupings and there is considerable dispute about the precise relationships between these languages and groups of languages." (Bateson 1967:51).

Originating in the Arabian Peninsula, with inscriptions dating back to the 9th century B.C., Arabic has two main divisions: South Arabic, now spoken as a modern vernacular in portions of the southern Arabian Peninsula and the island of Soqotra, and North Arabic, the common literary language of Arabia (stemming from the tribal and inter-tribal dialects at the time of Mohammad's revelations, i.e. Qur'anic Arabic) and spoken in a great number of dialects and vernaculars by approximately "80,000,000" (Bateson 1967) native speakers.

The Arabic language is spoken today throughout an area that lies partly in southwest Asia and partly in Africa. The eastern boundary of this region is the Zagros Mountains, dividing Iraq from Iran; the western boundary is the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of Morocco. In the north the boundary is the Taurus range, dividing Turkey from the Fertile Crescent (Syria and Iraq), and in the south the Indian Ocean, the African jungle, and the Sahara Desert. Outside this region, the spread of Islam carried the language east into Central Asia and south into Africa. (Rice 1966:xiii)

The geographical extent of Arabic may be seen on the map below. (Bateson 1967: facing page 1)



Though Arabic is the everyday speech of most of the inhabitants of the region described above, it would be a mistake to assume that they all speak the same kind of Arabic. Arabic has shared the fate of all languages that are spread out over a large area for a long period of time. It has developed a wide variety of dialects (some descended from previously existing dialect differences), some of them being so different from one another that they might almost be considered separate languages. The mutual intelligibility of different dialects depends, as in the case of other languages, upon the dialects themselves and upon the educational background and cultural bias of the speakers.

Arabic. This is basically the language of the Qur'an and early literature. It is this language which the Arab calls Arabic and "an exact knowledge of its grammar (is) in cultured circles the distinguishing mark of a gentleman." (Arnold 1931:viii) The aforementioned fact accounts for the reluctance of informants to utter the so-called dialectal (or informal) speech for use in a "grammar" of the language. Spoken language, is by tradition, not something one writes grammars of or bothers to study. It is considered somehow inferior to Classical Arabic - a form of the language which no One "speaks" since it is a written form which when "spoken" is subject to dialectal variation.

Despite the supposed inferior quality of the spoken language (regional dialect - informal) the linguistically naive Arab considers his own regional dialect somehow closer to the Classical Arabic (as spoken during the 7th century), and therefore "better" than other vernacular forms of Arabic.

The dialect which I propose to study is the educated Moslem Iraqi dialect spoken in Baghdad.

The prestige dialect of Iraq ... is the dialect of the Muslim population of Baghdad. This is one of several dialect varieties spoken in Iraq The Muslim dialect of Baghdad, while it clearly belongs to the Iraqi regional type, is a nomadic dialect Sedentary dialects ... dominated the area until the drastic breakdown of urban control, (when) ... the old sedentary Muslim populations were so heavily infiltrated by speakers of nomadic dialects that their dialects were Bedouinized. (Bateson 1967:104-6)

o.2 The Corpus Used: The data which serve as a corpus for this study are four pieces recorded and transcribed by the authors of the volume cited below. I rewrote the pieces in the transcription that I adopted for this thesis. All the data used were taken from Spoken Arabic of Bashdad:

Anthology of Tants, Part Inc (A) by A.C. McCarthy, S.C. and Faraj Maffouli. Two of the pieces are tales from Classical Arabic recorded in the Bashdadi dialect. The first story, Midaas Abul Qaasim it-Tamburi and the second story, Mu'allim Jaahil, "are good examples of the type of story told to children by their parents or, more often, their grandparents. They were recorded ... by Umm Faraj, a Bashdad grandmother, who herself heard them from the lips

of her grandmother." (McCarthy 1965:xxi) The other two pieces consist of a recorded conversation at the market and a recipe orally given.

The four items along with their translations may be found in Appendix I_{\bullet}

0.3 Tagmemic Theory: This section is not intended as a formal statement of tagmemic theory, but as an introduction to some of the concepts and terminology of this linguistic theory for the reader to whom the theoretical framework of this thesis may be unfamiliar.

The following are definitions of terms essential to an understanding of the theory.

Syntagmeme - a construction, i.e. a fixed combination of elements, namely tagmemes.

Tagmeme- a unit within the construction consisting of not only the set of elements which may occur at that point in the construction (not necessarily fixed or linear) but also the relationship of the members of the given set to other members of other sets within the particular construction, i.e. the function of the set.

The two concepts are mutually dependent - one cannot exist meaningfully without the other, i.e., a syntagmeme must have components (tagmemes) and tagmemes only have meaning with respect to a point within the construction (syntagmeme).

Clause - a unit of predication. in which tense or aspect

Cbligatory - Any tagmeme which must always occur at a given point within the construction is considered obligatory.

All obligatory tagmemes are preceded by a plus sign (+).

Cptional - Any tagmeme which may or may not occur at a given point within the construction is considered optional.

All optional tagmemes are preceded by a plus-over-minus sign (±). If in a particular reading of the syntagmeme the reader chooses plus (+) then the tagmeme will occur. If, however, the reader chooses minus (-) then the tagmeme will not occur.

Nuclear - Any tagmeme which is distinctive, i.e. an "essential and characteristic part" (Longacre 1964:19) of the construction or syntagmeme is considered nuclear. All other tagmemes are considered peripheral. The nuclear/peripheral distinction was set up in order to obtain the three-way distinction:

- (1) Nuclear and obligatory,
- (2) Nuclear and optional,
- (3) Peripheral (and optional) (Longacre 1964:18 ftn.) so that one may discuss the tagmemes distinctive to the construction whether or not they are obligatory.

Criteria of Contrasts: The criteria I have used for distinguishing emic clause types are from Robert Longacre's Grammar Discovery Procedures. Longacre feels that in order to separate any two clauses into emically distinct clause types at least two differences must be apparent, one of which is nuclear. He further states that nuclear tagmemes may appear as

unequivocably distinct (from each other) on the basis of: (a) distinctive physical positions; (b) difference in obligatory versus optional status; (c) distinctive manifestations in terms of word classes; (d) distinctive manifestations in terms of word types, phrase types, or subordinate clauses; (e) distinctive cross reference of certain nuclear tagmemes to affixes within the verb manifesting predicate; (f) distinctive transforms. (Longacre 1964: 62-3)

Having stated the ways in which nuclei may differ Longacre goes on to discuss other ways in which two syntagmemes may differ. He states that

countable structural differences between two syntagmemes would seem to be such features as (a) differing linear orderings; (b) differing number of tagmemes; (c) differing syntagmemes manifesting similar but distinct tagmemes; (d) differing emic classes manifesting similar but distinct tagmemes; (e) differing transform potential (or differing derivations via transform). (Longacre 1964:19)

Unless otherwise stated, the above criteria will be adhered to as closely as possible in determining the clause types contained within this paper.

0.4 Crthography: I have adopted the orthography given in Wallace Erwin's A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic, which is not entirely phonemic - a matter which is not significant since my discussion is at the clause level. The consonants and vowels of Iraqi Arabic are given in tabular form below.

CONSONANTS

		Bilabial	Lablo-dental	Interdental	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Postvelar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops	Vls	р			t		k	q		?
Stops	Vd	ъ			d		g			
Spirants	Vls		f	0	s	š	x		h	h
Spirants	Vd		'	eŁ	z		g		•	
Affricate	s Vls		•			ž	•		i i	!
Affricate	s Vd					j	; ;			
Nasals		m	Ţ(n		1		• • •	,
Semivowel	s	W				у				
Lateral	1				1	-			•	
Flap			;		r				!	
Stops	Vls	p			t					
Stops	Vd	b			•				•	
Spirants	Vls		f		s				 	
Spirants	Vd			ė.	Z	_				:
Nasal		m								
Lateral					1	•				
	Stops Spirants Spirants Affricate Affricate Nasals Semivowel Lateral Flap Stops Stops Spirants Spirants Nasal	Stops Vd Spirants Vls Spirants Vd Affricates Vls Affricates Vd Nasals Semivowels Lateral Flap Stops Vls Stops Vd Spirants Vd Nasal	Stops V1s p Stops Vd b Spirants Vd l Affricates Vls l Affricates vd m Semivowels w l Iateral l m Stops Vls p Stops Vd b Spirants Vd l Spirants Vd l Nasal m l	Stops V1s p Stops Vd b Spirants V1s f Spirants Vd Affricates Vls Vd Nasals m Semivowels w Lateral Flap Stops V1s p Stops V1s p Stops Vd b Spirants Vd Nasal m Spirants Vd Nasal m	Stops Vd b Spirants Vls f 0 Spirants Vd d d Affricates Vd Nasals m Semivowels w Lateral Flap Stops Vls p Stops Vd b Spirants Vd d Spirants Vd	Stops V1s p t Stops Vd b d Spirants Vls f 0 s Spirants Vd d d Affricates Vls Affricates Vd Nasals m n Semivowels w Lateral 1 Flap r Stops V1s p t Stops Vd b Spirants Vd d	Stops V1s p t Stops Vd b d Spirants V1s f 0 s s Spirants Vd d z Affricates V1s n n Semivowels w y Lateral l Flap r Stops V1s p t Stops Vd b Spirants Vd b Spirants Vd c S	Stops V1s p t k Stops Vd b d g Spirants V1s f 0 s s x Spirants Vd d z g Affricates V1s J Nasals m n Semivowels w y Lateral l Flap r Stops V1s p t Stops Vd b Spirants Vd d d z Nasal m	Stops V1s p t k q Stops Vd b d g Spirants V1s f 0 s s x Spirants Vd d z g Affricates V1s J Nasals m n Semivowels w y Lateral l Flap r Stops V1s p t Stops Vd b Spirants Vd d Spirants	Stops V1s p t k q Stops Vd b d g Spirants V1s f 0 s s x x h Spirants Vd d d z g Affricates V1s

EMPHATTC

VOWELS

				A THE STREET WATER AND ADDRESS OF
4		Front	Central	Back
	High	i		u
SHORT	Mid			0
SH	Low		a	
]				
	High	11		uu
LONG	Mid	ee		00
H	Low		aa	

CHAPTER ONE: THE KERNEL MATRIX

1.1 Elements of the Matrix: The kernel matrix of Iraqi Clause Types consists of the following elements described in detail below:

	Independent	Dependent
Transitive	x	x
Intransitive	х	х
Expletive	х	х
Des cri ptive/ Equative	x	х

The Independent Transitive Clause is represented by by the following tagmemic formula:

A detailed explanation of this first formula will be given here to familiarize the reader with the notation. However, such an account will not be given for any of the following formulas since it will be assumed that the reader can infer all pertinent information for himself. Only those things which are unusual in some way or which cannot be included in the formula itself will be noted.

Number, gender concord between fillers of slots has not been discussed.

The formula reads: The nuclear tagmemes of the Independent Transitive Clause are: a) the obligatory Transitive Predicate tagmeme, which is manifested by a transitive verb phrase, followed immediately by b) the optional Subject-as-Actor tagmeme, which is manifested by a noun phrase, followed by c) the optional Object-as-Goal tagmeme which is manifested by a noun phrase. The marginal tagmemes may occur preceding and/or following the Predicate and Subject tagmemes and are given as an optional Instrumental tagmeme manifested by a noun phrase or a propositional phrase. an optional Temporal tagmeme manifested by an adverb phrase. and two Locative tagmemes - one which is manifested by an adverb phrase and only occurs preceding the Predicate and One which is manifested by a prepositional phrase and only occurs following the Predicate. Classes of, for example. adverbial fillers have not been distinguished since it has been assumed that the slot, e.g. Temporal, restricts the class of adverbial fillers which may occur.

Note: The Subject may occur directly preceding the Predicate but I have considered this as an Emphatic Allotype. See Chapter Four (4.1).

The brackets in this and all following formulas are used to enclose marginal tagmemes.

The order of nuclear tagmemes is fixed, i.e. they

occur in the given order. However, the order of marginal
tagmemes is variable.

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Note: All formulas given in this thesis have been developed from the corpus. No attempt has been made to generalize them so that they account for the clauses of the language as a whole.

The nuclear tagmemes of this construction are:

+TP <u>+</u>SA <u>+</u>OG

The following are illustrations from the corpus which are examples of possible readings of the formula.

?urfooh kull ahal Bagdaad they-know-it all people Baghdad 'all the people of Baghdad know it'

ъ)	Ins:Np	TP:tVp	CG:Np
	wallah	eštiri	gayrah
	by-God	I-buy	another
	*by God	I'll buy	another'

c) TP:tVp Loc:Pp OG:Np

Saaf ibmukaanah midaas jidiid hiluu min ahsan ilenwaa
he-saw in-place-it shoe new beautiful from best the-kind
he saw in its place a beautiful new shoe of the best
kind

The Independent Intransitive Clause is represented by the following formula:

\[\frac{\pmathcal{+}Tem:Adv.p/Pp\right]}{\pmathcal{+}IP:iVp} \pmathcal{+}SA:Np \[\frac{\pmathcal{+}Tem:Pp}{\pmathcal{+}Loc:Pp/Np} \] \]
The nuclear tagmenes of this construction are:

+IP <u>+</u>SA

The following are examples of possible readings of the formula.

a)	IP:iVp	Loc:Pp	SA:Np
•	čaan yi'iiš	ibmedinet Bagdaad	fad rajjal
	past he-live	es in-city Eaghdad	certain man
	'a certain n	an lived in the ci	ty of Baghdad•

b)	IP:1Vp	Tem:Pp	Loc:Pp
•		ibdaak ilyoom on-that the-day	lilhammam to-the-bath
		t day he came to th	1

The Independent Expletive Clause is represented by the following tagmemic formula:

The nuclear tagmemes of this construction are:

+ExP +SI

The following are examples of possible readings of the formula:

a)	ExP:exp.p	Loc:adv.	SI:Np
	akuu	hnaa	tacjir min Halab
	there-is	here	merchant from Aleppo
	there is a	merchent here fr	om Alenno!

Note that the Predicate and Subject are both obligatory.

The Independent Descriptive-Equative Clause may be represented by the following formula:

#\$I:Np +DeP:asp.verb +EI:Np [+Tem:t.Adv.p]
The nuclear tagmemes of this construction are:
+SI +EI

The following are examples of possible readings of the formula:

- a) DeP:asp.verb SI:Np EI:Np

 Yaan Abu 1-Qaasim haada zengiin kullis ihwaaya
 past Abul Qasim this rich(one) very much

 this Abul Qasim was very, very rich
- b) SI:Np DeP:asp.verb EI:Np

 haada 1-midaas Zaan midaas il-qaadii
 this the-shoe past shoe the-judge

 this shoe was the judge's shoe
- c) SI:p DeP:*EI:n *The Descriptive Predicate is always realized as Ø in the present tense.

 this is nonsense.

Note: Although the Subject-as-Item tagmeme is shown as optional, it becomes obligatory if the Descriptive Predicate tagmeme is not manifested. If, however, the Descriptive Predicate tagmeme is manifested, then the Subject-as-Item tagmeme is optional. When a Descriptive-Equative Clause is composed of two contiguous noun phrases and there is no Descriptive Predicate present, it may still be considered a unit of predication, thus conforming to the definition

in the present tense.

The Dependent Clauses: The corresponding dependent clauses of the kernel matrix have the same structure, i.e. tagmemic formulas, as the independent clauses to which they correspond (described above) except for the addition of an optional Relator tagmeme at clause beginning. The elements of the set of fillers of this Relator slot serve to distinguish the various allotypes of the dependent clause. This topic is covered fully in Chapter V.

The dependent clauses may also be distinguished from the independent on the basis of different transform potentials. The Independent clauses may be transformed into interrogative and imperative clauses whereas the dependent may not be. Therefore one may have an Independent Intransitive Interrogative clause, but not the corresponding Dependent Intransitive Interrogative clause.

1.2 Criteria for Distinction: If a chart is made of the nuclear tagmenes of the components of the kernel matrix (shown below), one can see more readily the criteria for distinguishing each clause type.

	Indep	Independent			endent	,	
Transitive	+TP	+SA	±0G	+R	+TP	+SA	<u>+</u> 0G
Intransitive	+IP	+SA		<u>+</u> R	+IP	<u>+</u> SA	
Expletive	+ExP	+SI		±R	+ExP	+SI	
Des cripti ve/ Equat iv e	±SI	+EI	•	<u>+</u> R	<u>+</u> SI	+EI	

Note: When only a function (slot) symbol is used, the whole tagmeme, i.e. including fillers, is implied.

•

The dependent column is distinguished from the independent column by the presence of an optional Relator tagmeme and by its transform potential (Interrogative and Imperative transformations not possible). The intransitive and transitive clause types contain zero and one object tagmeme respectively, and are further distinguished by means of the different predicate tagmemes, namely IP and TP. The Intransitive may also be distinguished from the Transitive on the basis that it cannot take the passive transformation while the latter can. The expletive clause is distinguished from the descriptive/equative clause, first, by the fact that its Subject-as-Item slot is obligatory and not optional, and secondly, by the fact that its predicate tagmeme is nuclear.

Note: See Chapter V for examples.

CHAPTER TWO: TRANSFORM MATRICES

Note: Transform matrices are matrices which result from the transformation of clauses in the kernel matrix.

- 2.1 <u>Passive</u>: The following is the formula for the passive transformation:
 - $p \cdot (Transitive Row of M_k) = M_p$

When the kernel matrix (minus its rows with no nuclear Object Tagmemes, i.e. the Transitive Row) is multiplied by the passive transformer, the result is the passive matrix shown below (with nuclear tagmemes indicated for all passive clauses).

	Indep	enden	t	Dep	enden	t	
Transitive Passive	±SG	+PP	±CA	+R	<u>+</u> SG	+PP	+0A

in the kernel matrix by the presence of the respective passive predicate tagmemes and by different subject tagmemes (Subject-as-Goal versus Subject-as-Actor). They differ from the clauses of the Interrogative Matrix (below) by their predicate tagmemes, and by the presence of an Interrogative tagmeme in the clauses of the Interrogative Matrix versus its absence in the clauses of the Passive Matrix.

The passive clauses above differ from the imperative clauses by different predicate tagmemes and by the fact that the passive clauses have an optional SG tagmeme while the imperative clauses have no subject tagmeme.

Examples of the Transitive Passive forms do not occur in the corpus but the following example was elicited from my informant.

Independent Transitive Passive:

SG:Np	PP:pVp	OA:Pp
1-kitaab	čaan maktuub	min qibal Ahmad
the-book	past written	by Ahmad
the book was	s written by Ahmo	ed.

By application of the passive transformation, the tagmeme OG becomes SG (Subject-as-Goal), the predicate becomes passive and the SA becomes OA (Object-as-Agent) always manifested by a prepositional phrase.

- 2.2 <u>Interrogative</u>: The interrogative transformations may be represented by the following formulas:
 - a) $i_1 \cdot (M_k \text{ minus Dependent Column}) = M_{i_1}$
 - b) $i_2 \cdot (M_k \text{ minus Dependent Column}) = M_{i_2}$

There are two possible alternate interrogative transformations as shown above. The resultant matrices of the two are shown below (with nuclear tagmemes shown for each clause).

a) M _i =	Independent			
Transitive 1-1	+I	+TP	<u>+</u> SA	±CG
Intransitive $oldsymbol{\mathbb{H}}$	+I	+IP	+SA	
Expletive I-1	+I	+ExP	+SI	
Descriptive/ Equative I-1	+I	±SI	+EI	

Note the inclusion of the Interrogative tagmeme in each clause type of this matrix. Dependent clause types of the kernel matrix lack this transform potential.

The second interrogative transformation (M₁₂) yields clause types which are structurally identical to the clause types of the independent column of the kernel matrix. Although structurally identical, the clauses of the two columns (kernel and interrogative-2) differ in intonation and transform potential (explained more fully below). The following is the second interrogative transformation matrix.

b) M _{i2} =	Independent	
Transitive I-2	+TP	+(Inter.Inton)
Intransitive I-2	+1P <u>+</u> 3A	+(Inter.lnton)
Expletive I-2	+EmP +SI	+(Inter.Inton)
Descriptive/ Equative 1-2	<u>+</u> 3I +EI	+(Inter.Inton)

Note: The intonation tagmeme was included in the interrorative-2 formulas since it was of diagnostic importance
in this case. It was not included in the other clause type

Note: The interrogative tagmeme I, nuclear to the interrogative-1 syntagmemes, may be analyzed as

1) the simultaneous manifestation of two tagmemes,
e.z. I:wayn 'where' is actually two tagmemes simultaneously manifested, i.e. I the interrogative tagmeme and Loc
the Locative tagmeme, as in

I & Loc:interr.	IP:iv
wayn	truuh
where	you-go
where are y	ou going?"

where wayn fills two slots simultaneously, the interrogative and the locative, as it prohibits the occurrence of a Loc tagmeme elsewhere in the sentence which reduplicates its function. There may be an additional Loc tagmeme within the syntagmeme if the I(Loc) tagmeme is present but not one which reduplicates the function of I(Loc), e.g.

I:interr.	IP:tv	Loc:Pp
wayn	truuh	bil-madina
where	you-go	in-the-city

'where are you going in the city?'

where wayn is replacing some phrase designating a specific part of the city. The phrase which wayn replaces cannot occur in the example above.

Other interrogative fillers which may be similarly analyzed are: minuu 'who' \$loon 'how'

minuu 'who' \$loon 'how'

šinuu 'what' bays 'how much'

šraah 'what' šgad 'how much'
lays 'why'

šda'wa 'why'

2) the manifestation of a single tagmeme, i.e. I the interrogative tagmeme, as in

I:interr	SA:n	IP:iv
šinuu	ra jalha,	maat
what	husband-her	he-died

'what is this about her husband having died?'
where the interrogative filler sinuu fills an interrogative function only.

Other interrogative fillers which function similarly are: \$loon 'how' qaabil 'what'

The type of Interrogative tagmeme discussed in part 1 above is a portmanteau tagmeme, which fulfills two functions: that of Interrogative and that of Locative, or Manner, or Subject-as-Actor, etc. depending on the word manifesting the Interrogative tagmeme. A more detailed analysis would include a discussion of the possible functions of each interrogative filler included under type 1. The discussion given above is but a brief introduction to an analysis of the problem.

note: The interrogetive intenstion tagmemes are given in parentheses in the rows of the previous chart in order to indicate that they are not linear tagmemes but suprasegmental contour tagmemes.

The clauses of the first of these interrogative transformation matrices (M₁) contrast with the clauses of the kernel matrix by the inclusion of an obligatory Interrogative tagmeme in the interrogative-1 clauses which is absent in the clauses of the kernel matrix, and by transform potential (Imperative transformation cannot be applied to the clauses of the interrogative-1 matrix but can be applied to those of the kernel matrix. The distinctiveness of the interrogative-1 clauses from the clauses of the Passive Matrix has been shown above (cf. Section 2.1). Further, the interrogative-1 clauses are distinct from the clauses of the Imperative matrix in the following ways: 1) optional subject tagmeme in the interrogative-1 clauses versus absence of subject tagmeme in imperative clauses, and 2) differing predicate tagmemes.

The clauses of the second of the interrogative transformation matrices (M₁₂) may be distinguished from the kernel matrix by differing intonation patterns (rising versus falling pitch clause finally), and by the same difference in transform potential stated for M₁ above.

Distinction of the clauses of M₁ from the syntagmemes of the passive matrix may be shown by the presence of an Intonation tagmeme in the clauses of the interrogative-2 matrix versus its absence in the clauses of the passive matrix, and secondly by the different predicate tagmemes in the clauses of the two matrices. The clauses of the interrogative-2 matrix are distinguished from the imperative clauses in the same manner as the interrogative-1 clauses.

The two sets of interrogative clauses (M₁ and M₁) are emically distinct since they differ in two tagmemes, namely the Interrogative tagmeme (present in the first and absent in the second), and the Interrogative Intonation tagmeme (absent in the first and present in the second), both of which are nuclear to their respective sets of syntagmemes.

Examples of several interrogative clauses follow:

Independent Transitive Interrogative (M)

a)	a) T:adv. I:interr		TP:tVp	OG:n	
•	aaxir	išloon	itriid itbuug	jiiraanak	
	finally	how	you-want you-rob	neighbors-your	

how could you want to rob your neighbors?

Independent Intransitive Interrogative (M1)

b)	I:interr	SA:n	IP:iv
	š inuu	rajilha	maat
	what-is-this	husband-her	he-died
	'what's this	about her husban	d having died?"

Independent Transitive Interrogative (M12)

c)	TP:tv	OG:n	Interr.Inton:rising contour
	ešugg	1hduum11	
	I-tear	clothes-my	
	'should I te	ear my clothes?	•

2.3 Imperative: The multiplication of the independent column of the kernel matrix (minus the rows with pseudopredicates, i.e. copulars, expressed or unexpressed) by the imperative transformer yields the Imperative Matrix.

imp • (Independent Column of M_{K} minus Expletive and Descriptive/Equative Rows) = M_{imp}

The matrix itself is shown below (with nuclear tagmemes).

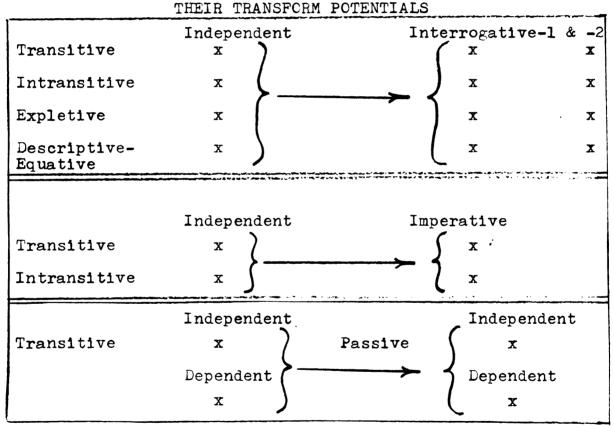
M _{imp} =	Independent
Transitive Imp	+ImP +OG
Intransitive Imp	+IiP

The clauses of the imperative matrix above may be distinguished from the corresponding clauses of the kernel matrix by their predicate tagmemes, and by their transform potential (the clauses of the kernel matrix may take the interrogative transformation whereas the clauses of the imperative matrix cannot). The criteria for distinguishing the imperative clauses from the passive and interrogative have been discussed above (cf. Sections 2.1 and 2.2).

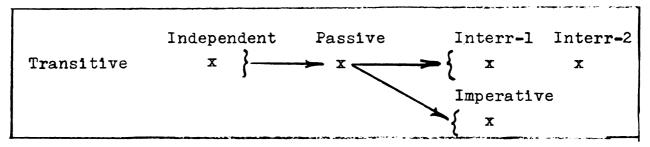
CHAPTER THREE: TRANSFORM SERIES

3.1 Transform Potential: The following chart graphically describes the transformations covered in Chapter Two and the transformation series to be covered in this chapter.

CLAUSES OF THE KERNEL MATRIX AND



Notice that the independent transitive clause, the only clause of the kernel matrix which possesses all the possible transform potentials, is the only clause which can enter into a series of transformations (cf. below & Sections 3.2-3.3), as can be seen in the following table.



3.2 Interrogative-Passive: All the transformations given in the previous chapter may be applied separately to the clauses of the kernel matrix. Some of the transformations may also be applied to the derived clauses shown in the transform matrices in Chapter Two, yielding further matrices of clauses which I have called Transform Series clauses. It is the clauses of these Transform Series Matrices which I will discuss in this chapter. The first of these is the interrogative-passive matrix.

The interrogative-passive matrix may be obtained by multiplying the clauses in the passive matrix (minus the dependent clauses) by the interrogative transformers, thus:

- a) $i_1 \cdot (M_p \text{ minus Dependent Column}) = M_{i_1p}$
- b) $i_2 \cdot (M_p \text{ minus Dependent Column}) = M_{i_2p}$ Thus matrices obtained from this process are the following (with nuclear tagmemes):

The clauses included in these matrices may be distinguished from those in the previous matrices by their differing predicate tagmemes and by their transform potential. None of the clauses of the Transform Series matrices enter into any other transformation processes.

An example of a possible reading of the elements of the interrogative-passive matrix (elicited) follows:

Independent Transitive Interrogative-1 Passive

I:interr.	PP:pv	OA:Pp
mada	maktuub	min qibal 'ali
what	was-written	by Ali

^{&#}x27;what was written by Ali?'

3.3 <u>Imperative-Passive</u>: The imperative-passive matrix may be obtained by multiplying the clauses of the passive matrix (a transform matrix) minus its dependent clauses by the imperative transformer, thus:

The matrix obtained from this multiplication is as follows (with nuclear tagmemes):

M _{imp.p} =		Indep	enden	t	
Transitive Imperat:	ive Passive	+IpP	±SG	±CA	1

An example of a possible reading of the elements of the imperative-passive matrix (elicited) follows:

Independent Transitive Imperative Passive

IpP:ipVp	EG:Np		OA:Pp	
*xalli		yinkutub		
let	the-book	it-be-writ	ten	by-them

^{&#}x27;let the book be written by them!"

Note: The validity of the previous example is questionable since an Object-as-Agent tagmeme does not occur in the corpus within a syntagmeme containing the same type of verb of which 'yinkutub' is an example.

CHAPTER FOUR: KERNEL ALLOTYPES

4.1 Emphatic (Topical): Any of the tagmemic clauses of the kernel matrix may have the etic variant emphatic (or topical). The reason for considering these allotypes rather than contrastive constructions is that all the tagmemes of the respective formulas and the sets of fillers of the slots remain the same. Also the transform potential of the clauses remains the same. The only difference is in the position of one tagmeme. In order to emphasize a particular tagmeme within any independent syntagmeme, the tagmeme under emphasis is positioned clause initially and is omitted from its regular position in the independent clause. In the cases where, in the non-emphatic clause the item to be emphasized was not overtly present as a separate tagmeme, the tagmeme of the implied item is present at the beginning of the clause under emphasis. Compare examples a and c below where ani "I" is covert in example a. but under emphasis becomes overt in example c.

Some examples follow:

a) Independent Transitive

TP:tv	OG:n	L:Pp
Šifta	'ali	bil-gahwa
I-saw-him	Ali	in-the-café

[&]quot;I saw Ali in the café"

b) Emphatic Variant (CG)

OG:n	TP:tv	L:Pp
'ali	Š ifta	bil-gahwa
Ali	I-saw-him	in-the-café

'Isaw Ali in the café'

c) Emphatic Variant (From 1 -- covert)

SA:p	TP:tv	OG:n	L:Pp
aani	Šifta	'ali	bil-gahwa
I	I-saw-him	Ali	in-the-café

'I saw Ali in the café'

4.2 Negative: I have considered negative constructions to be allotypes of the clauses of the kernel matrix rather than emically distinct clause types because they only differ from clauses of the kernel matrix by the addition of a negative element manifested as part of the verb as a filler in the predicate slot. The transform potential of the clauses of the kernel and regative matrices is the same.

Some examples of the negative allotypes of kernel clauses follow.

a) Independent Descriptive-Equative (negative allotype)

SI:p	DeP:ndep E	I: n
hada	muu sahiih	
this	not true	

'this is not true'

b) Independent Expletive (negative allotype)

ExP:nexp	SI:n	Loc:Adv.p
maakuu	daa'ii	lilgisal
not-there-is	need	to-the-washing

'there is no need to wash'

CHAPTER FIVE: DEPENDENT ALLCTYPES

The etic variants of the clauses of the dependent column of the kernel matrix are many and varied. But I have considered them to be allotypes, since they only differ by fillers.

All of these fillers may be considered members of the set of relators, filling the relator slot.

I have distinguished the following dependent allotypes based on the types of fillers that fill the relator slot.*

- a) Conditional ('idaa) 'if'
- b) Temporal (mataa, lamma) 'when'
- c) Adjectival (al-) woman the-he-married-her 'who.whom'
- d) Manner (\$loon, mi@il) how, like, as
- e) Relative nominal (?illi) that.who
- f) Possessive (\emptyset) cow milk-her sweet 'whose'
- E) Causal (li'an) 'because'

Some examples follow:

a) Dependent Intransitive Clause (conditional)

R:cond	IV:iVp
?idaa	triid tiji
if	you-want you-come
•	

'if you want to come'

b) Dependent Transitive Clause (temporal)

R:tem	TV:tVp
lamma	Saafah
when	he-sees-it

when he sees it

^{*}Some of these are portmanteau tagmemes. See, for example, examples c and d on the following page.

c) Dependent Transitive Clause (Adjectival)

Riadj	TP:tVp
al-	iddaayanta
the-	I-borrowed-it
•thet	borrowed*

d) Dependent Transitive Clause (Relator-Axis)

R:rel-nom	TP:tVp
?illi	Š aafah
who	he-sees-it

'whoever sees it'

The seven dependent clause allotypes listed on the previous page fill various slots in the independent formulas. The Relator-Axis allotype functions—as a noun and therefore may fill any slot requiring a noun phrase as a filler. The Conditional, Temporal, Manner and Causal allotypes function—as adverbs and thus may fill any slot requiring an adverbial phrase as a filler. And the Possessive and Adjectival allotypes—function as adjectives and as such may modify nouns. The Possessive and Adjectival allotypes of the dependent clause view considered together with the nouns which they modify compose noun phrases which may fill any slot in the independent formulas requiring a noun phrase as a filler.

CONCLUSION

Seeing the thesis in review I feel that this matrix analysis approaches an adequate description of Iraqi Arabic clause types. I realize, however, that, in time, some parts of the analysis may be subject to revision. My analysis is, therefore, not intended as the final analysis or as the only solution to the problem of classifying Iraqi clause types, but rather as a beginning attempt to handle Arabic data scientifically within tagmemic matrix theory.

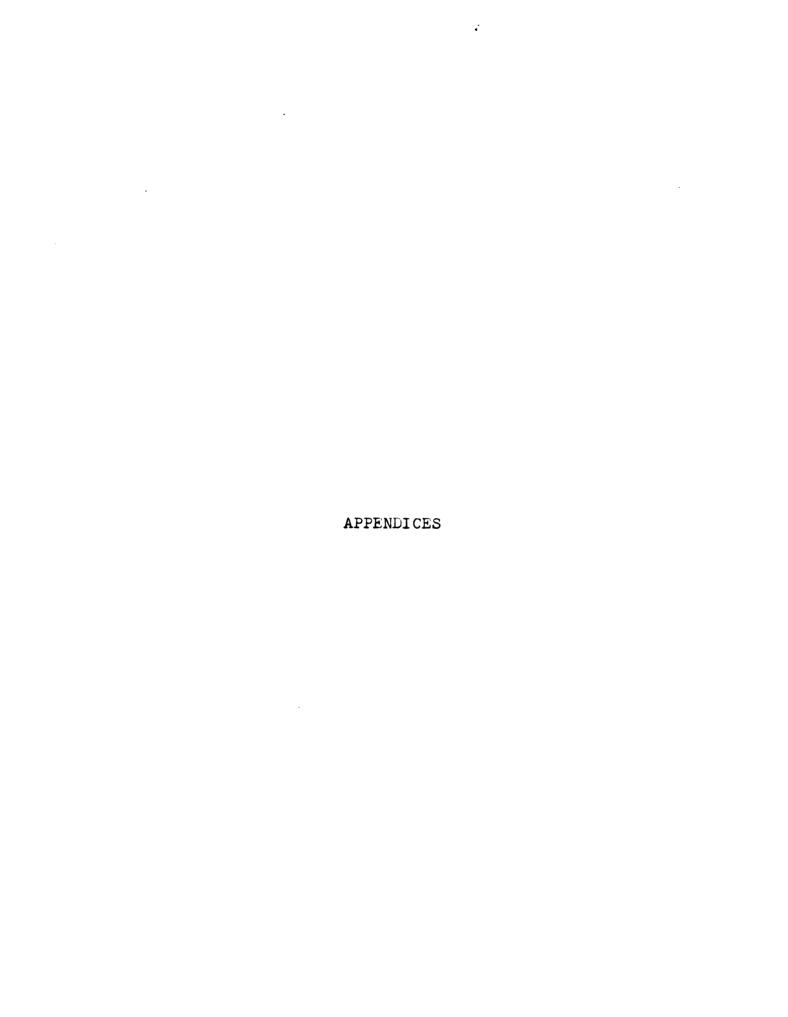
Even from the view of tagmemics this work is far from a complete analysis since there has been nothing said regarding the distribution of clauses in higher levels, and only a limited corpus was used to accomplish the analysis. It is a starting point, however, since I will be able to use this analysis as a rough outline of clause types, changing and refining it as I encounter more data.

Because the phrase level has not been analyzed, classes of fillers are tentative.

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APPENDIX I

THE DATA

Midaas Abuu lQaasim itTambuurii

1. Čaan yi'iiš ibmadinat Bagdaad fad rajjaal ismah past he-lives in-city Baghdad one man name-his

Abuu lQaasim itTambuurii. 2. uu caan Abuu lQaasim haada Abul Qasim it-Tamburi. and past Abul Qasim this

zangiin kullis ihwaaya, laakin caan baxiil uu ma yusruf rich very much, but past miserly and not he-spends

'ala nafsah wa laa filis. 3. uu čaan 'indah fad midaas on himself with no fils. and past with-him one shoe

'atiig imragga' libasah sab' isniin uu ma dabbah min old patched he-wore seven years and not he-drops from

rijlah. 4. uu čaan, kull ma yinšegg minnah mukaan, feet-his. and past, each time it-tears from-it place,

yiraggi'ah, ila ansaar @igiil uu kullah ruga'. 5. uu he-patches, until it-becomes heavy and all patches. and

?urfooh kull ahal Bagdaad uu saraw yudurbuun ilma@al biih. they-know all people Baghdad and they-became they-give the-example of-him.

6. fad yoom fad sadiiq min asdiqaa? Abuu lQaasim one day one friend from friends Abul Qasim

šaafah w gallah: "wallah yaa Abuu lQaasim, Alla mfaddil he-saw-him and said-to-him: "by-God C Abul Qasim God good

'alayk uu muntiik ifluus ihwaaya. 7. fa lays ma tistirii to-you and gave-you money alot. so why not you-buy

lak midaas jidiid bidaal midaasak il'atiig? aanii ašuuf to-you shoe new instead-of shoe-your the-old? I I-think

'ayb 'alayk tilibsah, winta bhazzangana haay!" 8. fa shame to-you you-wear-it, and-you this-wealthy now!" so

jaawabah Abuu lQaasim: "'ala 'ayni w rasi! insallah he-answered-him Abul Qasim: "on eye-my and head-my! will-God

astiri gayrah:"
I-buy another:"

9. ibdaak ilyoom raah Abuu lQaasim lilhammaam hatta on-that the-day he-went Abul Qasim to-the-bath until

yisbah. 10. lamma sibah uu xallas, tila' uu libas he-bathes. when he-bathed and finished he-came and put-on

induumah, laakin min raad yilbas midaasah, ma ligah. clothes-his, but from he-wanted he-puts-on shoe-his, not he-found-it.

11. bass saaf ibmukaanah midaas jidiid, hiluu, min ahsan so he-saw in-place-it shoe new, beautiful, from best

ilanwaa, fatsawwar sadiiqah stiraa lhiyaah, fa gaam the-kind, so-he-thought friend-his bought to-him-it, so he-upped

libasah uu rija' lilbayt.
he-put-on-it and returned to-the-house.

12. laakin haada lmidaas caan midaas ilqaadii, uu but this the-shoe past shoe the-judge, and

čaan jaay 1bdaak ilyoom lilhammaam hatta yisbah. 13. lamma past he-came on-that the-day to-the-bath until he-bathes when

tila' uu ma liga midaasah, galhum ijjamaa'tah: "yaa jamaa'a, he-came and not found shoe-his he-said-to-them the-friends-his: O friends.

'ajaba llii axad midaasii ma xalla bmukaanah midaas? I-wonder one he-took shoe-my not he-left in-place-it shoe?

xallii ndawwir balkit nilgii šii." 14. lamma dawraw ligaw allow we-look maybe we-find thing." when they-looked they-found

midaas Abuu lQaasim uu ?urfooh, li?an, mi@il ma ginna, shoe Abul Qasim and they-know, because, like what we-said,

caan ilmidaas mashuur ibBagdaad. 15. ilqaadii, min saaf past the-shoe famous in-Baghdad. the-judge, from he-saw

haada, zi'al ihwaaya, uu dazz xadamah 'ala Abuu lQaasim this, he-got-mad alot, and sent servants-his to Abul Qasim

hatta yuqubduun 'alayh. 16. lamma jaaboh giddaamah, until they-arrest to-him. when they-brought-him before-him

razzalah uu hukam 'alayh bgaraama čibiira, uu ba'ad ma he-reprimanded-him and sentenced to-him on-fine big, and after when

difa'ha haddah. he-paid-it he-freed-him.

17. Abuu lQaasim inqihar ihwaaya uu gaam yil'an Abul Qasim he-got-sad alot and he-upped he-curses

midaasah lmas'uum, uu raad yitxallas minnah, fa axadah shoe-his the-unlucky and wanted he-get-free from-it so he-took-it

uu dabbah bDijla. 18. min rija imnissatt, faat ibsuug and threw-it in-Tigris. from he-returned from-the-river, he-passed in-market

izzujaaj, wihnaak saadafah fad dallaal uu gallah: 19. the-glass, and-there he-met-him one broker and he-said-to-him

"yaa Abuu lQaasim, akuu hnaa taajir min Halab 'indah zujaaj
"O Abul Qasim, there-is here merchant from Aleppo he-has glass

imeahhab badii kullis, uu maakuu waahid yištiriih.
gilded beautiful very, and not-there-is one he-buys-it.

20. agdar aštirii lkiyaah bsi?ir rixiis, uu ba'dayn abii'
I-can I-buy to-you-it price cheap, and afterwards I-sell

ilkiyaah uu tirbah biih di'if qiimtah." 21. fa gaam Abuu for-you-it and you-gain by-it twice price." so he-upped Abul

lQaasim wištiraah bsittiin diinaar. Qasim and-he-bought-it at-sixty dinars.

22. ba'ad haada raah Abuu lQaasim issuug il'attaariin, after this he-went Abul Qasim the-market the-perfumers

wihnaak saadafah dallaal laax uu gallah: 23. "yaa Abuu and-there he-met-him broker other and he-said-to-him: "O Abul

lQaasim, akuu fad taajir min Nasiibiin 'indah mai warid Qasim, there-is one merchant from Nisibis with-him water rose

kullis faaxir, wiiriid iisaafir lahlah bil'ajal. 24. very excellent, and-he-wants he-goes to-people-his in-the-hurry.

ta'aal eštirii lkiyaah bmoot aglah, uu ba'dayn abii' come I-buy for-you-it before expensive, and after I-sell

ilkiyaah bsi'ir 'aalii uu tirbah biih di'if qiimteh."
for-you-it at-price high and you-gain by-it double price."

25. Abuu lQaasim gaam wištiraah bsittiin diinaar, waxadah
Abul Qasim he-upped and-bought-it for-sixty dinars, andhe-took-it

lilbayt uu xallaah bizzujaaj limdahhab uu hattah 'arraff. to-the-house and put-it in-the-glass the-gilded and put-it on-the-shelf.

26. laakin saadaf ibdaak ilyoom fad sammaač daabb but it-happened on-that the-day one fisherman cast

iššibča maltaah biššatt. 27. lamma jarha lii barra, the-net of-his in-the-river. when he-pulled to-it outside,

Šaaf biiha midaas Abuu lQaasim, fa gaal ibnafsah: 28. he-saw in-it shoe Abul Qasim, so he said to-himself:

"yimkin Abuu lQaasim ija yigsil ihna uu wuga minnah "perhaps Abul Qasim came he-washes here and it-fell from-him

lmidaas. xatiiya: xall aguum awaddii lhiyaah: 29. min the-shoe. pity: allow I-up I-give to-him-it: from

ija lbayt Abuu lQaasim, ma ligaah bilbayt uu šaaf ilbaab he-came to-house Abul Qasim, not he-found-him in-the-house and he-saw the-door

masduuda. 30. laakin saaf yamm ilbaab fad fatha miel closed. but he-saw near the-door one opening like

iššibbaač, 'aad gaam uu dabb ilmidaas minha lilhooš.
the-window, then he-upped and threw the-shoe through-it tothe-house.

31. laakin limidaas, min duun ilbukaanaat kulha, wuga but the-shoe, from out the-places all, it-fell

'azzujaaj uu kisarah, winčabb maiy ilwarid 'algaa'.
on-the-glass and broke-it, and spilled water the-rose on-floor.

32. lamma rija Abuu lQaasim lilbayt uu šaaf izzujaaj when he-returned Abul Qasim to-the-house and saw the-glass

maksur uu maiy ilwarid mačbuub, wilmidaas gaa'id bidaalhum broken and water the-rose spilled, and-the-shoe sitting in-stead-them

'arraff, bida yultum uu yibčii wiisiih: 33. "wallah on-the-shelf, he-began he-sobs and weeps and-shouts: "by-God

fugarnii halmidaas: laazim asuuf lii suurat haall it-impoverished-me this-shoe: necessary I-find to-me picture solving

watxallas min halmidaas ilmal'uun:" 34. @aanii yoom and-get-away from this-shoe the-cursed:" next day

issubuh gaam Abuu lQaasim uu xalla lmidaas jawwa ubtah, the-morning he-upped Abul Qasim and put the-shoe under armhis,

uu raah il fad xaan uu dabbah (tukurmuun:) bilmirhaad and he-went to one inn and threw-it (pardon-me) in-the-toilet maal xaan.

of inn.

35. ba'ad yoomayn itlaa@a gabbat irriiha, uu gabbat after day-two three it-rose the-smell, and it-rose

wiiyaaha l'ayta, uu bidaw innaas idawwiruun 'an issabab. with-it the-shouts, and they-began the-people they-search for the-cause.

36. uu bil'axiir ligaw midaas Abuu lQaasim saadd ilburbux and in-the-end they-found shoe Abul Qasim it-stopped the-pipe

maal mirhaad illii ntiras uu til'at minnah diič irriiha of toilet which it-filled and it-came from-it that the-smell

lkariiha. 37. 'aad raahaw wištikaw 'ala Abuu lQaasim the-bad. then they-went and-complained about Abul Qasim

'ind ilqaadii. 38. ilqaadii dazz 'alayh, uu garramah, with the-judge. the-judge sent for-him, and fined-him,

uu tilab minnah ysallih ilmirhaad. 39. 'id halhadd and demanded from-him he-repairs the-toilet. at this-point

zihgat ruuh Abuu lQaasim min midaasah, uu bida yfakkir it-bothered soul Abul Qasim from shoe-his, and he-began he-thinks

ibfad tariiqa hatta yxallus minnah.
on-one way until he-gets-rid from-it.

40. lamma rija lilbayt axad ilmidaas uu gassalah uu when he-returned to-the-house he-took the-shoe and washed-it and

talla ah foog issatih uu xallaah bissamis hatta yaybas.
took-it up the-roof and put-it in-sun until it-dries.

41. laakin sudfatan calb ijjiiraan gilab ibsatih Abuu lQaasim but by-chance dog the-neighbors climbed on-roof Abul Qasim

uu šaaf ilmidaas. 42. uu zannah fad šii yinwikil fa and he-saw the-shoe. and thought-it one thing to-be-eaten so

axadah uu gumaz biih lbayt laax hatta yaaklah hnaak ibraaha. he-took-it and jumped with-it to-house next until he-eats there with-rest.

43. laakin, ma'a l'asaf, a@naa' ma čaan da yutfur, filat but, with the-sorrow, while past jumping, it-slipped

ilmidaas min halgah, uu wuga ala raas fad rajjaal asla the-shoe from mouth-his and it-fell on head one man bald

maašii bittariiq, uu jirahah. 44. irrajjaal ilmajruuh he-walked in-the-road and it-cut-him. the-man the-cut-one

'uraf ilmidaas, uu zann Abuu lQaasim Sumarah 'alayh, fa knew the-shoe, and he-thought Abul Qasim threw-it at-him, so

raah wištika 'alayh 'ind ilqaadii. 45. ilqaadii jaab he-went and-complained on-him with the-judge. the-judge brought

Abuu lQaasim uu garramah halmarra flus ihwaaya, uu tilab Abul Qasim and he-fined-him this-time money alot, and demanded

minnah yidfa' kull masaariif ilmajruuh. 46. uu gallah: from-him he-pays all expenses the-one-cut. and he-said-to-him

"ida jaabook mart illuxka hnaa, ahibsak!" 47. Abuu lQaasim "if they-bring-you time the-other here, I-imprison-you!" Abul Qasim

li-miskiin sikat, uu difa' lifluus, uu šaal midaasah the-poor was-silent, and paid the-money and picked-up shoehis

w tila.
and left.

48. lamma wusal lilbayt gaal: "ida maa uuf lii when he-arrived to-the-house he-said: if not-I-find to-me

čaara waxallus min halmidaas ilmaš'uum ilmal'uun, raah
way and-get-rid from this-shoe the-unlucky the-cursed, it-goes

iimawwitnii: 49. lamma ija llayl uu naamaw innas, gaam it-kills-me: when it-came the-night and they-slept the-people, he-upped

Abuu lQaasim uu nizal lissirdaab, uu bida yihfur hufra Abul Qasim and he-went to-the-cellar, and began he-digs hole

hatta yidfin biha midaasah. 50. laakin ijjiiraan hassaw, until he-buries in-it shoe-his. but the-neighbors woke

uu zannaw akuu haraamii da yungub haayit baythum hatta and thought there-is robber making hole house-their until

ybuughum, fa til'aw uu saahaw išsurta. 51. išsurta he-robs-them, so they-went and called the-police. the-police

ijaw uu lizmaw Abuu lQaasim uu waddooh lilqaadii. came and took Abul Qasim and brought-him to-the-judge.

52. ilqaadii bida yinčii 'alayh uu gallah: "ma tistihii? the-judge began he-reprimanded on-him and said-to-him: "not you-ashamed?

muu 'ayb 'alayk? aaxir išloon itriid itbuug jiiraanak? not disgrace for-you? how way you-want you-rob neighbors-your?

yallah, uxeuuh lilhabis:"
hurry, take-him to-the-prison:"

53. uu hassikil inhibas Abuu lQaasim ilmiskiin min and thus-it-was he-was-jailed Abul Qasim the-poor from

wara midaasah. 54. uu lamma xallas mahkuumiitah, garramah behind shoe-his. and when he-finished sentence-his, he-fined-him

lqaadii uu atlaq siraahah. 55. laakin Abuu lQaasim, the-judge and let freedom-his. but Abul Qasim,

gabul ma yitla, iltifat lilqaadii uu gallah: 56. "yaa before he-left, he-turned to-the-judge and said-to-him: "O

mawlaana lqaadii, ariidak tiktib sanad baraa'a baynii uu lord the-judge, I-want you-write voucher innocense between mee and

bayn haada lmidaas. 57. ariidak tiktib bi'an laa huuwa between this the-shoe. I-want you-write that no it

yxusni wa laa aanii axussah, wišma ysawwii, aanii ma'layya!" it-connects-with-me and no I I-connect-with-it, and-what it-does, I not-with-it!"

58. uu ba'dayn hičaa lah lilqaadii hčaaytah kulha, uu and afterwards he-told to-him to-the-judge story-his all, and

'addad lah kull ile yaa' illi wug'at ibraasah min wara told to-him all the-things which fell on-head-his from behind

lmidaas. 59. lamma sima' ilqaadii lihkaaya, dihak, uu the-shoe. when he-heard the-judge the-story he-laughed, and

nutaah mablag min lifluus uu dazzah lbaytah. 60. uu lii he-gave-him sum from money and sent-him to-house-his. and to

hassa ahal Eagdaad, kull maa yšuufuun qundara 'atiiga now people Baghdad, each time they-see shoe old

mšagšiga, yigluun: "čanha midaas Abuu lQaasim itTambuurii:" tattered, they-say: "it-is shoe Abul Qasim it-Tamburi!"

The Shoe of Abul Qasim it-Tamburi

- 1. There used to live in the city of Baghdad a man by the name of Abul Qasim it-Tamburi. 2. And this Abul Qasim was very very rich, but he was miserly and wouldn't spend on himself even a fils. 3. And he had a certain old patched shoe which he wore for seven years and didn't (want to) throw away. 4. And whenever a place in it would get torn, he would patch it up, until it became heavy and was all patches. 5. And all the people of Baghdad knew the shoe and were making a byword of it.
- 6. One day one of Abul Qasim's friends saw him and said to him: "Really Abul Qasim, God has been generous to you and has given you a lot of money. 7. So why don't you buy yourself a new shoe in the place of your old shoe? I think it's a shame for you to wear it, when you're so well off:"

 8. And Abul Qasim answered him: "I'll be glad to do as you say! God willing, I'll buy another!"
- 9. That (same) day Abul Qasim went to the (public) bath to bathe. 10. When he had bathed and finished, he came out and put on his clothes, but when he wanted to put on his shoe, he did not find it. 11. But he saw in its place a new shoe, fine looking, one of the best kinds, and he thought his friend had bought it for him, so he upped and put it on and returned home.
- 12. But this shoe was the shoe of the judge, and he had come that day to the bath to bathe.

- 13. When he came out and didn't find his shoe, he said to his companions: "My friends, I wonder whether the one who took my shoe has not left a shoe in its place? Let's look around, perhaps we'll find something." 14. When they looked around they found Abul Qasim's shoe and recognized it, because, as we've said, the shoe was famous in Baghdad.

 15. The judge, when he saw it, got very angry, and he sent his servants to Abul Qasim to arrest him. 16. When they brought him before him, he gave him a good dressing down and sentenced him (to pay) a big fine, and after he paid it he let him go.
- 17. Abul Qasim was very much grieved and he started cursing his ill-omened shoe, and he wanted to get rid of it, so he took it and threw it into the Tigris. 18. When he returned from the river, he passed through the glassware bazaar, and there a broker encountered him and said to him: 19. "Abul Qasim, there's a merchant here from Aleppo who has some very lovely gilded glass, and no one is buying it.

 20. I can buy it for you at a cheap price, and then I'll sell it for you and you'll gain by it double its price." 21. So Abul Qasim upped and bought it for sixty dinars.
- 22. After that Abul Qasim went to the perfumers' bazaar, and there another broker met him and said to him: 23. "Abul Qasim, there's a merchant from Nisibis who has some very excellent rose water, and he wants to go off to his people in a hurry.

- 24. Come (let) me buy it for you for a song, and afterwards I'll sell it for you at a high price and you'll gain by it double its price." 25. Abul Gasim upped and bought it for sixty dinars, and he took it home and put it in the gilded glass (bottles) and put them on the shelf.
- 26. But it happened on that day that a fisherman had cast his net into the river. 27. When he pulled it out, he saw in it Abul Qasim's shoe, so he said to himself: 28. "Perhaps Abul Qasim came to wash here and the shoe fell off him. A pity: Let me go and take it to him." 29. When he came to Abul Gasim's house, he didn't find him at home and saw that the door was closed. 30. But he saw near the door an opening like a window, so he upped and threw the shoe through it into the house (or: courtyard). 31. But the shoe, out of all the places, fell on the glass (bottles) and broke them, and the rose water was spilt on the floor (ground). 32. When Abul Qasim returned home and saw the glass broken and the rose water spilt, and the shoe sitting in place of them on the shelf, he began slapping his face and weeping and shouting: 33. "By God, this shoe has impoverished me! I must find myself a solution (to the problem) and get rid of this accursed shoe!" 34. The next day in the morning Abul Qasim upped and put the shoe under his armpit, and he went to a certain inn and threw it (pardon the expression!) into the toilet of the inn.

- 35. Two or three days later the smell rose up, and the shouting rose up with it, and the people began looking for the cause. 36. And finally they found Abul Qasim's shoe blocking up the drainpipe of the toilet which had become filled up and from it came that disgusting smell. 37. So they went and lodged with the judge a complaint against Abul Qasim. 38. The judge sent for him, and he fined him, and demanded of him that he repair the toilet. 39. At this point Abul Qasim got completely fed up with his shoe, and he started thinking of some way so that he could get rid of it.
- 40. When he returned home he took the shoe and washed it and took it up onto the roof and put it in the sun to dry. 41. Eut by chance the neighbors' dog climbed over onto Abul Qasim's roof, and he saw the shoe. 42. And he thought it something eatable, so he took it and jumped with it to another house so that he could eat it there at leisure. 43. Eut, unfortunately, while he was jumping, the shoe slipped from his mouth, and it fell on the head of a certain taldheaded man who was walking in the road, and it cut him. 44. The man who had been cut recognized the shoe, and he thought that Abul Qasim had thrown it at him, so he went and lodged a complaint against him with the judge. 45. The judge had Abul Qasim brought, and this time he fined him a lot of money, and demanded of him that he pay all the expenses of the man who had been cut.

A construction of

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46. And he said to him: "if they bring you here again, I'll put you in prison:" 47. Poor Abul Qasim was silent, and he paid the money, and he picked up his shoe and went out.

48. When he arrived home he said: "If I don't find myself a way out and get rid of this ill-omened, accursed shoe, it will be the death of "e:" 49. When night came and people were asleep, Abul Qasim got up and went down to the cellar, and he began digging a hole to bury his shoe in it. 50. But the neighbors woke up, and they thought there was a robber making a hole in the wall of their house in order to rob them, so they went out and called the police. 51. The police came and apprehended Abul Qasim and took him away to the judge. 52. The judge began upbraiding him and said to him: "Aren't you ashamed? Isn't it a disgrace for you? Now how could you want to rob your neighbors? Come on, take him off to prison:"

53. And thus it was that poor Abul Qasim was jailed because of his shoe. 54. And when he finished (serving) his sentence, the judge fined him and released him. 55. But Abul Qasim, before going out, turned to the judge and said to him: 56. "My Lord Judge, I want you to write out a voucher of innocence between me and this shoe. 57. I want you to write that it has no connection with me and I have no connection with it, and whatever it does, I am not to be blamed: 58. And then he related to the judge his whole story, and enumerated to him all the things which had fallen

on his head because of the shoe. 59. When the judge heard the story, he laughed, and he gave him a sum of money and sent him home. 60. And till now the people of Baghdad, whenever they see an old tattered shoe, they say: "It's as though it were the shoe of Abul Qasim it-Tamburi:"

Mu'allim Jaahil

1. yiguuluun: Kaan akuu fad rajjaal laa yu'ruf they-say: past there-is one man no he-knows

people heads and no he-writes, but past he-became he-tricked the-

yitalli minha xubzah. 2. fad yoom gaal ibnafsah: he-gained from-it bread-his. one day he-said to-himself:

"ahsan kull šii aftah lii maktab, wa'allim biih jjihaal "better all thing I-open to-me school, and-I-teach in-it the-children

qraaya wiktaaba, watalli "iištii min hassan'a." 3. ba'ad reading and-writing, and-I-gain living-my from this-trade." after

on-them writing.

this he-upped and he-collected to-him blackboards and papers

on-them writing.

uu 'allagha bilmukaan illii fitah biih lmaktab, uu kabbarand he-hung-them in-the-place which he-opened in-it the-school, and he-made big

imasmtah, uu gi'ad ibbaab ilmaktab. 4. lamma nnass tùrban-his, and sat in-door the-school. When the-people

Sastooh uu Šastaw 1 maamtah ččibiira wissabbuuraat saw-him and saw turban-his big and-the-blackboards

hilawraaq, tsawwirooh fad insaan 'alim uu yiftihim, uu and-the-papers, they-thought-him one with learning and and-intelligent, and

gaamaw iijiibuun wilidhum wiiga duuhum indah bilmaktab. they-upped they-brought sons-their and-they-put-them wiht-him in-the-school.

5. uu huuwa, lamma saaf ilwilid gaa'diin wiiriiduun and he, when he-saw the-boys sitting and-they-want

yit'almuun, bida yguul il haada "iqra!" wid daaka "iktib!", they-learn, he-began he-say to this "read!" and-to that "write!".

uu gaammaw ilwilid waahid yi'allim illaax. and they-upped the-boys one he-taught to-other.

6. fad yoom, lamma Kaan gaa'id ala 'aadtah bbaab one day, when past he-sat to custom-his in-door

ilmaktab, saaf fad imrayya jaayatah min bi'iid, uu biidha the-school, he-saw one woman coming from far, and in-hand-her

maktuub. 7. lamma t'akkad hiiya jaaya yammah, gaal ibnafsah: letter. when he-sure she coming to-him, he-said to-himself:

"haadii lumrayya laazim jaayatnii da aqraa lah lmaktuub.
"this the-woman necessary she-coming-me I-reading to-her the-letter.

'aad išraah adabbur wiiyaaha, waanii ma'ruf aqra waktib?!"

now what I-do with-her, since not-I-know I-read and-Iwrite?!"

8. uu gaam saahibna min mukaanah dayriid yinhizim minha, and he-upped friend-our from place-his wanting he-runs from-her.

uu yiččaffa ššarr uu yistur 'ala nafsah. 9. laakin and he-avoids the-evil and he-preserves on himself. but

lumrayya lihgatah gabul ma yinhizim uu gallatlah: the-woman she-caught-him before when he-flee and said-to-him: "haay wayn Mulla?" 10. gallilha: "wallah ariid asallii now where Mulla?" he-said-to-her: "by-God I-want I-pray

salaat izzuhur, uu lamma axallus arja'." 11. gallatlah:
prayer the-noon, and when I-finish I-return. she-said-to-him:

"ihna wayn? wizzuhur wayn? im'awwad, iqraa lii haada
"we where? and-the-noon where? man, read to-me this

lnaktuub:"
the-letter:"

12. mu'allimna ččaddaabii twahhal, wittarr yaaxud teacher-our the-deceitful was-stuck, and he-compelled he-takes

ilmaktuub minha. 13. laakin lizamah bil magluub, uu the-letter from-her. but he-held-it on-the bottom, and

bida ybaawi biih, uu marra yihizz i maamtah, uu marra he-began he-looks on-it and now he-shakes turban-his, and now

yraggus ihwaajbah, uu wujhah m'abbis cannah gayma sooda. it-danced eyebrow-his, and face-his frowned like cloud black.

14. lumrayya lmiskiina čaan rajilha msaafir, uu čaan daak the-woman the-poor past husband-her journeyed, and past that

ilmaktuub jaay min 'indah. 15. lamma saafat ilmu'allim the-letter came from with-him. when she-saw the-teacher

ibdiic ilhaala lgariiba, gaalat wiiya nafisa: "akiid in-that the-state the-unusual she-said to herself: "he-must

rajlii maat, wilmu'allim da yistihi gullii:" 16. fa
husband-my died and-the-teacher being shy he-tells-me!" so

gallatlah: she-said-to-him: "ida huuwa mayyit, gullii!" 17. limu'allim hazz raasah,
"if he dead, tell-me!" the-teacher shook head-his,

uu zall saakit. 18. 'aad gallatlah: "asugg ihduumii?" and stayed silent. then she-said-to-him: "I-tear clothes-my?"

gallilha: "suggii!" 19. gallatlah: "altum 'ala wujhii?" he-said-to-her "tear!" she-said-to-him: "I-slap on face-my?"

gallilha: "lutmii!"
he-said-to-her: "slap!"

20. ilmiskiina salmat amurha lallah, waxdat ilmaktuub the-poor resigned affair-her to-God, and-took the-letter

min iidah, uu rij'at il baytha, uu bidat titcii hiiya from hand-his, and returned to house-her, and began weeping she

w wilidha. 21. lamma jjiiraan sim'aw uu si'law uu and children-her. when the-neighbors heard and asked and

'urfaw issabab, waahid minhum gaal: 22. "\sin halha\centrali? learned the-reason, one from-them said: "what this-talk?

Sinuu rajilha maat? haada muu sahiih! haada xarut! what husband-her died? this not true! this nonsense!

23. aanii lbaarha jaanii maktuub min rajilha, uu maa
I yesterday came-me letter from husband-her, and not
biih šii abdan: sihtah mumtaaza, uu ba'ad 'aširt ayyaam
to-him thing wrong health-his excellent, and after ten days

raah yirja il ahlah:"
he-goes he-returns to people-his:"

24. uu gaam daak irrajjaal uu raah il bayt lumrayya, uu and he-upped that the-man and goes the house the-woman, and

galha: "ballah matraawiinii yaah lilmaktuub?" 25. lamma said-to-her: "in-God show-me it to-the-letter!" when

Saafah w qiraah, gallilha: "isim'ii Sdayguul rajlik: he-sees-it and reads-it, he-said-to-her: "listen what-says husband-your

26. wa ida tisi'luun 'annii, aanii bsihha zayna wib'aafya. and if you-ask-about me, I in-health good and-in-well.

uu ba'ad 'asirt ayyaam akuun 'idkum. uu raah yoosalkum and after ten days there with-you. and it-goes it-comes-you

min 'indii qmaas uu xaam."
from with-me fabric and cotton."

27. min sim'at lumrayya haada, axdat ilmaktuub uu from she-heard the-woman this, she-took the-letter and

raahat lah lilmu'allim uu gallatlah: 28. "aaxir matxaaf went to-him to-the-teacher and said-to-him: "you-have no-fear

min Rabbak? Sloon sawwayt biiya haliswaaya?:" 29. uu from Lord? how you-could to-me this-thing?:" and

ba'dayn hicat lah lqussa kulha bimaa unzilat: sihhat afterwards she-told to-him the-story all exactly it-happened: health

rajilha, uu rijuu'ah, wiliqmaas iddaazzah wilxaam. husband-her, and return-his, and-the-fabric the-he-sent and-the-cotton.

30. 'aad ilmu'allim, hatta yxallus nafsah, gallilha: then the-teacher, until he-saves himself, he-said-to-her:

"tamaam wallah: haqq biidic. saamhiinii: aanii cint
"that's-so by-God: right with-you. forgive-me! I was

išwaayya ma'fuus, uu lamma šifit liqmaaš wilxaam zannayt little upset, and when I-saw the-fabric and-the-cotton I-thought

rajlic maat uu caffinooh: 31. uu caanat lumrayya basiita, husband-your died and they-shrouded-him: and she-was the-woman simple,

uu min ahl Allah, uu ma tu'ruf ilhiila šinuu hiiya.
and from people God, and not she-knew the-trick what it.

32. fa gallatlah: "Alla ysaamhak!" waxdat ilmaktuub so she-said-to-him "God forgives-you!" and-she-took the-letter

uu rij'at il baytha.
and returned to house-her.

An Ignorant Teacher

- 1. They say: There was a certain man who did not know how to read or write, but he used to play tricks on people, by means of which he eked out his living. 2. One day he said to himself: "The best thing of all is to open a school for myself, and it it I'll teach kids reading and writing, and I'll eke out my livelihood from this trade." 3. Thereupon he upped and collected for himself some blackboards and sheets of paper with writing on them, and he hung them in the place in which he opened the school, and he enlarged his turban, and he sat at the door of the school. 4. When the people saw him and saw his big turban and the blackboards and the sheets of paper, they supposed him to be a learned man and intelligent, and they started to bring their sons and put them with him in the school. 5. And he, when he saw the boys sitting wanting to learn, began saying to this one "Read:", and to that one "Write:", and the boys started teaching one another.
- 6. One day, when he was sitting according to his custom at the door of the school, he saw a woman coming to him from a distance, with a letter in her hand. 7. When he was sure that she was coming up to him, he said to himself:
 "This woman must be coming to me to have me read the letter to her. Now what shall I do with her, since I don't know how to read and write?!"

- 8. And our friend got up from his place wanting to run away from her and to avoid the evil and preserve his reputation.

 9. But the woman caught up to him before he (could) flee, and she said to him: "Now where (are you off to) Mulla?"

 10. He said to her: "Really I want to pray the noon prayer, and when I finish I'll come back." ll. She said to him:

 "There's a long time between us and noon. Dear man, read me this letter:"
- 12. Our deceitful teacher was stuck (in the mud), and he was compelled to take the letter from her. 13. Eut he held it upside down, and he began looking at it, and now he would shake his turban, and again he would make his eyebrows dance, and his face was frowning as though it were a black cloud. 14. The poor woman, her husband had gone on a journey, and that letter had come from him. 15. When she saw the teacher in that unusual state, she said to herself: "My husband has surely died, and the teacher is too shy to tell me:" 17. The teacher shook his head, and he remained silent. 18. Then she said to him: "Shall I tear my clothes?" He said to her: "Tear (them):" 19. She said to him: "Shall I slap my face?" He said to her: "Slap (it):"
- 20. The poor woman resigned her affair to God, and she took the letter from his hand and went back home and began weeping, she and her children. 21. When the neighbors heard and asked and learned the reason, one of them said: 22. "What is this talk? What is this about her husband having died?

It's not true: It's nonsense: 23. Yesterday a letter came to me from her husband, and there's nothing at all the matter with him: His health is excellent, and in ten days he'll return to his people: 24. And that man upped and went to the woman's house, and he said to her: "Won't you please show it to me, the letter?" 25. When he saw it and read it, he said to her: "Listen to what your husband is saying: 26. And if you ask about me, I'm in good health and very well. And in ten days I'll be with you. And there will reach you, from me, some fabric and cotton cloth."

27. When the woman heard this, she took the letter and went to the teacher and said to him: 28. "Now have you no fear of your Lord? How could you do such a thing to me?!"
29. And then she related to him the whole story exactly as it happened: her husband's health, and his return, and the fabric which he had sent and the cotton cloth. 30. Then the teacher, to save himself, said to her: "That's so, by God: You're right. Forgive me: I was a little upset, and when I saw the fabric and the cotton cloth I thought your husband had died and that they had shrouded him:" 31. And the woman was simple, and quite naive, and did not know what a trick was. 32. So she said to him: "God forgive you:", and she took the letter and went back home.

"IND ILBAGGAAL

- (ilbaggaal, ilmištirii, abuu ssayyaara, limrayya) (the-grocer, the-customer, owner the-car, the-woman)
- 2 Eag: wa alaykumu ssalaam: and with-you the-peace:
- 3 Mis: ballah, bays ittamaata?
 on-God, how-much the-tomatoes?
- 4 Eag: kayluu bi@maaniin. kilo at-eighty.
- 5 Mis: la?, ibdirhim: no, at-dirham:
- 6 Eag: uxud 'ala sab'iin. take on seventy.
- 7 Mis: 'ammii, yaa sab'iin? daššuufha mamruuda w raayha: uncle-my, C seventy? you-see bruised and they-go!
- E Bag: agaatii, may'ijbak, la tištirii, haada lmawjuud: sir-my, not-like-your, no you-buy, this the-present:
- 9 Mis: zayn, ibsittiin. good, at-sixty.
- 10 Eag: la?, sab'iin. 'ijabak, uxud. ma 'ijabak, fiimaanillah' no, seventy. like-your, take. not like-your, good-bye!
- ll Mis: amurna lallah: intiinii fad tubgiiya. help-us to-God: give-me one basket.

12 Fag: tfaddal: ... yaabah, latgallub biiha hassikil: here: man, no-touch on-them this-way:

truuh tinmurid: they-go they-get-smashed:

13 Mis: ii, hass liiriid yistangii siisawwii? hamm yes, so the-one he-chooses what-to-do? even

ibsab'iin uu ham latmidd iidak 'alayha: ii, at-seventy and even no-stretch hand-your on-them: yes,

qaabil hiiya duri? what they gems?

- 14 Bag: duxud agaatii. uxud uu xallisna: take sir-my. take and free-us'.
- 15 Mis: haak. oozin lii fad kayluwayn. here. weigh to-me one kilos-two.
- 16 Bag: jiib fa00intayn itlaa0a lux.
 bring so-the-two three the-other.
- 17 Mis: tfaddal. ballah, xallii lii yaaha ffacciis waraq ... here. on-God, put to-me them in-the-bag paper

ma 'indak ahsan min hal ixyaar? not with-you better from these cucumbers?

18 Bag: diruuh dawwir issuug kullah suu tilga axuuh:
go search the-market all see you-find brothers:

(ilbaggaal iisiih) maal iššuwaatii yaxyaar: (the-grocer shouts) of the-riverbanks O-cucumbers:

qalam yaxyaar:
pencil O-cucumbers:

- 19 Mis: zayn, zayn. bays datbii ah?
 good, good. how-much you-sell-them?
- 20 Eag: bdirhim. at-dirham.
- 21 Mis: šda'wa? ilbaarha axattah barba'iin.
 what-reason? the-yesterday I-got-them at-forty.
- 22 Bag: wallah, mištaraatah 'alayya bxamsa warba'iin:
 by-God, buying-them on-five and-forty:
 halyoom ma nizal ixyaar ihwaaya bil'alwa.
 this-day not many cucumbers came on-the-wholesale.
- 23 Mis: zayn. intiinii fad kayluu. (ilbaggaal yoozin)
 good. give-me one kilo. (the-grocer weighs)
 - 11, lays dassiilha, lilixyaara? ilmiizaan ba'ad yes, why you-take-it, to-the-cucumber? the-balance after

ma nizal: dixalliiha, xalliiha: ... ii, haay not many: leave-it, leave-it: ...yes, now

tamaam: right:

- 24 Bag: mamnuun agaatii: ba'ad šitriid?
 obliged sir-my! after what-you-want?
- 25 Mis: bays tihsib lii lluubya?
 how-much you-charge to-me the-beans?
- 26 Bag: barba'iin. at-forty.
- 27 Mis: ham baalga uu ham barba'iin? la?, bitlaa@iin: even old and even on-forty? no, at-thirty:

28 Bag: uxud: haak haada tubag. (yibdi lmistirii yistangii take: here this basket. (he-starts the-customer he-picks

lluubya liiriidha. bhala@naa yinzil waahid min the-beans the-he-wants-them. on-this-while he-gets-out one from

sayyaartah, uu yijii yam tukkaan ilbaggaal) car-his, and comes to shop the-grocer)

- 29 Bag: hala b'ammii: hala: štu'mur?

 welcome on-uncle-my: welcome: what-you-like?
- 30 AbS: fad kayluwayn tamaata, tla@ kayluwaat 1xyaar, one kilos-two tomatoes, three kilos cucumbers,

kayluwayn luubya, kaylu w nuss šijar. 'indak kilos-two beans, kilo and half squash. with-you

baytinjaan zayn? eggplant good?

31 Bag: ii, 'ammii, 'indii jawwa xoos baytinjaan, yes, uncle-my, with-me inside nice eggplant.

tarih. sgad tu mur?
young. how-much you-like?

- 32 AbS: fad kayluwayn. one kilos-two.
- 33 Bag: (yibdii bilwazin uu ba'd iswayya yguul) Hasan:
 (he-begins on-the-weighing and after little he-says)
 Hasen:

lak Hasan: ta'aal waddii haay wiiya 'ammak to-you Hasen: come take now these uncle-your



lissayyaara: (yintii ličyaas il Hasan)
to-the-car: (he-gives the-bags to Hasen)

- 34 AbS: sgad ihsaabak? how-much bill-your?
- 35 Bag: Oman milt fills. eight hundred fils.
- 36 AbS: haak: here:
- 37 Bag: eškurak 'ammii: fiimaanillaah: (tijii fad thank-you uncle-my: good-bye: (she-comes one imrayya da tistirii) woman buying)
- 38 Lim: bays il armuut? how-much the-pears?
- 39 Bag: brubu diinaar. at-one-fourth dinaar.
- 40 Lim: laa: bmiit filis: no: at-hundred fils:
- 41 Bag: Allah yintiič: God forgives-you:
- 42 Lim: Sinuu? daajaddii minnak? what? I-beg from-you?
- Bag: bass saayfa 'armuut ibmiit filis? so you-saw pears at-hundred fils?
- 44 Lim: ii, huuwa mnaggid: yes, they develop-spots:

- 45 Eag: hassa huuwa ham laayig 11 halgic:
 now they then fit to mouth-your:
- 46 Lim: lak inta ma tistihii: to-you you not shamed:
- 47 Bag: wallah, maakuu waahid ma yistihii gayrič:
 by-God. not-there-is one not he-shamed other-you:
- 48 Lim: zayn: dixalliih 'ala galbak: (truuh limrayya) good: put-them on heart-your: (she-goes the-woman)
- 49 Bag: wallah, loo a'ruf, adibbah biddarub uu maabii'ah by-God, if I-know, I-throw on-the-street and not-sell-them

bmiit filis: at-hundred fils:

50 Mis: laakin ma laazim it'iil 'alayha bilhačii.
but not necessary you-speak to-her in-the-harsh.

haay 'imla. triid, bii': matriid, latbii': now deal. you-want, buy: not-you-want, no-buy:

51 Bag: ii, muu zehgatnii: huuwa akuu 'armuut ilyoom yes, not she-killed-me: they there-are pears the-day

ibmiit filis? uudaa tak mištaraatah alaya at-hundred fils? life-your cost to-them

bmiitayn filis. uu yilihgah ardiiya wihmaala at-hundred-two fils. and he-adds ground-rend and-porter

w naqil wiijaar tukkaan. ii, maarid ahsassil and transport and rent store. yes, not-I-want I-make

lii fad xams ifluus bilkayluu? uu tijii nnaayma to-me one some money on-the-kilo? and she-comes the-sleeper

liddiha witgullak ibmiit filis: ii, haay to-the-noon and-tells-you at-hundred fils: yes, now

Sagla? wallah, loo aruuh adfa' lii 'arabaana what-job? by-God, if I-go I-push to-me cart

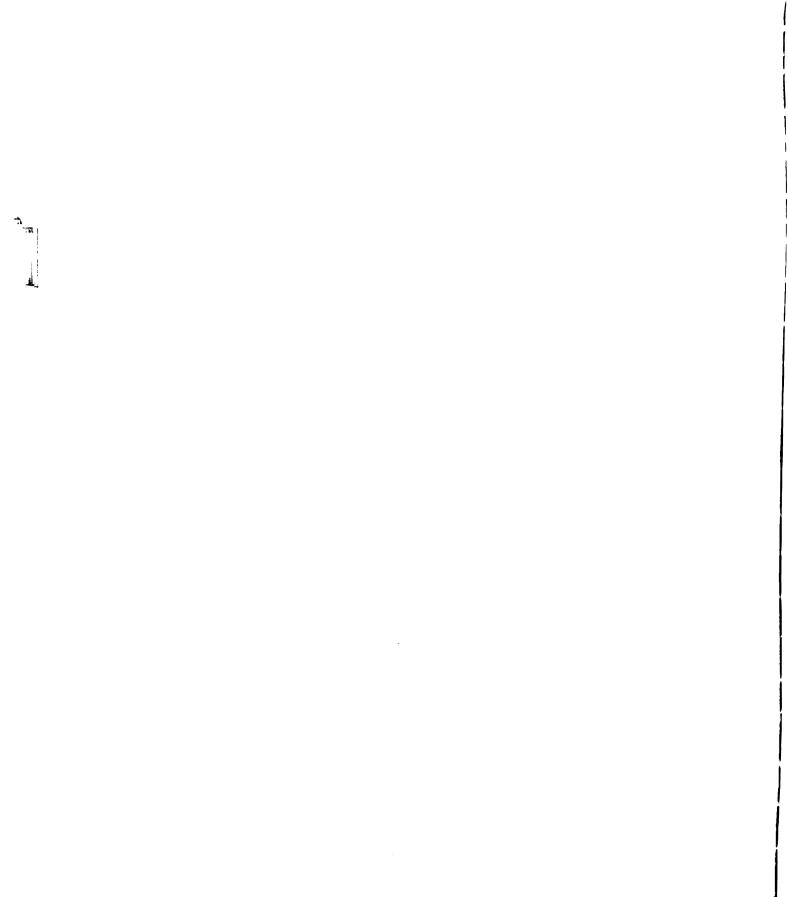
wabii Pipsii ham ahsan lii: sgad oozin lak and-sell Pepsi even better to-me: how-much weigh to-you

luubya, 'ammii?
beans, uncle-my?

- 52 Mis: kaylu w nuss. kilo and half.
- 53 Bag: tfaddal: here:
- 54 Mis: sgad saar ihsaabii ballah?
 how-much becomes bill-my on-God?
- 55 Bag: Smaaxie? what-you-took?
- 56 Mis: kayluwayn tamaata, uu kayluu xyaar, uu kaylu kilos-two tomatoes, and kilo cucumbers, and kilo

w nuss luubya.
and half beans.

57 Bag: kayluwayn tamaata bmiiya warba'iin. uu kayluu kilos-two tomatoes at-hundred and-forty. and kilo



xyaar 1bd1rhim, saar milya w tis'iin. kaylu
cucumbers at-dirham, becomes hundred and ninety.
kilo

w nuss luubya bxamsa warba'iin, saar miitayn and half beans at-five and-forty, becomes hundred-two

uu xamsa witlaa@iin. and five and-thirty.

- 58 Mis: haak! (yintiih nuss dinaar)
 here! (he-gives-him half dinar)
- 59 Bag: ma 'indak xurda? ilxurda swayya tfiidnii.
 not with-you change? the-change little helps-me.
- 60 Mis: laa, wallah. no. by-God.
- 61 Bag: tfaddal: haay miltayn uu xamsa w sittiin filis. here: now hundred-two and five and sixty fils.
- 62 Mis: aškurak. fiimaanillaah: thank-you. good-bye:
- 63 Bag: fii daa't illaah: (yisiih) maal issuwaatii keep-you God: (he-shouts) of the-riverbanks

yaxyaar: luubya nabi': laawii yaa tiin: 0-cucumbers: beans new: ripe 0 figs:

waziirii yaa tiin: mhanna yaa xox: miskii best O figs: red O peaches: musk

w 'ambar yaa xox: and amber 0 peaches:

AT THE GROCER'S

(Grocer, Customer, Car Owner, Woman)

- 1 Customer: Greetings!
- 2 Grocer: And greetings to you!
- 3 Customer: Please, how much are the tomatoes?
- 4 Grocer: Eighty (fils) a kilo.
- 5 Customer: No. a dirham:
- 6 Grocer: Take (them) for seventy.
- 7 Customer: My good man, what seventy? You see they're starting to go!
- 8 Grocer: Sir, if you don't like (them), don't buy (them).
 This is what there is.
- 9 Customer: Alright, for sixty:
- 10 Grocer: No, seventy. If you like (it), take (them).

 If you don't like (it), good-bye!
- 11 Customer: God help us: Give me a basket.
- 12 Grocer: Here you are: ... My dear man, don't paw over them like that: They'll get smashed:
- 13 Customer: Yes, but one who wants to choose, what is he to do? Even at seventy, and also: Don't handle them! Huh, is it possible they are gems?
- 14 Grocer: Do take them sir: Take and have done with 1t:
- 15 Customer: Here you are. Weigh me out two kilos.
- 16 Grocer: Bring two or three others.
- 17 Customer: Here you are. Please, put them in a paper bag.

- ... Haven't you any better than these cucumbers?
- 18 Grocer: Do go search the whole market (and) see if
 you'll find their brother(s): (the grocer shouts)
 Of the riverbanks. O cucumbers: Reeds. O cucumbers:
- 19 Customer: C.K. C.K. How much are you selling them for?
- 20 Grocer: For a dirham (a kilo).
- 21 Customer: How come? Yesterday I got them for forty (fils).
- 22 Grocer: I assure you, buying them cost me forty-five (fils): Today not many cucumbers came down to the wholesale market.
- 23 Customer: C.K. Give me a kilo. (the grocer weighs)

 Hey, why are you taking it away, the cucumber? The

 balance hasn't gone down yet! Do leave it, leave it!

 ... There, that's right!
- 24 Grocer: Much obliged sir: What else do you want?
- 25 Customer: How much will you charge me for French beans?
- 26 Grocer: Forty (fils a kilo).
- 27 Customer: Old, and still forty fils? No, thirty:
- 28 Grocer: Take (them): Here, take this basket. (the customer starts picking out the beans he wants. Meanwhile a man gets out of his car and comes up to the grocer's shop)
- 29 Grocer: Welcome my good sir: Welcome: What would you like?

- 30 Car Cwner: Two kilos of tomatoes, three kilos of cucumbers, two kilos of French beans, a kilo and a half of squash. Have you any good eggplant?
- 31 Grocer: Certainly sir, inside I have some fine eggplant, nice and young. How much would you like?
- 32 Car Owner: Two kilos.
- 33 Grocer: (begins weighing and after a little while says)
 Hasan: Hey Hasan: Come take these with the gentleman
 to the car: (he gives the bags to Hasan)
- 34 Car Owner: How much is your bill?
- 35 Grocer: Eight hundred fils.
- 36 Car Owner: Here you are:
- 37 Grocer: Thank you sir! Good-bye! (a woman comes to buy)
- 38 Woman: How much are the pears?
 - 39 Grocer: A quarter of a dinar (a kilo).
 - 40 Woman: No: A hundred fils:
 - 41 Grocer: May God give you!
 - 42 Woman: What? Am I begging from you?
 - 43 Grocer: Well have you seen pears for a hundred fils?
 - 44 Woman: Why they re getting rotten!
 - 45 Grocer: Now then they're fit for your mouth:
 - 46 Woman: You, you're shameless:
 - 47 Grocer: Good heavens, you're the only one who's shameless:
 - 48 Woman: Fine: Let them rot in your shop: (the woman goes)

- 49 Grocer: By God, if I knew, I'd throw them in the street and not sell them for a hundred fils!
- 50 Customer: But you ought not to speak so harshly to her.

 It's a business deal. If you wish, buy! If you don't
 wish, don't buy!
- today for a hundred fils? By your life they cost me two hundred fils. And added to that, ground rent and porter's fee and transport and store rent. Then don't I want to make some five fils on a kilo? And the lady who sleeps till high noon comes and tells you: for a hundred fils! Now is this a job? By God, if I were to go pushing a cart and sell Pepsi I'd be even better off! How much French beans shall I weigh out for you sir?
- 52 Customer: A kilo and a half.
- 53 Grocer: Here you are!
- 54 Customer: How much is my bill, please?
- 55 Grocer: What have you taken?
- 56 Customer: Two kilos of tomatoes, and a kilo of cucumbers, and a kilo and a half of French beans.
- And a kilo of cucumbers for a dirham, (that) makes one hundred and ninety. A kilo and a half of French beans for forty-five, (that) makes two hundred and thirty-five (fils).

- 58 Customer: Here you are: (he gives him a half dinar)
- 59 Grocer: Haven't you any change? Change would be of some help to me.
- 60 Customer: No, really.
- 61 Grocer: Here! This is two hundred and sixty-five fils.
- 62 Customer: Thank you. Good-bye!
- 63 Grocer: God keep you: (he shouts) Of the riverbanks,
 O cucumbers: New beans: Ripe figs: The best of figs:
 Red peaches: Peaches of musk and amber:

ILKUBBA

- 1. ilkubba min ašhar aklaat il'Iraaq. laakin asilha the-kubba from famous food the-Iraq. but it-began mnilMuusil, uu ahsan illii sawwuuha humma limsaalwa. from-the-Mosul, and best those they-make it the-Muslawis.
- 2. uu kubbat ilMuusil itkuun 'aadatan ikbaar uu xafiifa; and kubba the-Mosul usually large and thin;
- haadii hiiya lkubba lasliiya. 3. uu kuburha taqriiban this the the-kubba the-original. and size-its almost
- ibgadd irgiif ilxubuz, laakin ham tilga kubba wasat on-that round the-bread, but even you-find kubba medium
- wizgaar wimda'ibla hasab maysawwuuha nnaas. and-small and-round like they-make-it the-people.
 - 4. uu tariiqat 'amal kubbat ilburgul hassikil. and way to-do kubba the-ground-wheat this-way.
- 5. awwalan, inhaddir ilhasuu.6.injiib liiya wiswayyat first, we-prepare the-stuffing. we-get fat sheeptail
- laham Sirih wingatti'ah bissiččiin loo ni@urmah bilmakiina. meat lean and-we-chop-it with-the-knife or we-grind-it in-the-machine.
- 7. uu ni@rum wiiyaah busal hasab kammiiyat ilhasuu, and we-grind with-it onions like amount the-stuffing
- winxallii 'ala haada kullah swayyat milih uu filfil loo and-we-put on this all little salt and pepper or
- bahaaraat. 8. uu nuxubtah winxalliih 'ala kutur, winguum spices. and we-mix-it and-we-put-it on side, and-we-start

inhaddir ilburgul maalkubba. we-prepare the-ground-wheat of-kubba.

- 9. 'aad injiib laham Sirih winduggah bijjaawan. then we-get meat lean and-we-pound-it on-the-mortar.
- 10. laakin ibhalayyaam saaraw innaas yistas ibuun iddagg but in-these-days found the-people it-hard the-pounding

bijjaawan, wijjaawan nafsah saayir qaliil halayyaam.
on-the-mortar, and-the-mortar itself became scarce these-days.

- 11. 'aad gaamaw yista'imluun ilhaawan bidaalah biddagg.
 then they-began they-use the-small-mortar in-place-it for-the-pounding.
- 12. ba'ad mandugg illaham iswayya nuxlut wiiyaah swayya after we-pound the-meat little we-mix with-it little

jiriis maal hunta, winxallii 'alayh milih, winzill indugg wheat of find-ground, and-we-put on-it salt, and-continue we-pound

biih hatta ysiir wusla wihda.
on-it until it-becomes piece one.

13. ba'dayn naaxud ilburgul uu nigislah bilmai afterwards we-take the-ground-wheat and wash-it in-the-water

winlaggut lihjaar minnah. 14. laakin, ida čaan ilburgul and-we-pick stones from-it. but, if past the-ground-wheat

niziif uu maa biih hjaar, maakuu daa'ii lilgsdil. clean and not in-it stones, not-there-is need to-the-washing.

15. naaxud haada lburgul uu ni'ijnah wiiya lxaliit we-take this the-wheat and knead with-it the-mixture

illii daggaynaah bijjaawan loo bilhaawan. 16. windugg which we-pound-it on-the-mortar or on-the-small-mortar. and-we-pound

haada kullah ila an iisiir mi@l il'ilik hatta nigdar this all until it becomes like the-gun so we-able

niftah ilkubba fatih zayn.
we-spread the-kubba out well.

17. lamma yikmal dagg ilburgul willaham naaxud when it-done pounding the-wheat and-the-meat we-take

wusla min halxaliit gidar kubbaaya uu nigsimha binnuss.
piece from this-mixture size kubba and we-cut-it in-the-half.

18. winjiib wusultayn xaam, loo wusultayn naaylon, and-we-get pieces-two cotton, or pieces-two nylon,

winballilha bilmai uu nusurha uu nufrusha 'attaxta and-we-wet-them in-the-water and we-wring-them and spread-them-out on-bench

winnaggi ha biidayna min jidiid. 19. uu naaxud ilwusultayn and-we-soak by-hand-our from new. and we-take the-pieces-two

maal ilburgul illii gisamnaaha, uu nufruš kull wihda of the-wheat which we-cut-it, and we-spread each one

'ala wusla faris xafiif. 20. ba'dayn naaxud iswayya on piece cloth thinly. afterwards we-take little

mnilhasuu illii sawwaynaah, uu nufursah 'ala wihda min from-the-stuffing that we-made and we-spread on one from

halwusultayn bihai@ ingattiiha. 21. uu naaxud tabgat these-pieces-two so we-cover-it. and we-take layer

illuxxa winxalliiha foog ittabga illii biiha lhasuu. the-other and-we-put over the-layer which on-it the-stuffing.

22. winballil iidayna bilmai wintabtub 'alayha, and-we-moisten hands-our in-the-water and-we-tap on-it,

winsiil min foogaaha wuslat ilxaam loo nnaaylon, winguum and-take-away from on-top-it piece the-cotton or nylon, and-begin

ingallub ilhawaasii hatta ssiir ittabugtayn wusla wihda. we-turn the-edge so becomes the-layers-two piece one.

23. wibhala@naa*, intabtub biidna *alayha win*addil and-on-this-while, we-tap with-hand-our on-it and-even

ilkubbaaya. 24. winjiib qaagad winxalliih foog ilkubbaaya the-kubba. and-we-get paper and-put-it on the-kubba

uu nuglubha 'alqaagad winsiilha 'ala kutur, winguum and we-turn on-paper and-put-it on side, and-we-start

insawwii llux. we-make the-next.

25. ba'ad manxallus min taktiil ilkubba kulha, after we-finish from forming the-kubba all,

inxalliiha tinšaf ila an iisiir wakt ilakil. 26. min we-let-them dry until it becomes time the-eat from

iifuur ilmai, indibb ilkubba bnussah winxalliiha biih boils the-water we-drop the-kubba in-it and-leave-it in-it

ila anittuuf ilkubba w tistuwii. 27. 'aad intalli'ha until floats the-kubba and are-cooked. then we-take-them

biccifciir winxalliiha bilmuwaa'iin winqaddimha lilakil with-the-ladle and-put-them on-the-plates and-serve-them to-the-eat

uu hiiya haarra. and they hot.

28. wilasyaa? ittinwukil wiiya lkubba hiiya ttursiiyaat and-the-things the-eaten with-it the-kubba they the-pickles

wil'amba. 29. uu yaakluun wiiyaaha swayyat xubuz loo and-the-pickled-mangoes. and they-eat with-it little bread or

yaakluuha blayya xubuz. they-eat-it without bread.

KUBBA

- l. Kubba is one of the most famous foods of Iraq.
 But it originated in Mosul, and the best of those who make it are the Muslawis. 2. And the kubba of Mosul is usually large and thin; this is the original kubba. 3. And its size is almost that of a (round flat) loaf of bread, but you also find medium sized kubba and small (kubba) and rounded kubba according to the way people make it.
- 4. And the way of making ground wheat kubba is like this. 5. First we get the stuffing ready. 6. We get some sheeptail fat and some lean meat and we chop it up with a knife or grind in in the machine. 7. And we grind up onions with it according to the quantity of the stuffing, and we put on all this a little salt and pepper or spices. 8. And we mix it and put aside, and we start preparing the ground wheat of the kubba.
- 9. Then we get some lean meat and pound it in the large mortar. 10. But in these days people have come to find pounding in the large mortar too hard and the mortar itself has become scarce nowadays. 11. So they have begun to use the small mortar in place of it for pounding. 12. After we pound the meat for a while, we mix with it some finely ground wheat, and we put salt on it, and continue pounding it until it becomes one piece.

- and pick out the stones from it. 14. But, if the ground wheat is clean and has no stones in it, there is no need for the washing. 15. We take this ground wheat and knead it with the mixture which we have pounded in the large or the small mortar. 16. And we pound all this until it becomes like gum. so that we'll be able to spread out the kubba well.
- 17. When the pounding of the ground wheat and meat is completed, we take a piece of this mixture the size of one piece of kubba and we cut it in half. 18. And we get two pieces of white cotton cloth, or two pieces of nylon, and we wet them in water and wring them out and spread them out on the low kitchen bench and soak them by hand again. 19. And we take the two pieces of the ground wheat (mixture) which we have cut, and we spread each one on a piece (of the cloth) thinly. 20. Then we take a little of the stuffing which we have made, and spread it on one of these two pieces so that we cover it. 21. And we take the other layer and put it over the layer which has the stuffing.
- 22. And we moisten our hands in water and tap on it (the kubba), and we take away from on top of it the piece of cotton cloth or nylon, and we start turning over the edges so that the two layers become one piece. 23. And in the meantime, we tap on it with our hand and make the kubba even. 24. And we get some paper and put it over the kubba and turn it upside down on the paper and we put it aside, and we

start making the next.

- 25. After we finish forming all the kubbas, we let them dry until it is time to eat. 26. Then we boil water in the pot and put in it a little salt. 27. When the water boils, we drop the kubbas into it and leave them in it until the kubbas float and are cooked. 28. Then we take them out with the ladle and put them on plates and serve them up for eating while they are hot.
- 29. And the things which are eaten with kubba are pickles and pickled mango. 30. And they eat with it a little bread, or eat it without bread.

APPENDIX II

SYMBOLS AND ABEREVIATIONS

Key to Symbols and Abbreviations: The following is a key to the abbreviations used throughout the thesis.

Abbreviation/Symbol	<u>Interpretation</u>	
±	Optional	
+	Obligatory	
±		
<u>+</u> a	Interdependent Option- ality, i.e. either a or b will occur but not both	
/	either or	
ø adject.	zero-element (no realiza- tion) multiplication adjectival filler	
adv	adverb	
[]	trackets enclosing marginal tagmemes	
aspect	aspect	
Ben.	Benefactive	
С	Causal*	
caus	causal	
cond.	conditional	

^{*}Capitalization indicates a slot. No capitalization indicates a filler.

Abbreviation/Symbol

Conj.

DeP

EI

exp.p

ExP

Ι

i

i₂

Interpretation

Conjunction

Descriptive/Equative Predicate

Equative Item

expletive phrase

Expletive Predicate

Interrogative

interrogative transformer

interrogative transformer

Abbreviation/Symbol

Interpretation

Passive Imperative Matrix

IiP Imperative Intransitive Predicate iiv imperative intransitive verb imperative transformer imp. ImP Imperative Predicate imv imperative verb interrogative phrase interr.p. Instrumental Ins IP Intransitive Predicate IpP Imperative Fassive Predicate ipv imperative passive verb ipVp imperative passive verb phrase intransitive verb iv 1Vp intransitive verb phrase L Locative 1.Adv.p. locative adverbial phrase Interrogative Matrix $^{\rm M}$ i₂ Interrogative Matrix $^{\mathtt{M}}\mathtt{imp}$ Imperative Matrix $^{\text{M}}$ imp.p.

Abbreviation/Symbol Interpretation $^{\mathrm{M}}$ i_lp Passive Interrogative Matrix $^{\rm M}$ i₂p Passive Interrogative Matrix Kernel Matrix $M_{\mathbf{k}}$ q^{M} Passive Matrix Matrix M manner man. Manner* Man negative descriptive/ ndep equative phrase Neg. Negative nom.pro. nominative pronoun Noun phrase Np Object-as-Agent Object-as-Goal OA OG obj.pro. objective pronoun P passive possessive poss Pp Prepositional Phrase Passive Predicate PP preposition prep passive verb \mathbf{v} q pVp passive verb phrase R Relator rel-ax relator-axis

^{*}See foot-note on page 83.

Abbreviation/Symbol Interpretation

SA Subject-as-Agent

SG Subject-as-Goal

SI Subject-as-Item

Tem Temporal

temp. temporal

TP Transitive Predicate

T Transform

tv transitive verb

tVp transitive verb phrase

APPENDIX III

SUMMARY OF CLAUSE TYPES AND VARIANTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS TO EACH OTHER

1.1 Positive active indicative matrix (kernel)

M _k =	Independent	Dependent
Transitive	х	x
Intransitive	x	x
Expletive	x	x
Descriptive/ Equative	x	x

- 2.0 Transforms of Kernel Matrix
- 2.1 Passive

p • (Transitive Row of M_k) = M_p

- 2.2 <u>Interrogative</u>
 - a) i₁ (M_k minus Lependent Column) = M_{i₁}
 - b) i_2 (M_k minus Lependent Column) = M_{i_2}
- 2.3 Imperative
 - imp (Independent Column of M_k minus Expletive & Descriptive/Equative Rows) = M_{imp}
- 3.1 Transform Series (i.e. transforms of transformed matrices formed by processes shown in 2.1 2.3)
 - a) $i_1 \cdot (M_p \text{ minus Lependent Column}) = M_{i_1p}$
 - b) i₂ (M_p minus Dependent Column) = M_{i₂p}

Note: As the above is meant to indicate, all transforms may be applied to \mathbf{M}_{k} ; the Interrogative and Imperative transforms may be applied to \mathbf{M}_{p} which is itself a Transform Matrix, yielding the transform series.

- 4.0 Derived Allotypes of Clauses of M
- 4.1 Emphatic (topical)
- 4.2 Negative
- 5.0 Allotypes of the Lependent Clause Types of M_k
- 5.1 Conditional
- 5.2 Temporal
- 5.3 Adjectival
- 5.4 Manner
- 5.5 Relator-Axis
- 5.6 Possessive
- 5.7 Causal

