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A grammar of Darfur Arabic

This thesis provides grammatical details on the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Arabic as it is spoken in Darfur (West Sudan). All three of these linguistic fields give evidence that this variety of Arabic is heavily influenced by the other, particularly Nilo-Saharan languages which are also spoken in the region. For example, the 'typical' Arabic guttural phonemes are omitted or mixed, there are no synchronic gender distinctions, a process towards an invariable pronominal system appears to be at work and Nilo-Saharan word order occurs frequently. As a contact language, Darfur Arabic stands midway between a pidgin or a creole on the one hand, an a full-fledged Arabic colloquial on the other. Moreover, the Arabic of Darfur displays considerable variability and much resembles Chadian Arabic.

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Linguistics

Caroline Roset

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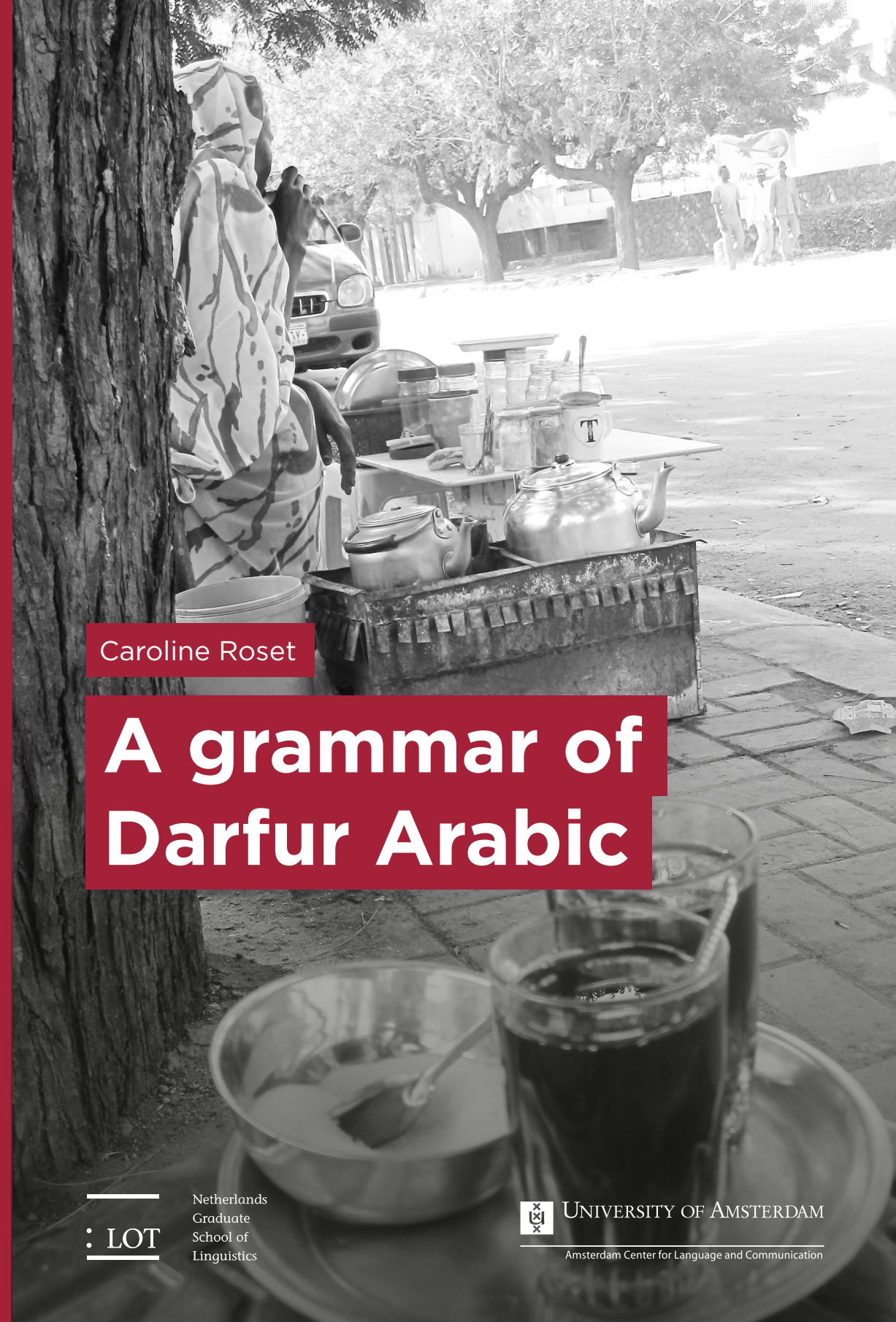


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A grammar of Darfur Arabic

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To the people of Darfur

إلى ناس دارفور

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(<https://www.britannica.com/place/Darfur>, access date October 03, 2017¹)

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1 Introduction

1.1 Darfur general

Darfur, also spelled as Dar Fur or Dār Fūr ‘the homeland of the Fur’, is the utmost western region of Sudan, and borders on South Sudan, the Central African Republic, Chad and Libya. The area covers about 160,000 square miles (Hoile 2008:12), or 510,000 square kilometres (Assam 2005:9), often referred to as the size of France (e.g. Bieckmann 2012:42; O’Fahey & Tubiana, 2007:4). Roughly the upper half of the region is not inhabited because of its hot and dry Saharan climate. In the lower half, a more endurable, but still hot savanna climate prevails, with a rainy season from June until September. The three main towns are Al-Fashir in the North, Nyala in the south and (Al-) Geneina or Junaynah (with more variable spellings, which goes for all Arabic and African names hereafter), close to the Chadian border. From historical, geographic, ethnic, cultural as well as linguistic perspectives, Darfur displays strong similarities with Wadai. Wadai, with its capital Abéché, is the easternmost region of Chad and directly borders on Darfur.

From approximately 1650 to 1916, Darfur was a powerful and independent sultanate. It maintained active long-distance trade relations of slaves and different items with other African states to the east and west, but also with Egypt across the northern desert via the Darb al-Arba’in ‘forty days road’ to Asyut on the Nile. At the beginning of the 19th century it was Egypt’s largest African trading partner (O’Fahey 1980:10). It was part of the English-Egyptian condominium from 1916 to 1956 and at least the last decades, it has witnessed several severe droughts, famines and population displacements (O’Fahey 2008). Conflict, especially concerning land rights, exacerbated by desertification, escalated in 2003, resulting in massive casualties and displacements, and has regrettably not ended yet. It is since then known internationally as the Darfur Conflict, the Darfur Crisis or the War in Darfur.

As a trade and transit area and because of its geographical and climatic position, Darfur has always been characterized by continuous migration. On the other hand, underdevelopment, the harsh climate and conflict have made the region difficult to access. Consequently, the area is underresearched, not only from a linguistic point of view but also from other scholarly perspectives. Nevertheless, the anthropologists Gunnar Haaland, Paul Doornbos, Alex De Waal and Karin Willemse, the linguist Lionel Bender and the historian Rex Sean O’Fahey are among the few scholars who have conducted fieldwork in Darfur in the last fifty years and reported on it (see below). Especially O’Fahey has written

authoritative and comprehensive scholarly works on the history, state and society of Darfur.

1.2 Darfurians

1.2.1 Numbers and lifestyle

According to the fifth and last Sudan Population and Housing census, though contested by the Darfur Relief and Documentation Center (2010), the number of inhabitants of Darfur was about 7.5 million people in 2008. According to Brinkhoff's website City Population², this number is more than 9.2 million now. Considering the ongoing conflict and the increasing lack of transparency on what is taking place in the region, this number should be taken with considerable care. Due to the Conflict, over 300,000 Darfurians lived as refugees in neighbouring countries and 2.6 million as internally displaced in Darfur itself according to the Darfur Relief and Documentation Centre in 2010 (2010:18-19). Countless Darfurians have spread over other parts of Sudan as well, and they are especially numerous in Khartoum.

Darfur houses a Muslim, tribal, agro-pastoral society. Inside as well as outside Darfur, those Darfurians who are generally referred to as 'African', 'indigenous' or 'ethnic' are known to be sedentary farmers and the 'Arabs' as Bedouins or nomads. However, the people of Darfur have intermarried and changed lifestyle and occupation for centuries. Therefore, the previously mentioned scholars reject this simplified dichotomy of Arabs versus Africans and stress the mixing, the complexity and fluidity of ethnicity in Darfur.

1.2.2 'Ethnic' groups

According to De Waal (2005), Haaland (1978), O'Fahey (2006) as well as Willemse (2015), Darfurians basically have no difficulty with multiple identities, but the concept of ethnicity in Darfur has been thoroughly simplified, polarized and politicized in the past century. Hence, although Darfurian tribes bear either African or Arabic names, 'virtually every "ethnic" group has components from both categories' (O'Fahey & Tubiana 2007:26, see also De Waal 2005:181). Indeed, most of my informants (see 1.6.1 Informants) have a mixed ethnical background. They generally consider themselves as belonging to the African *gabi:la* 'tribe' of

² Brinkhoff, Thomas. 2017. 'City Population.' Last updated 1 July 2017. Accessed November 2017. <http://citypopulation.de/Sudan.html>

their father, but they also have Arab 'blood' and/or family members from other tribes. Following this reality, the terms 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic' are henceforth not intended as the static background of a group of people, but as a complex, constantly evolving and idiosyncratic construct of identification of the self and others.

The largest non-Arab group of Darfurian ethnicity - or rather identity - and after which Darfur is named, are the Fur or For. They live all over present Darfur, but are concentrated in the former sultanate of Darfur, particularly the areas of Jabal Marra and Zalingei. Two other large non-Arab ethnic groups are the Masalit in the west and the Zaghawa in the north of Darfur. Zaghawa also live in Chad, as do many other local ethnic groups. In spite of the fact that most non-Arabs in Darfur are known to be sedentary farmers, but illustrative for the mixing of identities, Zaghawa people also live as nomads and Roth (1972:72b) notes that Zaghawa are called Arabs in Abéché. Other larger non-Arab ethnic groups are Tunjur (though said to have Arab origins) and Berti, both also mainly situated in the north. Smaller groups are the Meidob in the North-East and the Gimir, Erenga, Tama and Borgu, who generally live north of the Masalit, and the Sinyar south of them. The Daju, Birged and Beigo are scattered over the middle and south of Darfur (De Waal 2005:186; Doornbos & Bender 1983:42). Most of these ethnic groups have a *dar* 'homeland' within Darfur and some have their own language (see 1.3.2 Non-Arabic languages), but others have been Arabicized to various degrees. Last but not least, Darfur houses Fallata, a collective term for West-Africans who settled in Sudan, mostly of Hausa and Fulbe origin.

According to Hasan (1967:163), the Arabs started penetrating Darfur from the 14th century, which involved a process of Arabization (becoming 'Arab'), Arabicization (adopting Arabic) and Islamization, which is more recently called Sudanization by scholars like Doornbos (1989:420) and De Waal (2005:196). Most Arabs, whose origins are speculative and controversial, came from the Nile valley, but Islam and Arabic were also imported by Islamized Africans from the west of Darfur. Until today, Arabization differs in degree from 'complete' to 'very little' and differs from place to place, from group to group and from individual to individual.

The Arabs in Darfur are generally known to be nomadic camel breeders in the north, Abbala, or cow breeders in the south, Baggara. However, large groups within the Baggara consist of the (Arabicized) African ethnic group Fulbe from West-Africa. Other groups that identify themselves as Arabs, like Bideriya and the

Zayadiya, became sedentary Darfurians in villages or towns years ago, sometimes decades or maybe centuries. The largest Arab groups are called Rizeigat and Misiriya.

1.3 Languages of Darfur and terminology

In 1971, at least sixteen languages were spoken in Darfur according to Thelwall (1978). Apart from the question which languages should be called languages and which dialects, it is obscure how many of them have remained. Arabic, however, is the overall language of power and prestige, often at the cost of local languages.

1.3.1 Sociolinguistics

Arabic is the language of Islam, the religion of all Darfurians, and an institutionalized written language. It is the language of education, in the traditional *xalwa*'s 'Quranic schools' as well as the state governed schools. Arabic is a lingua franca or common language in Darfur as well as the main language of the media. By all means, it is also the most important language of the powerful capital of the country, Khartoum. Last but not least, it is a language of trade outside the own ethnic group, if the language of that group is not Arabic yet. Arabic is vital for every Sudanese who wants to become something other than a farmer.

The non-Arab groups often have their own, mostly Nilo-Saharan languages, but an increasing number of those languages are becoming extinct or endangered. Language is not ethnically determined: many Darfurians are at least bilingual in their 'indigenous' language as well as Arabic, and sometimes multilingual. There are also a few monolinguals in one of the Nilo-Saharan languages (Corbett 2012:64 and own data). Nevertheless, the number of monolinguals in Arabic, either with an 'Arab' or 'African' identity or both, is gaining ground (Doornbos & Bender 1983:46; Idris 2007:233 ff; own data).

Those 'ethnic', 'indigenous', 'local' or 'African' languages in Sudan are by and large spoken and not written languages. In Sudanese Arabic, they are called *ruta:na *rtn*, translated in this study as 'language other than Arabic', but also denoting 'gibberish'. 'No local languages are encouraged by any official institution and their use is actively discouraged in schools' (Edgar 1989:7). However, Garri (2012 p.285-286) and Mugaddam (2015) have diagnosed revitalised positive attitudes towards non-Arabic languages and an aversion towards Arabic since the previously mentioned Darfur Conflict. It is not clear what long-term effect the conflict will have on the linguistic situation of Darfur.

1.3.2 Non-Arabic languages

According to the 2015 Ethnologue report on the languages of Sudan (Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015), the largest non-Arabic language spoken in Darfur is Fur (744,000 speakers in 2004); followed by Masalit (350,000 in 2011); Zaghawa (180,000 in 2006); Daju (80,000 in 1983 in South Darfur and 7,000 in 2009 in West Darfur); Meidob (50,000 in 1993) and Tama (5,000 in 1970). An unknown number of speakers of Kanuri or Bornu resides in west Darfur, and speakers of Yulu, Baygo, Gbaya and Gula reside in the south. All of these languages, to which Doornbos and Bender (1983) add Sinyar and Fongoro, are classified as belonging to the phylum of the (Nilo-)Saharan languages. All of the languages naturally exhibit different varieties with sometimes deviant names. Although Ethnologue designates Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa as 'vigorous' or even 'developing', the others are in danger of extinction and a number of languages not named here, have (recently) become extinct.

Both the Niger-Congo language Fulfulde, also called Fula, Fulani or Fulbe, and the Afro-Asiatic language Hausa are spoken by the previously mentioned Fellata. There are probably over a hundred thousand of Fellata in Sudan, but the available documentation does not reveal to what extent they have been Arabized, let alone how many Fulfulde and Hausa live in Darfur.

1.3.3 Old Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and the Arabic dialects

When I refer to **Arabic** without a modifier, I intend the Arabic language in general, including its large variability in time and place. **Old Arabic** is the variety of the language that in its codified form became the literary and cultural language of the Arabo-Islamic empire. This codified variety of Old Arabic is usually called Classical Arabic (Versteegh 2014:132) and sometimes Literary Arabic. Classical Arabic is partly based on the Quran and has developed into Modern Standard Arabic, with few changes in its grammar but many in its lexicon.

Modern Standard Arabic is mainly used as a written language. It is also used in formal speech but spoken nowhere as a natural language, mother tongue or L1. It displays great differences on all linguistic levels when compared to the modern spoken varieties of Arabic, which are also called **Arabic dialects**, Arabic colloquials or New Arabic. Nevertheless, Modern Standard Arabic is an official language and the language taught in schools all over the Arab world and outside. Although both Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, like all languages, exhibit variability, together they are called *fushā*: 'clear' 'unmixed' 'pure' in Arabic.

1.3.4 Sudanic and Sudanese Arabic

Sudanic Arabic is a variety of modern spoken Arabic not only spoken in Sudan but also in Chad, the north of Cameroon and the North-East of Nigeria (Owens 1993b: 91 & 2008). A pan-Sudanic feature is a feature that all varieties of Sudanic Arabic have in common. Sudanic Arabic is split into East and West Sudanic Arabic. East Sudanic is spoken in Central and East Sudan, i.e. the (White) Nile valley, including Khartoum, and everything east of it up to the Red Sea. West Sudanic Arabic is spoken in the Western Sudanese provinces Kordofan and Darfur and also in Chad, North Cameroon and North-East Nigeria.

Sudanese Arabic is the Arabic spoken in Sudan, including its varieties within that state. The Arabic spoken in the capital of Sudan, Greater Khartoum (Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman), is also spoken in other urban areas of central Sudan (Dickins 2007:559). Therefore, **Khartoum Arabic** is also called **Central Sudanese Arabic** by different linguists. It is beyond doubt the prestige variety of spoken Arabic in Sudan and also used abundantly in social media. In my experience, virtually all Sudanese call this variety *ʕarabi* ‘Arabic’. Deviant varieties of Sudanic Arabic, such as the one spoken in Darfur, do not have a name, or at their best, are called *ʕarabi mukas:ar* ‘broken Arabic’. Since Khartoum Arabic or Central Sudanese Arabic is also spoken by educated and urban Darfurians and because of its obvious prestige, I follow Manfredi (2010) in calling this variety **Sudanese Standard Arabic**.

Languages which are known as **Arabic-based pidgins** or **creole languages** are all based on Sudanic Arabic. Documented Arabic-based pidgins or creoles are (Ki-)Nubi spoken in Uganda and Kenya, Juba Arabic or Arabi Juba spoken in South Sudan and Bongor Arabic in Chad (see 1.4 State of the art and main publications).

1.3.5 Darfur Arabic

Ishaq (2002:22-33) divides the Arabic spoken in Darfur in three groups, which more or less corresponds with Hoile’s (2008:13) and Doornbos’ (1989:425) classifications as well as my own findings. The three-fold division is as follows:

- Pastoral Arabic, spoken by mostly monolingual, Bedouin Arabs;
- Sudanese Standard Arabic, spoken by city-dwellers and educated Darfurians, who also know Darfur colloquial Arabic and (some) Old Arabic;
- Darfur (colloquial) Arabic, spoken by illiterate and mostly multilingual villagers. Darfurians themselves sometimes call it *dar:rija* ‘colloquial’.

It is the latter category of Arabic that is the subject of the present research.

1.4 State of the art and main publications

Except for some large gaps, Sudanic Arabic is fairly well documented. There is no Sudanese Standard Arabic reference grammar, but Bergman (2002) has written a concise but valuable grammar including texts, and Dickins (2007a; 2007b; 2009; 2010; 2011) is the author of several linguistic publications on this language variety. Dictionaries of Sudanese Standard Arabic are written by Tamis & Persson (2010) and Qasim (2002), the latter including several non-standard Sudanese lexemes. In addition, Reichmuth has described the East Sudanic variety of the Šukriyya in 1983.

West Sudanic and especially Nigerian Arabic is described extensively and from a comparative perspective in Owens (1985; 1993a; 1993b; 1997; 2000; 2003; 2008) and Kaye (1975; 1982). Chadian Arabic is documented by Jullien de Pommerol (1999), Zeltner & Tourneux (1986), Roth (1969; 1972a; 1972b; 1979; 1994a; 1994b), Hagège (1973), Décobert (1985) and Absi (1995), and Kordofan Baggara Arabic by Manfredi (2010; 2012; 2013a; 2014). Older contributions on (West) Sudanic Arabic are Trimmingham (1946), Lethem (1920), Hillelson (1925; 1935), Carbou (1954) and Amery (1905). There are no descriptions of the Arabic spoken in Darfur in any European language. However, Behnstedt (2013) as well as Ishaq (2002; 2011) contain interesting observations on this dialect.

As to the Sudanic Arabic-based pidgins and creoles, Luffin (2002) is a grammar on the Ki-Nubi of Mombasa in Kenya and Wellens (2003) on the Nubi of Uganda. Luffin (2008; 2013) are publications on Bongor Arabic in Chad and Manfredi (2017) is a grammar on Juba Arabic, spoken in South Sudan.

Concerning the Nilo-Saharan languages spoken in Darfur, Jakobi (1990), Beaton (1968) and Waag (2010) are grammars and Sandison (1936) an unpublished list of vocabulary of the Fur language. Zaghawa or Beria is documented in Jakobi and Crass (1993) and Masalit in Edgar (1989). Maba, the language of the most dominant ethnicity in Wadai and categorized as closely related to the Darfurian Masalit and Tama languages (Bender 1996:23, 28), is treated elaborately by Weiss (2009). When I refer to the Nilo-Saharan languages or substrates in this study, I base myself on these descriptions.

Miller (1992; 2007a; 2007c), Idris (2007; 2008), Corbett (2012), Mugaddam and Garri (2006; 2012; 2015) are among the linguists who contributed to various sociolinguistic topics on Sudan.

I regularly refer to the above-mentioned writings in the present grammar, in particular the most recent grammars of the varieties of Arabic spoken in the areas surrounding Darfur. Because of the similarities between Darfur and Chad Arabic, the most recent grammars on the spoken Arabic in Chad, especially in Abéché, as well as Jullien de Pommerol's rich *Dictionnaire de l'arabe tchadien*, are used most.

1.5 Aims and organization of this study

1.5.1 Aims

In the first place, the purpose of this study is to render a detailed grammatical description of the Arabic spoken in Darfur as spoken by my informants. With this grammar, I hope to fill the gap between the already described Chadian, Kordofanian and Nigerian varieties of West Sudanic Arabic. In the second place, I aim to define the position of Darfur Arabic as a variety of Arabic among others, and answer the question how Darfur Arabic relates to them.

1.5.2 Organization

This is a 'classical' grammar and starts with the smallest elements of the language, i.e. its phonemes up to its largest elements: its syntax. The first chapter on phonology³ is followed by the middle morphological part, which is arranged into a chapter on pronouns and particles; one on nouns and the noun phrase; and one on verbs and the verb phrase. The grammatical part of this book ends with a chapter on selected topics in syntax.

In the seventh and last chapter on the linguistic status of Darfur Arabic, I will try to answer the aforementioned question on the position of the language variety: where does Darfur Arabic fit in among other Arabic dialects, Arabic pidgins or creoles and Arabic as a language generally?

³ Previously published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Roset:2015). The article has since then been a little revised, supplemented and adapted to fit into this dissertation.

Two attachments serve to complete this study: a short piece of Darfur Arabic in transcription from the corpus, including glosses and translation, and the Darfur Arabic song *bine:ti hasa:bak* in Arabic script, transcription and translation.

1.5.3 Basic assumptions of this study

1.5.3.1 Variability and grammatical rules of Darfur Arabic

Darfur Arabic exhibits a great deal of variation and much of its interpretation depends on its pragmatic context. I assume this variability is due to the vastness of the area, together with poor infrastructure and education (although improved during the last two decades according to Hoile 2008:21), and a high degree of diversity in linguistic background of its speakers. Furthermore, I believe that variation within the dialect is amplified by the status of Darfur Arabic as a non-standard and low prestige language variety in Sudan. Thus, all the phonological and grammatical rules in this work are generalizations and exhibit exceptions. It may be needless to say that every language and every grammar displays variability, but variation in Darfur Arabic is considerable to such an extent that it should be emphasized here.

1.5.3.2 Target variety of Arabic by Darfurians

To young and especially urban Darfurians who speak Arabic, the prestigious variety Sudanese Standard Arabic is usually the language they aim to speak. Being young and sometimes multilingual themselves, they are apt and keen to master this dialect rapidly when they move to Khartoum and probably also when they move to one of the larger towns in Darfur. Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic setting of my elder, illiterate informants, born and raised in small places in Darfur, is different. Since I have not followed their lives, I can only give my impression of what their target variety of Arabic is when they speak this language. They might have learned Arabic from Darfurian Arabs, but I think mostly from each other, so I doubt that Baggara or Abbala Arabic is their target language. I interviewed them in Khartoum and some of them had already lived there for a while (see 1.6.1 Informants), so Sudanese Standard Arabic should also be taken into account as a contact and a target language in their speech. However, even if they wanted to (which they may not), they are not young enough to fully adapt to that dialect. Whatever the target language may be, I am confident that the main reason for my informants to use Arabic is that it is an efficient medium of communication.

1.5.3.3 Representability

This study is by no means meant as an exhaustive grammar of Darfur Arabic, but a case study based on the speech of seventeen elderly Darfurians from different places and ethnic groups who resided in Khartoum. Admittedly, my informants must have been influenced by Sudanese Standard Arabic more than their fellow-Darfurians who never left the area. Moreover, like all fieldwork based studies, the observer's paradox could have played a role: the informants' speech could unwittingly have been affected by the presence or the language variety of one of my intermediate key informants or myself. However, Darfurians of different origin judged the speech of my informants to be typically Darfurian and slightly or not at all influenced by Sudanese Standard Arabic.

1.5.3.4 Comparison with other languages and language varieties

In order to reach the above-mentioned aim to frame Darfur Arabic among other languages, in this grammar continuous reference is made to other varieties of Arabic and sometimes to the Nilo-Saharan substrate languages of Darfur.

Old Arabic is a controversial version of Arabic with regard to its definition as well as its role as a comparative language (Owens 2006:34-78; Versteegh 1997:46-52; Macdonald 2008:464-466). Indeed, Old Arabic is certainly not the linguistic background of my (mostly illiterate) informants and not their target language either. Without setting Old Arabic as a norm, I do, however, sometimes use Old Arabic as a comparative language in this study for the sake of transparency, mostly by providing the historical root of words. As will be shown, a comparison with Old Arabic but also with other (prestigious) spoken varieties of Arabic, reveals patterns that explain linguistic background, language use, language learning processes and language variability.

In spite of the basically descriptive purpose of this study, every now and then I offer possible explanations for linguistic features, particularly the features that set Darfur Arabic apart from other Arabic colloquials. Most of these explanations concern L2 learning features or the influence from substrates. These explanations are not intended to be decisive but rather tentative and meant to incite further research on the matter.

1.5.3.5 Qualitative grammar and semantics

This work is a qualitative study and not a quantitative analysis. Sometimes, I provide the number of occurrences of a certain phoneme, morpheme, word or

word form in the corpus, but I do not use statistics. Furthermore, the lexicon is also beyond the scope of this grammar. Nevertheless, a few frequently occurring or typical lexemes receive attention in the grammatical section where I have classified them, or in a footnote.

1.6 Methodology

Due to the inaccessibility of Darfur at the time of this study, this grammar is mainly based on a corpus of actual speech production by seventeen native speakers of Darfur Arabic residing in Khartoum in the winters of 2011-2012 and 2012-2013.

I call those seventeen native speakers **informants** (see 1.6.1 Informants). The informants were interviewed and talked about their life and tribes in Darfur, differences between Khartoum and Darfur, food, drinks, customs and traditions, weddings, dances, circumcision, plays, traditions, work, accidents, problems, jokes, expressions, travel, animals, et cetera. One informant told tales. The interviews took 10 to 75 minutes and all took place in the informants' families', neighbors' or their own home. I sound recorded between 15 and 20 hours of speech in total.

The interviews were carried out by myself, by intermediating **key informants** (see 1.6.2 Key informants) or by family members of the informants. Later, I transcribed and analyzed a large part of the recorded interviews of the informants with the help of the key informants.

The resulting **corpus** of transcribed speech are the data on which this grammar is primarily based. In order to render as much spontaneous and natural speech as possible, I mostly cite from the corpus when I illustrate a given grammatical rule rather than giving elicited examples. Not all of the recordings have been transcribed, however, and not all informants talked as much as the others, so not all of them are cited to the same degree.

The corpus is replenished by an extensive number of hours of unrecorded informal interviews, conversations and elicitation with the key informants and other Darfurians in 2012 to 2015. In the meantime, I collected a list of Darfur Arabic proverbs that especially key informants did not stop coming up with. That list is not given in this work but will be published later. Occasionally, I quote one of my key informants, a sentence from the song in the attachment, or one of the proverbs. Given that the latter three types of language utterances are not per se representative of natural everyday language, I keep those citations limited in comparison to the examples from the corpus.

1.6.1 Informants

My **informants** are listed in Table 1. All of the informants originate from different villages or small towns in Darfur; they all have rural, but different or mixed ethnic backgrounds. Most of them are women, since to me as a woman interaction with them was generally more natural and spontaneous than with men. Although some of the men have been to *xalwa* ‘Quranic school’ at a (very) young age, all informants are virtually illiterate. Most of the informants did not know their own age, but after some calculations and estimations by themselves, their family and other informants, they were all estimated at least 55 years old, mostly older. One informant said he was 105 years old.

All informants resided permanently or temporarily in Greater Khartoum. Some of them had settled down in Khartoum with their families a few months before I interviewed them, a few had lived in Khartoum for a decade or more, others were only in Khartoum temporarily, e.g. for a medical treatment or on their way back from pilgrimage to Mecca. I was introduced to them via Sudanese friends, students at the University of Khartoum and key informants. At the time of the interviews, the informants did not know each other.

As shown in Table 1, some of the informants speak no language other than Arabic, and those who also spoke one or two Nilo-Saharan languages, said they learned Arabic (i.e. *darrija* ‘colloquial’) in their early childhood. It seems to me that all my informants speak Arabic as a L1⁴ or as a second L1. I did not observe differences in language use between different ethnicities or between the monolingual and the bilingual or multilingual informants.

In Table 1, the rows are in chronological order of the recording date. The informants are rendered by their initials in the first column. In the following five chapters, reference to the informants is made by these initials when an example from the corpus is given. When no reference is given, the quoted speech utterance

⁴ In this research, I define a L1 speaker, i.e. a first language speaker or native speaker, as a person who acquired the language (variety) concerned in his/her youth, continued to use the language into adulthood, but did not necessarily receive formal education in that language. The L1 speaker has intuitions about what can be said in the language at issue on a phonological, grammatical as well as lexical level. Within the scope of these possibilities and in spontaneous situations, the L1 speaker can talk in a routinized, fluent and fast manner. Finally, an L1 speaker can vary in this language, i.e. explain the same topic in different ways.

was observed but not sound recorded, mostly by elicitation of one of the key informants (see 1.6.2 Key informants).

Table 1: Darfurian informants

	place & date of recording	ethnicity	place of origin	sex	languages
KN	Dar As Salam, West Libyan Market, Omdurman, 18/01/2012	Bideriya	Kafod (North Darfur)	f	Arabic
MG	Mayo, Khartoum, 19/01/2012	Gimir	Foro Baranga (South-West Darfur)	f	Arabic
XM	Haj Yousif, Khartoum North, 05/02/2012	Gimir	Katila (South-West Darfur)	f	Arabic
MH	Suk Karor, Ombada, Omdurman, 08/02/2012(a) & 07/12/2012(b)	Masalit	Al Geneina (West Darfur)	f	Masalit, Arabic
MY	Suk Sitta, Mayo, Khartoum, 10/02/2012	Fur	Tiru, Mukjar (West-Darfur)	f	Fur, Arabic
FA	Jeref, Khartoum, 13/02/2010	Fur	Zalingei (West-Darfur)	f	Fur, Arabic
AF	Wihda, Haj Yousif, Khartoum North, 24/02/2012	Fur	Xarixa, Gurke, Kutum (North-Darfur)	f	Arabic, Fur
SE	Soba, Khartoum, 02/03/2012	Fur	Adade, Bargo, Zalingei (West Darfur)	m	Fur, Arabic
AS	Soba, Khartoum, 02/03/2012	Zaghawa	Xazan Jadid, Nyala (South Darfur)	f	Zaghawa, Arabic
AA	Al-Azhari, Khartoum, 02/11/2012	Berti	Dore, now Dar As Salam (North-Darfur)	f	Arabic, Zaghawa, Fur
IA	Haj Yousif, Khartoum North,	Fur	Barakallah,	m	Fur,

	08/11/2012		Kutum (North Darfur)		Arabic
FJ	Sayd, Omdurman, 09/11/2012	Berti	Kattaal, Dar As Salam (North Darfur)	f	Arabic, Zaghawa
AJ	Salha, Omdurman, 12/11/2012	Zaghawa	Dor, Kutum area (North Darfur)	m	Zaghawa, Arabic
SA	Samraab, Khartoum North, 30/11/2012	mix of Fur, Zaghawa, other tribes	Fata Borno, Kutum (North Darfur)	f	Arabic, Fur, Zaghawa
TS	Salha, Omdurman, 12/12/2012	Tunjur	Jahana (North Darfur)	m	Arabic
AI	Samraab, Omdurman, 14/12/2012	Berti	Dore (North Darfur)	f	Arabic, Fur
XO	Ombada, Omdurman, 21/12/2012	Mararit	Tendelti, border with Chad	f	Mararit, Arabic

1.6.2 Key informants

I met key informants for my research through friends and the Department of Linguistics at the University of Khartoum. They were all from various and mixed ethnic backgrounds. The three key informants I worked with most, are all male. They lived in Khartoum temporarily and as opposed to the informants above, they are literate, younger than the informants in Table 1 and they also speak Sudanese Standard Arabic.

One key informant is Salaah Ibrahim from Al-Fashir, in his forties, a teacher at the University of Al-Fashir and at the time of the interviews, a PhD student in fine arts. His father was a police officer and in that position, he was regularly transferred to live in different places in Darfur with his family. Consequently, Ibrahim knows Darfur well. As an adult, he has also been to Libya and he lived in Chad for a while. He also speaks good English.

The other two key informants are in their twenties. Al-Sadig Adam is from Tendelti on the border with Chad and also speaks Masalit, Borgo and English. He

studied linguistics at the University of Khartoum and later learned Chinese at the Confucius Institute there. Much elicitation was provided by Mohammed Mohammedain from Yasin in the south of Darfur. He studied water engineering in Khartoum and went back to Yasin afterwards.

Also, Ahmed Abderahman, nickname ‘Dabbous’, helped me a great deal by driving me to remote Darfurian dwellings in the suburbs of Khartoum, intermediating and giving context. In the Netherlands, Darfurian key informants helping me out were Dar As Salam Abdallah Mansour ‘Tayba’, Hayat Ab, Mohammedain Ahmed, Eisa Mustafa and Khalid Abdallah.

1.7 Transcription, spelling and glosses

For practical reasons, names of people, ethnic groups, places and languages are spelled the way they are found mostly in general literature or the way that people spell their names themselves. This mainly occurs in this introductory chapter but rarely in the grammatical chapters. Notice that there is no consistency in this orthography; some knowledge of Arabic, other languages and the region is needed to understand that Geneina is the same place as al-Junayna, for example. Not only orthography may vary greatly, but names themselves may differ from place to place and from language to language. For example, the Zaghawa are also called Bidejat or Beri (Jakobi & Crass 2004:2 and own data), and Borgu are also known as Maba (Weiss 2009:17). To complete possible confusion, different places may have the same name. For instance, there is more than one place called Dar As Salam in- and outside Sudan and it is also a common woman’s name.

In the following chapters, I use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to present the speech of my Darfurian informants. Phonological or phonemic transcription is printed in italics and the English translation of Arabic between single quotation marks. Stress is only indicated when it is distinctive and clearly perceived, which is mostly the case in transitive verbs. Roots (4.2 Roots and patterns), indicated by an asterisk * are given when relevant in the context and go back to Old Arabic (1.5.3.4 Comparison with other languages and language varieties) if possible and if not, are of recent origin. The interlinear morpheme translations in small capitals are based on the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2008), with some additions (see 1.8 Abbreviations and symbols).

1.8 Abbreviations and symbols

Linguistic abbreviations

1	first person	REP	repetition
2	second person	SG	singular/singulative
3	third person	TOP	topic marker/particle
ANT	anterior	TR	object introducing particle
ART	definite article	V	vowel
AUX	auxiliary	VOC	vocative
C	consonant		
COLL	collective noun		

DEM demonstrative

DIST distal pronoun

EXS existential particle

F feminine

FOC focus particle (zat)

GEN genitive particle

IMP imperative

ING ingressive

IPFV imperfective

M masculine

PASS passive

PL plural

PROS prospective

PRST presentative

PTCP partiple

REL relative pronoun

Other abbreviations and symbols

e.g. exempli gratia, for example

f female

ff and the following pages

i.e. id est, that is

L1 first language or 'mother tongue'

L2 second language (as opposed to L1)

lit. literal translation

m male

p.c. personal communication

* (historical) root

: lengthened previous vowel or consonant

/ or (in English)

falling intonation; full stop

~ allophonic variation (in Arabic)

[...] phonetic transcription (in transcriptions); additional information from context (in translations)

2 Phonology

2.1 Phonology general

At the phonological level, Darfur Arabic displays great instability. Quite some consonants are absent from the consonant inventory and historical gutturals are omitted or variably replaced. Vowel quality highly depends on vowel harmony but also on surrounding consonants and are subject to individual variability. Both consonant and vowel lengthening is weak. Metathesis occurs frequently and stress is some cases distinctive in verbs.

Nonetheless, the occurrence of other phonemes and phonological rules largely coincides with West Sudanic Arabic as it is depicted by other arabists. Phonological analysis of the Arabic spoken in Darfur notably displays much resemblance to the phonology of Abéché in Chad (Roth 1972).

In this chapter, many examples from the corpus go without a reference to one of the informants. This means that the examples concerned occur more than once in the corpus and/or in elicitation. Furthermore, note that Darfur Arabic does not exhibit synchronic gender distinctions (6.3.2 Gender).

2.2 Phonemes

2.2.1 Consonants

The following chart exhibits the consonants of Darfur Arabic.

Consonants, pulmonic (voiceless left, voiced right)

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Alveolar		Post-alveolar		Palatal	Velar/Uvular		Glottal	
Plosive		b			t	d			j	k	g	ʔ	
Fricative			f		s		ʃ			x		h	
Affricate							(tʃ)						
Nasal		m				n			(ɲ)		(ŋ)		
Lateral						l							
Trill						r							
Approximant		w							j				

The inventory above corresponds largely with other West Sudanic varieties of Arabic (Owens 1993:19; Zeltner & Tourneux 1986:15-16; Jullien de Pommerol 1999:11; Manfredi 2010:34; Roth 1972:35). Compared to Old Arabic, it includes the West Sudanic peculiarities of the marginal presence of *n*, *ŋ* and *ʃ* and the absence of *ɣ*. The lack of *q*, the faryngeals and velarized consonants seems to be a feature induced by non-native speakers of Arabic in the region.

The phonemes *n* and *ŋ* only appear in loanwords from African languages spoken in Darfur, as they do in West Sudanic Arabic generally (Roth 1972:47; Hillelson 1935:xi; Manfredi 2010:35; Ishaq 2002:78-88; Owens 1993a:19). However, neither Bergman, Qasim nor Reichmuth mention these phonemes in East Sudanic Arabic, so we might conclude their occurrence is a feature that distinguishes West from East Sudanic Arabic. Dickins (2007:69) suggests indeed *ŋ* may originate from the West Sudanic area.

nia:la 'Nyala'
ŋaŋa 'baby'
naŋnaŋ 'talkative'

The post alveolar affricate *ʃ* seems to be limited in use. It occurs in words such as *ʃfat*: 'all' and *amtabaʃ* *bʃdʒ, the name of a local drink.

As a rule, the glottal plosive ʔ is realised at the beginning of every word starting with a vowel, except the definite article or relative pronoun *al*. However, this glottal stop is not always pronounced prominently.

ʔani:na~ani:na 'we'
ʔaʔal~aʔal 'date'
ʔij:a:l~ij:a:l 'children'
ʔaba~aba 'he/she refused'

In some cases ʔ is realised as a reflex of the historical phoneme ʕ (2.6.6 Old Arabic phoneme ʕ).

2.2.1.1 Allophonic realizations of consonants

Due to speaker variation, the following consonants of Darfur Arabic can be realized in various ways.

2.2.1.1.1 Phoneme *ɖ*

The phoneme which I transcribe as *j*, corresponding to *ḍ* (Arabic *ḍ*) in Old Arabic, can be realised both ways, according to my own observations and as also attested by Fischer and Jastrow (1980:105), Bergman (2002:2) Manfredi (2010:44) and Hillelson (1925:xxii) on the Arabic spoken in Sudan. Also see 2.6.1 Old Arabic phoneme *ḍ*.

ha:ja [hɛːja~hɛːɖʒa] **hwdʒ* ‘thing’

ja'zaw:aju [ja'zawːaju~ja'zawːaɖʒu] **zwdʒ* ‘they marry’

biji:'bu:lik [biːiː'buːlik~biɖʒiː'buːlik] **ɖʒib* ‘they give you’

2.2.1.1.2 Phonemes *f* and *b*

Darfurians from the Fur tribe sometimes use *p*, *b* and *f* as allophones, just as they are in the Fur language (Jakobi 1990:18).

'japturu~'jafturu ‘they have breakfast’

arpa~arba ‘four’

fi [ɸi] ~ *fi* [fi] ‘in’

nadi:p~nadi:f ‘clean’

2.2.1.1.3 Phoneme *ʃ*

One informant realizes Old Arabic or Sudanese Standard Arabic *ʃ* as *s* consistently and another does that inconsistently (1-2).

- (1) *al=lu:ri* *bas:* *al fo:g=u* ***sahin*** *gasab as=suk:ar*
 ART=lorry just REL in=3SG cargo **ʃhn* reed ART=sugar
 ‘Just the lorry in which was a cargo of sugar cane.’ (XO)

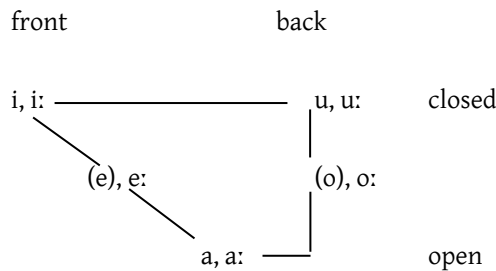
- (2) *min jib-ti* *min su:g,* ***sag:ig-i*** *bi* *siki:n*
 from PFV.bring-2SG from market IMP.split-SG **ʃqq* with knife.SG
 ‘When you have brought it from the market, you cut it in pieces with a knife.’ (SA)

Both phonemes *s* and *ʃ* take part of the Nilo-Saharan languages Maba (Weiss 2009:29) and Masalit (Edgar 1989:9) phonology, but *ʃ* does not occur in the

phonological inventory of Fur (Jakobi 1990:18) and it is marginal in Zaghawa (Jakobi & Crass 1993:11). Perhaps this explains the occasional realization of *f* as *s*.

2.2.2 Vowels

The vowel triangle below exhibits the vowels occurring in Darfur Arabic.



In addition to the vowels above and according to the phonological context (see 2.3.4 Vowel harmony), schwa *ə* is used as an epenthetic vowel or as a reflex of all of the short phonemes *u*, *i* and *a*.

2.2.2.1 Allophonic realizations of vowels

2.2.2.1.1 Phoneme *i* [i] [ɪ]

The phoneme *i* is realised as [i] in the beginning or in the middle of a word but as [ɪ] when it is succeeded by the glide *j*, or at the end of a word. This rule includes words that contain deleted historical phonemes (see 2.6 Historical considerations).

fila:n [filɛːn] **fln* ‘person’

mili [mɪlɪ] **mlħ* ‘salt’ (see 2.6.5 Old Arabic phoneme *ħ*)

ija:li [ijɛ:li] **ɣwl* ‘my children’

farangabij:a [farangabijːa] ‘Farangabiyya’ (a Fur dance Attachment 1: text sample)

jilid gawi [jɪlɪd gawi] **dʒld qwj* ‘strong leather’

taxal'i [taxalːi] **xlj* ‘you let it’

2.2.2.1.2 Phoneme *a* [a] [ɛ] [ɪ]

As in other Arabic colloquials, *a* is realised as rather fronted when it is adjacent to alveolar and palatal consonants.

na:s [nɛːs] 'people'
ija:l [ʔijɛːl] 'children'
hina:k [hɪnɛːk] 'there'
jabal [jɛbɛl] 'mountains'
ʔida:n [ʔidɛːn] 'branches'
bas: [bɛsː] 'only'

Word-final *ʔima:la* 'raising of *a*' occurs frequently in the spoken Arabic of Darfur. This means that *a* is raised when preceded by a front consonant, turning into [ɪ]. According to Ishaq (2002:154) and Qasim (2002:17,398), *ʔima:la* is a distinct feature of the Arabic spoken in the west of Sudan, due to bedouin influence. It is a common trait of rural West Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:126, 235-236).

asi:di 'thick sorghum porridge'
sitːɪ 'six'
sini 'year'
jibːɪ 'small galabia'
ʔiffi 'pin'
xawa:ɟi 'western foreigner'

An exception is the frequently used word for 'now' *has:a*, which does not exhibit *ʔima:la* in Darfur. In Khartoum, however, it does and is often pronounced as *hasːɪ* (Tamis & Persson 2010:69, Bergman 2002:389 and own findings).

ʔima:la can also occur in the middle of a word, tending to [e] or [ɛ] rather than [ɪ]:

na.al-ne:l 'shoes' *nʃl (2.6.6 Old Arabic phoneme ʃ)
tama:nija [tɛmɛːnija~tɛmɛːnija] *θmn 'eight'

In the vicinity of the alveolar trill *r* [r] and/or back consonants, *a* is lowered to [a], tending to [ɑ]:

suk:ar [sukːar~sukːar] 'sugar'
nug:a:ra [nugːaːra~nugːaːra] 'drums'
'rak:abo [rakːabo~rakːabo] 'they mounted'
mara [mara~marɑ] 'woman'

ma tixal'i [mɛ tɪxɑ'l'i~tɪxɑ'l'i] 'don't leave it'

hag:ik [hag:ɪk~hag:ɪk] 'your(s)'

had:u [had:u~had:u] 'enough'

muraha:t [muraħɛ:t~muraħɛ:t] 'herds'

Interestingly, phoneme *a* is also often lowered in the vicinity of historical velarized phonemes (2.2.6.8 Velarized consonants).

2.2.2.1.3 Phoneme *e*

The close-mid front vowel *e*: appears in words such as *de:l* 'these' and *we:ka* 'okra sauce/powder'. The minimal pair *je:b=i* 'my pocket' and *ji:bi* IMP.SG 'fetch' shows that *e*: is phonologically distinctive. Furthermore, *e*: is a merger of the Old Arabic diphthong *ai* or *aj*, like in other Arabic dialects (1). Furthermore, in Darfur *e*: optionally replaces the synchronic diphthong *aj* in case one of the phonemes of that diphthong is lengthened (MG).

- (1) *le:l* < Old Arabic *lajl* 'night'
te:ra < Old Arabic *ʔajra* 'bird'

- (2) *sixaj:ar~sixe:r* 'small'
bina:ja~bine: 'girl' 'daughter'

2.2.2.1.4 Phoneme *o* [o] [ɔ]

The rounded close-mid back vowel *o*, sometimes tending towards [ɔ], is not part of the phoneme inventory of Old Arabic but all the more of Darfur Arabic.

First, loanwords can contain this phoneme, such as *Fo:r* 'Fur' (tribe) and *kalo:l* 'sauce pan'. Also *o* occurs in the Darfurian word-final diminutive *-oj* or *-oja* in for example *jilmo:ja* 'kind of farming tool' and *ram:o:ja* 'solid earth' (Ishaq 2002:194-195).

Second, like in Chadian Arabic, *o* can be realized instead of *u*, especially in the vicinity of *a* (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:130). This particularly happens in verbs such as *nadu:ri~nado:ri* 'I want' and *tixut:i~tixot:i* 'you put' and in pronominal suffixes like in *za:t=u~za:t=o* 'itself' and *fij:it=u~fij:it=o* 'its intervening space'. Despite this overlap, *o* and *u* contrast in e.g. the near minimal pair *lab:adu* IMP.PL 'hide yourself' versus *lab:ado* PFV.3 'he/she/they hid themselves/something'.

Third, the vowel also occurs as a merger of the diphthongs *eu* and *iu* as in *lo~leu* ‘for/to him/her’ and *bo~biu* ‘with/by him/her’.

Fourth, like on other Arabic colloquials, it appears as the reflex of diphthong *au* or *aw* in Old Arabic (2.6 Historical considerations), such as in *fo:g *fwq* ‘above/in’; *no:m *nwm* ‘sleep’; and the typical and frequently used Sudanese Arabic word for ‘person, fellow, guy’: *zo:l* (Ishaq 2002:192; Jullien de Pommerol 1999:1351). A particular feature of Darfur Arabic is that this monophthongization of *au* can optionally be applied to the longer (historical) phoneme clusters *awa*, *awu*, *aʃu* and *ahu*.

*biso~bisaw:u *swj* ‘they do/make’

o:zu < aʃu:ðu bi l:a:hi (Old Arabic) ‘I seek refuge with God’

no:ri:k~nawar:i:k ‘I show/tell you’

*biwaja.u~bo:jo *wɗʃ* ‘it hurts him/her’

*bifa:bahu~bifa:bo *ʃbh* ‘they look like each other’

2.2.2.1.5 Diphthongization

In Darfur Arabic, combined vowels may result in the following diphthongs.

[au] as in *bara:u < bi ra:ʔi=u* ‘on his/her own’ and *alma:=u *mwh* ‘its water’;

[ai] as in *sixaj:ar *syr* ‘small’ and *hina:i* ‘what's-its-name’;

[eu] as in *le:=u* ‘for/to him/her’;

[ia] as in *lu:bia* ‘black-eyed beans’ and *lage:ti=a *lqj* ‘you found it’;

[iu] as in *nasaw:i:-um* ‘I make them’ **swj* and *bi=u* ‘with him/her’;

[oi] as in *hirbo:j* ‘chameleon’ and *salumbo:ja~falumbo:ja~absalumbo:ja* ‘small mouse’;

[ou] as in *ja:bo:=um *ɗʒb* ‘they brought them’.

2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants

Differences in vowel length are phonological, as shown by the minimal pair *safar* ‘journey’ and *sa:far* ‘he travelled’. However, the lengthening of vowels is often reduced in comparison to other varieties of Arabic. This kind of weak vocalic quantity is also pointed out by Ishaq (2002:221) and exists in the Chadian Arabic of Abéché (Roth 1972:55-57). In the Arabic based creoles Ki-Nubi and Juba Arabic (Luffin 2005:60-61, Wellens 2003:39 and Miller 2007:520), vocalic quantity is virtually absent and not distinctive. In the Arabic of Darfur, it often remains debatable whether a vowel is realised long or short. Below is a list of words that

contain long vowels but are generally realised as half long in Darfur Arabic, indicated as ˙ in the phonetic representation.

ga:mat [ga˙mat] ‘she/he got up / then’

tagu:l [tagu˙l] ‘you say’

ʔe:f [ʔe˙f] ‘millet’

tifa:wir [tɪfɛ˙wir] ‘you consult’

jisa:haru [jisa˙haru] ‘they stay up late’

Nevertheless, vowels can be lengthened for expressive reasons: by lengthening vowels extensively, the word becomes stressed or intensified. This kind of prosodic or pragmatic lengthening is exemplified in the following words from the corpus.

kati:r ‘much’; *kati::r* ‘very much’

abjad ‘white’; *abja::d* ‘very white’

ra:gid ‘much/many’; *ra::gid* ‘plenty’

sawala:t ‘large sacks’; *sawala::t* ‘many large sacks’

nalabu ‘we dance’; *nala::bu* ‘we dance much’

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) | <i>le hab:</i> | <i>ti-dug':-i#</i> | <i>duga::g</i> |
| | TR grain.COLL | IPFV.2-pound-SG.3SG | very fine |
| | ‘You pound the grains to very fine flower.’ (AA) | | |

The same rule of lengthening applies to the lengthening of consonants, i.e. grammatical gemination is not as strong as in other Arabic colloquials. This equally seems to be a language contact feature because Luffin (2005:61-62), Wellens (2003:51) and Miller (2007:519) claim geminate consonants do not occur in the Ki-Nubi and Juba Arabic, languages designated as Arabic based pidgins or creoles.

Below are some examples of grammatical gemination but where this gemination is not heard prominently, as shown in the phonetic transcription.

ni'war:i [ni˙war˙i] ‘I show’

bas: [bɛs˙] ‘only, just’

had:u [had˙u] ‘finish, ready’

bi'dug:u [bɪ'dugːu] 'they pound'

kul:u [kulːu] 'all of it'

However, like vowels, consonants might be pronounced long or even over-long for expressive reasons (also see Amery 1905:xi). Examples of prosodic lengthening are:

abjad 'white'; *ab::jad* 'very white / clean'

simi 'good/beautiful'; *sim::i* 'very good/beautiful'

ʔajabat 'she was surprised'; *ʔaj::abat* 'she was very surprised'

min:: *ʃadara ma nu-mrug-u*

from-STRESSEDtree NEG IPFV,1-leave-PL

'We are certainly not leaving the tree'. (MHa)

2.3 Phonological rules

Below systematic phonological processes in Darfur Arabic are enumerated. As mentioned in the introduction, there is a lot of variation, but some generalities can be observed.

2.3.1 Assimilation

2.3.1.1 Assimilation with *al*=

Darfurians do not use the definite article *al* often (3.4.1 Article) but when they do it assimilates with (post)alveolar, so called sun letters, i.e. the *l* of the article turns into the same sound as the first sound of the noun.

aldam > *ad:am* 'the blood'

alzura > *az:ura* 'the sorghum'

However, the relative pronoun *al*, homophone with the article, does not always assimilate with the following word.

al darasti de 'that which you ground'

al sawe:ti da 'that which you made'

2.3.1.2 Assimilation of *n*- preceding *-g* or *-k*

Phoneme *n*- becomes *ŋ*- before *-g* or *-k*.

angare:b [aŋgare:b] SG, *anagari:b* PL ‘rope bed’
sangar [saŋgar] ‘he/she sits down’
janka:b [jaŋkɛ:b] ‘hoe’
farangabij:a [farangabij:a] ‘Farangabiya [a Fur dance]’

2.3.1.3 Assimilation of *n-* before *-b*

Phoneme *n-* may assimilate with *-b* when it precedes that phoneme.

bambar SG, *bana:bir* PL ‘stool’
jamb *dʒnb ‘next’
imbasat~inbasat ‘he was happy’

2.3.1.4 Other cases of assimilation

Further cases of assimilation in the corpus occur regularly. However, no further rules could be established, except that *b* seems to be susceptible to assimilate partially or totally with other phonemes (1) and that *-t* infix in derived word patterns seems a dominant phoneme to which preceding (historical) phonemes (2.6 Historical considerations) assimilate easily (2). However, rather than phonetic assimilation, in the latter case *t* is likely lengthened in order to keep the syllable structure intact, which would be disturbed due to the loss of certain consonants.

- (1) *babga~bag:a* ‘it becomes’
mas:u:t~mabsu:t ‘cheerful’
ad:er:a:n ‘Abdel Rahman’ (proper name, Old Arabic *ʕabd ar:rahma:n*)
- (2) *muxtalif* > *mut:alif* ‘different’
ihtira:m > *it:ira:m* ‘respect’
mustaffa > *mut:affa* ‘hospital’

2.3.2 Voicing and devoicing

Voiceless consonants tend to become voiced before another voiced consonant.

basgi > *bazgi* *sqj 'he/she waters'

wagt > *wakt~wakit* *wqt 'when'

itda:wasu > *id:a:wasu* *dws 'they fought with each other'

Darfurians tend to devoice consonants when preceded by a vowel, especially in pause (1) or when succeeded by another voiceless consonant (2).

- (1) *fo:k* *fwq 'above' 'in'
 rus: *rzz 'rice'
 tabak *tbq 'cover, lid, saucer'
 su:k *swq 'market'
 zabat *zbd 'butter'

- (2) *takta* *qtʃ 'you cut'
 makfu:l *qfl 'closed'

Sometimes devoicing occurs between two vowels too:

wad:arta > *wat:arta* *wdr 'I (am) lost'

bar:a'd-o > *bar:a't-o* *brd 'she bathed him/her'

nadi:f > *nati:f* *nðf 'clean'

Finally, I also noticed other, irregular cases of devoicing as well as voicing.

balti *wld 'it grows'

'jazaru~'bazaru *srh 'they herd'

mu:zim *wsm 'season'

jasma *dʒzm 'shoes'

Dore: ~ *Tore:* 'Dore' [village in North Darfur]

batgal:amu *klm 'they talk'

2.3.3 Deletion or syncope

As is common in other modern spoken varieties of Arabic, unstressed, short *i* and *u* in open syllables can be deleted (1). This does nevertheless not happen consistently (2).

- (1) *wilidat* > *wildat* **wld* 'she gave birth'
ga:idi:n > *gaidi:n* **qʕd* 'they are continuing' (2.6.6 Old Arabic phoneme ʕ)
muna:sabitum > *muna:sabtum* **nsb* 'their occasion'
- (2) *jisimu* **jsm* 'his body'
'fitiru **fr* 'they became tired'
wigifat **wqf* 'he/she stopped'

2.3.4 Vowel harmony

In case of vowel harmony, low vowels like *o* or *u* occur in a word with other low vowels. High vowels like *i* or *e*, in their turn, go along with other high vowels. Phoneme *a* plays a neutral role in this process and can be combined with both low and high vowels.

In the case of the Arabic of Darfur, vowel harmony in verbs includes suffixes, is regressive and especially affects open syllables. In short adverbs, nouns, adjectives or verbs without suffixes, vowel harmony can be progressive. This manner of vowel adaptation needs more data and analyses than can be given so far. Until now, I have only noticed the rules as stated above, occurring within lexemes.

tiham:i'd-i 'you make it ferment' but *bəham:u'd-u* 'they make it ferment'
tirak:i'b-i 'you put it on fire' but *birak:u'b-u* 'they put it on fire'

Vowel harmony is a typical feature of the area (Roth 1972:61-65; Manfredi 2010:64-65; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:30 & 130; Owens 1993a:38-41) and also occurs in Xarga and Bari:s in Upper Egypt (Behnstedt in Fischer & Jastrow 1980:244). See 2.3.5 Epenthesis below for examples of other nouns, adverbs and adjectives displaying vowel harmony.

2.3.5 Epenthesis

A vowel is inserted between the last two consonants in words with the pattern CVCC if the last two consonants are not geminate (examples in (1) and Roth

1972:76-78; Owens 1993a:31-37; Manfredi 2010:54-55). The quality of the inserted vowel depends on vowel harmony (see 2.3.4 Vowel harmony). This kind of epenthesis is generally maintained when a suffix is added (2).

CVCC → CVCVC

- (1) *mufuk* ‘remains’
 butun~butən ‘belly’
 amis ‘yesterday’
 ʔakil ‘food’
 jilid ‘leather’
- (2) *usumu* ‘his/her name’
 jisimu ‘his body’

Darfur Arabic meets with the gahawa syndrome. This syndrome entails that an *a* is placed between a laryngeal, pharyngeal, or an uvular/velar fricative and the following consonant if the former consonant is also preceded by *a* (De Jong 2007). In the Arabic spoken in Darfur, however, the inserted vowel is often, but not necessarily *a*, and subject to vowel harmony.

Ø > v / (C)aX_C(V)

X = *h*, *ħ*, *ʕ*, *x*, or *ǧ* (i.e. laryngeal, pharyngeal, or an uvular/velar fricative)

C = any consonant

V = any short or long vowel

ahamar ‘red’ **ħmr*

axadar ‘green’ **xḍr*

ga.awa ‘coffee’ **qhw* (see 2.6.7 Old Arabic phoneme *h*)

Likewise, the Arabic of Darfur exhibits the expanded bukara syndrome, implying that a vowel is inserted before *r*, *l*, *n* or *m* if this consonant is followed by another vowel (De Jong 2006). Again, the quality of the inserted vowel is often *a* but also affected by vowel harmony.

Ø > v / C_rv

C = any consonant

r = r, l, m or n

ba'farabu *frb 'they drink'

'tagili *ylw 'you boil' (2.6.4 Old Arabic phoneme y)

amalas *mls 'smooth'

aturun 'natrium'

usum=u *sm 'his/her name'

Examples of lexemes that have epenthesis due to either bukara or gahawa syndrome are

'naxulu *ylw 'we boil' (2.6.4 Old Arabic phoneme y)

ahalan *?hl 'welcome' root

istaxarabat *yrb 'she/he was surprised'

2.3.6 Metathesis

Metathesis, called *qalb* in Arabic (Qasim 2002:15), occurs often in Darfur Arabic in the sense that two phonemes in a word can be switched. Metathesis seems to be current in Sudanic Arabic generally (Owens 1993a:25), as well as in the Fur language (Jakobi 1990:57).

atfa:n > *qfta:n* *ʔf 'thirsty'

magfu:l > *mafgu:l* *qtl 'closed'

aljo:m > *ajlo:m* *jwm 'today'

taksiri > *taskiri* *ksr 'you break'

'naxsulu > *'nasxulu* *ysl 'we wash' (2.6.4 Old Arabic phoneme y)

busxa > *buxsa* 'big pan for making sorghum porridge'

2.4 Syllable structure

Darfur Arabic exhibits the following possible syllables.

syllable structure	example
CV:	ka: mil
CV	ba gar

CVC	bagar
CV:c	kurfa:n
CVC:	bit:

These possible syllables include deleted historical phonemes (see 2.6 Historical considerations). Darfur Arabic does not seem to contain syllables beginning with or ending in two consonants, except geminate consonants at the end of a lexeme. Furthermore, I have not observed a long vowel before two consonants either (also see 2.3.5 Epenthesis).

2.5 Word stress

Stress assignment is accounted for in the following rules in the Arabic of Darfur.

a. Stress falls on either the long vowel *v:* or the short vowel *v* preceding two consonants CC. If both of these types of syllables occur in a word, stress is put on the last one. This rule also includes historical phonemes which are deleted (2.6 Historical considerations), as well as historically long vowels that are shortened in the Arabic of Darfur.

ba'ha:jim 'cattle'
'ba:kulu 'they eat'
bi'dugdug 'he hits'
madi:'ditna 'our porridge'
baga'ratum 'their cow'
am':atum 'their aunt'

b. If the word does not contain a long vowel or a VCC pattern, stress is put on the first syllable in words consisting of two or three syllables.

*'balabu *lʕb* 'they dance'
*'mitil~'misil *mθl* 'like'
*'gada *qdħ* 'cup'

c. Verb phrases ending in a vowel receive stress on that vowel when it includes a (3sg) pronominal suffix, making stress phonologically contrastive (1). As a consequence, *'kas:aro* means 'they broke' but *kas:a'ro* can either mean 'he/she

broke it' or 'they broke it'. The verb 'bal:u means 'they wetted', and ba'l:u 'he/she wetted it' or 'they wetted it' (also see 2.5 Word stress).

- (1) na'kub:u *kbb 'we pour' but nakub':-u 'we pour it'
 'asma *smʕ 'listen' IMP.SG but as'm=a 'listen to him/her'
 nag:a'l=a *nql 'he took it with him'
 ra'm-o *rmj 'they threw him'
 bar:a't-o *brd 'they bathed him'
 naʃag':-u naʃar':-u *ʃqq *ʃrr 'we pound it and we spread it out' (AF)

This kind of stress assignment generally includes prepositional pronouns (2).

- (2) bamsa.u 'l=o *msh 'they anoint him'
 baʃarabu 'b=o *ʃrb 'they drink from it'
 naxaraʃu'-bo *yrf 'we ladle with it'
 dabahu'-le:k *ðbh 'they slaughtered for you'
 takub:i'-lo *kbb 'you pour on it'
 bukub:i'-lo:m *kbb 'you pour for them'

d. Like in the Arabic of Kordofan (Manfredi 2010:58-59), 1SG bound pronoun =i and =ni with verbs, receive stress on this i.

kala:'m=i 'my words'
 ija:'l=i 'my children'
 atane:'t=i~atana:j't=i 'my grandchild'
 fut:a'=ni 'you 2SG left me'
 iriftu'=ni 'you 2PL knew me'

Word-final i seems susceptible to receive stress generally: the independent pronoun 1SG a'ni 'I, me' and aʃ'i: 'yes' receive stress on i too. Furthermore, imperatives equally receive stress if they end in -i, as in sid':i IMP.SG 'close'

e. Stress in loanwords is maintained as it is in the source language.

ɲia:'la 'Nyala'
 gaŋ'gaŋ 'Ganggang' (kind of dance, especially known with the Masalit tribe)

ṇaṇ'wa 'rubber clogs'

f. Many Arabic words ending in *a* other than verbs, can either receive stress according to rule a. above, or on the last syllable. This manner of putting stress might be caused by interference with the other languages spoken in Darfur.

wa'ta~'wata 'sole of foot/shoe, floor, weather'

'sawa~sa'wa 'together'

ani:'na~a'ni:na ~ an':a 'we'

ba'la~'bala 'without'

'xala~xa'la 'open country' 'wilderness', 'desert'

'kafa~ka'fa 'enough'

2.6 Historical considerations

As mentioned in the introduction, comparing Darfur Arabic with Old Arabic reveals and explains grammatical patterns in the Arabic of Darfur. This also holds for its phonology. Below, roots and bound pronouns are given in Old Arabic.

In the Arabic spoken in Darfur, like in other western Arabic sedentary colloquials, the Old Arabic phoneme *θ* generally corresponds to *t*; *ḏ* to *d*; *ʔ* is deleted or reflected by *j*; and diphthongs *ai* and *au* are replaced by *e*: and *o*:

Nevertheless, the variable realisation of the Old Arabic gutturals (i.e. velars/uvulars, faryngeals and glottals/laryngeals) is a distinct feature of Chad and Darfur Arabic compared to other dialects. Depending on the nature of the phoneme at issue, the linguistic background of the speaker and some specific words, some of these Old Arabic back consonants are either consistently or variably replaced by others or even completely left out. This swapping and absence of guttural phonemes might be explained by the influence of the Nilo-Saharan substrates (Roth 1972a:70-72), which exhibit little gutturals when compared to Arabic (Edgar 1989:9; Jakobi 1990:18; Jakobi & Crass 2004:11; Weiss 2009:29).

2.6.1 Old Arabic phoneme *ḏ*

As mentioned in 2.2.1.1.1 Phoneme *ḏ*, Old Arabic phoneme *ḏ*, sometimes transcribed as *j* or *ǧ*, is realized as *j* or *ḏ*. However, several informants occasionally realized the phoneme as *g*, especially when followed by *-i* (1-2).

- (1) *b-i:j-u* *ra:gi*
 IPFV.3-come-PL back
 ‘They come back.’ (MY)
- (2) *la.am da (...)* *law gib-‘na* *na-fur‘r-u*
 meatDEM.SG if PFV.get-1PL.3SG IPFV.1-spread out-PL.3SG
 ‘When we have meat, we spread it out [to dry].’ (AA)

2.6.2 Old Arabic phoneme *q*

Phoneme *q* has more than one manner and place of articulation in Old Arabic and in modern Arabic dialects, but is known to be an uvular voiceless stop in Modern Standard Arabic (Edzard 2009). However, in other Sudanic varieties of Arabic, *q* is generally realised as velar voiced *g*. This *g* is sometimes devoiced to *k* or a sound in between *g* and *k*. Also see 2.3.2 Voicing and devoicing on this matter.

q > k

*binak:it *nqʔ* ‘it drips’
*katal *qtl* ‘he killed’
*bo:ki *bwq* ‘heavy rain’ (Ishaq 2002:106)

Sometimes *x* figures as a substitute for Old Arabic *q*. According to Ishaq (2002:106-107) this substitution is typical for Darfurian villagers.

q > x

*xa:na:t *qnw* ‘tv channel’
*firxa *frq* ‘team’ ‘band’
*taxali:d *qlɗ* ‘customs’

According to Hillelson (1935:xvii ‘frequent, especially in gezira’), Qasim (2002:14 ‘seldom’), Bergman (2002:3), Owens (‘*q* may optionally spirantise to *x/χ* or *ɣ/ʁ* post vocally’ 1993a:28) Manfredi (2010:43) and Woidich (2006:300), Old Arabic *q* is sometimes realised as its voiced affricate pendant *ɣ* in Sudanic Arabic and in Upper Egypt. I indeed noticed this reflex regularly among Sudanese in Khartoum but not among my Darfurian informants and Roth does not mention *ɣ* as a substitute for Old Arabic *q* either. One would expect Darfurians to do this too in

the context of the general tendency of mingling gutturals. But *y* not seem to occur at all in the language variety at issue (2.6.4 Old Arabic phoneme *y*).

2.6.3 Old Arabic phoneme *x*

Old Arabic velar phoneme *x* (by some linguists described as uvular χ) is often ‘correctly’ realised as it is from a historical point of view.

xala:s **xls* ‘that’s it / right’ (discourse marker)

xamsa **xms* ‘five’

ti’xal:i **xlw* ‘you let, leave’

’xarabu **xrb* ‘they spoiled’

baxu:r **bxr* ‘incense’

Old Arabic phoneme *x* can also be replaced by *h*. I have been told by several Darfurians that especially members of the Zaghawa tribe are known to do this, but I witnessed Darfurians other than Zaghawa do this, as well.

x > *h*

hamsa **xms* ‘five’

hartu:m **xrɛm* ‘Khartoum’

hawaja:t < *xawadʒa:t* ‘westerners’

be he:r < *bi xe:r* ‘fine’

When *x* is replaced by *h*, it can be deleted (2.6.7 Old Arabic phoneme *h*), like in *jat:alif* **xlɸ* ‘it is different’.

Phoneme *k* also appears as a reflex of Old Arabic *x*, as it does in Arabic-based creoles (Owens 1997:155).

x > *k*

kala:s **xls* ‘finally / that’s it’ (discourse marker)

ko:r **xwr* ‘brook’

bite:k **bɛx* ‘watermelon’

2.6.4 Old Arabic phoneme γ

The absence of Old Arabic γ is characteristic for West Sudanic Arabic (Roth 1972:71-72; Manfredi 2010:34; Owens 1993a:19; Qasim 2002:14). As a rule, this Old Arabic phoneme is replaced by x .

$\gamma > x$

xanam * γnm 'goats'
sixaj:ir * syr 'small'
tistaxrib * γrb 'you are surprised'
faxali:t * $f\gamma l$ 'things'
Zaxa:wa 'Zaghawa'
'nasxulu * γsl 'we wash'

The substitution of γ for x above, might also be considered as a case of devoicing, since the two consonants are realised from the same point of articulation. Maybe this is why I have also heard Old Arabic phoneme γ , just like x , to be realised as k .

$\gamma > k$

ji'kas:ulu * γsl 'they whash'
ji'kan:u * γnw 'they sing'

Interestingly, Roth (1972:72a) notes that Zaghawa, called Arabs in Abéché, realise Old Arabic phoneme γ as q . Hence they pronounce their own tribe as *Zaqa:wa*. Manfredi detects the same reflex in rural Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (2009:63). The corpus of Darfurian Arabic speech does not reveal this reflex, but there are a few cases in which Old Arabic γ is realized as velar g , sometimes tending to an uvular release.

bagulu * γlj 'they boil'
tagili * γlj 'you boil'
jamal 'gili * γlw 'The camel has become expensive' (AJ)

2.6.5 Old Arabic phoneme *ḥ*

The voiceless pharyngeal *ḥ* is realised as *h* in word-initial position, sometimes also between two vowels. In the latter case, *h* becomes voiced too. Also see Qasim (2002:13) on this matter and Hillelson (1935:xvii: 'h for ḥ always in the speech of the sedentaries of Kordofan').

ḥ > *h*

Word-initial:

hami:r **ḥmr* 'donkeys'

ha:ja **ḥwj* 'thing'

ha'la **ḥlw* 'beautiful'

hilu **ḥlw* 'beautiful'

Between vowels:

mula:ha:t [mula:ḥa:t] **mlḥ* 'sauces'

wa:hid [wa:ḥid] **ʔḥd* 'one' root (but see below)

bahar [baḥar] **bḥr* 'sea' 'river'

In the middle of a word, *ḥ* is often deleted. However, when preceded by a vowel, an 'echo' of *ḥ* often remains. I have rendered this resonance as a period, indicating a syllable break.

ḥ > Ø

After a consonant:

mura:ka < *murḥa:ka* 'grinder'

tatani < *tatḥnani* 'you grind'

After a vowel (the last four examples are cases of epenthesis, see 2.3.5 Epenthesis):

wa:id **ʔḥd* 'one'

sa.an **sḥn* 'plate'

fa.am *ʃhm ‘charcoal’

ti.it *tħt ‘under’

a.mad *ħmd ‘Ahmed’

At the end of a word *ħ* is deleted (1). Nevertheless, syllables ending in this historical but deleted *ħ*, are considered as a closed syllables, since a preceding short *i* is realised as [ɪ] (2.2.2.1.1 Phoneme *i* [i] [ɪ]) and examples (2)

- (1) *mafa:ti*: < *mafa:ti:ħ* ‘keys’
sa.i: < *saħi:ħ* ‘correct’
gada < *gadaħ* *qdħ ‘cup’
saba: < **saba:ħ* ‘morning’

- (2) *fa:ti* [faːtɪ] < *fa:tiħ* ‘open’
simi [simɪ] < *samiħ* ‘good’

Like in Sudanese Standard Arabic, in the frequently used verb *xaṭ*:, *baxuṭ* ‘put’, Old Arabic *ħ* is generally replaced by *x*: *naʿxutu* ‘we put’.

2.6.6 Old Arabic phoneme ʕ

At the beginning of a word or between two vowels, the reflex of the voiced faryngeal ʕ can be ʔ.

ʕ > ʔ

Word-initial:

ʔamalo *ʕml ‘they made’

ʔaji:b *ʕdʒb ‘wonderful’

ʔid:a *ʕdd ‘dishes’

ʔaʕara *ʕʕr ‘ten’

Between vowels:

biʔʔaj:anu *ʕdʒn ‘they knead/eat’

biʔʔaj:anu *ʕjn ‘they watch’

*muʔal:imi:n *ʕlm* ‘teachers’

Otherwise, ʕ is deleted. Notwithstanding, like its voiceless pendant *ħ*, when preceded by a vowel, a light ‘echo’ of the phoneme remains, indicated below as a period.

ʕ > Ø

Word-initial:

*aʕara *ʕr* ‘ten’

*ʕrfu *ʕrf* ‘they knew’

*isa:n *ʕsj* ‘sticks’

*asali:j:a *ʕsl* ‘asali:j:a’ (a sorghum drink)

*ugu:br *ʕqb* ‘punishment’

After a consonant:

*ʕogod *qʕd* ‘you sit’

*sabi:n *sbʕ* ‘seventy’

*gita *qʕʕ* ‘a piece’

*ʕtalab *lʕb* ‘you dance’

After a vowel:

*la.bat Fo:r *lʕb* ‘the dance of the Fur’

*ba.rif *ʕrf* ‘he/she knows’

*ʕgata.u *qʕʕ* ‘they cut’

ga:.id~gaid SG and *ga:.idi:n~gaidi:n* PL **qʕd* ‘sitting’ ‘continuing’ ‘staying’

*mu.askar *ʕskr* ‘camp’

o:zu bi l:a:hi ‘I seek refuge with God’ (2.2.2.1.4 Phoneme *o* [o] [ɔ])

At the end of a word ʕ is also deleted. Nevertheless, syllables ending in this historical but deleted faryngeal, must be considered as a closed syllables, since a preceded short *i* is realised as [ɪ] (see Phoneme *i*).

'batla *tɬ 'it comes up/out'
 zira: *zrɬ 'cultivation, farming'
 'takta *qɬ 'you cut'
 ziri [ziri] *zrɬ 'cultivation, farming'
 ʃa:ri [ʃɛ·ri] *ʃrɬ 'street'

The absence of the pharyngeals *ħ* and *ʕ* as well as the velarized (also called pharyngealized or emphatic) consonants (see below) also occurs in other peripheral Arabic dialects, like Maltese (Fischer & Jastrow 1980:52), Anatolian (Jastrow 1973:18), Nigerian and Chadian (Owens 1993b:94, 115, 125, 128 and Roth 1972:70) Arabic. Both the pharyngeals and the velarized phonemes hardly appear in Arabic based creole languages (Wellens 2003:36, Luffin 2005:59, Miller 2007:519) either.

2.6.7 Old Arabic phoneme *h*

Glottal or laryngeal *h* is only heard in the beginning of a word but deleted in other positions. However, like the pharyngeals mentioned above, an 'echo' of *h* remains when preceded by a vowel (also see Qasim 2002:17).

Word-initial:

hi 'she'
hu 'he'
ha:j:in 'easy'
ha:j 'hey' [exclamation]

After a consonant, a historical *h* is deleted but sometimes still present in the way the stress is put on the word (2.5 Word stress) or the deletion of short *i* or *u* (last of the following set of examples)

naka < *nakha* 'smell, aroma'

After a vowel:

ga.wa~ga.awa **qhw* 'coffee' (2.3.5 Epenthesis)
ʔa.l=u~ʔa.al=u **ʔhl* 'his family' (2.3.5 Epenthesis)

*ji'jaj:is *dʒhz* 'he prepares'

2.6.8 Velarized consonants

The Old Arabic velarized (also called emphatic or pharyngealized) consonants (often transcribed with a dot as in *ḍ* or tilde as in *ḍ̣*) are replaced in Darfur Arabic by their non-velarized counterparts. This phenomenon also occurs in the Arabic spoken in Abéché (Roth 1972a:69-70). Notwithstanding, Owens (1993a:25-27) and Manfredi (2009:40-42) do attest the occurrence of the velarized phonemes, as well as secondary velarization or secondary emphasis. In Darfur, the Old Arabic velarized phonemes are realized as follows (Arabic script > IPA transcription > realization in Darfur).

ص > *s* > *s*

ط > *ṭ* > *t*

ض > *ḍ̣*

ظ > *ḍ̣* → merged into *d*, sometimes *z*

Interestingly, although velarization has 'disappeared' from Darfur Arabic, historical velarized phonemes often tend to effect adjacent *a* by lowering it.

xala:s [xalaːs] **xls* 'that's it'

wata [wata] **wɛj* 'ground' wtʔy

munaz:ama [munazːama] **nɛm* 'organisation'

bi'saf:u [bisafːu] **sfw* 'they filter'

da:n [daːn] **dʒn* 'sheep'

When surrounded by other vowels than *a*, the historical velarized consonants are not recognised as such.

ti:n [tiːn] **ɛjn* 'earth/clay'

na'xud:u [naxudːu] **xḍḍ* 'we churn'

se:f [seːf] **sjf* 'summer'

te:b-i:n [teːbiːn] **ɛjb* good-PL 'well'

2.7 Homonyms

The combination of the absence and mixing of gutturals and the phonological rules as explained above, leads to the occurrence of many (near) homonyms. Below more than one possible meaning is given for a word or a combination of words in the Arabic of Darfur. The intended denotation is to be identified by the context of the utterance.

- (1) *ma.al wa:.id *ħll *ʔħd* 'one place'
*ma al=wa:.id *mʕ *ʔħd* 'together'
- (2) *basara *zrʕ* 'he/she cultivates'
*basara *srħ* 'he/she herds'
- (3) *ʔi:d *jd* 'hand' 'arm'
*ʔi:d *ʕjd* 'holiday'
- (4) *wadat [wadat] *wɗʕ* 'she gave birth'
*wad:at [wadʔat] *wɗj* 'he/she brought'
*wad:at [wadʔat] *wɗʕ* 'he/she bade farewell'

3 Morphology: pronouns and particles

3.1 Pronouns and particles general

In this chapter, paradigms of Darfur Arabic pronouns are presented, followed by recurrent adverbs and particles occurring in this language variety. Especially the part on pronouns will show that the Arabic spoken by my Darfurian informants does not exhibit gender distinctions from a synchronic perspective (6.3.2 Gender). This feature reminds of Arabic-based pidgins and creoles (Miller 2007; Luffin 2005:128; Wellens 2003:52, 61, 76 and 98). Nevertheless, Darfur Arabic does contain remains of gender distinctions from other varieties of Sudanic Arabic. For example, a Darfurian has the independent pronouns *anta* (historically masculine) and *anti* (historically feminine) to his/her disposal to express the 2SG 'you'. However, he may say *anti* to a man and *anta* to a woman.

The dialect does distinguish singular and plural forms of independent pronouns, pronominal suffixes and demonstratives, but they do not always agree syntactically (6.3.2 Number). The historical singular masculine forms of both the independent and the bound pronoun are clearly preferred in use. This preference seems to lead to grammaticalization in the sense that the masculine singular pronoun is losing its independent meaning. For instance, the focus particle *za:t* almost consistently appears with the 3SG pronominal suffix *-u*, irrespective of the grammatical context, as in *banat za:t=u* 'the girls themselves'; and *asi:da tiso:'ti* 'you cook sorghum porridge' with verb-final stressed *-i* referring to the historically feminine noun *asi:da*. Apparently, a process of neutralization of the pronominal system is at work in Darfur Arabic.

3.2 Pronouns

Pronouns refer to people or nouns in their grammatical or pragmatical context. The Darfur Arabic sets of the various kinds of pronouns largely correspond with other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic, but contrast with regard to agreement (6.3 Agreement). Note that the dialect does neither exhibit a reflexive nor a reciprocal pronoun (5.9 Passive voice, reflexivity, detransitivization, reciprocity and the prefixes *it-* and *in-*).

3.2.1 Independent personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns in the spoken Arabic of Darfur largely correspond to other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:66; Owens 1993a:83; Roth 1979:157; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:85), with some peculiarities.

Table 1: the independent personal pronouns of Darfur Arabic

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>a'ni~'ana</i>	<i>ani:na~an':a~i.na</i>
2nd person	<i>inta~anta~inti~anti</i>	<i>intu~antu</i>
3rd person	<i>hu~huwa~hi~hija</i>	<i>hum~hum:a(n)</i>

The possible variation on the word-initial vowels of 2SG *inta~anta*; *inti~anti* and *intu~antu* is phonetic in nature. So is the possibility of phoneme *n* to assimilate with *t* in all variants of this pronoun to become, for example, *it:i* for *inti* (ref. paragraph assimilation chapter phonology). Nonetheless, the variation in the final vowels of this pronoun is of historical origin, for *anta* or *inta* refer to 2SG.M and *anti* or *inti* to 2SG.F in Old Arabic or other varieties of Sudanic Arabic (also see Bergman 2002:43, Reichmuth 1983:102). Darfur Arabic, however, does not display this Old Arabic gender distinction in accordance with the grammatical or pragmatic context. A similar origin of variability holds for the 3SG pronoun, where *hu* and *huwa* are phonetic variants of both masculine origin, and the variants *hi* and *hija* are historically feminine forms.

Although there does not seem to be a preference for the 2SG *anta* or *anti*, the historically masculine form for 3SG is definitely favoured: *hu~huwa* (referring to a man or a woman) occurs 67 times in the corpus and *hi~hija* only four times.

Since the Arabic of Darfur does not exhibit gender distinction from a synchronic point of view, any kind of agreement between historical masculine and feminine forms is accidental, as becomes obvious in the following examples. In (1) below, the subject is historically masculine but the predicate feminine. In (2) the subject is historically feminine but the following verb as well as the bound pronoun are masculine. Example (3) is a case in which from a historical point of view, the pragmatic context does not agree with the subject: the 3SG pronoun is masculine, but the person spoken about, is female. Only (4) agrees from a historical perspective: both the subject and the predicate are historically masculine.

- (1) *inta* *ma ji:t-i*
 2SG NEGPFV.come.2-SG
 ‘You did not come.’ (KN)

- (2) *anti ta-si:l na.a:l=ak*
 2SG IPFV.2-take.SG *ʃl shoe.PL=2SG
 'You take your shoes.' (MHb)
- (3) *hu da:jir kala:m da:riji*
 3SG PTCP.want.SG talk colloquial
 'She [F from context] wants to hear the dialect.' (SA)
- (4) *hu sulta:n*
 3SG sultan.SG
 'He [M from context] is a sultan.' (MHa)

As to the 1SG independent pronoun, *a'ni* appears along with *'ana*. The latter derives from Old Arabic and is most current in other Arabic dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980:80). The occurrence of *ani* is exceptional within Sudanic Arabic but appears in a few other spoken varieties of the language and is attributed to an analogical development with the 1SG bound pronoun *-ni* (Isaksson 1999:59). The feature is mentioned by Hillelson (1935:147) and Ishaq (2002:157-160). Ishaq claims *ani* is also used by Bedouins in West Sudan and explains it as a stage of development in the pronoun, also present in other Semitic languages. Whether *ani* is only used by women, like in the Gulf (Holes 1984:55), cannot be inferred from the corpus. But the question whether *ana* is masculine and *ani* feminine, does not seem applicable for the variety of Arabic spoken in Darfur, since the dialect does not exhibit gender differentiation.

- (5) *ana ra:jil kabi:r*
 1SG man.SG big.SG
 'I am an old man.' (IA)
- (6) *a'ni wad':ar-ta qja:l=i*
 1SG PFV.lose-1SG child.PL=1SG
 'I lost my children.' (4a)

As to the plural pronouns, there is no gender distinction either. Although Old Arabic does distinguish gender in the 2PL and 3PL word forms, the lack of gender

distinctions in the plural forms is common for most modern sedentary Arabic dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980:61).

Concerning the 1PL independent pronoun, the Arabic of Darfur distinguishes itself within West Sudanic Arabic by the frequent occurrence of the shortened version of *ani:na* to *an':a* or *i.na* of the 1PL.

- (7) ***ani:na*** *ma mugaj:il-i:n* *hina:k*
 1PL TOPPTCP.spend the afternoon-PL there
 'We spend the day there.' (XO)

- (8) *jasma* ***an':a*** *na-gu:'l-u* *marku:b*
 shoes.COLL 1PL IPFV.1-say-PL.3SG marku:b
 'Shoes we call 'markub'. (SA)

Compared to other West Sudanic varieties of Arabic, the 3PL in Darfur takes a median position: it may not only be expressed as *hum*, as in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:66), but also as *hum:a*, as in Nigerian Arabic (Owens 1993a:83) or as *hum:an*, like in Chadian Arabic (Roth 1979:157; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:85).

- (9) ***hum:a*** *ru.asa*
 3PL leader.PL
 'They are leaders.' (IA)

- (10) ***hum:an*** *ind=um* *asara:r*
 3PL with-3PL secret.PL
 'They have secrets.' (IA)

- (11) *al* ***hum*** *kata'b-u* *da*
 REL 3PL PFV.Wrote-PL.3SG DEM.SG
 'That which they have written.' (XO)

3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns

Like in other varieties of Arabic, the pronominal suffix or bound pronoun figures as a suffixed clitic and refers to the possessor (after a noun, example 1); the

location (after a preposition, example 2); the direct object (after a verb, example 3); or to the indirect object (after the preposition *le* 'to', example 4).

- (1) *da* *wala'd=i*
 DEM.SG son=1SG
 'This is my son.' (AJ)
- (2) *ind=ina* *ila:j*
 with=1PL treatment
 'We have a treatment.' (SA)
- (3) *wad:a'='ni* *dokto:r*
 PFV.3SG=1SG doctor
 'He took me to a doctor.' (AJ)
- (4) *gult-a* *le:r=j*
 PFV.say-2SG to=1SG
 'You told me.' (SA)

Concerning the pronominal suffixes, Darfur Arabic almost lacks (historical) feminine forms. Otherwise, they look much like the suffixes as they are used in other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:68&71; Owens 1993a:84; Roth 1979:160-161; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:86). In Table 2, all possible bound pronouns of the Arabic spoken in Darfur are enumerated. The given suffixes are expounded on underneath.

Table 1: the pronominal suffixes in Darfur Arabic

	singular	plural
1st person	=i,=ni after verbs	=na, =ina after two consonants
2nd person	=ak~ik, =k after a vowel	=kum, =ukum after two consonants
3rd person	=-u~=-a~='v	=um, =.um after a vowel

As mentioned in 2.5 Word stress, the 1SG =*i* or =*ni* generally receives stress.

- (5) *da* *wala'd=i*, *wad:a='ni* *dokto:r*
 DEM.SG son=1SG PFV.take.PRV.3SG1SG doctor
 ad:-a='ni *dawa*
 PFV.gave-3SG=1SG medicine
 'This is my son, he took me to a doctor who gave me a medicine.' (Aj)

Regardless of the historical gender to which the 3SG pronominal suffix refers, it can either be expressed by stressing the West Sudanic *-a* or East and Sudanese Standard Arabic *-u*. The informants display a preference to use *-u* and key informants claim that *-a* is a feature typically used by members of Arab tribes. The following three examples show the use of the 3SG bound pronoun *-u* and *-a* after a consonant.

- (6) *an-nug:ara* *at-ta:ni* *da, (...)*, *ism=u* *bi:di*
 ART=drum.SG ART=other DEM.SG name=3SG Bidi
 'That other drum is called Bidi.' (MY)
- (7) *lig-a* *suksuka:ja* *ajab-at=u*
 PFV.find-3SG bead.SG PFV.please-3SG=3SG *ʃjb
 'She found a bead that she [F from context] liked.' (MHb)
- (8) *bi* *jinzi:r* *rab':at=a* *sam::i*
 with chain.SG PFV.tie.3SG=3SG very well
 'He tied it very well with a chain.' (14a)

The 3SG bound pronoun *-u* can sometimes refer to a plural noun (6.3.2 Number), like in (9-10).

- (9) *le* *uda:m* *da* *kul:=u* *ba-sxu'l-u*
 TR bone.PL DEM.SG all=3SGIPFV.3-wash-PL.3SG *ʃsl
 'They wash all these bones.' (AA)

- (10) *subu:.a:t* *fo:g=u li.b*
 occasion-PL *sbʃ at=3SG dancing
 'At occasions, there is dancing [people dance at occasions].'

Nouns, verbs or prepositions ending in *-i* or *-u* and bearing a suffixed 3SG pronominal suffix, either receive stress on that final vowel (11) or end in a diphthong (12). Other vowels become diphthongs with *-u* (13).

- (11) *ti-wad'ɪ-i* *ti-xut'ɪ-i* *ti.it*
 IPFV.2-take-SG.3SG IPFV.2-put-SG.3SG down
 'You take it and and put it down.' (XO)
- (12) *ka:n masak-at* *simi, fujur da, ti-xud'ɪ-i=u*
 if PFV.thicken-3SG well dawn DEM.SG IPFV.2-churn-SG=3sg
 'If it thickens well, next day you churn it.' (AA)
- (13) *ti-'kub:-i* *le:=u alma:=u da:k*
 IPFV.2-pour-SG to=3SG water=3SG DIST
 'You pour its water on it.' (AA)

The previous six examples give evidence that a process towards an invariable pronominal system seems to be taking place in Darfur Arabic: whether reference is made to a historical masculine, feminine or plural noun, *-u* is suffixed, occasionally *-a*, or the final vowel of the transitive verb is stressed (6.3 Agreement).

Concerning the plural bound pronouns, an epenthetic vowel *i* is inserted preceding the 1PL suffix when the noun ends in two (geminated) consonants: *am:=ina* 'our uncle'. The 2PL pronoun, in its turn, receives an *u* as an epenthetic vowel, likely induced by regressive vowel harmony (2.3.4 Vowel harmony): *am:=ukum* uncle=2PL 'your PL uncle'; *haq:=ukum* GEN=2PL 'yours'.

Since Darfurians tend to omit the phoneme *h*, (2.6.7 Old Arabic phoneme *h*), the 3PL bound pronoun rarely contains this consonant, unlike other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic, in which *=hum* is also used. However, an echo of *h* is heard as a syllable break after a vowel, indicated as a period (2.6.7 Old Arabic phoneme *h*) in

Table 1 in this section and (14). Examples (15) and (16) show the use of the other plural bound pronouns.

- (14) *ba-xut':-u:=um hina:k*
 3M.IPFV-put-PL=3PL there
 'They put them there.' (MY)
- (15) *balad=na*
 country.SG=1PL
 'Our place.' (AF)
- (16) *int-u fi balad=kum ma: fi*
 2-PL in country.SG=2PL NEG EXS
 'You don't have that in your country.' (IA)

Like in other varieties of Arabic, the word-final short vowel *-a* or *-i* in historical feminine nouns, changes into *-at* or *-it* [-it] when they receive a suffix. Between open syllables and vowel-initial syllables, the stem-final *-a* or *-i* drops, like in *wasaxt=u* (<*wasaxat=u*) 'its dirt' or *habubt=ak* 'your grandmother'. Nevertheless, it is preserved after closed syllables, like in *gisat=i* 'my story' (2.3.3 Deletion or syncope).

Interestingly, key informants say these historical feminine nouns can receive *=a* or *=u* as a 3SG bound pronoun. In the corpus, however, the 3SG bound pronoun after a historical feminine noun appears to have grammaticalised to *=u* and never appears as *=a*. The three examples below demonstrate the use of the 3SG bound pronoun after a historical feminine noun.

- (17) *ana habubt=u*
 1SG grandmother=3SG
 'I am his grandmother.' (SA)
- (18) *laham de naq:a'd-o bi mojat=u simi*
 meatDEM.SG PFV.cook well-3PL.3SG with gravy=3SG well
 'They cooked that meat well in its gravy.' (MHb)

- (19) *ga:mat te:rɪ al li'g-o fi sadara fo:g. 'kasar-u*
 PFV.AUX.ING-3SG bird.sg REL PFV.find-PL.3SG in tree.SG above PFV.break-3PL
ragabt=u
 neck.SG=3SG
 'Then they found a bird up in a tree and broke its neck [i.e. killed it].'
 (MHa)

Singulative nouns or diminutives ending in *-aj* or *-aja* (4.7 Suffix *-aj*), receive the same set of possessive suffixes as the historical feminine nouns ending in short vowel *-a* or *-i* as explained above: *axe:t=um~axajt=um* (< *axa:jat=um*) 'their sister'; *qnajt=i* 'my aunt'; *atanajt=ak* 'your grandchild'; *bine:t=na* (< *bina:jat=na*) 'our daughter'; *ḡanajt=i* 'my baby'. '(Grand)mother', *ij:a*, does not appear with a bound pronoun but only with the genitive particle *he:l~hi:l* (3.4.3.3 *he:l~hi:l* and *hana*).

Word-final vowels other than the feminine nouns ending in short *-a*, lengthen when succeeded by a bound pronoun: *nada:=um* 'he called them'; *alma:=u* 'its water'. Nouns, verbs and prepositions ending in long vowels almost always obtain *=u* as 3SG bound pronoun and rarely *=a*. In Tables 2 and 3 the suffixed possessive pronouns are enumerated and illustrated for the nouns *abu* 'father' and *axaj* 'little brother'.

Table 2: *abu* 'father' including all possible bound pronouns

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>abu:j</i>	<i>abu:na</i>
2nd person	<i>abu:k</i>	<i>abu:kum</i>
3rd person	<i>abu:~a'bu</i>	<i>abu:um</i>

Note that in Darfur Arabic, lengthened vowels are hard to distinguish from stressed vowels (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants). Therefore, like all lengthened vowels and consonants, *abu:* and *a'bu* resemble each other much. Instead of *abu* with a pronominal suffix, *ab:a* with the genitive particle *hana* or *he:l~hi:l* may be used, for example *ab:a he:li* 'my father' (3.4.3.3 *he:l~hi:l* and *hana*).

'Brother' *axu* takes the same bound pronouns as *abu* above, but the bound pronouns following *axaj* 'little brother', are a little different. They are listed in Table 3 (Ishaq 2002:155-156).

Table 3: *axa:j* ‘little brother’ including all possible bound pronouns

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>axa:j(i)</i>	<i>axa:j(a)na</i>
2nd person	<i>axa:jak</i>	<i>axa:j(a)kum</i>
3rd person	<i>axa:j:u</i>	<i>axa:jum</i>

Bound pronouns following prepositions are treated in the following section as well as in 3.4.7 Prepositions.

3.2.3 Indirect object suffixes

Indirect objects are introduced by the preposition *le* ‘to’. Like other bound pronouns and as described in the previous paragraph, there are no gender distinctions. Likewise, the suffix =*a* is used much less as a 3SG bound pronoun than =*u*. A special feature of this preposition with a 3SG bound pronoun attached, is that not only *le:=u* or *le:=a* occur, but also *l=o* and *l=o:m* with the 3PL pronoun (2.2.2.1.4 Phoneme *o* [o] [ɔ]). Especially in pause, stress can be put on *e* or *o* in these constructions, resembling the use of the preposition *be~bi* (3.4.7.2 *be~bi* ‘with’ or ‘by’). In Table 1 below, the preposition *le* including all possible bound pronouns is given. Below some examples display the use of this preposition to introduce indirect object suffixes.

Table 1: possible suffixed pronouns with *le* ‘to’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>le:j</i>	<i>le:na</i>
2nd person	<i>le:k</i>	<i>le:kum</i>
3rd person	<i>le:u~lo~le:a</i>	<i>le:.um~lo:m</i>

- (1) *ʔuru:g* *bi- .a:mi:l-u:* *l=o*
 root.PL IPFV.3-do-PL *ʕml to=3SG
 ‘They treat him with roots.’ (IA)

- (2) *ba-msa.-u: l=ɔ karka:r*
 IPFV.3-rub-PL to=3SG karkar
 ‘They rub her [F from context] in with karkar [kind of oil].’ (KN)
- (3) *ji-ji:b-i le:k jamal ji-rak:u'b-u:=k*
 IPFV.3-bring-SG to=2SG camel.SG IPFV.3-make mount-PL=2SG
fo:g=u
 on=3SG
 ‘They bring a camel for you and make you mount it.’ (IA)
- (4) *kama:n 'naz:al-o le:na baha:jim*
 also PFV-send down-3PL to=PL cattle.PL
 ‘They also sent down cattle to us.’ (MHa)
- (5) *gult-a le:j sid:-i war:a:j⁵*
 PFV.say-2SG to=1SG IMP.close-SG door.SG
 ‘You told me to close the door.’ (SA)
- (6) *bi-'xan:-u 'lo:=m*
 IPFV.3-sing-PL to=3PL
 ‘They sing to them.’ (AA)
- (7) *kul:-u bi-wad':-u bi-'xot:-u le:-um hina:k*
 all IPFV.3-bring-PL.3SG IPFV.3-put-PL to=3PL there
 ‘They bring it all and put it there for them.’ (KN)

3.2.4 Demonstratives

The demonstrative pronouns in Darfur Arabic are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: demonstratives in Darfur Arabic

	singular	plural
proximal ('this, these')	<i>da-di-de</i>	<i>de:l</i>
distal ('that, those')	<i>da:k</i>	<i>de:la:k</i>

⁵ warré (Sandison 1936) ‘door’ in the Fur language

The demonstratives can be used as attributes in noun phrases (1); as the subject of a nominal sentence (2); after prepositions expressing ‘like’ (3); and after certain temporal or local adverbs (4).

- (1) *al-jara:d* ***da***
 ART-locust.SG DEM.SG
 ‘This grasshopper.’ (XO)
- (2) ***da*** *asi:da*
 DEM.SG sorghum porridge.SG
 ‘This is sorghum porridge.’ (XO)
- (3) *kibi:r* *zaj:a* ***da***
 big like DEM.SG
 ‘Big like this.’ (AF)
- (4) *tawa* ***da***, *da* *xal:-u:-a*
 now DEM.SG DEM.SG PFV.leave-3PL.3SG
 ‘Now they don’t do that anymore.’ (AF)

The demonstratives do not exhibit gender distinctions either: *da*, *di* as well as *de* can refer to an historical feminine or masculine noun, sometimes to a plural noun. However, there is an obvious preference for *da* as a proximal singular demonstrative: *da* occurs 25 times as much as *di* and three times as much as *de* in the corpus. As will be shown below, in some cases *da* is the default demonstrative.

As a rule, in Sudanic Arabic a demonstrative follows a noun which is defined by the prefixed article *al-* (Owens 1993a:45; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:90; Roth 1979:168; Reichmuth 1983:122), like in (1). In Darfur Arabic, however, this noun is often grammatically indefinite, as illustrated in (5) and (6).

- (5) *ʔiris* ***da***
 wedding.SG DEM.SG
 ‘This wedding’ (XO)

- (6) *haya:t da*
 thing.PL DEM.SG
 ‘These things’ (AF)

According to Manfredi (2014:36-37), the lack of the article and the use of the demonstrative *da* by default in these constructions, are also common in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic. They mark a pragmatical givenness of the referent and the referent itself is topicalised in its context. This explanation certainly also applies to the Arabic of Darfur. However, my informants also use the phonetic variants *di* or *de* in this kind of phrases. Furthermore, in Darfurian Arabic speech it is not always clear from the pragmatic context that the noun phrase describes a given referent. Perhaps the lack of the article in these constructions can also be explained by the Darfurian tendency to leave out the article *al-* generally (3.4.1 Article and Roth 1979:169). The following four examples show adnominal demonstratives other than *da* referring to indefinite nouns.

- (7) *haru:f di*
 sheep.SG DEM.SG
 ‘This sheep’ (4)
- (8) *salaka:ja di*
 spear.SG DEM.SG (IA)
 ‘This spear’
- (9) *dahab de*
 gold.SG DEM.SG
 ‘This gold’ (MHa)
- (10) *ʔasalijja de, ʔa:j, ʔasalijja da*
 asaliija.SG DEM.SG yes asaliija.SG DEM.SG
 ‘This asaliija⁶, yes, this asaliija.’ (AF)

When the 3sg demonstrative is used as the subject of a nominal sentence, its phonetics can equally vary. Independently from the historical gender of the referent, it can either be the historically masculine *da*, feminine *di* or the

⁶ asaliija is a light variety of millet beer.

phonetically ‘middle’ variant *de*. This becomes obvious in (2), (11), (12) and (13). Note that in example (13) not only the demonstrative but also the copula *hu* ‘he’ is historically masculine, although the subject of the sentence is obviously feminine.

- (11) *di moja ba:rid*
 DEM.SG water.SG cold.SG
 ‘This is cold water.’ (2)

- (12) *ʔaj di talab*
 yes DEM.SG proposal.SG
 ‘Yes this is a proposal.’ (AF)

- (13) *de hu bint=i da*
 DEM.SG 3SG daughter=1SG DEM.SG
 ‘This is my daughter.’ (XO)

The latter variant *de* can be lengthened to *deja* as the subject of a sentence (14) as well as in adnominal (15, 16) positions.

- (14) *deja ʃi:l=u*
 DEM.SG IMP.take away.=PL.3SG
 ‘This, take it away.’

- (15) *na.a:m deja*
 ostriche.SG DEM.SG
 ‘This ostriche.’ (MHb)

- (16) *jana deja*
 child DEM.SG
 ‘This child.’

As shown in the following three examples, the singular demonstratives can also be used to refer to plural nouns, either pre- or adnominal.

- (17) *de* *zaxari:t=na*
 DEM.SG zagharit.PL=1PL
 ‘These are our cries [shrill trilling cries of joy by women].’ (XO)
- (18) *de* *ma arab*
 DEM.SG TOP Arab.PL
 ‘These are [indeed] Arabs.’ (IA)
- (19) *sagali:t di*
 thing.PL DEM.SG
 ‘These things.’ (SA)

Nevertheless, *de:l* is used more often to refer to plural nouns. As opposed to other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic (Roth 1979:130 & 168; Owens 1993a:45; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:89-90; Manfredi 2010:101), Darfurians never use *do:l* as a plural demonstrative. Although singular demonstratives sometimes refer to plural nouns, the plural demonstrative *de:l* exclusively refers to plural nouns, never to singular nouns. The use of *de:l* as a plural demonstrative is displayed in the following three examples.

- (20) *al=ʔaja:.is al ma and=u guru:f de:l*
 ART=old men.PL REL NEG with=3SG money DEM.PL
 ‘These elderly people who do not have money.’ (MY)
- (21) *has:a kir.e:n=i de:l ratu:ba*
 now leg.PL=1SG DEM.PL rheumatism
 ‘Now there is rheumatism in these legs of mine.’ (SA)
- (22) *de:l kul:=u kutub*
 DEM.PL all=3SG book.PL
 ‘These are all books.’ (IA)

The demonstrative *da:k* is used to refer to nouns that are generally further away in space or in time than when *da*, *di* or *de* is used. It can equally occur as a head (23) or in an adnominal (24-26) position. It sometimes appears as *da:ko~da:ku*, which is also used as a presentative (3.2.5 Presentatives). The noun to which *da:k* refers, can

be historically masculine (24), feminine (25) and occasionally plural (26). However, *de:lak* is exclusively used to refer to plural nouns, as in (27) and (28).

- (23) *da:k* *bas:*
DIST.SG only
'That's it.' (AA)
- (24) *al=ʔu:d* *da:k*
ART=branch.SG DIST.SG
'That branch.' (MHb)
- (25) *asali:ja* *da:k* *taw:a* *we:n*
asalijja.SG DIST.SG now where
'Where is asalijja now.' [rhetorical question] (AA)
- (26) *wə* *bi* *ij:al=u* *da:k*
and with seed.PL=3SG DIST.SG
'And with its seeds.' (AF)
- (27) *de:lak* *ku:l=u* *'ba-msuk-u*
DIST.PL all=3SG IPFV.3-cling on-PL
'All of them join.' (AJ)
- (28) *haja:t* *de:lak* *ʃuf-'ti?*
thing.PL DIST.PL PRF.see-2SG.3SG
'Did you see those things?' (MHb)

As mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph, the lexical category of demonstratives can also occur after the preposition *zaj:* 'like' and its synonyms *mitil*, *gadur* and *kida~kadı* in order to express simulative meaning. Especially *zaj:e da~de~da:k* occurs frequently, i.e. over a hundred times in my corpus. Below four more examples of this kind of use of the demonstratives are given.

- (29) *ʔaw:al* *judu:d=na* *ka:n* *bi'-saw:-u* *zaj:ə* *da:k*
formerly grandparent.PL=1PL AUX.ANT IPFV.3-do-PL like DIST.SG
'Formerly our ancestors acted like that.' (AJ)

- (30) *gara kabi:r gadur da*
 gourd.SG very big like DEM.SG
 ‘A gourd big like that.’ (MHa)
- (31) *ajwa mitil da bas:*
 yes like DEM.SG only
 ‘Yes just like that.’
- (32) *kadɪ da bi-nina:ʔd-u file:lu*
 like DEM.SG IPFV.3-call-PL.3SG ‘shilelu’
 ‘We call [a thing like] that “shilelu”.’ (SA)

Finally, *da* is found after temporal adverbs such as *tawa* ‘now’, *amba:kirtu* ‘the next day’, *umba:rɪ* ‘yesterday’ and the local adverb *hina~hinɪ* ‘here’, like it is in Kordofan Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2014:32) and the Arabic of Abéché (Roth 1979:170). In these combinations, no variants of the demonstrative other than *da*, occur. The pronoun *di* appears only once in the corpus, possibly as a result of vowel harmony (33).

When the demonstrative occurs with these adverbs, it does not seem to influence the semantics of the adverb, like it does in Kordofan Baggara Arabic (s.g. *tawa de* ‘just now’). Depending on the context, *tawa da* and *has:a da* can mean ‘now’ or ‘then’. The following five examples illustrate the use of the demonstrative *da* after these adverbs.

- (33) *umbarri di li.ib-na li.ib-na li.ib-na*
 yesterday DEM.SG PFV.dance-1PL PFV.dance-1PL PFV.dance-1PL
li.ib aji:b
 dance.SG amazing.SG
 ‘Yesterday we did fabulous dancing.’ (KN)
- (34) *amba:kirtu da, ta-fʔt-a*
 next day DEM.SG IPFV.2-open-SG.3SG
 ‘Next day, you open it.’ (AA)

- (35) A:da *has:a da*, ja-d:-i:-k telefo:n, t-aq-i
 Adam now DEM.SG IPFV.3-give-SG.2SG telephone.SG IPFV.2-come-SG
 ta-fu:f
 IPFV.2-see.SG
 ‘Then Adam gives you a call and you come and see.’ (XO)
- (36) jal:a, ta-mf-i *tawa da*, ta-mf-i hina:j,
 then IPFV.2-go-SG now DEM.SG IPFV.2-go-SG what’s-its-name
 ta-fi:l, ta-mf-i ta-hif:
 IPFV.2-remove.SG IPFV.2-go-SG IPFV.2-weed.SG
 ‘Then, you go, what’s-its-name, and remove it, you weed.’ (2)
- (37) ji:-na *hina da* fi l=madi:na
 PFV.come-1PL here DEM.SG in ART=city.SG
 ‘We arrived here in the city’. (XO)

3.2.5 Presentatives

Darfurians use *da:hu* and *da:ku* as presentatives as shown in the examples below.

- (1) ʔaj:l. *da:ku*
 yes. PRST
 ‘Yes. That’s it.’ (AA)
- (2) jal:a *da:hu*
 so PRST
 ‘So there they are’ (MHb)

One may suggest *da:ku* stands for the distal (French *voilà*) and *da:hu* for the proximal presentative (French *voici*) like in Chadian Arabic (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:90-91), because the phoneme *k* appears in the distal demonstratives mentioned above. Both presentatives appear too little in my data to be decisive on this, however. I neither recorded any variants of these presentatives that could have indicated agreement. A few informants came up with *ha:ku* as a sg and *ha:kum* as a pl presentative, but only in elicitation.

Also *ja:hu* appears as a presentative and seems to be unique for Darfur compared with other (West) Sudanic Arabic dialects (Reichmuth 1983:108-109; Manfredi 2010:221; Roth 1979:168-169). Some key informants claimed the feminine variant of the word, *ja:ha*, also occurs, but it does not in the corpus.

- (3) *int-a ta-jur: al-habil# de ja:hu#*
 3SG IPFV.2-pull.SG ART-CORD.SG DEM.SG PRST
 ‘You pull the rope. That’s it.’ (MY)
- (4) *sad:-at te:r ab=u huma:r da ja:hu?*
 PFV.close-SG revenge father.SG=3SG donkey.SG DEM.SG PRST
 ‘[So] this is what is meant by that [saying] “the one who takes revenge is a donkey”?’ (MHb)
- (5) *wa ja:hu ja-ff-a*
 and PRST IPFV.3-recover-SG
 ‘And there he recovers.’

3.2.6 Relative pronoun

Like in other varieties of Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:212; Roth 1979:175; Bergman 2002:56; Reichmuth 1983:292; Owens 1993a:88), the relative pronoun is *al*, (1-3) homonym with the definite article. The relative pronoun can refer to a previously mentioned noun but can also occur introducing a headless relative ‘the thing that’ or ‘the person who’ (4-5).

This pronoun generally does not assimilate with the following noun or verb, but sometimes it does. In the examples of the relative pronoun below, the pronoun only assimilates with the following word in (5).

- (1) *w az=ze:t al bu-msuh-‘u fi fa:r ba-gu:l l=a karka:r*
 and DEF=oil RELIPFV.3-rub-PL.3sg in hair IPFV.3-say.SG to=3SG karkar
 ‘And the oil that they rub in their hair is called karkar.’ (KN)

- (2) *al=gura al gas:am-na ʃage:-na jib-na da,*
 ART=pumpkin REL PFV.divide-1PL PFV.cut-1PL PFV.take-1PL DEM.SG
de wala gura
 DEM.SG NEG pumpkin
 ‘That pumpkin that we [just] divided, cut and took, is not a pumpkin.’
 (MHb)
- (3) *ʔe:ʃ al bi-dugʻ=:o de*
 sorghum REL PFV.3-pound-3PL.3SG DEM.SG
 ‘That sorghum that they pound.’ (AA)
- (4) *al fad:al da:k*
 REL PFV.leave over.3SG DIST
 ‘That which is left over [those leftovers].’ (MHa)
- (5) *ad da:jir kiser a ja:-kul*
 REL PART.3SG sorghum bread IPFV.3-eat.SG
 ‘He who wants sorghum bread, eats.’ (AJ)

3.2.7 Interrogative pronouns

Like in Chadian Arabic (Roth 1979:170-171; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:91), the interrogative pronouns ‘who’ and ‘which’ are both *ja:tu* in the Arabic of Darfur (1-4). The Standard Sudanese synonym for ‘who’ *minu* or *manu* existst as a much less occurring alternative. To ask ‘what?’ *ʃanu~ʃnu* is used (5-9). Unlike other varieties of Sudanic Arabic (Owens 1993a:185-187; Bergman 2002:48; Reichmuth 1983:118; Manfredi 2010:217-218) but sustaining the process towards an invariable pronominal system, none of these question words take object suffixes other than =u.

These pronouns are usually placed post-noun or at the end of the clause. In some contexts, *ja:tu* can carry a degree of specificity, like in (3).

- (1) *wə inti j-adʻ:-i:-k jatu*
 and 2SG IPFV-give-SG.2SG who
 ‘And who gives you?’ (SA)

- (2) *da taw:a **jartu** bi-saj:-i*
 DEM.SG now who IPFV.3-make-SG
 ‘Now who still makes this?’ [rhetorical question] (AA)
- (3) *a.l Tafa:d#wa balad, wa balad na:s **jartu***
 people Chad and country.SG and country.SG people.PL which
na:s Borgo
 people Borgo
 ‘The people of Chad. And the country of which people? The Borgo people.’
 (IA)
- (4) *ta-fi:l-i **jartu***
 IPFV.2-take-3SG which
 ‘Which one do you choose?’
- (5) *bi ruta:na bita:.-kum **ʃənu***
 in language.SG POSS.2PL what
 ‘What is it in your language?’ (IA)
- (6) *da ba-gu:l l=o **ʃənu***
 DEM.SG IPFV.3-say.sg to=3SG what
 ‘What is it called [lit. what does he say to it]?’ (SA) (6.5 Passive voice)
- (7) *da **ʃənu** li.b zaj:ə da*
 DEM.SG what dance like DEM.SG
 ‘What kind of dance is that?’ (MHb)
- (8) *inti lige:’-ti fi Manawa:ʃi wal:a **ʃənu***
 2SG PFV.find-2SG.3SG in Manawashi or what
 ‘Did you find it in Manawashi or what?’ (AF)
- (9) *al:e:la ga:l-it **ʃənu***
 today PFV.say-3SG what
 ‘Today what did she [F from context] say?’ (KN)

3.3 Adverbs

Adverbs can consist of single words indicating a time, place, manner or degree. In the spoken Arabic of Darfur, some words only function as adverbs, like *tawa* **tw* 'now'. Other adverbs also occur as prepositions, like *ti.it* **tht* denoting 'down' as an adverb and 'under' as a preposition. There are also (lexicalized) adverbial constructions, which often consist of the preposition *be~bi* 'with' 'by' or *fi* 'in' followed by a noun or another preposition, such as *fi sir.a* 'quickly', *bit:a:n* 'again' or *bi hinu* 'here'.

3.3.1 Adverbs of time

In Table 1 the temporal adverbs occurring in my corpus are enumerated. Below I elaborate on their occurrence and show some examples from the corpus.

Table 1: temporal adverbs

<i>(bi) gari:b</i> * <i>qrb</i>	'recently'/'shortly'
<i>al:e:la~al:eli</i> * <i>lj</i> , <i>qjlo:m</i> * <i>jwm</i>	'today'
<i>amba:kirtu</i> * <i>bkr</i>	'next day'
<i>anaw:al</i> (< <i>al=ʕa:m al=ʔaw:al</i>)	'last year'
<i>anaw:ala:t</i> (see <i>anaw:al</i>)	'years ago'
<i>aw:al</i> * <i>ʔwl</i>	'first' 'formerly'
<i>aw:alanaw:al</i> (see <i>anaw:al</i>)	'two years ago'
<i>ba.ade:n</i> * <i>bɔd</i>	'after that' 'later'
<i>ba.da bukra</i> * <i>bkr</i>	'after tomorrow'
<i>bad(ə)ri</i> * <i>bdr</i> , <i>ambahi:n</i> * <i>hjn</i>	'early'
<i>bit:a:n~ta:ni</i> * <i>θnj</i>	'again'
<i>bukra</i> * <i>bkr</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>duxuf</i> * <i>dyf</i>	'before sunrise'
<i>fajur</i> * <i>fɔʒr</i>	'at sunrise'
<i>gablə</i> * <i>qbl</i>	'before (that)'
<i>has:a~das:a</i> * <i>swɫ</i> , <i>tawa</i> * <i>tw</i>	'now'
<i>jado:b</i>	'just now'
<i>lis:a</i>	'still'
<i>mar:a:t</i> * <i>mrr</i>	'sometimes'
<i>ʃiu</i> * <i>fwj</i>	'a little while'
<i>tawa:li</i> * <i>ɬwl</i>	'always'

<i>wara-fi da.r *ǧhr</i>	'lastly' 'lately' 'after'
<i>xala:s *xls</i>	'finally'
<i>zama:n *zmn</i>	'formerly'
<i>ʔami-amis ʔms, umba:ri *brħ</i>	'yesterday'
<i>ʔafi:a *ʃʃ, 'misa *msw</i>	'in the evening'
<i>ʔaw:il amis</i>	'the day before yesterday'

To express 'now' Sudanic Arabic *has:a*, *das:a* (< *da has:a*) or West Sudanic *tawa* is used (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:106; Owens 1993a:223; Manfredi 2010:205; Roth 1979:208). In contrast to Sudanese Standard Arabic, *has:a* rarely bears *ima:la* (2.2.2.1.2 Phoneme *a* [a] [a] [ε] [i]), but its phoneme *h* can be deleted, especially when preceded by another vowel (3).

- (1) *has:a* *big-i:t* *kuwaj:is*
 now PFV.become-1SG well
 'Now I became well.' (AJ)
- (2) *ij:a:l* ***tawa*** *wala* *ba-ar'f-u* *li.b* *de*
 child.PL now NEG PFV.3-know-PL dance.SG DEM.SG
 'These days children don't know that dance [anymore].' (SA)
- (3) ***das:a*** *we:n* *ba-gdar*
 now [< *da has:a*] where IPFV.3-can.SG
 'Now how can she [F from context] do that?' [rhetorical question] (AF)
- (4) ***ʔas:a*** *bardu* *lis:a* *ga:id-i:n*
 now also still PTCP.stay-PL
 'Now they are still there.' (MY)

To expres 'today', Darfurians use Sudanese Standard Arabic *al:ela-al:eli*, one informant used *ajlo:m*: Old Arabic *aljo:m* with metathesis.

- (5) *ga:l* *be:t* *fila:n* ***al:el*** *fi:* *ha:ja*
 PFV.say.3SG house.SG person today there is thing.SG
 'They say in this-and-this house today there is something going on.' (MY)

- (6) *ajlo:m sad:e:'-ti (...)* *amba:riktu da, ta-ft-a*
 today PFV.close-2SG.3SG next day DEM.SG IPFV.2-open-SG.3SG
 'Today you close it, next day you open it.' (AA)

Other examples of temporal adverbs in context are given below.

- (7) *ʔaw:il amis jo:m 'darab-u le:=j*
 day before yesterday day.SG PFV.call-3PL to=1SG
 'The day before yesterday was the day they called me.' (SA)
- (8) *al:e:la ra'gad-ti hina ba.da bukra tal'g-a*
 today PFV.sleep-2SG here after tomorrow IPFV.2-find-SG.3SG
ga:id hina:k
 PTCP.sit.SG there
 'Today you sleep here, the day after tomorrow you meet him there.' (IA)
- (9) *ajlo:m sad:e:'-ti (...)* *amba:riktu da, taft-a*
 today PFV.close-2SG.3SG next day DEM.SG IPFV.2-open-SG.3SG
 'Today you close it, next day you open it.' (AA)
- (10) *af:ija um:-u wala jea*
 evening mother.SG-3SG NEG PTCP.come.SG
 'For its [animal from context] mother comes in the evening.' (AA)
- (11) *jado:b marag-at zaj da*
 just PFV.go out-3SG like DEM.SG
 'Just now it came out like that.' (MG)
- (12) *na-fhad-u na:-kul. ba-d:u:-k, tawa:li ba-d:-u:-k*
 IPFV.1-beg-PL IPFV-eat.SG IPFV.3-give-PL.2SG always IPFV.3-give-PL-2SG
 'We beg and eat. They give you, they always give you.' (AJ)
- (13) *tawa:li ba-gu:m ba-mf-u*
 immediately IPFV.3-get up.SG IPFV.3-walk-PL
 'Immediately he gets up and goes.' (XO)

- (14) *min j-ibis **fiu** big-a lej:in*
 from IPFV.3-dry.SG little PFV.become-SG soft.SG
 'When it has dried for a short time, it becomes soft.' (AA)
- (15) ***mar:at** na:s 'ba-nzul-u*
 sometimes people IPFV.3-get off-PL
 'Sometimes peoples get off.' (MY)
- (16) ***ila** 'ja:j-i ma. hina:j da, ifri:n musa:~id*
 only IPFV.3.come-SG with what's-its-name DEM.SG twenty helper.SG
 'Only when he comes with what's-its-name, twenty helpers.' (IA)
- (17) ***gablə** se:f ja-kmal de, moja ga:~id*
 before summer IPVF.3-complete.SG DEM.SG water PTCP.stay.SG
 'Before summer ends, there is [enough] water.' (SA)
- (18) *guma:f da ka:n ma fi **zama:n***
 material DEM.SG PFV.3.was.SG NEGEXS formerly
 'Formerly there was no such material.' (AJ)
- (19) ***fajur** wala and-u*
 dawn NEG at=3SG
 'At the start of the day he has nothing.' (Attachment 2: song *bine:ti*
hasa:bak)
- (20) ***ta:ni** it'la:g-u*
 second PFV.meet-PL
 'They met again.' (MHb)
- (21) ***bit:a:n** ma ti-saj':-i*
 by second NEG IPFV.2-do-SG
 'Don't do it again.' (XO)
- (22) *araba:t da ja:-w **wara** bi gari:b da bas:*
 car.PL DEM.SG PFV.come-PL lastly shortly DEM.SG only
 'Cars have only been introduced recently.' (AJ)

- (23) *ijja:l al wara tawa j-o de*
 child.PL REL last now PFV.come-PL DEM
 ‘The children who came last.’ (AF)
- (24) *axu:=j as=saxaj:ar ja fi da.r=i*
 brother=1SGART=little.SG PFV.come.3SG in back=1SG
 ‘My little brother is born after me.’
- (25) *sa'ba badri: bas: ta-gu:m, sa'ba badari*
 morning very early only IPFV.2-rise.SG morning early
 ‘You get up very early.’ (MG)
- (26) *na-gu:m sa:.a badri*
 IPFV.1-rise.SG hour.SG early
 ‘I get up early.’ (AJ)

In elicitation, key informants claim *ambahi:n* ‘early’ is used to express ‘early in the evening’, ‘before sunset’, rather than early in the morning. It does not occur in the corpus.

- (26) *has:a kalas fawa:ri has:a tam:-o*
 now finally street.PL *fɾf now PFV.complete-3PL.3SG
 ‘Now they finally completed the roads.’ (MY)

See 3.4.9.5 *xala:s*, *jal:a* and *ba.de:n* for more uses and translations of *xala:s*.

3.3.1.1 Days of the week

The names of the days of the week are *a.ad* ‘Sunday’, *itne:n~itane:n* ‘Monday’, *tala:t(a)* ‘Tuesday’, *arba.a~arbi* ‘Wednesday’, *xami:s* ‘Thursday’, *jum.a~jimi* ‘Friday’, and *sabət* ‘Saturday’. The days of the week do not contain the definite article *al* (3.4.1 Article).

3.3.1.2 Seasons

Darfurians all agree that the area knows three seasons: *fiṭa* Winter; *se:f* Summer; *xari:f* Autumn and the rainy season, *darat*, the last part of *xari:f*. However, the start

and end of these seasons are not attached to specific dates or months but depend on the actual weather. Since the south of Darfur is significantly wetter than the north, Darfurians differ greatly on the time in which the seasons take place. Generally, *ḥita* is the dry and relatively cold season in December, January and February. The season *se:f* is the hot dry season after *ḥita* and *xari:f* may start in June but according to others July or August, until *ḥita* comes again. Because of the agricultural background of my informants, *darat* is an important and busy part of the year. Some claim *darat* is a synonym of *xari:f*, some say it is only the rainy part of *xari:f* and some state it is the harvesting period. All informants I asked confirm that *na:-kul-u darat* means ‘We eat from the harvest of the rainy season.’ There is no equivalent for Spring but there are many more subtle categorisations of the seasons, differing from place to place and often as loanwords from local languages. An example is *'bukuli*, the very first drizzles of *darat*.

3.3.1.3 Months

The traditional names of the months of the year are based on the Islamic lunar calendar but partly adapted, mostly to religious occasions (Behnstedt & Woidich 2014:Band III:640-665). The names agree with other West Sudanic varieties of Arabic (Pommerol 1999b:253&254; Manfredi 2010:209) but with Darfurian phonology. Only elder villagers seem to know these names; younger and urban Darfurians remember some of the names or do not know them at all. Otherwise, the months are indicated by their chronological number in the year, like in Sudanese Standard Arabic (Bergman 2002:46), as in (*jo:m*) *itne:n* (*ʃa.ra*) *aʃara* ‘(day) two (month) ten’ i.e. the second of October. The traditional months are enumerated in Table 1, including the historical Arabic spelling and the original Islamic names.

Table 1: the months of the year in Darfur Arabic

Darfur Arabic IPA	عربي دار فور	التوقييم الهجري	Islamic calendar IPA
<i>dahite:n</i>	ضَحِيَّتَيْن	مُحَرَّم	<i>muḥar:am</i>
<i>wa:.id</i>	وَحِيد	صَفَر	<i>safar</i>
<i>kara:ma</i>	كَرَامَة	رَبِيعُ الْأَوَّل	<i>rabi:ʃ al=ʔaw:al</i>
<i>to:m</i>	توم	رَبِيعُ الْآخِر أَوْ رَبِيعُ الثَّانِي	<i>rabi:ʃ al=ʔa:xir</i> <i>ʔaw rabi:ʃ al=θa:ni:</i>
<i>to:me:n</i>	تومين	جُمَادَى الْأَوَّل	<i>dʒuma:da: al=ʔaw:al</i>

<i>saig at=te:ma:n</i>	سابق التَّيْمَانِ	جُمَادَى الْآخِرِ أَوْ جُمَادَى الثَّانِي	<i>dzuma:da: al=?a:χir</i> <i>?aw dzuma:da: al-</i> <i>θa:ni:</i>
<i>rajab</i>	رَجَب	رَجَب	<i>radʒab</i>
<i>gise:r</i>	قَصِير	شَعْبَان	<i>ʃaʃba:n</i>
<i>ramada:n</i>	رَمَضَان	رَمَضَان	<i>ramadʔa:n</i>
<i>fator</i>	فَطْر	شَوَّال	<i>ʃaw:a:l</i>
<i>fatre:n</i>	فَطْرَيْن	ذُو الْقَعْدَةِ	<i>ðu: al=qafda</i>
<i>dahi:ja</i>	صَنَجِيَّة	ذُو الْحِجَّةِ	<i>ðu: al=ħiɖʒ:a</i>

3.3.2 Adverbs of manner

Frequently occurring adverbs of manner and modality are listed in Table 1 below, followed by examples.

Table 1: adverbs of manner

<i>bi:ʃe:ʃ ~ bi ra:.a *rwħ</i>	‘slowly’
<i>fī sira *srħ</i>	‘quickly’
<i>gadur~gadər da *qdr</i>	‘like that’
<i>ke~kida~kadı~kidi</i>	‘like that’
<i>kuwaj:is, sami~simi *smħ, wa:.id *wħd</i>	‘well’
<i>sami~simi *smħ, halw *ħlw</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>sawa *swj</i>	‘together’
<i>sa:kit *skt</i>	‘just’ / ‘for no reason’ (lit. ‘pure’)
<i>bara:.u</i>	‘alone’
<i>taw:a:li *twl</i>	‘immediately’

- (1) *dawa has:a and-i na:-kul fo:g=u kwaj:is*
 medicine.SG now at=.1SG IPFV.1-eat.SG from=3SG well
 ‘Now I have a medicine which I take well’ (AJ)

- (2) *dunja dabanga dardi'g-i bi:ʃe:ʃ*
 world dabanga IMP.roll-SG.3SG slowly
 ‘The world is like a dabanga [big earthenware jar]; roll it slowly.’ [proverb]

- (3) *kul:=u ba-gur-u sawa*
 ALL=3SG IPFV.3-study-PL together
 ‘They all study together.’ (AJ)
- (4) *ka:n masak-at simi, fujur da, ti-xud' :i-u*
 if PFV.thicken.SG well early morning DEM IPFV.2-churn-SG=3SG
 ‘If it has thickened well, the next morning you churn it.’ (AA)
- (5) *ka:m ti-du:r-i ji-gu:m le:-k fi sira:, ah,*
 if IPFV.2-want-SG IPFV.3-happen.SG to=2SG.M quickly ah
ti-'ji:b-i taw:a:ra
 IPFV.2-get-SG yeast
 ‘If you want it to be ready for you quickly, then you get yeast.’ (AA)
- (6) *maʃ-e:t gadur da wat: kunt-ə siʃaj:ar*
 PFV.go-1SG like that when *wqt PFV.be-1SG young
 ‘I went like that [I did that] when I was young.’ (AJ)

See 4.15.1.1 Multiple meanings and applications of *wa:id* in the next chapter on the use of *wa:id* as an adverb denoting ‘well’.

For an extensive explanation on *ke* ‘so/like that’ and its multiple meanings, see Roth (1979:217&218) and Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:120&121). Darfurians also use this adverb or particle, but it does not occur as much as *kadı* or *kida* in the corpus.

- (7) *ma ba-gta sari:. bi ra:za kida*
 NEG IPFV.3-pass.SG quick. very slowly like that
 ‘It does not pass quick but very slowly.’ (MY)
- (8) *kadı bi-saw:-u*
 like that IPFV.3-do-PL
 ‘That is the way they do it.’ (AA)

As opposed to Sudanese Standard Arabic, *sa:kit* ‘pure’ or ‘just’ is not shortened to *saj*. Also see Manfredi (2010:149-150) on *sa:kit*.

- (9) *rab':o-na* *sa:kit*
 PFV.raise.3PL=1PL just
 'We have been raised just like that (without going to school).' (MY)
- (10) *ti-dur'b-i* *bi* *aturun.* *wala* *ti-dur'b-i* *sa:kit*
 IPFV.2-cook-SG.3SG with salt NEG IPFV.2-cook-SG pure
 'You prepare it with salt. You don't cook it without.' (AA)
- (11) *ji-say:i'n-u:=k* *sa:kit*
 IPFV.3-imprison-PL=3SG without reason
 'They emprison you for no reason.' (IA)
- (12) *al-mara* *sa:kit*
 ART-woman.SG just
 'Just the woman [and nobody else].' (XO)
- (13) *o-g.od* *sa:kit* *kida*
 IMP-sit.SG just like that
 'Just sit [still].' (AJ)

The Sudanic Arabic adverb *bara:* 'alone' followed by a suffixed bound pronoun, is used to express 'alone' or 'by himself'. However, like the feminine nouns obtaining an object suffix (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns), the 3SG *-u* of the bound pronoun is invariably used with this adverb. Furthermore, its meaning seems to have extended to express 'different'. In that sense, it can be used as a predicate, like in (16) and (17) below.

- (14) *al-bit:* *bara:u* *bo-god* *fi* *l-be:t*
 ART-girl alone IPFV.3-sit.SG in ART-house.SG
 'The girl is at home alone.' (MHb)
- (15) *bi'-saw:-u* *jabana* *bara:u,* *wa* *suk:arij:a* *bara:u*
 IPFV.3-make-PL coffee alone and sugar bowl.sg alone
 'They make coffee apart from the sugar bowl [i.e. without sugar].' (SA)

- (16) *ʔa:da:t bita:=-um bara:u*
habit.PL GEN=3PL alone
‘Their have their own habits.’ (MY)
- (17) *do:dari bara:u*
dodari alone
‘“Dodari” is something else [lit. on its own].’ (AA)

Examples (18-19) demonstrate the use of *taw:a:li* ‘continuously’ ‘immediately’ in context.

- (18) *ʔaj, fi l=xejam da:k taw:a:li*
yes in ART=tent.PL DIST.SG continuously
‘Yes, [we live] in those tents. All the time.’ (AF)
- (19) *taw:a:li ba-gu:m ba-mʃ-i*
right away IPFV.3-ING.SG IPFV.3-go-SG
‘He goes right away.’

3.3.3 Local adverbs

In Table 1 local adverbs appearing in Darfur Arabic are enumerated.

Table 9: local adverbs

<i>hina~(bi) hinɪ</i>	‘here’
<i>hina:k</i>	‘there’
<i>bi ʔaj</i>	‘at the side’ ‘next’
<i>ba.i:d *bʃd</i>	‘far’
<i>bar:a</i>	‘outside’
<i>gari:b *qrb</i>	‘close’
<i>gid:a:m *qdm</i>	‘ahead’ ‘in front’
<i>(bi) wara</i>	‘behind’
<i>ʃo:g</i>	‘up’/‘in’
<i>(fi) ti.it *tʰt</i>	‘down’
<i>(w)us(u)t *wst</i>	‘in the middle’
<i>juwa</i>	‘inside’
<i>tawa:li~ʃama:l~adi:l *ʃdl</i>	‘straight’

<i>ri: *rwḥ</i>	'north'
<i>sa.i:d *sɬd</i>	'south'
<i>saba: *sbḥ</i>	'east'
<i>xarib *yrb</i>	'west'

- (1) *il:a hinu na-za'r-u*
only here IPVF.1-cultivate-PL.3SG
'They only grow it here.' (AA)
- (2) *bi-xot:-u le:=.um hina:k*
IPFV-put-PL to=3PL there
'They put it there for them.' (KN)
- (3) *ind-ina hiya:b hina. (...). bi.jaj#*
with=1PL amulet.SG here at the side
'We have an amulet here. At the side.' (XO)
- (4) *wa:hid bi.jaj ja-gi:f*
one next IPFV.3-stand.SG
'Somebody stands next [to it].' (MG)
- (5) *?ij:a:l fu:f:a ba-l'.ab-u bara:a*
children children IPFV.3-play-PL outside
'Children play outside.' (AJ)
- (6) *wa:id bidugdug nug:a:ra gid:a:m*
one IPFV.3-hit-SG nugara in front
'One person hits the nuggara drum in front (of him).' (MY)
- (7) *na-bun-u kida kida fo:g*
IPFV.1-build-PL so so up
'We build like that, upwards.' (AJ)
- (8) *ti-wad':-i ti-xut':-i ti.it*
IPFV.2-take-SG.3SG IPFV.2-put-SG.3SG down
'You take it and and put it down.' (XO)

- (9) *xarib min Taʔa:d*
west from Chad
'To the west of Chad.' (IA)
- (10) *ind-u ja:mi bita:-u wusut*
with=3SG mosque.SG GEN=3SG middle
'It [the village] has its mosque in the middle.' (IA)
- (11) *il:a ka:n fi: be:t juwa*
only if in house.SG inside
'Only if inside the house.' (1)

To express 'come here!' Darfurians say *ta.a:l (bi) hinu~gari:b*. In order to give directions to a person, the following can be said:

- (13) *amf-i bi ʔi:d-ak al-jasa:r~ʔe:sar*
IMP.walk-SG by hand.SG=2SG ART-left.SG~left.SG
'Turn to the left.'

But also *amf-i fama:l* 'go left' occurs. 'Right' is *yami:n* (no historical *ʔ* form); and *tawa:li~adi:l-tawa:li* 'straight'. The wind directions are also used to tell someone the way.

The wind directions in Table 1 are the same as the Kordofanian Baggara's (Manfredi 2010:204), but under Darfur Arabic phonology. The direction *saba:* 'east' is derived from Old Arabic and Sudanese Standard Arabic *saba:h* 'morning'. Since the capital of Sudan is situated east of Darfur, *zo:l saba:* generally refers to somebody from the east or from Khartoum and *fa:t (da:r) saba:* 'he left for Khartoum'.

3.3.4 Intensifiers

As to the intensifiers, my Darfurian informants used *ʃadi:d*, *sa:kit*, *bile:n*, *xala:s* and *jinis* [ʝinis] to express 'very' or 'at all'. Although *ʃadi:d*, *sa:kit* and *xala:s* are only found after the adverb or adjective to intensify, *bile:n~bile:l* (< Old Arabic *bi lḥayl*) can be found both before as well as after it. The intensifiers *sa:kit* and *jinis* (5) do

not occur in the corpus but are regularly used by key informants and in Ishaq's examples.

- (1) *kala:m Farangabij:a da, haj:m xala:s*
 matter.SG Farangabijja DEM easy very
 'It is very simple to explain what Farangabijja [a Fur dance] is.' (MY)
- (2) *ma na-gdar na-mf-i xala:s xal:-i 'na-rj-a*
 NEG IPFV.1-can.SG IPFV.1-go-SG at all IMP.let-SG IPFV.1.return-SG *rdʒf
ga:l
 PFV.3.say.SG
 "I cannot go at all, let's go back", he said.' (MHa)
- (3) *badri ba-gu:m badri fadi:d*
 early IPFV.3-get up.SG early very
 'Early, he gets up very early.' (AJ)
- (4) *bine:ja da bile:n samih*
 girl.SG DEM.SG very beautiful.SG
 'That girl is very beautiful.'
- (5) *fuxul de saxi:r jini suxur*
 thing.SG DEM.SG small.SG very smallness
 'That is a very small thing.' (Ishaq 2002:244)

Notice that words can also be intensified by prosodic lengthening (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants).

- (6) *ab:jad ba-mrug*
 very clean.SG IPFV.3-come out.SG
 'It comes out very clean.' (AA)
- (7) *ija:l duʃa:f*
 child.PL very lean.PL
 'Very thin children.' (MHa)

The intensifier *kullu* can be used to express ‘at all’ in negative expressions.

- (8) *jamal 'gili# (...)* *ma b-in-ba:* ***kullu***
 camel PFV.become expensive.SG NEGIPFV.3-pass-sell.SGat all
 ‘The camel has become expensive. It is not sold or bought at all.’ (AJ)

- (9) *ta-lq-a* *ḡabaka wala* *ta-gdar* *ta-fak:-i* ***kullu***
 IPFV.2-find-SG net.SG NEG IPFV.2-can.SG IPFV.2-undo-SG.3SG at all
 ‘You [will] find a net that you can not undo.’ (AA)

See also 5.13 Verbal noun on intensification or emphasis.

2.2.5 Interrogatives

The interrogative adverbs in the Arabic of Darfur are displayed in Table 1 below.

Table 1: interrogative adverbs

<i>ka:m</i>	‘how many’
<i>ḡadur ḡənu ~ ḡidre:f</i>	‘how much’
<i>we:n</i>	‘where’
<i>ḡig:e:f</i>	‘to where’
<i>mite:n</i>	‘when’
<i>ke:f~kik:e:f</i>	‘how’
<i>ma:lu ~ (a)ḡa:n ḡənu ~ le ḡ(ə)nu</i>	‘why’

Interrogatives are generally found at the end of a sentence, but some also occur sentence-initial. When asked about a specific number of a countable noun the question word *ka:m* ‘how many’ is placed before that noun, like in (2). The interrogative *ḡidre:f* ‘how much’ behaves like an adjective rather than an adverb (3).

- (1) *biḡ-o* ***ka:m***
 PFV.become-PL how many
 ‘How many did they become?’ (KN)

- (2) *w ant-i ti-tim: ka:m fa.ar hina*
 and 2-SG IPFV.2-complete.SG how many month.SG here
 ‘And how many months have you been here?’ (AF)
- (3) *ɟibt-i almi gidre:f*
 PFV.fetch-3SG water how much
 ‘How much water did you get?’
- (4) *fa:t-u figre:f*
 PFV.leave-3PL to where
 ‘Where did they go?’
- (5) *wə 'to-g.od le mitem zaj:ə da*
 and IPFV.2-remain.SG to when like DEM.SG
 ‘And until when will you remain like that?’ (SA)

‘How’ is expressed by *ke:f*. The longer version *kike:f*, known in other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:220; Roth 1979:208; Owens 1993a:185) is only used by one of my informants.

- (6) *na:-kul-u ke:f*
 IPFV.1-eat-PL how
 ‘How can we eat?’ (MY)
- (7) *amalt-a kike:f hububt-i*
 PFV.do-2SG *ʕml how grandmother=1SG
 ‘How did you do that, grandmother?’ (XO)

‘How are you?’ is generally expressed as

- (8) *asba.-tu ke:f*
 PFV.be(come) in the morning-2PL how
 ‘How are you this morning?’

or

- (9) *gaj:al-tu* *ke:f*
 PFV.spend the afternoon-2PL how
 ‘How are you this afternoon/today?’

‘Why’ can be expressed in different manners, like *le f(ə)nu* or *(a)ʃa:n ʃənu* ‘for what’ (10) and (11), or the combination of the words *ma* ‘what’, *le* ‘to’ and a pronominal suffix pronoun: *ma:l=u* means literally ‘what is to him?’ (12-14). However, like other grammatical as well as lexical words attaching pronominal suffixes, in the latter composition the pronoun seems to be almost grammaticalised to =*u* as a default suffix (14). The construction becomes thus lexicalised to an uninflectable *ma:lu* ‘why’, parallel with *ma:la* in Chadian Arabic (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:227-228).

- (10) *ga:l* *ho:j* *gib-t* *al-ʔe:f* *da* *le ʃənu* *hina*
 PFV.say.3SG hey PFV.bring-2SG ART-sorghum DEM.SG to what here
 ‘He said: hey, why did you bring that sorghum here?’ (MY)
- (11) *wa ʔas:a*, *mut:alif* *aʃa:n ʃənu*.
 and now different.SG for what
 ‘And why has it changed now?’ (MY)
- (12) *de:l* *ma:l-um* *na:s* *de:l* *ba:kul-u* *fo:g* *zaj:ə* *da*
 DEM.PL what-to=3PL people DEM.PL IPFV.3-eat-PL above like DEM.SG
 ‘Why do these people eat standing like that?’ (MY)
- (13) *ma:l-l=u* *ma ji*
 what-to=3SG NEGPFV.come.3sg
 ‘Why didn’t he come?’
- (14) *inti* *mulab:id* *min-ni* *ma:l-l=u*
 2SG PTCP.hide.SG from=1SG what-to=3SG
 ‘Why are you hiding from me?’

Interestingly, *we:n* does not only mean ‘where’ (15 and 16), like it does in Sudanese Standard Arabic. In some contexts *we:n* seems to have undergone an extension of meaning to a more general question word (17-21). According to Jullien de

Pommerol (1999b:91, 227) *we:n* also means ‘which’ in Chadian Arabic. I also found ‘why’ ‘what’ and ‘how’ as possible translations.

- (15) *nile:n=i we:n*
 shoe.PL=1SG where
 ‘Where are my shoes?’ (MHb)
- (16) *we:n ija:l-ak*
 where children=2SG
 ‘Where are your children?’ (MHb)
- (17) *we:n ant-a ma ji:t-i hna:k*
 where 2-SG NEG PFV.come-2SG there
 ‘Why did you not come there?’ (KN)
- (18) *d-as:a we:n ba-gdar*
 DEM-now where IPFV.3-can.SG
 ‘Now how can she [F from context] do that?’ (AF)
- (19) *inta we:n miski:n ta-ko:rik we ji-sa:ri’n-u:=k*
 2SG.M where poor IPFV.2-cry.SG and IPFV.3-emprison-PL=2SG
sa:kit
 for no reason
 ‘What can you do, you are poor, you cry and they imprison you for no reason.’ (IA)
- (20) *ʃari:fa we:n*
 sharifa.SG where
 ‘What’s “sharifa?”’ (SA)
- (21) *ka:n and-u ija:l we:n b-agdar b-aji*
 if with-3sg child.PL where IPFV.3-can.SG IPFV.3-come.SG
 ‘If she [F from context] had children, how could she come?’ (SA)

Also see 3.4.4 Negation particles for the use *we:n* as a rhetorical device.

3.4 Particles

3.4.1 Article

The definite article in Darfur Arabic is the pan-Sudanic *al=* (Owens 1993a:47; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:62; Roth 1979:139; Reichmuth 1983:194; Bergman 2002:49), prefixed to the noun. As mentioned in 2.3.1.1 Assimilation with *al=*, and as opposed to Old Arabic as well as most modern Arabic dialects, the particle-final phoneme *-l* in the article does not consistently assimilate with the dental and (post) alveolar consonants of the following noun. In (1) below it does assimilate and in (2) it does not.

- (1) *an-nug:ara at=ta:ni da, ism=u Bi:di*
 ART-nugara ART-other DEM.SG name= SG Bidi
 'That other drum is called Bidi.' (MY)
- (2) *fi ti.t al=sari:r xut':-i*
 down ART-bed IMP.put-SG.3SG
 'Put it under the bed.' (SA)

However, the article is often omitted before nouns that are grammatically or contentwise definite (3-4). This feature is also mentioned by Ishaq (2002:321-326), it is shared with Abéché Arabic (Roth 1979:140) and partly shared with Arabic based pidgins and creoles, in which prefixed *al=* (Manfredi & Petrollino 2013:57; Luffin 2005:329; Wellens 2003:61) does not occur as a definite article at all. The absence of the article in Darfur Arabic must be caused by interference with local languages spoken in the area, given that prefixed articles are not found to express definiteness of a noun in the documented languages available.

In a few cases in the corpus, the article *al=* is prefixed to a noun which also has a possessive pronoun suffixed to it (5). This is not common in other varieties of Arabic and might demonstrate that the article *al=* is not considered as a particle defining the noun by Darfurian speakers.

- (3) *ma:fi xala*
 PTCp.go.SG desert
 'She goes into the desert.' (4)
- (4) *fi na.a:r xamsa ti-mur'g-i*
 in day five IPFV.2-take out-SG.3SG

‘On the fifth day you take it out.’ (AA)

- (5) *bi-'lim:-u* *kat:i:r* *taraf* *al=bet=um*
 IPFV.3-come together-PL very much on the fringe ART=house=3pl
 ‘Many get together, next to their house.’ (MY)

There is no indefinite article in the Arabic of Darfur. Indefinite nouns are given without an article, as illustrated by (6) and (7) below.

- (6) *ti-mur'g-i* *bi ma.alaga*
 IPFV.2-takeout-3SG.3SG by spoon.SG
 ‘You take it out with a spoon.’ (AA)

- (7) *na-mf-i* *na-ji:b* *mu:s*
 IPFV.1-go-SG IPFV.1-get.SG razor.SG
 ‘I go and get a razor.’ (XO)

Thus, whether a noun is to be interpreted as definite or indefinite, is to be understood from the context. See 6.3.1 Definiteness on articles in syntactic context.

3.4.2 Object introducing particle

Like the Arabic spoken in Chad (Roth 1979:140; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:212-213), the direct object is often, although not consistently, introduced by the particle *le* (1-7). The presence of a particle introducing the direct object is unusual in other varieties of Arabic but follows some local languages of Darfur, which also possess object particles (Beaton 1968:16; Edgar 1989:52; Waag 2009:73; Weiss 2009:285; nevertheless not found in Zaghawa). Hence Darfurians speaking Fur, Masalit and probably also other local languages as their L1, might have object markers internalized and therefore also use them when speaking Arabic. The object particles in those languages, however, consist of affixes rather than prenominal particles. Hypothetically, the Arabic preposition *le* ‘to’, which can be placed before indirect objects in other varieties of Arabic (Manfredi 2010:178-179; Owens 1993a:153; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:102-103 and 3.2.3 Indirect object suffixes), is adapted in Chadian and Darfur Arabic as a particle introducing both

the indirect as well as the direct object. It is noteworthy that the object introducing particle *le* never co-occurs with the article *al=*.

- (1) *le* *uda:m* *da* *kul:=u* *ba-sxu'l-u*
 TR bone.PL DEM.SG all=3SG IPFV.3-wash-PL.3SG *ysl
 'They wash all these bones.' (AA)
- (2) *'taf:-o* *le* *hil:I* *bi* *na:r*
 PFV.burn-3PL TR village by fire
 'They burnt the village.' (IA)
- (3) *'ba-ʃbah-u* *le* *hama:m*
 IPFV.3-look like-PL TR pigeon.SG
 'They look like a pigeon.' (MY)
- (4) *ani* *na-ji:b-i* *le=:k* *le* *dilka*
 1SG IPFV.1-get-SG for=2SG TR ointment
 'I get the ointment for you.' (SA)
- (5) *na-rkab* *le* *jamal* *le* *jawa:d*
 IPFV.1-mount.SG TR camel.SG TR horse.SG
 'I mount a camel or a horse.' (SA)
- (6) *dug:-o* *le* *ija:l*
 PFV.hit-3PL TR children
 'They hit the children.' (MHa)
- (7) *ju* *le* *aj:al=u* *ʃfad:* *kata'l-a*
 hunger TR children=3SG all PFV.kill=3SG
 'Hunger had killed all his children.' (MHa)

3.4.3 Genitive particles

To express possession, a Darfurian speaker of Arabic can choose between four genitive or possessive markers: *bita:* or its historical feminine counterpart *bita:t*; *hag:* or its historical feminine counterpart *hag:at*; *hi:l-he:l*; or *hana*. Some of my

informants use one of the possible genitive particles consistently, others vary but use maximally two of them.

3.4.3.1 *bita:*

Like all of the four of the possible genitive markers, the genitive particle or marker *bita:* is preceded by the possessed noun and followed by the possessor such as in (1) below. The possessed noun can be defined by the article *al=*, like in the first example below. But as explained in 3.4.1 Article, the article often lacks (2-6). The possessor following the particle may be a noun defined by the article (1), by a bound pronoun (2), a proper name (3) or be unmarked for definiteness, like in (4).

The historically feminine variant of this Egyptian genitive particle, *bita:ʃit*, turned into *bita:t* under Darfurian phonology, is also used. Both *bita:* and *bita:t* are used regardless of the historical gender or number of the possessed to which the particle refers (4-6). Moreover, *bita:t* is never followed by a pronominal suffix, only by independent nouns.

- (1) *al='e:ʃ bita: l-madi:da dɪ*
 ART=sorghum GEN ART-porridge DEM.SG
 'The sorghum of this porridge.' (KN)
- (2) *yuna bi kala:m bita:-na*
 singing by language GEN=1PL
 'Singing in our language.' (AJ)
- (3) *salati:n bita Darfur*
 sultan.PL GEN Darfur
 'The sultans of Darfur' (IA)
- (4) *buruʃ bita:t zaʃf*
 mat.PL GEN palm fronds
 'Mats (made) of reed.' (2)
- (5) *blastik bita:t l=ʃarabij:a da*
 plastic GEN ART=car.SGDEM.SG
 'The rubber of that tire.' (AF)

- (6) *ʃawala:t bita:t il=bit:*
 sack.PL GEN ART=girl
 ‘The girl’s large sacks.’ (AF)

3.4.3.2 *hag:*

The particle *hag:* is the Standard Sudanese genitive particle (Bergman 2002:50), also widespread in Darfur and follows the same rules as described above for *bita:*. This particle can also occur without the possessed noun but have the possessed included from the context. As such, it functions as the head of a phrase. It can then be translated as ‘his’; ‘ours’ et cetera, like in (3-4).

- (1) *da hag: al=ja:mi*
 DEM.SG GEN ART=mosque.SG
 ‘This is [the one I use] for the mosque.’ (SA)
- (2) *laham hag:at hina:j da*
 meat GEN what’s-its-name DEM.SG
 ‘Meat from what’s-its-name.’ (SA)
- (3) *la, hag:-ana ni-lif:-u bas:*
 no GEN=1PL IPFV.1-turn-PL only
 ‘No, in ours [i.e. our dance] we only turn.’ (XO)
- (4) *?a:j da hag:=ukum (...) wala hag:=ina*
 yes DEM.SG GEN=2PL NEG GEN=1PL
 ‘Yes it is yours, not ours.’ (XO)

3.4.3.3 *heil~hi:l* and *hana*

The particles *hana* and *hi:l~he:l* are typically used by villagers and seem to bear a status of low prestige. Some urban Darfurians say that they have never heard of them. Although *hana* is current in Chadian and Nigerian Arabic (Roth 1979:144-145; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:183-185; Owens 1993a:64-66), *hi:l~he:l* rather resembles the Kordofanian Baggara Arabic genitive particles *hana:n*, *hu:l*, *hint*, *hi:l*, *hine:*, *hile:l* (Manfredi 2010:109). In Darfur, both *hana* and *hi:l~he:l* do not display gender distinctions nor any other (historical) variants. It must be noted that although

hana appears often in my corpus, but *hi:l~he:l* only once, a couple of times in elicitation and it is treated by Ishaq (2002:249-251).

Both particles occur with the preceding possessed noun without the definite article *al=*. As opposed to *hag:* and *bita:*, the genitive particles *he:l~hi:l* and *hana* can also be used with inalienable possessed nouns like family members and body parts (2, 6-7). Only *axu* brother, *axa:j* ‘little brother’ and *axa:ja* ‘sister’ exclusively occur with pronominal suffixes (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns) and never with any genitive particle. Below, examples of the use of *hi:l~he:l* and *hana* are given.

- (1) *anti:=ni ne:l-i he:l=i de*
 IMP.give.SG=1SG shoe.PL=1SG GEN=1SG DEM.SG
 ‘Give me my shoes.’ (AF)
- (2) *ij:a he:l=i*
 mother.SG GEN=1SG
 ‘My mother’ (also see Ishaq 2002:250)
- (3) *ta-ji:b-i dagi:g hana ?e:f*
 IPFV.2-get-SG flower GEN sorghum
 ‘You take sorghum flour.’ (AA)
- (4) *ze:t hana lo:lab da*
 oil GEN fruit of the desert tree DEM.SG
 ‘Oil from the fruit of the desert date tree.’ (2)
- (5) *ramal hana al=birki hina:k*
 sand GEN ART=puddle there
 ‘The sand from/at the puddle there.’ (SA)
- (6) *i:d hi:l=i*
 hand.SG GEN=1SG
 ‘My hand.’

- (7) *ija:l he:l=um*
 children GEN=3PL
 ‘Their children.’

The latter three of the genitive particles receive bound pronouns according to their final phonemes as described in 3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns.

3.4.4 Negation particles

Negation particles in Darfur Arabic are *la* ‘no’, *ma~wala* ‘not’, *bas:~il:a* ‘only’ or ‘except’ and *we:n* ‘where’ as a rhetorical device. As in other varieties of Arabic, *la* is the negative answer to a yes- or no-question (4 and 7). The particle *ma* is used to negate nominal (1), prepositional (2) or verbal (3) clauses. The particle is placed before the predicate, before the preposition and before the verb respectively. In the three examples below, the negation particle *ma* is stressed within its sentence.

- (1) *da:ko kama:n ma simi*
 DIST.SG also NEG good.SG **smħ*
 ‘That is also not good.’ (AA)
- (2) *ma ind=ak laban*
 NEG with=2SG milk
 ‘You don’t have milk.’ (AA)
- (3) *ma zalam-o:=ni?*
 NEG PFV.oppress-3PL=1SG **ǝlm*
 ‘Didn’t they oppress me?’ (SA)

Existential phrases are negated by the particle *ma* too (3.4.6 Existential).

The negation particle *wala* can bear the meaning of ‘either’ or ‘nor’ when two or more topics are negated (4) or stress the negation and express ‘not (even) a single one’ (5), sometimes including the particle *ma* (6). However, *wala* can also function as a plain alternative for the negative particle *ma* without the afore-mentioned stress or correlative function (7-9). In the latter case, *wala* is placed in the same position in the sentence as *ma*.

- (4) *bas: ta-wal:a'd-u. wala ind=ana mu:s# la la la#*
 only IPFV.2-assist to give birth.SG=3SG NEG with=1PL razor no no no
wala ind=ina da:ja
 NEG with=1PL midwife.SG
 'You just assist her to give birth. We don't have razor either. no no no.
 Nor a midwife.' (XO)
- (5) *ʔfat: na:-kul-u hina:k#wala na-xal:-u adma:j kul:u*
 all IPFV.1-eat-PL there NEG IPFV.1-leave-PL bone.SG*ʕəm at all
 'We eat everything there. We don't leave a single bone.' (MG)
- (6) *wala kalib ma 'ja-mf-i gari:b*
 NEG dog.SG NEG IPFV.3-go-SG close
 'Not one single dog comes close.' (IA)
- (7) *la la la ani:na wala gar:-o:=na, de:l*
 no no no 1pl NEG PFV.make study-3PL=1PL DEM.PL
gar'r-o:=m
 PFV.make study-3PL=3PL
 'No no no, we did not go to school, but they did.' (SA)
- (8) *ti-dur'b-i bi aturun# wala ti-dur'b-i sa:kit*
 IPFV.2-cook-SG.3SG with salt NEG IPFV.2-cook-SG.3SG pure
 'You prepare it with salt. You don't cook it without.' (AA)
- (9) *kawalait-ak wala tagalij:at axe:t-ak*
 kawwal⁷=2SG NEG tagalij:a⁸ sister=2SG
 'Your own poor man's food is better than someone else's luxury food.'
 (proverb)

See also 3.4.9.2 *wal:a* on this particle.

The originally interrogative *we:n* 'where' (3.2.7 Interrogative pronouns) can also appear in rhetorical questions. It occurs before or after a noun phrase in order to

⁷ *kawal/kaw:al* is a wild plant found in Darfur, used for making sauce

⁸ *tagalijja* is a sauce with meat, more costly and better appreciated than *kawal/kaw:al*

state that the item at issue is absent, or a verb phrase in order to express that the action is not possible. Examples (10-14) show the use of *we:n* as rhetorical device.

- (10) *mu:s ma fi, mu:s we:n*
 razor.SG NEG EXS razor.SG where
 'There is no razor.' (XO)
- (11) *we:n zalat*
 where tarmac
 'There is no tarmac.' (MY)
- (12) *bi to:b xidma we:n ba-bga*
 with toob⁹.SG work where IPFV-become.SG
 'One cannot work [in the field] wearing a toob.' (SA)
- (13) *asali:ja¹⁰ da:k taw:a we:n*
 asali:ja DIST now where
 'There is no asali:ja anymore.' (AF)
- (14) *we:n Darfur hina*
 where Darfur here
 'This is not Darfur.' (MY)
- (15) *ani:na and=ina jana maj:it da, na-mf-u we:n*
 1PL with=1PL baby.SG PTCP.die.SG DEM.SG IPFV.1PL-go-PL where
 'We have a dying baby, we cannot go.' (XO)

The particles *il:a* and *bas:* are used to express exceptions. They can often be translated by 'just' or 'only'. The former only occurs in front of the phrase to be excepted, the latter can also be placed after. They appear regularly together with *il:a* before and *bas:* behind the phrase of exception (18).

⁹ *toob* is a long wrapped woman's garment

¹⁰ *asali:ja* is a local home-made sorghum drink

- (16) *sanawi il:a fi Kutum wa Fa:ʃir*
 secondary school only in Kutum and Fashir
 ‘Secondary school is only in Kutum and Fashir (not in our village).’ (AJ)
- (17) *we Zaya:wa kama:n ʃoyul-u il:a sirga*
 and Zaghawa also work=3SG only stealing
 ‘And also Zaghawa only steal.’ (IA)
- (18) *il:a kala:m Fu:r bas:*
 only language Fur only
 ‘Just the Fur language.’ (MY)
- (19) *?il:a hini n-azaʿr-u*
 only here IPFV.1-cultivate-PL.3SG *zrʃ
 ‘We only grow it here.’ (AA)
- (20) *tawa:li il:a ba-mu:t*
 immediately only IPFV.3-die.SG
 ‘He just dies immediately.’ (IA)

The particle of exception *il:a* can occur after negative main clauses like in (21-23).

- (21) *ma and=u arab il:a ga:id fi da:r*
 NEG with=3SG Arab.PL only PTCP.sit.SG in back.SG
al=ʃamal bas:
 ART-camel.SG only
 ‘It [Darfur] only has Arabs who sit on camels [lit. it has no Arabs except sitting on the back of a camel].’ (IA)
- (22) *ana haq:at de:l wala dajr-i:n, il:a ni-ʃarab*
 1SG gen DEM.PL NEG PTCP.want-PL only IPFV.1-drink.SG
hana Fo:r
 GEN Fur
 ‘Me, I don’t want theirs, I only drink [it] the way the Fur do.’ (SA)

- (23) *ma ji-hal:ig ila ji-tim: arba.i:n*
 NEG IPFV.3-go around.SG NEG IPFV.3-finish.SG forty
 ‘She only goes around after 40 [days] [lit. She does not go around only when she brings 40 days to completion].’ (KN)

3.4.5 Question and answer particles

Sentences ending in *wal':a* lit. ‘by God’, with a rising second syllable, indicate it is a question (1). Many other examples of the use of *wal:a* as a question particle are found in e.g. Carbou (1913:100).

- (1) *min hina da b-o:sal wal:a?*
 from here DEM.SG IPFV.3-arrive-SG by God
 ‘Is it possible for her to go there [lit. from here, will she [F from context] arrive]?’ (AA)

The particle *mif* or *muf* is used as a question particle or question tag asking for reinforcement of statements, comparable to the English ‘isn’t it?’. It is generally used before a sentence in order to ask a yes- or no-question. It is also used to say *mif kida* ‘isn’t it?’ after a statement. Although *kida* ‘so’ ‘like that’ displays phonetic alternatives such as *kidı* and *kadı* (3.3.2 Adverbs of manner), the adverb appears frozen als *kida* in the latter expression.

- (1) *de mif walad=na Mu:sa?*
 DEM.SG NE son=1PL Musa
 ‘Isn’t he our son Musa?’ (XO)
- (2) *mif ta-.arif al=hal:a l=kabi:r?*
 NEG IPFV.2-know.SG ART=pan.SG ART=big.SG
 ‘Don’t you know that big pan?’ (AF)
- (3) *hina ba-gu:l l=o fənu. al=?id. marad al=?i:d#*
 here IPFV.3-say.sg to=3SG what ART=hand.SG illness.SG ART=hand.SG
muf kida?
 NEG like that
 ‘Here what do they call it? The hand. The illness of the hand [leprosy]. Isn’t it?’ (IA)

The typical negative answer to a yes- or no-question is *la* and the positive one *ʔaj:i*. As an alternative to *ʔaj:i*, Standard Sudanese *ʔa:j* and *ʔajwa* also occur.

- (4) *ʔaj:i#* *da:ku*
 yes PRST
 ‘Yes. That’s it.’ (AA)

3.4.6 Existential

Like in other Sudanic Arabic language varieties (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:201; Roth 1979:188; Bergman 2002:55; Owens 1993a: 269-271; Manfredi 2010:167, 173), the existential particle *fi:* is the only existential used in Darfur Arabic. Usually it is found in front of the noun phrase, as in (1) and (2). It never occurs with suffixes, however, like it does in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:167 and 173).

- (1) *ba.de:n fi: agarab ta-.r'f=u?*
 after EXS scorpion.SG IPFV.2-know.SG=3SG
 ‘Then there is the scorpion, you know that one?’ (IA)
- (2) *fi: Zaya:wa wa fi: arab# kul:=u*
 EXS Zaghawa and EXS Arab.PL all=3SG
 ‘There are Zaghawa and there are Arabs. All of them.’ (AJ)

The existential particle *fi:* can be negated by placing the stressed or lengthened negation particle *ma* before *fi:*. The resulting combination of particles to express absence ‘*ma fi:* ~ *ma: fi:*’ is generally placed sentence-final, as in (3) and (4). In section 6.2.4 Existential sentence more is explained on word order in existential clauses.

- (3) *madrasa fi: xari:f ma fi:*
 school.SG EXS autumn NEGEXS
 ‘There is no school in Autumn.’ (AF)
- (4) *hina:k zo:l bi-'bi: ma: fi:*
 there man IPFV.3-sell-SG *bjʃ NEG EXS
 ‘There is nobody there who sells it.’ (XO)

3.4.7 Prepositions

Table 1 provides an overview of prepositions found frequently in Darfur Arabic, followed by explanations and illustrations of their use in context. The prepositions overlap with the adverbs (3.3 Adverbs). When compared to other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic, they seem to coincide with Chadian Arabic (Roth 1979:186-193; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:95-105) little more than with Kordofan Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:178-186) and Nigerian Arabic (Owens 1993a:209, 216-219, 224-227).

Table 1: prepositions in Darfur Arabic

<i>and~ind</i>	‘with’
<i>be</i>	‘by’/‘with’
<i>fo:g</i>	‘above’/ ‘in’/ ‘about’/ ‘from’
<i>fi</i>	‘in’ ‘on’ ‘about’ ‘at’ ‘to’
<i>le~ale</i>	‘to(wards)’/‘for’
<i>taraf</i>	‘on the side of’
<i>min</i>	‘from’ ‘since’
<i>wara ~ fi da:r</i>	‘behind’
<i>ma~ma.a</i>	‘with’
<i>zaj:~mitil~gadur</i>	‘like’
<i>jamb</i>	‘next to’ ‘beside’
<i>ti.t~ti.it</i>	‘under’
<i>juwa~da:xil</i>	‘inside’
<i>gid:a:m</i>	‘in front of’
<i>'bala~(bi)du:n</i>	‘without’
<i>ba.d</i>	‘after’
<i>be:n~ambe:na:t</i>	‘between’
<i>gabl</i>	‘before’
<i>aʃa:n~fiʃa:n</i>	‘for’
<i>ust~usut</i>	‘in the middle’

3.4.7.1 *and~ind* ‘with’

A widely used and important preposition in Darfur Arabic is *and~ind* *ʃnd ‘with’ because it has a special function: bearing a bound pronoun and followed by the possessed noun it is used to express possession and can often be translated as ‘have’. This feature is common for Old Arabic as well as other varieties of Sudanic Arabic (Bergman 2002:56; Roth 1079:190; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:193-195;

Manfredi 2010:169; Owens 1993a:211) and is illustrated in the examples from Darfur Arabic below.

In other Arabic dialects, the preposition *and-ind*, or rather *ʃand-ʃind*, does not only play a role to express ‘have’. It can also behave as a local preposition and mean ‘at’, as in *ragad-o ind=ana* ‘They slept at our place’ (Roth 1979:190). Nevertheless, in Darfur Arabic, this preposition only occurs with bound pronouns and it cannot carry this local meaning of ‘at’. To express ‘at’, only *fi* or *fo:g* is used (see below).

The bound pronouns following the preposition *and* are the bound pronouns following a noun ending in two consonants (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns). But since this preposition appears frequently in daily speech, its occurrence with all possible pronouns are listed in Table 1, followed by examples. Especially *and-ina* or *and-ana* ‘with us’, or rather ‘we have’ occurs often in the corpus. Like other words containing bound pronouns, =*u* is used much more than =*a* as a 3SG bound pronoun with this preposition, for example in (4).

Table 1: *and-ind* *ʃnd ‘with’ including all possible bound pronouns

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>andi</i>	<i>andina</i>
2nd person	<i>andak</i>	<i>andukum</i>
3rd person	<i>andu-anda</i>	<i>andum</i>

- (1) *al-laban and=ina ra:gid*
 ART-milk with=1PL much
 ‘We have a lot of milk.’ (XO)

- (2) *ind=ina ila:j*
 with=1PL treatment
 ‘We have a treatment.’ (SA)

- (3) *and=um fikra kati:r fi ru:se:n=um*
 with=3PL thought.SG much in head.PL=3PL
 ‘They know a lot.’ (XO)

- (4) *haku:ma and=u asa:kir*
 government.SG with=3SG soldier.PL
 ‘The government has soldiers.’ (IA)

- (5) *ind=ak xurba:l*
 with=2SG sieve.SG
 ‘You have a sieve.’ (AA)

3.4.7.2 *be~bi* ‘with’ or ‘by’

The preposition *be~bi* expresses ‘with’ or ‘by’. Like *le* ‘to’ (3.2.3 Indirect object suffixes), stress can be put on *e/i* or *o* in these forms, especially in pause. In Table 1 the use of the preposition *be* with all possible bound pronouns is shown, followed by four examples.

Table 1: the preposition *be~bi* ‘with’ or ‘by’ with possible affixed pronouns

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>be:j</i>	<i>be:na</i>
2nd person	<i>be:k</i>	<i>be:kum</i>
3rd person	<i>be:u~bo~be:a</i>	<i>be:um~bo:m</i>

- (1) *da:jir ti-'saj:-i be:u ʃənu*
 want.PTCP.SG IPFV.2-do-SG with=3SG what
 ‘What do you want to do with it?’ (MHb)
- (2) *na-xaraf-u 'b=o*
 IPFV.1-ladle-PL with=3SG
 ‘We ladle with it’ (AF)
- (3) *ti-saf:-i be saf:a:j*
 IPFV.2-strain-sg.3SG with strainer
 ‘You strain it with a strainer.’ (AA)
- (4) *firi-na be:=kum*
 PFV.be glad-1PL *frh with=2PL
 ‘We were glad with you.’

3.4.7.3 *fi* and *fo:g* ‘in’, ‘above’, ‘on’, ‘about’, ‘from’, ‘at’ or ‘to’.

The prepositions *fi*, historically used to express ‘in’, and *fo:g*, historically ‘above’, can both have many meanings and are sometimes interchangeable. The preposition *fo:g* is not only used to express ‘above’ but also ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘about’ and ‘from’. It obtains the bound pronouns as given in 3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns. However, *fo:g* appears only once in the corpus with another particle than 3SG =*u*. Here again, the process of grammaticalisation of *fo:g* with =*u* as an invariable bound pronoun, seems to be at work. The preposition *fi* is not only used to express ‘in’ but also ‘at’, ‘on’ and ‘to’.

In Table 1, the possible bound pronouns suffixed to *fi* are shown. Note that the suffix for the 1SG is not =*i* but =*ni*, the same suffix following verbs. The table is followed by examples of the occurrence of *fo:g* (1-4) and *fi* (5-10) in different meanings. Example (10) and (11) illustrate that in some contexts, both prepositions can be used to express the same.

Table 1: *fi* ‘in’ followed by bound pronouns

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>fi:ni</i>	<i>fi:na</i>
2nd person	<i>fi:k</i>	<i>fi:kum</i>
3rd person	<i>fi:u~fi:a</i>	<i>fi:..um fi:m</i>

- (1) *ji-ji:b-i le:-k Jamal*
 IPFV.3-bring-SG to=2SG camel.SG
ji-rak:u'b-u:=k fo:g=u
 IPFV.3-make mount-PL=2SG on=3SG
 ‘They bring you a camel and make you mount it.’ (IA)

- (2) *de be:t ra:jil, wa da:k bi ?ija:l,*
 DEM.SG house.SG man.SG and DIST.SG with children
ja-gər-u ja-rugd-u fo:g=u.
 IPFV.3-study-PL IPFV.3-sleep-PL in=3SG
 ‘This is the man’s house, and that one is for the children. They study and sleep in it.’ (AJ)

- (3) *dawa has:a and=i na:-kul fo:g=u kuwaj:is*
 medicine now with=1SG IPFV.1-eat.SG from=SG well
 'Now I have a medicine which I take well.' (AJ)
- (4) *ka:n mafe:-tu zira: ba-d.ak fo:g=i*
 if PFV.go-2PL farming *zrŋ IPFV.3-laugh.SG *dħk at=1SG
 'When you go farming [work in the field], he laughs at me.' (MHb)
- (5) *tu-gud fi be:t jal:a asi:da*
 IPFV.2-stay.SG *qŋd in house.SG then sorghum porridge
ti-so:t-i
 IPFV.2-prepare-SG.3SG
 'You are in the house and prepare sorghum porridge.' (MG)
- (6) *ti-'xut:-i fi na:r*
 IPFV.2-put-SG.3SG on the stove
 'You put it on the stove.' (AA)
- (7) *da kul:=u ima:r-a bas:. ma fi be:t*
 DEM.SG all=3SG apartment building-SG only neg EXS house.SG
fi wata
 on ground
 'They are all apartment buildings. There is no house on the ground.' (XO)
- (8) *fa:t-u fi l=be:t*
 PFV.leave-3PL to ART=house.SG
 'They went home.' (MHb)
- (9) *ti-fur'f-i tə-wad:-i fi ba:b*
 IPFV.2-spread out-SG.3SG IPFV.2-put-SG.3SG at door
 'You spread it you and you put it at the door.' (MG)
- (10) *ti-kub:-i fi suwe:bi. fi suwe:bi. ?ajwa. fo:g=u.*
 IPFV.2-add-SG.3SG in container.SG in container.SG yes in=3SG
 'You put it in a container. In a container. Yes. In it.' (AA)

- (11) *kal:im fo:g=i ~ fi:=ni*
 PFV.talk.3SG about=1SG
 ‘He talked about me.’

Notice that *fi* also occurs as the existential particle (3.4.6 Existential).

3.4.7.4 *le* and *ale* ‘to(wards)’

As explained in 3.4.2 Object introducing particle, the particle *le* ‘to’ is used to introduce (in)direct objects. Furthermore, it is also used as a preposition expressing ‘to(wards)’, occurring with verbs expressing a movement such as to come, go, arrive, or run, like in the examples below.

The preposition *le* is interchangeable with *ale*, derived from Old and Sudanese Standard Arabic *ʕala* ‘to’, ‘(up)on’, ‘against’ or ‘though’. In West Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:179; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:96 and 1999a:90 and 769), the latter preposition can only carry the directional meaning ‘to’ or ‘in the direction of’, like *le*. Moreover, in Darfur Arabic, both prepositions *le* and *ale* do not differ much in phonetic terms, especially since they obtain the same set of bound pronouns (provided in 3.2.3 Indirect object suffixes), for example *le:=k* versus *ale:=k* ‘to you’. It is therefore difficult to distinguish them: the two prepositions seem to have merged into one, including minor phonetic variation. However, preference seems to be given to *le* and *ale* is not heard much, apart from loan expressions from Old Arabic, like *ale:k ala:a* ‘really’ (and see Owens 1993a:211). Neither Roth nor Zeltner mention *ala* or *ale* as a preposition in their descriptions of Chadian Arabic.

- (1) *ta-wsil le a.l=ak*
 IPFV.2-arrive.SG to family=2SG
 ‘You arrive at your family.’ (MY)
- (2) *ta-mʕ-i le Forno*
 IPFV.2-go-SG to Forno
 ‘You go to Forno.’ (IA)
- (3) *ta-drub wa hu ja:j bas: ale:=k*
 IPVF.2-hit.SG.M and 3M PTCP.come.SG only to=2SG.M
 ‘You call and he just comes to you.’ (IA)

- (4) *ta-j-i le xidma*
 IPFV.2-come-SG to work
 'You come to work.' (SA)
- (5) *ma sal:am-at le:=na~ale:=na*
 NEG PFV.greet-3SG to=2PL
 'She/he did not greet us.'

3.4.7.5 *min* 'from' or 'since'

The preposition *min* is used to express local 'from' or temporal 'since'. When a bound pronoun is attached, the word-final *-n* of the preposition geminates. All possible bound pronouns with *min* are listed in Table 1, followed by some examples from this preposition in context.

Table 1: *min* 'from' 'since' with possible bound pronouns

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>min:i</i>	<i>min:a~min:ina</i>
2nd person	<i>min:ak</i>	<i>min:ukum~min:ukum</i>
3rd person	<i>min:u~min:a</i>	<i>min:um</i>

- (1) *Xartu:m ana and=i min sab.a ja.r*
 Khartoum 1SG with=1SG since seven month.sg
 'I am in Khartoum since seven months.' (AF)
- (2) *min xamsa sana wa sit:a sana kida*
 from five year.sg and six year.sg like that
bi-tah:i'r-u
 IPFV.3-circumcise-PL.3SG *thr
 'From the age of about five or six, they circumcise.' (AJ)
- (3) *fi wa:idi:n j-o min Fal:a:ta hum:an*
 EXS some PFV.come-PL from Fallata 3PL
 'Some are Fallata¹¹.' (IA)
- (4) *ma ti-tal:-i girif min je:b=ak*

¹¹ Fallata: immigrants of West-African origin

NEG IPFV.2-take out-SG piastre.SG from pocket=2SG
 ‘You don’t take a penny from your pocket.’ (IA)

- (5) *simi-ti min=ni?*
 PFV.hear-2SG *smf from=1SG
 ‘Did you hear [that from] me?’ (SA)

Note *min* can also work as the complementizer ‘since’ at the beginning of a subordinate clause (3.4.9.8 *min*). Lastly, *min* can be used in comparative constructions (4.13 Comparison).

3.4.7.6 *wara* and *fi da.r* ‘behind’

The preposition *wara* ‘behind’ attaches bound pronouns like other words ending in vowels (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns), resulting in diphthongs with the 1SG, 3SG and 3PL suffixed pronouns. All possible bound pronouns following *wara* are shown in Table 1 below. Underneath, two examples of occurrence of *wara* are given.

Table 1: *wara* ‘behind’ including all possible bound pronouns

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>wara:j</i>	<i>wara:na</i>
2nd person	<i>wara:k</i>	<i>wara:kum</i>
3rd person	<i>wara:u</i>	<i>wara:um</i>

‘Behind’ can also be expressed by using the preposition *fi* ‘in’ followed by the noun *da.r* ‘back’ followed by another noun or bound pronoun. See (3) for an illustration of the use of this construction.

- (1) *jubra:ka da wara be:t*
 vegetable garden.SG DEM.SG behind house
 ‘The vegetable garden is behind the house.’ (MY)
- (2) *mulab:ad wara:=u*
 PTCp.hide.SG behind=3SG
 ‘He/she is hiding behind him/her.’

- (3) *xal:-e:t=u* *fi da.r=i*
 PFV.leave-1SG=3SG in back=1SG
 'I left it behind.'

Notice both *wara* and *fi da.r* can also occur as the adjective or adverb 'later', 'last' 'after' or 'lately' (3.3.1 Adverbs of time).

3.4.7.7 *ma~ma.a* 'with'

The preposition *ma* or *ma.a* 'with' can obtain the set of pronouns that occur after vowels, like *wara* above. However, in some cases the phoneme ʃ in the historical origin *maʃa* is reflected by a syllable break (2.6.6 Old Arabic phoneme ʃ). In Table 1, the possible pronouns after *ma* or *ma.a* are enumerated. The table is followed by examples of the use of this preposition.

Tablen 1: *ma~ma.a* 'with' with bound pronouns

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ma:j~ma.a:j</i>	<i>ma:na~ma.a:na</i>
2nd person	<i>ma:k~ma.a:k</i>	<i>ma:kum~ma.a:kum</i>
3rd person	<i>ma:.u~ma.a:.u</i>	<i>ma:.um~ma.a:.um</i>

- (1) *jo-g.od* *ma.a:=um* *sawa*
 IPVF.3-sit.sg with=3PL together
 'He sits with them together' (MY)
- (2) *az=Zaxa:wa* *mulaxbat-i:n* *ma:=na*
 ART=Zaghawa PTCp.mix-PL with=1PL
 'The Zaghawa are mixed with us.' (IA)
- (3) *ma* *sa.b=ak* *sawa,* *nafar-e:n* *ta-mf-u*
 with friend=2SG shb together person-DUAL IPFV.2-go-PL
 'With your friend together, the two of you go.' (MHb)
- (4) *ma.a* *mula:* *karkade* *bas:*
 with sauce *mlh hibiscus only
 'Only with hibiscus sauce.' (AA)

3.4.7.8 *zaj*, *mitil* and *gadur* ‘like’

The prepositions *zaj*, *mitil* and *gadur* are used to express the simulative ‘like’. In that sense, *zaj* is used most and can be followed by bound pronouns suffixed to words ending in two consonants as described in 3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns. Although key informants say *mitil* can also be followed by bound pronouns, it does not occur as such in the corpus. Both prepositions *zaj* and *mitil* appear often as *zaj:ə da ~ mitil da~de* ‘like that’.

The preposition *gadur* derives from the historical noun *qadr* expressing ‘size’. When followed by another noun it can be translated as ‘at the size of’ or ‘like’ (5). When followed by the demonstrative *da*, it refers to quantity or size and can be translated as ‘this big’ or ‘this much’ (6). The preposition *gadur* is never succeeded by a bound pronoun, only by an independent noun or *da*.

- (1) *big-a sa:kit zaj:ə moja da*
 PFV-become-3SG pure.SG like water DEM.SG
 ‘It has become pure like water.’ (AF)
- (2) *wal:a:hi na:s kuwaj:is-i:n zaj:-um ma: fi*
 by God people good-PL like=3PL NEG EXS
 ‘By God, they are good people, there is nothing like them.’ (IA)
- (3) *aj:i mitil da*
 yes like DEM.SG
 ‘Yes, like that.’ (MHa)
- (4) *mitil mula: al ti-'durb-i hana farmu:t de*
 like sauce REL IPFV.2-make-SG GEN dried meat DEM.SG
 ‘Like that meat sauce you make.’ (AA)
- (5) *al big-a gadur al=kuba:r*
 REL PFV.become-3SG like ART=old people
 ‘Those who became like the old people.’ (MY)

- (6) *ind=um gara kabi:r gadur da*
 with=3PL pumpkin very big like DEM.SG
 ‘They have pumpkins big like that.’ (MHa)

3.4.7.9 Other prepositions

Other prepositions receive bound pronouns depending on its last phoneme as displayed in 3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns. Nevertheless, the remaining prepositions ending in *-a*: *juwa*, *bala* and *bar:a* (not to be confused with *bara:u* ‘alone’ 3.3.2 Adverbs of manner) do not receive suffixed pronouns. The latter three prepositions are only followed by independent nouns and also appear as adverbs (3.3 Adverbs).

- (1) *jambə kubri hina:k*
 next bridge.SG there
 ‘Next to the bridge over there.’ (MY)
- (2) *bi-r'm-i ti.it al=?isti:k*
 IPVF.3-trow-SG under ART=rubber
 ‘It [a ramp] is thrown under the rubber [of the tires].’ (IA)
- (3) *de:l as=suya:r, al ba-j-i juwa l=hil:a*
 DEM.PL ART=small one.PL REL IPFV.3-come-SG inside ART=village
 ‘These are the small ones, the ones [birds] that come inside the village.’ (MY)
- (4) *daxil al=be:t had:u ja-tla ji-mf-i*
 inside ART=house.SG until IPFV.3-go out.SG IPFV.3-go-SG
 ‘Inside the house, until she goes out’. (KN)
- (5) *bi-'lim:-u kat:i:r taraf al=bet=um*
 IPFV.3-come together-PL very much on the fringe ART=house=3PL
 ‘Many get together, next to their house.’ (MY)
- (6) *moja ma ti-fərab gid:am ra:jil*
 water NEG IPFV.2-drink.SG in front of man.SG
 ‘You don’t drink water in front of a man.’ (MY)

- (7) *ji-'saw:-u le:-k bala suk:ar*
 IPFV.3-make-PL for=2SG without sugar
 'They make it for you without sugar.' (SA)
- (8) *ba-'fi:l-i ba-mf-i# bala ji:si*
 IPFV.3-take-SG IPFV.3-go-SG without permission.SG
 'He takes and goes. Without permission.' (IA)
- (9) *ba.d al=matar fa:t (...) aja:m da*
 after ART=rain PFV.leave.3SG day.PL DEM.SG
gaid-i:n ba-kta.-u
 PTCF.PROG.-PL IPFV.3-cut-PL *qʔʃ
 'After the rains are over, then they harvest.' (AJ)
- (10) *gable se:f ja-kmal de, moja ga:id*
 before summer IPFV.3-complete.SG DEM.SG water PTCF.stay.SG
 'Before summer is over, there is water.' (SA)
- (11) *ʔaj da:k ja-ku:n gabra kamsi:na:t#badri*
 Yes DIST.SG IPFV.3-be.SG before fifties early
 'Yes, that must have been before the fifties. A long time ago.' (IA)

The preposition *be:n* 'between' can be lengthened to *be:na:t* and *ambe:na:t* when a bound pronoun is added (4.14.2 Compound nouns with *abu* and *am*).

- (12) *muʃa:kil-i:n be:n=um~be:na:t=um*
 ptcp.quarell-pl between=3pl
 'They are quarelling.'
- (13) *ma ta-dxul be:n=na*
 neg ipfv.2-enter.sg between=1pl
 'Don't get between us.'

- (14) *daxal ʔust an=na:s*
 PFV.enter.3SG middle ART=people
 'He entered into the middle of the crowd.' MHb)

Note the Old and Sudanese Standard Arabic *ʕan* 'about' is not used in West Sudanic Arabic.

3.4.7.10 Combined prepositions

Like the adverbs, prepositions can appear in combinations, generally starting with *be* 'by' or *fi* 'in'. The second word can historically be a noun, like the previously mentioned *qfa:n~fiʕa:n* 'for', historically 'in matter', also grammaticalized as *ʕfa:n* in Standard Sudanese and Egyptian Arabic. In Darfur Arabic, grammaticalization of *fi* or *be* with a noun into a preposition or an adverb occurs with other nouns as well (1-2). Also note in this respect that adverbs (3.3 Adverbs) also occur with *be* or *fi*, such as *bit:a:n* 'again', historically 'by second (time)'; *fi sir.a* 'quickly', historically 'in speed'; and *fi ti.t* 'down', historically 'in under'. However, prepositions may also be combined with other prepositions, like in (3-5).

- (1) *ta.amil l=o be:t fi jamb al=be:t*
 IPFV.2-make.SG for=3SG house.SG in side ART=house.SG
 'You build a house for her next to the house.' (AF)
- (2) *na:s kul:u ka:n hina:k fi taraf al=ba.ar*
 people all=3SG PFV.be.3SG there in edge ART=river.SG
 'All the people were there, at the edge of/next to the river.' (MY)
- (3) *ja:b al=zalata:ja da xat':-a min fo:g=u*
 PFV.take.3SG art=stone.SG DEM.SG PFV.put-SG.3SG from above=3SG
 'He took that stone and put it on top of it.' (MHb)
- (4) *fo:g fi raku:ba ti-tandi'l-i fo:g*
 up in sun shelter IPFV.2-pile-SG.3SG up
 'You pile it on top of the sun shelter.' (AA)

- (5) *az=zama:n j:udu:d ka:n kul:=u sa:kin-i:n fo:g fi*
 ART=time ancestor.PL PFV.be.3SG all=3SGPTCP.live-PL above in
juba:l
 mountain.pl
 ‘The time when our ancestors were all living up in the mountains.’ (IA)

3.4.8 Quantifiers

Darfurian speakers of Arabic use a number of ways to express ‘a little’, ‘all’, ‘much’, ‘enough’ and ‘also’. The are enumerated in Table 1 and illustrated by examples below.

Table 1: quantifiers

<i>kul:u~ʔat:</i>	‘all’ ‘completely’ ‘everything’
<i>ʃiu~ʃia~ʃwaj:a~hab:a</i>	‘a little’
<i>kati:r</i>	‘much’
<i>kifa:ja~kafa~had:u</i>	‘enough’
<i>bardu~kama:n</i>	‘also’
<i>tak</i>	‘only’ ‘entirely’

The quantifier *kul:*, used very regularly, is almost entirely grammaticalized to *kul:u*, i.e. this quantifier appears nearly by default with its historically 3SG pronominal suffix =*u*. It sometimes occurs with pronoun =*a* or =*um*, but never with another pronoun than one of the latter three. The examples below show the use *kul:* with only =*u* as an historical 3SG suffix, even though it might refer to a plural noun.

- (1) *hak:e:-ti jism=ak kul:=u*
 pfv.scratch-2sg body=2sg all=3sg
 ‘You scratched your whole body.’ (SA)
- (2) *hil:a kul:=u zaj:e da*
 village all=3SG like DEM.SG
 ‘The whole village is like that’ (IA)
- (3) *hum:an kul:=u ba:-kul-u*
 3PL all=3SG 3.IPFV-eat-PL
 ‘They all eat’ (AA)

- (4) *ani:na ka:n kul:=u nu-gr-u kurʔa:n*
 1PL ANT all=3SG IPFV.1SG-read-PL Quran
 ‘We were all reading the Quran’ (IA)

- (5) *ja-msoh-o julud=um da kul:=u*
 IPFV-3.anoint-PL skin.PL=3PL DEM all=3SG
 ‘They anoint all of their skin.’ (KN)

The *ʔfat:* (Reichmuth 1983:308; Roth 1969 1:105; Owens 1993b:72) is synonym to *kul:* but does not appear with suffixes (6-7).

- (6) *ju le aj:al-u ʔfat: katal-a*
 hunger DEF child.PL=3SG all PFV.kill=3SG
 ‘The hunger killed all of his children’ (MHa)

- (7) *ʔfat: na:-kul-u hina:k#wala na-xal:-u adma:i kul:=u*
 all IPFV.1-eat-PL there NEG IPFV.1-leave-PL bone.SG all=3SG
 ‘We eat everything there. We don’t leave a single bone.’ (MG)

‘A little’ is expressed by the quantifier *ʃiu~ʃia~ʃwaj:a* or *hab:a*, possibly further intensified by *hab:a hab:a*. All of them can either be put before or after the adjective.

- (8) *wa.id ʃru kabi:r, wa:.id ʃr:u sixqj:ar*
 one little big.SG.M one little small.SG.M
 ‘One is a bit big, another a bit small.’ (SA)

- (9) *ta-skir-i sayqj:ar hab:a kidı*
 IPFV.2-break-SG.3SG *ksr small.SG a little like that
 ‘You break it in rather small pieces’ (AA)

‘Much’ is expressed by the adverb or adjective *kati:r*. To express ‘enough’, the adverbs *had:u*, *kifa:ja* or *kafʔ:a* are used. These quantifiers are placed at the end of the clause.

- (10) *kala:m biga katir*
 affair PFV.become.3SG much
 'It became a big affair.' (XO)
- (11) *fursa abjad de ti-'ji:b-i katir, wala fiu*
 cream white DEM.SG IPFV.2-get-SG.3SG much NEG little
 'You get a lot of that white cream, not a little.' (AA)
- (12) *bas:. ha.ja-gif. had:u# tam:-at*
 only ha IPFV.3-stop.SG enough PFV.complete-3SG
 'Just there. Stop. Enough. Over.' (KN)
- (13) *wad:-e:t-u l-u moja kaf'a kaf'a*
 PFV.bring-2PL to=3SG water enough enough
 'You have brought her [F from context] enough water.' (KN)

The quantifiers *kama:n* or *bardu* 'also' or 'too' can be found at the beginning or the end of the phrase that is quantified (14-15).

- (14) *wə ind=u jire:w kama:n ba-d':-u*
 and at=3SG puppy.SG also IPFV.3-give-pl.3SG
 'They have a dog to which they also give [food] to.' (MHa)
- (15) *na-gu:l'-:u bardu mula:h*
 IPFV.1-call-pl.3SG also sauce.SG
 'We also call it "mulah" [sauce].' (XO)

See 4.15.1.1 Multiple meanings and applications of *wa:.id* for the use of *tak* 'only' 'entirely'.

3.4.9 Conjunctions

Conjunctions join verb phrases or noun phrases, sentences or clauses and appear at the beginning or between two of them. They can play a coordinating role, like *wa~wə* 'and' or a subordinating one, like *ka:n* 'if'. In Darfur Arabic, like the Arabic of Chad (Roth 1979:207), many conjunctions carry more than one meaning.

Furthermore, some conjunctions also occur as particles other than conjunctions. Therefore, the context in which the conjunctions appear is important in order to infer their function and meaning.

3.4.9.1 *wa*

Like in most varieties of Arabic, the main coordinating conjunction in Darfur Arabic is *wa-wə* 'and'.

- (1) *ʔinti de to-g.od, ani:na no-g.od-u wə da*
 2SG DEM.SG IPFV.2-sit down.SG 1PL IPFV.1-sit down-PL and DEM.SG
bo-g.od
 IPFV.3-sit down.SG
 'You there sit down, we sit down and that one also sits down.' (AA)
- (2) *ni-te:rib zira: ʔeʃ, duxun. we na-zar-u yanam.*
 IPFV.1-SOW-PL crop millet sorghum and IPFV.1-herd-PL goat.PL
wa bagar. wa albi.
 and cow.PL and camel.PL
 'We farm. We grow millet and sorghum. And we herd goats, cows and camels.' (IA)

3.4.9.2 *wal:a*

The alternative or contrasting conjunction is *wal:a* 'or' exemplified in (1) and (2). This conjunction phonetically resembles the swear word *wal:a(hi)* 'by God', used as a question particle (3.4.5 Question and answer particles) and to reassert one's words, also appearing in example (2). Although stress is put on the first syllable in *wal:a* ['wal:a] 'or' and on the last syllable in the *wal:a* [wal':a] 'by God', in fast speech this placing of stress is not easy to perceive. Furthermore, *wal:a* is difficult to distinguish from the negation particle *wala* (3.4.4 Negation particles), since gemination is usually weak in the Arabic of Darfur (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants). Hence interpreting the context of *wala-wal:a* is crucial in order to grasp what is intended by the speaker.

- (1) *lige:-'ti fi Manawa:ʃi wala ʃənu*
 PFV.find-2SG in Manawashi or what
 'Did you find that in Manawashi or what?' (AF)

- (2) *bo:-sal wala ma bo:-sal wal:a ma na-arf-u*
 IPFV.3-arrive.SG or NEG IPFV-arrive.SG by GodNEGIPFV.1-know-PL
 ‘Whether it will [ever] come or not, by God we don’t know.’ (SA)

It is noteworthy that the Old Arabic and Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:213) contrasting conjunction *ʔaw* ‘or’ is never used by my informants.

3.4.9.3 *la:kin*

The contrastive or restrictive conjunction is *la:kin* ‘but’.

- (1) *um: ija:l-i fi, la:kin wa:id fak:-e:t-u*
 mother child.PL=1SG EXT but one PFV.divorce-1SG-3SG
 ‘The mother of my children is there, but I divorced [another] one.’ (IA)
- (2) *gari::b saw:a wa la:kin ma gidir-at*
 very close PFV.make.3SG and but NEGPFV.be able-3SG
 ‘She came very close but she didn’t make it.’ (MHb)

3.7.9.4 *ila*

The particle *ila* is treated above as the negation particle ‘only’ (3.4.4 Negation particles). It can also occur as an alternative for *la:kin* ‘but’ below (1-2). In all these uses, the particle can be considered as a marker expressing exception. Moreover, *ila* can function as a broader focus particle and signify ‘until’ or announce a sudden or unexpected happening in a narrative (3-4).

- (1) *wad-o=:um mada:ris ila ani:na kuba:r min=:um*
 PFV.take-3PL=3PL school.PL but 1PL big.PL than=3PL
 ‘They sent them to school but we are older than them [the younger generation goes to school but we didn’t].’ (SA)
- (2) *wal:a:i sami ila bi-nfam:*
 by God good.SG but IPFV.3-smell.SG
 ‘By God, it is good but it smells.’ (AA)

- (3) *da:jir ja-gu:m da ila farik kabka'b=a*
 PTCP.want.SG IPFV.3-get up.SG DEM.SG but trap.SG PFV.clip.SG=3SG
 'It [the eagle] wanted to get up, but then it was caught by the trap.' (MHa)
- (4) *ga:m-at ba-guf: wata zaj:a da, ila lig-a*
 PFV-start-3.SG IPFV.3-sweep.SG floor like DEM.SG but PFV.find-3SG
suksuka:ja ajab-at=u
 bead.SG PFV.please-3SG=3SG *ʔaʒb
 'She began to sweep the floor like that. Then she found a bead that she liked.' (MHb)

3.4.9.5 *xala:s*, *jala* and *ba:dem*

The particle *xala:s* or its phonetic variants *kala:s* or *hala:s* has the historical meaning of 'salvation' or 'riddance'. It is used in pan-Sudanic as well as in other spoken varieties of Arabic as an adverb to express 'done', 'enough' or 'finally' (3.3.1 Adverbs of time). In Sudanese Arabic, it also functions as a intensifier (3.3.4 Intensifiers), translated by Manfredi (2010:151, 198 and 201) as 'definitely'. In Darfur and Chad, *xala:s* can play a third role and be considered as a conjunction particle signifying 'then' or 'so', or simply as a discourse marker. As such, it appears frequently, generally still containing some of its original meaning, i.e. something in the context has come to an end. Roth (1979:198) and Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:122) claim that *xala:s* appears as the equivalent of a pause or a punctuation mark.

- (1) *ʔaj da gasab# xala:s ta:ni marad ma ind-ak#*
 yes DEM.SG cane then again sickness.SG NEGwith=2SG
da:k ka:n sirib-'t-i, siri'b-u, hala:s# ta:ni dokto:r
 DIST if PFV.drink- 2SG.3SG PFV.drink-3PL over again doctor
ma ba-dug:-u
 NEG IPFV.3-call-PL.3SG
 'Yes, that is cane. Then you don't get sick anymore. If you drink it, if they drink it, it's over. Then you don't have to call a doctor anymore.' (XO)
- (2) *wa xala:s dafan-'o hina:k*
 and then PFV.buried-PL.3.SG there
 'And then they buried him there.' (IA)

- (3) *mara ad:-o-.um moya firi'b-o, xala:s*
 woman.sg PFV.give-3pl.PL water PFV.drink-3PL.3SG then
gaid-i:n bi-wan:as-u da
 PTCP-PL IPFV.3-chat-PL DEM.SG
 'The woman gave them water to drink, then they sat to chat like that.'
 (MHb)

- (4) *ga:m-at xala:s na:d-at kila:b-um da:k*
 PFV.get up-3.SG then PFV.call-3SG dog.PL=3PL DIST.SG
 'Then she called their dogs.' (MHb)

Other coordinating conjunctions are *jal:a* 'so then' and *ba.de:n* 'and after that' or also 'then'. Like *xala:s*, depending on the pragmatic context and interpretation, both these conjunctions can equally be considered as discourse markers.

- (5) *jal:a tu-gud *qʃd fi be:t jal:a*
 then IPFV.2SG-stay.SG in house then
asi:da ti-so:t-i
 sorghum porridge IPFV.2-prepare-SG.3SG
 'Then you are home and then you make sorghum porridge.' (MG)
- (6) *lab:ad-a tihit# jal:a akal-o wə firib-o*
 PFV.hide-3SG.3SG under then PFV.eat-3PL and PFV.drink-3PL
*hum:an wala arf-i:n *ʃrf*
 3PL NEG PTCP.know-PL
 'He hid it underneath. Then they ate and drank and they did not know.'
 (MHa)
- (7) *bi-bi: *bjʃ bundugij:a, ba.de:n ahu,*
 IPFV.3-buy.3SG rifle.SG then PRST
ja-darb-u:=na ni.na
 IPFV.3-hit-PL=1PL 1PL
 'He buys a rifle and then they hit us.' (IA)

- (8) *hab:at al=lo:mun wa na:-d-u suk:ar#jal:a ba.de:n kala:s*
 little ART=lemon and IPFV.1-give-PL sugar then then ready
 'A little lemon and we add sugar. And then that's it.' (AF)

3.4.9.6 *aḡa:n*

Subordinating conjunctions or complementizers introduce subordinate clauses. They can be rational, temporal, restrictive or conditional in nature.

The conjunction *aḡa:n~fiḡa:n* 'in order to' or 'so (that)' can be designated as a rational complementizer. The same lexeme also occurs as the preposition expressing 'for' (3.4.7 Prepositions 3.4.7.9 Other prepositions).

- (1) *ta-so:t-i asi:da, aḡa:n ar=ra:ḡil*
 IPFV.2-prepare-SG sorghum porridge for ART=man.SG
ja:-kul ja-mḡ-i fuḡəl
 IPFV.3-eat.SG IPFV-go.SG work
 'You make sorghum porridge so the husband can eat and go to work.'
 (SA)

- (2) *wara l=be:t ?aḡa:n ta-ha:ḡis tuju:r#*
 behind ART=house for IPFV.2-hinder.SG bird.PL
?aḡa:n ma ja:-kul-u
 for NEGIPFV.3- eat-PL
 'Behind the house, in order to hinder the birds. So they don't eat.' (MY)

3.4.9.7 *wagət, jo:m* and *lam:an*

All of the subordinating conjunctions *wagət~wak(i)t*, *jo:m*, *lam:a(n)~nam:an* and *min* can be characterized as temporal and translated as 'when', but there are small differences in meaning between them. These conjunctions generally introduce a subordinate clause in the perfect tense, followed by the main clause in the imperfect tense.

When used as conjunctions, the nouns *wagət~wakət (al)* can nearly literally be translated as 'at the time (that)' and *jo:m (al)* as 'at the day (that)'. However, the subordinator *jo:m* seems to have undergone an extension of meaning, where it can not be translated as 'the day that' but only as 'when' (5-6).

- (1) *um:-i waget ma:t ga:l-le:=ki ſənu?*
mother=1SG when PFV.die.3SG PFV.say-to=2SG what
‘What did my mother tell you when she died?’ (MHa)
- (2) *ſuf-ti wakt al ana suya:r, na:s de:l*
PFV-see-2SG when 1SG small.PL people DEM.PL
ka:n ma fi
ANT NEG EXS
‘You see, when I was young, those people where not there.’ (MY)
- (3) *wakt al sal:-u sala:t al=muxrib, wa 'akal-o,*
when PFV.pray-3PL prayer ART=evening and PFV.eat-3PL
'ba-tl-o bar:a 'ba-lab-u
IPFV.3-come out-PL outside IPFV.3-dance-PL
‘When they have prayed the evening prayer, and have eaten, they go outside and play.’ (IA)
- (4) *jo:m al ta-d':-i moja, ti-daw:ir ba:bur*
when IPFV.2-give-SG.3SG water IPFV.2-want.SG pump
‘When you water it, you need a pump.’ (MY)
- (5) *jo:m al go:'lab-ti da:k, xala:s, ti-da'l:-i*
when PFV.stirr-2SG DIST then IPFV.2-take down.SG.3SG
‘When you have stirred it, you take it off [from the fire].’ (AA)
- (6) *jo:m al 'birid-at, kaj:an=tu fi hina:k gaw:i*
when PFV-cool down-3SG starch.SG=3SG in there very strong.SG
‘When is has cooled down, the starch in it is very strong.’ (AA)

Much like in Chadian Arabic (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:248 and Roth 1979:205-206), the conjunction *lam:a(n)-nam:an* ‘when’ (7, 8), can in some contexts signify ‘until’ (9, 10). According to Roth, the particle is used as *dam:a* (1979:205) by Arab Bedouins in Abéché, and *dam:an* in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic according to Manfredi (2010:215). However, the complimentizer does not occur as *dam:a(n)* in the Darfurian corpus.

- (7) *lam:an* na:s j-o, am:ar-o l=hil:ɪ da
 when people PFV.come-PL PFV-build-PL ART=village.SG DEM.SG
 ‘When people came, they built this village.’ (MY)
- (8) *lam:a* na-jər-i ʔinta ataba.=ni bi ʔija:l=ak kul:=u
 when IPFV.1-run-SG 2SG IMP.follow=1SG with children=2SG all=3SG
 ‘When I run, you follow me with all your children.’ (MHb)
- (9) *ji-su:t-u* *ji-su:t-u* *lamma* ja-njid
 IPFV.3-stir-PL IPFV.3-stir-PL until IPFV.3-cook.SG
 ‘They stir and stir until it is cooked.’ (MG)
- (10) *foyl* da *amal* *ʔml *lam:an* ma:t
 work DEM.SG PFV.do.3SG until PFV.die.3SG
 ‘She [F from context] did that work until she died.’ (XO)

3.4.9.8 *min*

The preposition *min* ‘from’ (3.4.7.5 *min* ‘from’ or ‘since’) can also play a role as a complementizer signifying ‘when’, ‘from the moment’ or ‘as soon as’.

- (1) *min* 'gum-na na-'farab-u ani:na jabana
 from PFV.get up-1PL IPFV.1-drink-PL 1PL coffee
 ‘From the moment we get up, we drink coffee.’ (SA)
- (2) *we min* raʃe:'-ti ta-xa't-i
 and from PFV.sprinkle-2SG.3SG IPFV.2-cover-2SG.3SG
 ‘And once you have sprinkled it, you put a cover on it.’ (AA)
- (3) *min* ga:m-at, ah ra:s=ak
 when PFV.rise-3SG ah head=2SG
wala ti-dax:il-i fo:g=u
 NEG IPFV.2-enter-SG above=3SG
 ‘By the time it has risen [when it has fermented], don’t put your head above it.’ (AA)

3.4.9.9 *had:a*

Another conjunction is *had:a~had:u* ‘then’ or ‘in that case’. This complementizer does not introduce but follows the subordinate clause and introduces the main clause. Interestingly, the form of this conjunction seems to be distinctive for Darfur compared to other (West) Sudanic varieties of Arabic. As to its meaning, it looks as the equivalent of the Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:215) and Chadian Arabic (Roth 1979:199 and Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:112) *hija*.

- (1) *ba.ade:n wakit gum-na na-mf-u hil:a had:u*
 after that when pfv.ING-1PL IPFV.1-go-PL village.SG then
ta-fi:l-i to:b=ak
 IPFV.2-take-SG toob=2SG
 ‘Then when we would go to into the village, then you wear your toob.’ (SA)

- (2) *F: na:s al=ħaraka da al ba-lbus-u*
 people ART=movement DEM.SG REL IPFV.3-wear-PL.3SG
 F: ‘The rebels wear it (the amulet).’

A: *had:a bi-lab:us-u*
 A: then IPFV.3-dress-PL.3SG
 A: ‘Then they put it on.’ (AF)

- (3) *il:a l=mo:t bi-ja l=e fi:, fi be:t#*
 only ART=death IPFV.3-come.sg to=3SG in in house.SG
da:xil al=be:t# had:u ja-tla ja-mf-i
 inside ART=house.SG then IPFV.3-go out.SG *tʃ IPFV.3-go-SG
 ‘Only if a family member has died. [lit. death has happened to the house]
 Then she goes [out].’ (KN)

3.4.9.10 Conditional *ka:n*

The conditional complementizer *ka:n~ka:m* ‘if’ typically introduces a subordinate clause in the perfect tense and is followed by the main clause in the perfect tense (1-3). However, the conjunction can also precede a verb in the imperfect tense, without changing the realis mood of the sentence (4). A clear case of the irrealis mood does not appear in the corpus. This complementizer can occur before the preposition *and* *ʕnd ‘with’ (5); the existential *fi* (6) or directly before the noun

phrase in nominal sentences (7-9). The conjunction *law* appears as a synonym and under the same conditions, but much less than *ka:n-ka:m*.

- (1) *ka:n* *ʃirib-ti* *zaj:ə da,* *wal:a:hi* *ta-nbasit*
 if PFV.drink-2SG like DEM.SG by God IPFV.2-enjoy.SG
 'If you drink like that, by God you enjoy.' (AF)
- (2) *ka:n* *ʃ-o* *il:a* *na-'a:jin* *fi:=um*
 if PFV.come-3PL only IPFV.1-watch.SG in=3PL
 'If they come, I only watch them.' (XO)
- (3) *marā* *ka:n* *wild-it* *jana,* *ni-'saw:-u*
 woman.SG if PFV.give birth-3SG baby IPFV.1-make-PL
sima:ja
 name giving ceremony
 'If a woman gives birth, we organise a name-giving ceremony.' (AJ)
- (4) *ka:m* *ti-du:r-i* *ji-gu:m* *le:=k* *fi sir.a,*
 if PFV.2-want-SG IPFV.3-get up.SG to=2SG quickly *srf
ah, *ti-'ji:b-i* *taw:a:ra*
 ah IPFV.2-bring-SG yeast
 'If you want it to rise quickly, you add yeast.' (AA)
- (5) *abu* *l=bine:* *ka:n* *ind-u,*
 father ART=new-born if with=3SG
ji-ji:b *kabif* *ja-dbah-a*
 IPFV.3-bring.SG ram IPFV.3- slaughter.SG=3SG
 'If the father of the new-born has the means, he gets a sheep and slaughters it.' (KN)
- (6) *ka:n* *fi tahu:r,* *ni'-na:d-i* *a.al=na* *kul:=u*
 if EXS circumcision IPFV.1-give-SG folks=1PL all=3SG
 'If there is a circumcision, we call all our folks.' (AJ)

- (7) *ka:n hil:a ba:i:d, ti-'fid:-u juma:l*
 if village.SG far.SG IPFV.2-saddle-PL camel.PL
 'If the village is far, you saddle camels.' (MY)
- (8) *wa ka:n jana ma fi, kuba:r kul:=u na-zg-i*
 and if baby NEG EXS big.PL all=3SGIPFV.1-give to drink-SG
 'And if there is no child to give to drink to the animals, all of the adults may do that [lit. and if there is no child, all the adults give to drink].' (AJ)
- (9) *ka:m hal:a, ka:n sa:n, wə ka:m ?aj:ə ha:ja*
 if pan.SG if plate.SG and if which thing.SG
 'Whether it is a pan or a plate or anything.' (AA)

3.4.9.11 Asyndeton and *ga:l*

In Old Arabic and some spoken varieties of the language, the conjunction *?an* 'that', is used to introduce subordinate clauses, like in *bafak:ir an* 'I think that' (Manfredi 2010:187). This complementizer is never used in the Arabic of Darfur. Main and subordinate clauses are juxtaposed without this particle and directly follow each other (1-2).

- (1) *ma a:rif hashasa:ja da ma bə-murug*
 NEG PTCP.know.SG stone.SG DEM.SG NEG IPFV.3-come out.SG
 'I don't know if that stone will come out.' (MHa)
- (2) *ga:l-l-e zaj da bas: na-mf-u*
 PFV.say-to=3SG like DEM.SG just IPFV.1-go-PL
 'He told him that we would just go like that.' (XO)

However, *ga:l* historically 'he said', sometimes appears as a subordinating conjunction. Derivations of the verb 'say' appear in many languages (Heine & Kuteva 2002:261-269), in various idiomatic uses in Egyptian Arabic (Woidich 2007) and in narrative Darfur Arabic speech (5.6.3.2 Notes on *ga:l*, *bagu:l* 'say'). However, *ga:l-gale* as the fully grammaticalised and not inflected complementizer 'that', introducing subordinate clauses (3-4), seems to be influenced by African substrates and equally occurs in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:186-188) and in

the Arabic based pidgins or creoles of Juba (Miller 2001) and Uganda (Wellens 2003:204).

- (3) *ma bə-'sad:ag-u ga:l l=moja bi-j-i*
 NEG IPFV.3-believe-PL that ART=water IPFV.3-come-SG
 'They do not believe that the water will come.' (MY)
- (4) *bi-gu:l-o ga:l dub:a:n ʃakɪ*
 IPFV.3-say-PL that fly.PL PTCP.complain.SG
 'They say that the flies complain.' (AA)

Notice that the Chadian and Nigerian conjunction *kadar~hadar~xadar~qadar* 'while', 'that' or 'before' (Roth 1979:206, 212; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:244; Owens 1993a:232-234) does not appear in the corpus.

3.4.9.12 Vocative particle

The vocative particle in Darfur Arabic is the prenominal *ja*, like in the surrounding varieties of Arabic (Owens 1993b:82; Jullien de Pommerol 1993a:1325; Reichmuth 1983:194, 195; Manfredi 2010:125; Bergman 2002:392, 393), as shown in examples (1-3). The particle is used when people are addressed, although not consistently (4). Furthermore, *ja* is used in idioms to evoke something, like in (5). Although Ishaq (2002:217) claims the vocative particle is sometimes found post-nominally due to interference with the local languages, this does not occur in the corpus.

- (1) *ha:j ja fila:n, ʃuxul da bi-na:'d-u ʃənu*
 hey VOC so-and-so thing.SG DEM.SG IPFV.3-call-PL what
 'Hey you, what do we call that thing?' (IA)
- (2) *de:l asa:mi ja ʃa'ma*
 DEM.PL name.PL VOC group *dʒmɪ
 'Hey guys, are those names?' (XO)
- (3) *ga:l de ʃənu ja sa.b-i*
 PFV.say.3SG DEM.SG what VOC friend=1SG *shb
 'He said: "what is that, my friend?"' (MHb)

- (4) *ga:l Marjam Marja nile:n-i we:n*
 PFV.say.3SG Marjam Marjam shoe.PL=1SG where
 'He said: "Marjam Marjam, where are my shoes?"' (MHb)
- (5) *ka:n ind-ina 'fara, 'na-l.ab-u. ja sala:m*
 if with=1PL wedding.SG *frh IPFV.1-dance-PL *lfb VOC peace
 'If we have a wedding, we dance. Good heavens, we dance.' (SA)

3.4.9.13 Discourse particles and interjections

The most frequently heard interjections or discourse connectors are *haj-haj* 'hey' and *tara* 'that is' or 'you see'. The former also occurs as *hoj* [hɔj] and is used to express amazement or to draw attention. The latter, historically meaning 'you see', is grammaticalized to a default discourse particle or interjection in West Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010: 216; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:122) and in Ki-Nubi of Uganda (Wellens 174-175). Both interjections or discourse connectors appear before as well as after clauses and sometimes occur together as *haj tara*. They are both used in Khartoum to imitate or make fun of West Sudanese Arabic, which is indicative of their pervasiveness in the dialect.

- (1) *haj an:a wala na-arf-i le de:la:k*
 hey 1SG NEG IPFV.1-know-SG TR DIST.PL
 'Gosh I don't know those.' (AA)
- (2) *?a:j wal:a:hi. haj wal:a ja rab: ja si:d=i*
 yes by God hey by God voc lord voc master=1SG
 'Yes, by God. By God, oh Lord, oh Master.' (AF)
- (3) *taw:a ti-gu:l haj fila:n ma tam:-at l=arba:i:n*
 now IPFV-2-say.SG hey so-and-so NEGPFV.complete-3SG ART=forty
 'Then you say "Hey, so-and-so has not completed her forty days yet."' (AA)
- (4) *il:a zaman, ka:n saw:-e:'ti subu:, hoj*
 but formerly if PFV.make-2SG feast.SG hey
 'But in the old days, if you would organize a feast: wow'. (SA)

- (5) *ga:l na:r tara na:r tara na:r tara*
 PFV.say.3SG fire that is fire that is fire that is
 'Fire, fire!' (IA)
- (6) *wa ana ada:=ni tara haran*
 and 1SG ears=1SG that is obstinate
 'I don't hear well.' (SA)
- (7) *il:a da:jir ji-fi:f-u Marjam da tara*
 just PTCP.want.SG IPFV.3-see=3SG Marjam DEM.SG that is
 'He only wants to see Marjam.' (MHb)
- (8) *kul:ə fuxul tara ind-u si'na*
 every thing.SG that is with=3SG manufacturing *snf
 'Everything has its (way of) manufacturing, you see.' (AA)

The expression *ko:na* is used to express 'let's go' or 'come on'.

- (9) *ta'gul l=u korna anti:=ni*
 IPFV.2-say.SG to=3SG come on IMP.give.SG=1SG
 'You tell him "come on, give [it] to me.'" (AA)
- (10) *hoi awi:n ha gu:m-u# korna#*
 hey women ha IMP.rise-PL come on
 'Hey women, rise. Come on.' (AA)

According to the pragmatic context, interpretation and translation, the conjunctions *xala:s*, *jal:a* and *ba.ade:n* can also be considered as discourse markers (3.4.9.5 *xala:s*, *jal:a* and *ba.de:n*).

Lastly, the lateral click ||, comparable to the sound described in English as 'tchick' and used to urge a horse to move forward, is used by Darfurians to affirm a statement that somebody else makes. This click is often accompanied by a small nod.

- (11) A: *ta.mil* *fo:g=u* *ba:mja*
 IPFV.2-make.SG *ʔml with=3SG okra
 ‘You prepare it with okra.’
- F: ||
 lateral click
 ‘Yes.’ (AF)

Although Ishaq (2002:260-281), Owens (1993:201-204) and Manfredi (2010:210-213) report many ideophones in West Sudanic Arabic, in my corpus only the modifying put ‘pop’ (Ishaq 2002:264-265) and *nam* ‘sound of enjoying food’ occur in narratives.

- (12) *akal-a* *l=o* *ju:am*
 PFV.eat.3SG to=3PL yummy
 ‘He ate well from it.’ (MHb)
- (13) *masak-u* *marxi marxi marxi pot#*
 PFV.hold-3PL.3SG loose loose loose pop
ga:m-at *fa:t-at*
 PFV.ING-3SG PFV.leave-SG
 ‘They held it loose, looser, and looser until - pop - it dashed off.’ (MHa)

3.4.10 Focus and topic particles

3.4.10.1 *za:t*

The reflexive particle *za:t* ‘self’ is an element stressing its antecedent or as a focus marker. In this case, the particle is more appropriately translated as ‘even’, like in other varieties of Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:220; Bergman 2002:61; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:88; Roth 1973:175; Owens 1993:188). Its obligatory pronominal suffix can agree with the preceding noun that it refers to (1-2). However, 3sg pronominal suffix =u is used most, irrespective of the (historical) gender and number of its referent (3-6). As explained in 3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns and demonstrated here again, a change towards the default 3sg pronominal suffix, seems to be in progress in the Arabic dialect of Darfur.

- (1) *min* *ʔija:l=na* ***zɑ:t=um*** *ani:na* *wilid-na:=.um*
 from children=1PL FOC=3PL 1PL PFV.give birth-1PL=3PL
xar:aj-o *daka:tra* *has:a*
 PFV.turn out-3PL doctor.PL now
 ‘Even some of our own children, the ones we gave birth to, have now become doctors.’ (SA)
- (2) *anta* ***zɑ:t=ak*** *ʔamf-i* *ʔald-i* *ija:l*
 2SG self=2SG IMP.go-SG IMP.give birth to-SG children
ta.a:l *ana* *na-war:-i:-k*
 IMP.come.SG 1SG IPFV.1-tell-SG=2SG
 ‘Go and have children yourself, then I will tell you.’ (MHb)
- (3) *bana:t* ***zɑ:t=u***
 girl.PL self
 ‘The girls themselves.’ (AF)
- (4) *da* *i.na* ***zɑ:t=u*** *na-za'r-u*
 DEM 1PL FOC=3SG IPFV.1-cultivate-PL.3SG
 ‘We ourselves cultivate it.’ (XO)
- (5) *um:=i* ***zɑ:t=u***
 mother=1SG FOC=3SG
 ‘My mother herself.’ (MHa)
- (6) *ana* ***zɑ:t=u*** *xan:aj*
 1SG FOC=3SG singer
 ‘I am a singer myself.’ (XO)

3.4.10.2 *ma*

The unstressed particle *ma* acts as an assertive topic marker. When the speaker uses this particle, he or she assumes that the interlocutor is acquainted with the following statement. Depending on the pragmatic context, the marker can be regarded as counter assertive (Manfredi 2010:221-224). In English, the marker can be translated as ‘for’, ‘after all’ or ‘indeed’, but the German ‘ja’ (assertive) or ‘doch’ (counter assertive) seems a more accurate equivalent. The particle is not to be

confused with the stressed negation particle *ma* (3.4.4 Negation particles), resulting in nearly the opposite meaning of the unstressed but affirmative topic marker *ma*. This contrast is demonstrated in examples (1) and (2).

- (1) **'ma** *tala-t*
 NEG PFV.go out-3SG *tɬ
 'He/she did not go out.' (KN)
- (2) **ma** *'tala-t*
 TOP PFV.go out-3SG *tɬ
 'For he/she went out.'
- (3) *mura:ka* *de* **ma** *hajara:i*
 grindstone.sg *rhk DEM.SG TOP stone.SG
 'For the 'murhaka' is a stone.' (AA)
- (4) **ma** *ta-bd-a* *la:kin*
 TOP IPFV-2-begin-SG but
 'Well then, make a start!' (Ishaq 2002:236)

Notice that *ma* also occurs as the preposition 'with' (3.4.7.7 *ma~ma.a* 'with'). Consequently, the homonym *ma* is either a negation particle, an assertive particle or a preposition denoting 'with'. Its actual meaning is to be inferred from stress and context.

4 Morphology: the noun and the noun phrase

4.1 The noun general

In this chapter, nouns, adjectives and numerals in Darfur Arabic are treated. First, productive patterns of nouns and adjectives are introduced and exemplified by two tables of examples of singular and plural nouns, followed by explanatory comments. The nouns are followed by patterns and the use of the dual and diminutives, adjectives, proper names, and colors and deficiencies. After that, manners of comparison and of expressing possession are explained and illustrated. Lastly, the numerals and their use will be presented.

The Arabic of Darfur displays historical feminine nouns and adjectives. Those words are generally marked by their ending in *-a*. However, they are not considered nor glossed as feminine in this study, since gender distinctions in this language variety do not occur from a syntactic nor from a pragmatic point of view (6.3.2 Gender).

4.2 Roots and patterns

In Arabic, morphology is based on roots and patterns. The basic pattern of the noun consists of a root of three consonants (C) with a certain pattern of affixed vowels (V) and other consonants. For example *laban* ‘milk’ is a noun with the root *lbn*, indicated henceforth as **lbn* and the pattern CaCaC, and *wisa:xa* ‘dirt’ is a noun with the root **wsx* and the pattern CiCa:Ca. Roots consisting of two or four consonants also occur, but much less than the three-consonant root.

The three-consonant root exhibits several possible patterns of nouns. Not only the above mentioned patterns CaCaC or CiCa:Ca occur, but also CiCi:C, CaCCa, maCCaC, et cetera. One of the consonants of the root can be a glide *w* or *j*, which sometimes turns into a (long) vowel when occurring in a noun. For example, *dar* ‘home(land)’, has the pattern Ca:C and root **dwr*. Some nouns are so-called *masdars* in Arabic, i.e. verbal nouns (5.13 Verbal noun), participles (5.11 Participle) or can also appear as adjectives.

The historical Arabic roots of the nouns in Darfur Arabic are heavily affected by Darfurian phonology, mostly because Darfurian speakers of Arabic tend to omit or replace the historical guttural and velarized phonemes by other consonants (2.6 Historical considerations). Furthermore, and like all vocabulary of the dialect, the nouns are affected by other phonological rules such as vowel harmony, epenthesis, metathesis, the *bukara* and *gahawa* syndroms, voicing and devoicing

and vowel raising (2.3 Phonological rules) that sometimes also affect the realisation of the roots. For example, the historical roots of *fadii:a* **fðh* ‘scandal’; *kibəra* **xbr* ‘expertise’ and *ʔixa:sa* **ɣwθ* ‘relief’ cannot be deduced from their synchronic phonemes only.

Darfur Arabic exhibits singular and plural forms of nouns as well as collective, singulative and dual nouns, as it does in the West Sudanic variant of Arabic generally (Owens 1993:81-82; Jullien de Pommerol 1999:58-60; Roth 1979:110-112; Manfredi 2010:75-76). The appearance and use of those forms in Darfur Arabic are explained in the following six sections.

4.3 Singular nouns

In Table 1 frequently productive patterns of singular nouns in Darfur Arabic are presented and exemplified. Some of those nouns can also occur as adjectives (4.9 Adjectives) and several nouns exhibit more than one pattern, like *dabi:b* or *da:bi* **dbb* ‘snake’. In the left column, the consonant-vowel pattern is given. In the right column, the pattern is illustrated by examples from the corpus and elicitation, including its historical root and translation.

Table 1: patterns of singular nouns and adjectives in Darfur Arabic

Ca:C(a)	<i>da:r</i> * <i>dwj</i> ‘home’; <i>ra:s</i> * <i>rʔs</i> ‘head’; <i>ba:b</i> * <i>bwb</i> ‘door’; <i>na:r</i> * <i>nwr</i> ‘fire’; <i>xa:l</i> * <i>xwl</i> ‘maternal uncle’; <i>ha:ja</i> * <i>hwj</i> ‘thing’
CaC:	<i>das:</i> * <i>dss</i> ‘hiding’; <i>ga:f</i> * <i>qʃf</i> ‘sweeping’; <i>nat:</i> * <i>nɬt</i> ‘jumping’; <i>ʃag:</i> * <i>ʃqq</i> ‘burst(ing)’; <i>ʃam:</i> * <i>ʃmm</i> ‘smell(ing)’ <i>dam:</i> * <i>dmm</i> ‘blood’; <i>dag:</i> * <i>dqq</i> ‘hit(ing)’; <i>hab:</i> * <i>hbb</i> ‘grains’; <i>rab:</i> * <i>rbb</i> ‘lord’
Ci:C(a)	<i>bi:r</i> * <i>bʔr</i> ‘well’; <i>ti:n</i> * <i>tjn</i> ‘mud’; <i>ʔi:d</i> * <i>jd</i> ‘hand’ or * <i>ʃjd</i> ‘feast’; <i>ri:f</i> * <i>rjʃ</i> ‘feathers’; <i>ki:s</i> * <i>kjs</i> ‘sack’; <i>ʃi:u</i> * <i>ʃjʔ</i> ‘little’
Ce:C(a)	<i>de:f</i> * <i>dʃf</i> ‘guest’; <i>te:ri</i> * <i>tjr</i> ‘bird’; <i>be:t</i> * <i>bjt</i> ‘house’; <i>ʃe:la</i> * <i>ʃʃl</i> ‘dowry’; <i>ʃe:ja</i> * <i>ʃwj</i> ‘grilled meat’; <i>ʔe:f</i> * <i>ʃjʃ</i> ‘sorghum’; <i>se:f</i> * <i>sjf</i> ‘summer’
Cu:C(a) or Co:C(a)	<i>go:z~go:s</i> * <i>qwz</i> ‘sandy spot’; <i>ʔu:d</i> * <i>ʃwd</i> ‘pole’; <i>to:b</i> * <i>θwb</i> ‘women’s garment’; <i>zo:l</i> * <i>zwl</i> ‘man’; <i>ju:</i> * <i>dʒwʃ</i> ‘hunger’; <i>lo:</i> * <i>lwħ</i> ‘wooden board’; <i>ko:s</i> * <i>kwz</i> ‘water jug’; <i>ko:ra</i> (loanword) ‘metal cup’
CiC(ə)C(a)	<i>di:n</i> * <i>dhn</i> ‘grease’; <i>li:b</i> * <i>lʃb</i> ‘play’ ‘dance’; <i>gi:f</i> * <i>qʃf</i> (dry) grass’; <i>mili.</i> * <i>mlħ</i> ‘salt’; <i>kibəra</i> * <i>xbr</i> ‘experience’; <i>kisri~kisəra</i> * <i>ksr</i> ‘sorghum bread’; <i>birjʃ</i> * <i>brʃ</i> ‘mat’
CaC(ə)C(a) or CuC(ə)C	<i>wakit~wagət</i> * <i>wqt</i> ‘time’; <i>da:n</i> * <i>dʔn</i> ‘sheep’; <i>gara</i> * <i>qrʃ</i> ‘pumpkin’; <i>gada</i> * <i>qdħ</i> ‘cup’; <i>sa:n</i> * <i>ʃħn</i> ‘plate’; <i>xaʃəm</i> * <i>xʃm</i> ‘mouth’ ‘entrance’;

	<i>barid</i> *brd 'cold'; <i>tafit</i> *tft 'metal basin'; <i>hanam~xanam~yanam</i> *ynm 'sheep'; <i>hatab</i> *htb 'firewood'; <i>la.m~laham</i> *lhm 'meat'; <i>xalag</i> *xlq 'clothes'; <i>jabana</i> *džbn 'coffee'; <i>waja</i> *wdžf 'pain'; <i>naka</i> *nkh 'smell'; <i>jamal</i> *džml 'camel'; <i>xalwa</i> *xlw 'Koranic school'; <i>juxul</i> *fyl 'thing'
CaCa	<i>mara</i> *mr? 'woman'; <i>dawa</i> *dwj 'medicine'; <i>sana~sanı~sını</i> *sn 'year'; <i>xala</i> *xlw 'open country'; <i>mala</i> *ml? 'filling'; <i>jana</i> *džnn 'baby'; <i>xara</i> * 'feces'; <i>xada</i> *ydw 'lunch'; <i>wata</i> *wɛ? 'ground' 'prevailing environment'; <i>dara</i> *ðrw 'place where people chat and eat'
Ca:Ca	<i>da:bi</i> *dbb 'snake'; <i>ta:ni</i> *θnj 'second' 'next'; <i>ma:fi</i> *mfy 'going'
CaCi	<i>nabi</i> *nbw 'prophet'
Ca:CaC	<i>ra:jil</i> *rjl 'man' 'husband'; <i>sa:ri</i> *srf 'street'; <i>wa:id</i> *whd 'one' 'same'; <i>ka:mil</i> *kml 'complete'; <i>ra:gid</i> *rqd 'plenty'; <i>ga:id</i> *qfd 'sitting' 'staying'; <i>sa:hın</i> *jhn 'lorry'; <i>da:jir</i> *dwr 'wanting'; <i>wa:si</i> *wsf 'broad'; <i>sa:kit</i> *skt 'pure'; <i>ba:rid</i> *brd 'cold'; <i>sa:jib</i> *jfb 'old man'
CaCi:C	<i>hadi:d</i> *hdd 'iron'; <i>xari:f~kari:f</i> *xrf 'autumn'; <i>dagi:g</i> *dqg 'flour'; <i>faki:~fagi:</i> *fqh 'traditional teacher or healer'; <i>masi:t~masi:k</i> *sdžd 'mosque'; <i>hali:b</i> *hbl 'milk'; <i>dabi:b</i> *dbb 'snake'; <i>gani:s</i> *qns 'hunting'; <i>ari:s</i> *fns 'groom'; <i>nafi:r</i> *nfr 'voluntary working group'; <i>ba:i:d</i> *bld 'far'; <i>kabi:r</i> *kbr 'big'; <i>tari:d</i> 'next born brother/sister'; <i>naji:d</i> *ndž 'smart'
CiCaj:aC	<i>sixaj:ar~sixe:r</i> *syr 'small' 'young'
CaCi:Ca	<i>mari:sa</i> *mrs 'millet beer'; <i>tari:ga</i> *trq 'manner'; <i>gabi:la</i> *qbl 'tribe'; <i>zari:ba</i> *zrb 'enclosure'; <i>tabi:a</i> *tbf 'nature'; <i>fadi:a~fadi:ha</i> *fdh; 'scandal'; <i>dahi:ja</i> *dhj 'slaughter animal'; <i>afti:ri</i> *fif 'evening'; <i>asi:da</i> *fsd 'sorghum porridge'; <i>ami:r</i> *?mr 'prince'
CiCa:C(a)	<i>si'na</i> *snf 'manufacturing'; <i>zi'ra</i> *zrf 'farming'; <i>wila:da</i> *wld 'birth giving'; <i>zija:ra</i> *zjr 'visit'; <i>sima:ja</i> *sm 'naming ceremony'; <i>sija:da</i> *sjd 'generosity'; <i>hiya:b</i> *hdžb 'amulet'; <i>fila:n~fula:n</i> *fln 'somebody'; <i>o:ga:ja</i> *wqj 'pad'; <i>silaz:</i> *slh 'weapon'
CaCa:C(a)	<i>ja'ma</i> *džmf 'group'; <i>kara:ma</i> *krm 'alms giving'; <i>saxa:na</i> *sxn 'heat'; <i>tala:ta</i> *θlθ 'three'; <i>kawa:ja</i> *xwdž 'Western foreigner'; <i>maha:ja</i> *mhww 'elimination'; <i>zawa:da</i> *zwd 'provisions'; <i>na:a:m</i>

	<i>*nɪm</i> 'ostrich'; <i>dawa:xa *ðwq</i> 'sample to taste'
CaCu:C(a) or CuCu:C(a)	<i>fatu:r *fɛr</i> 'breakfast'; <i>haku:ma~huku:ma *hkm</i> 'government'; <i>habu:ba *hbb</i> 'grandmother'; <i>xaru:f~haru:f *xrf</i> 'sheep'; <i>alu:f~alu:b *ɪlf</i> 'fodder'; <i>baxu:r *bɪr</i> 'incense'; <i>sumu:.a *smɪ</i> 'hyena wolf'; <i>subu: *sbɪ</i> 'celebration'; <i>tuhu:r~ta.u:r *thr</i> 'circumcision'; <i>azu:ma *ɪzm</i> 'invitation' 'celebration'
Ca:Cu:C(a)	<i>ma:.u:n *mɪn</i> 'container'; <i>ra:ku:ba *rkb</i> 'shelter'; <i>ka:nu:n *kn</i> 'stove'
CuCa:C(a)	<i>duwa:ni *dnn</i> 'big water jar'; <i>ruwa:ga *rwq</i> 'filter'; <i>ruta:na *rɛn</i> 'language other than Arabic'; <i>uwa:ra *ɪwr</i> 'wound'
CuCa:C	<i>mula:. *mlh</i> 'sauce'; <i>hura:r *hrr</i> 'dung'; <i>guma:f *qmɪf</i> 'fabric'; <i>ruma:d *rmd</i> 'ash'; <i>tura:b *trb</i> 'dirt'; <i>aya:j *ɪdʒdʒ</i> 'dust'; <i>huma:r</i> <i>*hmr</i> 'donkey'; <i>jawa:d~juwa:d *dʒwd</i> 'horse'
CaCaCa	<i>ɟabaka *ɟbk</i> 'net'; <i>matara *mɛr</i> 'rain'; <i>wanasa *ʔns</i> 'chat'; <i>bagara</i> <i>*bqr</i> 'cow'; <i>ɟadara *ɟdʒr</i> 'tree'; <i>haraka *hrk</i> 'rebel movement'; <i>ragaba *rqb</i> 'neck'
CaC:a:C(a) C ₂ = C ₃ person	<i>hag:a:r *hqr</i> 'vile'; <i>xan:aj *ɣnj</i> 'singer'; <i>hak:a:ma *hkm</i> 'lead singer'; <i>fan:an(a) *fnn</i> 'artist'; <i>jaz:a:r(a) *dʒzr</i> 'butcher'; <i>ʔaj:a:fa</i> <i>*ɪɟ</i> 'millet seller or maker'; <i>wan:as *ʔns</i> 'talkative (person)'; <i>maf:a:ta *mɪt</i> 'hair dresser or plaiter'; <i>mar:asa~mar:ajsa *mrs</i> 'millet beer maker or seller'
CaC:a:Ca or CuC:a:Ca C ₂ = C ₃	<i>dar:a:ba *drb</i> 'okra powder'; <i>taj:a:ra *ɛjr</i> 'plane'; <i>daf:a:na *dɪn</i> 'small hole in the ground used for cooking'; <i>taw:a:ra *θwr</i> 'yeast'; <i>saf:a:ja *sfj</i> 'sieve'; <i>hab:a:ba *hbb</i> 'fan'; <i>dar:a:fa *drf</i> 'pumice'; <i>nug:ara *nqr</i> 'large drum'
CaCCa:C(a) 4 consonant root	<i>karka:r *krkr</i> 'perfumed oil'; <i>barta:l *brɛl</i> 'round tray made of palm fibres'; <i>jabra:ka~jubra:ka *jbkr</i> 'vegetable garden'
CaC:u:C(a) or CaC:o:C(a) C ₂ = C ₃	<i>fag:u:s *fqɪs</i> 'big cucumber'; <i>dal:u:ka *dlk</i> 'small drum'; <i>ɟal:u:fa *ɟlf</i> 'lip'; <i>gad:u:m *qdm</i> 'mouth'
CaCCu:C(a) or CaCCo:C(a) 4 consonant root	<i>farmu:t *frmt</i> 'dried meat'; <i>lajmu:n *ljmn</i> 'lemon'; <i>ba:fo:m *fox</i> ; <i>mando:la *mndl</i> 'basket made of palm fibers'; <i>gandu:l *gndl</i> 'sorghum ear'; <i>sangu:r *sngr</i> 'sitting'; <i>jangu:r *jngr</i> 'rag'
CiCi:i:C C ₂ = C ₃	<i>sik:i:n *skn</i> 'knife'
CiCCi:C	<i>kibri:t *kbrt</i> 'matches'; <i>listi:k</i> 'rubber (tire)'; <i>jinsi:r *dʒnzr</i>

4 consonant root	'chain'; <i>miski:n</i> *mskn 'poor (person)'
CuCCa:n(a)	<i>gurʔa:n</i> *qrʔ 'Koran'; <i>sulta:n</i> *sltn 'Sultan'; <i>musura:n</i> *msr 'intestins'
CaCCa:n	<i>malja:n~mala:n</i> *mlʔ 'full'; <i>afta:n</i> *ʔf 'thirsty'; <i>ʃab.a:n</i> *ʃbʃ 'satisfied'; <i>wasxa:n</i> *wsx 'dirty'; <i>ta.ba:n</i> *tʃb 'tired'; <i>ʔaj:a:n</i> *ʔjn 'sick'
Co:Ca:C	<i>ko:ra:k</i> 'crying'; <i>go:la:b</i> *qlb 'pouring'; <i>go:ga:n</i> *glj 'carrying a baby on the back'
Ce:Ca:C	<i>te:ra:b</i> *trb 'sowing'
CaC:i:n	<i>kar:i:n</i> *krr 'roaring'; <i>gal:i:n</i> *qll 'lifting'; <i>bal:i:n</i> *bll 'wetting'
aCCaC	<i>a.amar</i> *hmr 'red'; <i>azarag</i> *zrq 'black'; <i>axdar</i> *xdr 'green'
maCCaC(a)	<i>maxzan</i> *xzn 'store room'; <i>malbasa</i> *lbs 'clothing'; <i>mangad</i> *nqd 'charcoal stove'; <i>madrasa</i> *drs 'school'; <i>mahkama</i> *hkm 'court'; <i>manzar</i> *nθr 'look'; <i>masa:fa</i> *swf 'distance'
maCaCC(a)	<i>mukat:a</i> *hʔt 'station'
maCCu:C(a)	<i>maymu:a</i> *dʒmʃ 'group'; <i>marku:b</i> *rkb 'shoe'; <i>mabsu:t</i> *bst 'happy'; <i>marhu:m</i> *rhm 'deceased'
muCCa:C(a)	<i>mura:ka</i> *rhk 'grindstone'; <i>mura:d</i> *hrθ 'plow'; <i>muswa:t</i> *swt 'stirring utensil'; <i>mutga:ga</i> *dqg 'pounder'
muCaCCaC or muCaCCiC	<i>mu.askar</i> *ʃskr 'camp'; <i>mubarjal</i> *brdʒl 'chaotic'; <i>mulaxbat</i> *lxbt 'mixed'; <i>muhawhaw</i> *hwhw 'gossiping'; <i>musangir</i> *sngir 'sitting'
muCCiC	<i>muxrib</i> *yrb 'sunset'
muCtaCaC(a)	<i>muxtalat</i> *xlt 'mixed'; <i>mu.ta:j~mi.ta:ja</i> *hwj 'needed'
muCa:CiC	<i>muha:jir</i> *hdʒr 'Koranic school pupil'; <i>musa:.id</i> *sʃd 'helper'
muCaC:iC(a) or muCaC:aC(a)	<i>musag:ig</i> *jg 'cut'; <i>muxattat</i> *xʔt 'planned'; <i>mudaw:ar</i> *dwr 'round'; <i>mujaw:is</i> *zwdʒ 'married'; <i>mu.ax:ar</i> *ʔxr 'late'; <i>mudaf:ag</i> *dfq 'spilled'; <i>muhan:an</i> *hnʔ 'decorated with henna'; <i>mu.af:in</i> *ʃfn 'rotten'; <i>munaz:ama</i> *nəm 'organisation'; <i>mu.al:im</i> *ʃlm 'teacher'; <i>misq:il</i> *sdʒl 'registered'; <i>mumas:ik</i> *msk 'holding'
mutaCaCCiC	<i>mutawas:it</i> *wsʔ 'intermediate' 'middle'
muCa:CaCa	<i>muna:saba</i> *nsb 'occasion'
istiCa:C(a)	<i>istira:d</i> *wrd 'import'; <i>istita:.a</i> *tʃwʃ 'ability'
iCtiCa:C	<i>ixtila:f</i> *xlf 'difference'; <i>i.tira:m</i> *hrm 'respect'

From a morphological perspective, specific patterns are used for specific semantic fields, like in other varieties of Arabic. Thus, as shown in Table 1 above, the

pattern CuCa:C regularly stands for a substance or a material, as in *mula:* ‘sauce’. The pattern CaC:a:C(a) or CaCCa:C(a) refers to occupations when referring to a person, like in *hak:a:ma* ‘lead singer’, and to house and cooking utensils when objects are concerned, like *barta:l* ‘tray’. muCCa:C(a) often designate tools or instruments, as in *mura:ka *rhk* ‘grindstone’; and maCCaC a locality, such as *maxzan* ‘storing place’. The patterns CaCi(C), CuCa:C, CaCu:C, CaC:, CiCa:C(a), Co:Ca:C, Ce:Ca:C and CaC:i:n often designate a verbal noun (5.13 Verbal noun), i.e. an action, occurrence or a state of being, such as *te:ra:b* ‘sowing’ and *ga:f* ‘sweeping’.

The pattern Ca:CiC(a) is generally derived from active participles (5.11 Participle) of the basic pattern CVCVC(a), like *ʃa:jib* ‘old man’ or *ra:hil *rhl* ‘nomad’. The pattern maCCu:C(a) derives from passive participles of that basic pattern, like *majmu:a* ‘group’ or *marku:b* ‘shoes’. Nouns starting with *mu-* or *mi-* other than the ones mentioned in the previous paragraph, are participles of derived patterns, such as *muha:jir* ‘Koranic school student’. Participles can be used as substantives or adjectives; also see 4.9.2 Ca:CiC.

Nouns of derived patterns of nouns other than muCaCCaC(a) and muCa:CaC(a), such as istiCa:C(a) and iCtiCa:C, appear rarely. The four examples given in Table 1 are the only nouns with those patterns appearing in the complete corpus. The singular *istita:* or *istita.a *twʃ* ‘ability’ is an interesting exception, not widespread in modern Arabic dialects and, when used, known as a classicism (Behnstedt & Woidich 2014:Band III:487). It nevertheless appears in the corpus of my illiterate informants. See 5.13.2 Verbal nouns of derived patterns for an example.

4.4 Plural nouns

Even more frequently than the singular nouns, several plural nouns exhibit more than one pattern. For example, the plural of *hil:a* ‘village’ is *hilal* (1) but also *hala:l~hula:l~hila:l* (example 2, note that it is uttered by the same speaker as example 1) and *hila:t* are attested. As mentioned above, a ‘snake’ is *dabi:b* or *da:bi* and its plural can either be *daba:jib* or *dawa:bi*. A key informant noted that the plural of *gal:aji* ‘cattle trader’ (Qasim 2002:781; Ishaq 2002:254) is *gal:a:ji:n* but might as well be *gala:li:j* or *gal:a:ja*. Ishaq notes *?aja:ji:l* (2002:144) as well as *?ija:la:t* (2002:150) as plurals of *?ija:l *ʃjl* ‘children’, which is already a plural by itself (4.4.3 Suppletive plurals). The same goes for *niswa:n* ‘women’: the internal plural (4.4.2 Internal plurals) *nasawi:n* of that plural noun also occurs with the same meaning (3).

- (1) *hala:l bita:=na kul:=a gut:i:ja*
 village.PL GEN=1PL all=3SG thatched hut.SG
 'Our villages all consist of thatched huts.' (AJ)
- (2) *fi hilal rija:l bi-do:r-u fara:b*
 in village.PL man.PL IPFV.3-want-PL drinks.SG
 'In the villages, the men want to drink (alcohol).' (AJ)
- (3) *kul:=u nasawi:n ji-lim:-u*
 all=3SG woman.PL IPFV.3-gather-PL
 'All women get together.' (MG)

Plural nouns can be divided morphologically into three categories: external, internal or suppletive plurals.

4.4.1 External plurals

External plurals do not change the pattern of the singular but are modelled by suffixing *-a:t* to the singular form, or *-at* when the singular form ends in *-a*. This manner of forming plurals occurs with non-human (1) and female human nouns (2). The second set of examples below are all female human beings, with the exception of *kawa:j-a:t*, referring to either male or female 'western foreigners'.

- (1) *ha:j-a:t *hwdʒ* 'things' (SG *ha:ja*)
*mula:-a:t *mlh* 'sauces' (SG *mula:*)
*ma.al:-a:t *hill* 'places' (SG *ma.al:*)
*daraj-a:t *drdʒ* 'phases' (SG *daraja*)
*la.ab-a:t *lʃb* 'dances' (SG *li.b*)
jaraka:n-a:t 'jerry cans' (SG *jaraka:na*)
*muwa:sal-a:t *wsl* 'public transport' (no singular)
*kala:m-a:t *klm* 'matters' (SG *kala:m*)
- (2) *hak:am-a:t *hkm* 'women lead singers' (SG *hak:a:ma*)
*wahd-a:t *wʰd* 'some women' (SG *wa:.id* or *wa:.ida*)
*habu:b-a:t *hbb* 'grandmothers' (SG *hab:u:ba*)
daj-j-a:t 'midwives' (SG *daj:ja*)
*um:-a:t *ʔmm* 'mothers' (SG *ʔum:*)

kawaj-a:t ‘western foreigners’ (SG *kawa:ja*)

As to human singulars generally, *-i:n* is suffixed to form the external plural (3).

- (3) *mu.a:rid-i:n* *ʃrɗ ‘political opponents’ ‘rebels’ (SG *mu.a:rid*)¹²
mu.al:im-i:n *ʃlm ‘teachers’ (SG *mu.al:im*)
muha:jir-i:n *hɗʒr ‘Koranic school pupils’ (SG *muha:jir*)
wa:id-i:n *wɦd ‘some people’ (SG *wa:id* or *zo:l*)
xa:d-i:n *xɗm ‘women (slaves)’ (SG *xa:dim* or *xadi:m*)
suda:n-i:n *swd ‘Sudanese’ (SG *suda:ni*, see 4.10 Relation, origin and suffix *-i* or *nisba*)

‘Some’ *wa:id-i:n*, a human plural form of ‘one’ *wa:id*, appears frequently in the corpus (5-6).

- (5) ***wa:idi:n*** *kama:n* *bi-ʹji:b-u* *nug:a:ra*
 some also PFV.3-bring-PL nugara
 ‘Some bring *nugara* drums too.’ (IA)
- (6) ***wa:idi:n*** *ba-ʹko:ruk-u* ***wa:id-im*** *ma* *ba-ʹko:ruk-u*,
 some IPFV.3-cry-PL some NEG IPFV.3-cry-PL
gulu:b-um *gawi*
 heart.PL=3PL strong.SG
 ‘Some cry and some do not; they are brave.’ (MY)

4.4.2 Internal plurals

Internal plurals maintain the root of their singular form, but change its pattern. For example *kuwar* *kwr ‘metal cups’, pattern CuCaC, is the internal plural of its

¹² Rebels are also called Tora Bora, the alledged hideout in Afghanistan of Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden in the beginning of this century:

zo:l *daxal-at* *fi* *xala* *wa* *ʹba-j-i* *ʹba-drub.* *ba-gu:l*
 l=0 **Tora Bora**
 somebody PFV.enter-3SG in desert and IPFV.3-come-SG IPFV-hit.SG IPFV.3-say.SG
 to=3SG Tora Bora
 ‘Somebody who entered the desert and comes to strike. He is called Tora Bora.’ (IA)

singular *ko:ra*, pattern Cu:Ca; or *bara:ti:l* **brtl* 'trays made of palm fibers', with pattern CaCaCi:C of singular *barta:l* with pattern CaCCa:C.

In Table 1 frequently productive patterns of plural nouns and adjectives in Darfur Arabic are presented and exemplified. Like in the previous table of singular nouns, in the left column, the consonant-vowel pattern is given; in the right column, the pattern is illustrated by examples and their historical roots and translations.

Table 1: patterns of plural nouns and adjectives in Darfur Arabic

CuCaC	<i>tura</i> * <i>trf</i> 'small canals'; <i>kuwar</i> * <i>kwr</i> 'metal cups'; <i>ruhal</i> * <i>rhl</i> 'Bedouins'
CuCuC	<i>turug</i> * <i>trq</i> 'ways'; <i>mufuk</i> * <i>mfq</i> 'muck'; <i>zurug</i> * <i>zrq</i> 'blue'; <i>homor</i> * <i>hmr</i> 'red'
CiCaC	<i>fi.ab</i> * <i>fb</i> 'forks'; <i>girab</i> * <i>qrb</i> 'waterskins'; <i>bisas</i> * <i>bss</i> 'cats'; <i>xidam</i> * <i>xdm</i> 'jobs'; <i>hilal</i> * <i>hll</i> 'villages'
CiCa:C	<i>bija:r</i> * <i>bjr</i> 'wells'; <i>bila:d</i> * <i>bld</i> 'place of origin'; <i>liba:s</i> * <i>lbs</i> 'clothes'; <i>kila:b</i> * <i>klb</i> 'dogs'; <i>bixa:r~biha:r~biha:r</i> * <i>bxr</i> 'incenses'; <i>jida:d</i> * <i>ddzdz</i> 'chickens'; <i>ruja:l~rija:l</i> * <i>rdzl</i> 'men' 'husbands'
CuCa:C	<i>ruja:l~rija:l</i> * <i>rdzl</i> 'men' 'husbands'; <i>juma:l</i> * <i>dzml</i> 'camels'; <i>juba:l</i> * <i>dzbl</i> 'mountains'; <i>hila:l~hula:l~hala:l</i> * <i>hll</i> 'villages'; <i>huja:r</i> * <i>hdzr</i> 'stones'; <i>uda:m</i> <i>ŋm</i> 'bones'; <i>kuba:f</i> * <i>kbf</i> 'rams'; <i>huba:l</i> * <i>hbl</i> 'ropes'; <i>buda:</i> * <i>bdŋ</i> 'goods'; <i>guda:h</i> * <i>qdh</i> 'cups'; <i>jura:r</i> * <i>jrr</i> 'jars'; <i>kuba:r</i> * <i>kbr</i> 'big'; <i>suxa:r</i> * <i>syr</i> 'small'; <i>duga:g</i> * <i>dqq</i> 'small'; <i>tuwa:l</i> * <i>twl</i> 'long' 'tall'; <i>nuja:d</i> * <i>nddz</i> 'smart'
aCCa:C	<i>ansa:r</i> * <i>nsr</i> 'helpers'; <i>awla:d</i> * <i>wld</i> 'boys'; <i>asara:r</i> * <i>srr</i> 'secrets'; <i>awka:t</i> * <i>wqt</i> 'times'; <i>al.a:b</i> * <i>lfb</i> 'plays' 'dances'; <i>aj:a:m</i> * <i>jwm</i> 'days'
CuCu:C	<i>duju:f</i> * <i>djf</i> 'guests'; <i>guru:f</i> * <i>qrf</i> 'money'; <i>buju:t</i> * <i>bjt</i> 'homes'; <i>tuju:r</i> * <i>tjr</i> 'birds'; <i>tuju:s</i> * <i>tjs</i> 'billy goats'; <i>gulu:b</i> * <i>qlb</i> 'hearts'; <i>ɮuru:g</i> * <i>ɮrq</i> 'roots'; <i>judu:d</i> * <i>dzdd</i> 'ancestors'; <i>xuju:l</i> * <i>xjl</i> 'horses'; <i>duru:b</i> * <i>drb</i> 'paths'; <i>huru:f</i> * <i>hrf</i> 'letters'; <i>sunu:n</i> * <i>sn</i> 'teeth'; <i>guru:n</i> * <i>qrn</i> 'horns'; <i>zuru:f</i> * <i>ðrf</i> 'circumstances'; <i>duku:r</i> * <i>dkr</i> 'males' 'men'; <i>uju:n</i> * <i>ɣjn</i> 'eyes'; <i>tufu:t</i> * <i>ɣft</i> 'metal basins'; <i>buru:f</i> * <i>brf</i> 'mats'; <i>fuju:x</i> * <i>ɣjx</i> 'old men'; <i>wuru:k</i> * <i>wrk</i> 'hips'; <i>uku:l</i> * <i>ɣkl</i> 'foods'
CiCa:n or CeCa:n	<i>xira:n~hira:n</i> * <i>xwr</i> 'brooks'; <i>jira:n</i> * <i>dzwr</i> 'neighbours'; <i>ɣida:n</i>

	<i>*ʔwd</i> 'poles'; <i>isa:n</i> *ʔsj 'sticks'; <i>biba:n</i> *bwb 'doors'; <i>de:fa:n</i> *dʒf 'guests'; <i>si:ta:n</i> *swt; <i>ge:za:n</i> *qwz 'sandy spots'; <i>ni:ra:n</i> *nwr 'fires'; <i>ki:sa:n</i> *kwz 'water jugs'
CaCCa:n, CuCCa:n	<i>axwa:n</i> *ʔxw 'brothers'; <i>xorfa:n~horfa:n</i> *xrf 'sheep'; <i>widja:n</i> *wdj 'river beds'; <i>ʔazla:n</i> *ʔzl 'gazelles'; <i>xulga:n</i> *xlq 'clothes'; <i>turda:n</i> *trd 'next born brothers or sisters'; <i>dub:a:n</i> *θbb 'flies'
CaCi:C	<i>hami:r</i> *hmr 'donkeys'
Cawa:CaC	<i>ʔawa:ri</i> *ʔrʔ 'streets'
CaCa:jiC CaCa:wi (C ₃ = w) CaCa:ja (C ₃ = j) CaCa:Ca (C ₂ = C ₃) CaCa:Ca (C ₂ = j)	<i>sara:jir</i> *srr 'beds'; <i>ʔa:jin</i> *ʔdʒn 'kinds of doughs'; <i>daba:jib</i> *dbb 'snakes'; <i>naʔa:jir</i> *nfr 'groups of working people'; <i>ʔa:is</i> *ʔdʒz 'old people'; <i>dawa:jin</i> *dwn 'big earthenware water jars'; <i>asa:jid</i> *ʔsd 'kinds of sorghum porridges'; <i>zara:jib</i> *zrb 'enclosures'; <i>kala:jil</i> *kll 'stone sauce pots' <i>xala:wi</i> 'Koranic schools'; <i>daha:ja</i> *dʔh 'slaughter animals'; <i>gata:ti</i> 'round thatched huts'; <i>daja:ʔi</i> *dʒʔf 'armies'
CaCa:Ca:C	<i>ʔawa:wi:d</i> *dʒwd 'horses'; <i>kawa:ni:n</i> *knn 'stoves'; <i>ʔala:li:f</i> *ʔlf 'lips'; <i>naga:gi:r</i> *nqr 'large drums'; <i>ʔana:di:l</i> *qndl 'sorghum ears'; <i>ʔala:li:b</i> *dʒlb 'jellabias'; <i>dawa:bi</i> *dbb 'snakes'; <i>saka:ki:n</i> *skn 'knives'; <i>ʔanazi:r</i> *dʒnʔr 'chains'; <i>kiba:ri:t</i> *kbrt 'matches'; <i>bara:ti:l</i> *brtl 'fibre trays'; <i>masa:ki:n</i> *mskn 'pour people'; <i>ʔana:ʔi:n</i> ; *ʔndʒn 'cups'; <i>ʔawa:ti:n</i> *ʔʔn 'devils'; <i>ʔazazi:r</i> *dʒʔr 'butchers'; <i>saʔa:ri:k</i> *sfrk 'hunting cudgels'; <i>ʔana:gi:r</i> *dʒʔr 'rags'; <i>ʔaxa:li:t</i> *ʔyl 'things'
CaC(a)CaCe:C or CaC(a)CaCi:C	<i>ʔanagari:b</i> *ʔnqrb 'rope beds'; <i>maʔla.e:b</i> *mʔlʔb 'suspended structures containing food'
CaCCa:Ca persons	<i>baʔa:ra</i> *bqr 'cow keepers'; <i>xaj:a:la</i> *xjl 'horse men'; <i>ʔar:aba</i> *yrb 'people from the west'; <i>ʔal:a:ta</i> *ʔlt 'West Africans'; <i>ab:ala</i> *ʔbl 'camel keepers'; <i>ʔal:a:ga</i> *ʔlg 'idiots'; <i>Zaʔha:wa</i> 'Zaghawa'; <i>ʔaz:ara</i> *dʒʔr 'butchers'

Several rules in the patterns of internal or broken plurals can be established in relation to its singular form and/or its roots or its meaning. The rules below are not consistent but offer some generalizations.

- Singular patterns CVCCa can have **CVCaC** as a plural form, e.g. *ʃi.bi* SG, *ʃi.ab* PL ‘forks’ and *bis:a* SG, *bisas* PL ‘cats’;
- singular patterns CVC(ə)C often become **aCCa:C** in their plural form, e.g. *walad* SG, *awla:d* PL ‘boys’ and *wakit* SG, *awka:t* PL ‘times’;
- singular patterns CaCaC can have **CuCa:C** as a plural, like *jabal* SG, *juba:l* PL ‘mountains’ and *hajar* SG, *haja:r* PL ‘stones’;
- singular patterns with front vowels like CiCəC, CaCiC or Ce:C can have **CuCu:C** as a plural, such as *de:f* SG, *duju:f* PL ‘guests’; *taʃit* SG, *tufu:t* PL ‘metal basins’ and *birif* SG, *buru:f* PL ‘mats’;
- short singular patterns with w or j as the middle consonant in its root may get **CiCam** or **CeCam** as a plural, for example *xo:r* SG, *xira:n~hira:n* PL ‘brooks’; *go:s* SG, *ge:za:n* PL ‘sandy spots’; and *de:f* SG, *de:fa:n* PL ‘guests’;
- singular pattern CVCV:C(a) obtains the plural **CaCa:jiC**, e.g. *asi:da* SG, *asa:jid* PL ‘kinds of sorghum porridge’; *ayu:s* SG, *aya:is* PL ‘old people’; *duwa:ni* SG, *dawa:jin* PL ‘big earthenware water jars’; *daba:nga* SG, *daba:nig* (but also *dabanga:t* and *daba:ngi*) PL ‘big jars for storing food’; and *habi:b* SG, *haba:jib* PL ‘loved ones’ ‘buddies’;
- singular patterns (Ca)CaCCa, CVCCi:ja and CVCCa:j obtain the plural **CaCa:Ci**, like *xalwa* SG, *xala:wi* PL ‘Koranic schools’; *gut:i:ja* SG, *gata:ti* PL ‘thatched huts’; *barwa:j* SG, *bara:wi* PL (4.7 Suffix -a:j) and *dabanga* SG, *daba:ngi* (but also *dabanga:t* and *daba:nig*) PL ‘big jars for storing food’;
- singular pattern CaCCV:C(a) obtains the plural **CaCa:Ci:C**, such as *nug:a:ra* SG, *naga:gi:r* PL ‘large drums’; *gandu:l* SG, *gana:di:l* PL ‘sorghum ears’; *ʃajta:n* SG, *ʃawa:ti:n* PL ‘devils’; *kanu:n* SG, *kawa:ni:n* PL ‘stoves’; and *finja:n* SG, *fana:ji:n* PL ‘cups’;
- singular patterns with a five consonant noun root, get the pattern **CaCaCaCi:C** or **CaCaCaCe:C** in the plural, for example *ʔangare:b* SG, *ʔanagari:b* PL ‘rope beds’; *maʃala.a:ba~muʃula.a:ba* SG *maʃala.e:b* PL ‘dangling food containers’.

The plural form CuCuC:a is a special case. It is attested in elicitation for the present research, by Roth (1979:128) and Manfredi (2010:84), but not by Ishaq nor in the corpus, which is why it does not figure in Table 2. One of my key informants noted that *kati:r* means ‘many’ or ‘much’, but *kutur:a* means ‘very many’. Likewise, *ruja:l* are ‘men’ and *rujul:a* are ‘many men’; *agla:m* are ‘pens’ but *gulum:a* are ‘a lot of pens’.

The plural *bana:t* ‘girls’ or ‘daughters’ (SG *bina:ja~bine:j*), is one of the most frequently occurring nouns in the corpus and also widespread in other varieties of Arabic.

4.4.3 Suppletive plurals

Suppletive plurals are plurals that exhibit another root than its corresponding singular, like *a:wi:n* *ʕwn ‘women’ of the singular *mara* *mrʔ. The following suppletive plurals are found in the corpus. There are not many suppletive plurals, but the ones that occur appear frequently and all concern human beings.

- (1) *na:s* *ʕns ‘people’, with as possible singulars *zo:l* *zwl / *ra:jil* *rdʒl / *fila:n~fula:n* *ʃln (4.11 Proper names);
ija:l *ʕwl ‘children’, singular *walad* *wld or *bina:j* *bn when specifically a girl is ment;
niswa:n / *nasa:wi:n* *nsw / *awi:n* *ʕwn ‘women’, with singular *mara* *mrʔ;
sibja:n~subja:n *sbw ‘boys’, singular *walad* *wld;
faxara *ʃqr ‘wise men’, singular *faki:~fagi:* *ʃqh;
um:a:t *ʔmm ‘mothers’, singular *ija* (loanword from Fur).

4.5 Collectives and singulatives

The grammatically singular form of some nouns indicates a collective noun from a semantic perspective. Arabic distinguishes non-human and human collectives.

4.5.1 Non-human collectives

Collectives such as *bagar* *bqr ‘cows’ are non-human, unmarked nouns that are semantically plurals but singulars from a morphological point of view. Their singulative form expresses one member of the collective, and is marked by suffixing *-a* or *-a:j* (4.7 Suffix *-a:j*). In the case of the collective *bagar*, the singulative is *bagar-a* ‘a cow’. Some of those collective nouns display a second, different plural form, used when a specified quantity is intended. In West Sudanic Arabic, this plural of paucity, often combined with a cardinal number, is in this case *bagar-a:t* ‘a few cows’ (Owens 1993:82; Manfredi 2010:75). Hence nouns that can bear the idea of an non-human collective can display three forms: a collective, a singulative form to express the noun of unity and a plural of paucity to indicate a distinct quantity.

The Darfurian key informants claimed that these morphological forms also exist in Darfur. According to them, for example, the collective noun for ‘camels’ is *jamal* **dʒml* its singulative is *jamal-a:j* and its plural of paucity *juma:l*. However, in the corpus only two forms of the noun for ‘camel’ occur: *jamal* as the singulative (1-3) as well as a collective plural (4) and sometimes *juma:l* as an alternative collective plural (5). There are no examples of *juma:l* as a paucal plural and no examples of the singulative *jamal-a:j* from the corpus.

- (1) *jamal has:a biq-a wa:.id bi ʔafara miljo:n, jamal*
 camel.SG.now PFV.become-3SG one for ten million camel.SG
wa:.id ʔafara miljo:n
 one ten million
 ‘A camel now costs ten million: one camel for ten milion.’ (AJ)
- (2) *abi:d hag:=um bas: u bit wa:.id wə jamal wa:.ida*
 slave.PL GEN=3PL but and girl.SG one and camel.SG one
bas: fadal l=o:m
 only PFV.leave.SG to=3PL
 ‘Their slaves, one daughter and one camel, were everything that was left to them.’ (MHa)
- (3) *ni-ʔid:-u bi jamal bi juma:l na-ji:ʔb-u*
 IPFV.1-saddle-PL.by camel.SG/PL by camel.PL IPFV.1-bring-PL.3SG
fi be:t
 in house.SG
 ‘We saddle camels and take it home’. (AJ)
- (4) *and=ana xanam, wə bagar wə da:n*
 with=1PL small cattle.PL and cows.PL and sheep.PL
wə jamal wə hamir
 and camel.PL and donkey.PL
 ‘We have small cattle, cows, sheep, camels and donkeys.’ (SA)
- (5) *and=u jamal bi mura.-a:t*
 with=3SG camel.PL by herd-PL **rwh*
 ‘He has herds of camels.’ (MHa)

For ‘cows’, the plural *bagar* occurs not only as the collective plural (4, 8), but also as the plural of paucity (6), and *bagar-a* (7) occurs as a singulative in the corpus. No singulative such as *bagar-a:j* or plural of paucity like *bagar-a:t* occurs in the corpus, nor do they exist according to my key informants.

- (6) *ja-tal:-u* ***bagar***, *saba* *tamanja*
 IPFV.3-take out-PL *tɪʃ cow.PL seven eight
 ‘They take out seven or eight cows.’ (XO)

- (7) ***bagara*** *ga:l* *hmm*
 cow.SG PFV.say.3SG moo
 ‘The cow said: “moo”. (MHa)

- (8) ***bagar*** *ind=ak*
 cow.PL with=2SG
 ‘Do you have cows?’ (AA)

For ‘small cattle’ (goats and sheep), only the collective plural *xanam~hanam~kanam* *ɣnm (4, 9), and *xanam-a:j* as a singulative (10) occur in the corpus. Neither the corpus nor my key informants revealed other forms of this noun than these two.

- (9) *ba-sar-u* ***xanam***
 IPFV.3-herd-PL *srħ small cattle.PL
 ‘They herd small cattle.’ (AF)

- (10) ***xanam-a:j*** *de* *ka:n* *masak (...)* *ind=-ina*
 goat-SG DEM.SG if PFV.catch.3SG with=1PL
irig *na-dug-‘u*
 root.SG *ʃrɔ IPFV.1-pound-PL.3SG
 ‘If a goat/sheep gets sick, we have roots that we pound [to cure the cattle].’ (IA)

The examples of *jamal*, *bagar* and *xanam* illustrating the use of collective nouns are given here because they appear frequently in the corpus, so that relatively many samples could be taken and compared. It seems that collective and singulative

nouns appear next to ‘regular’ plurals and singulars, but Darfur Arabic does not exhibit a plural of paucity; that is, the historical plural of paucity might occur as a **form** but is semantically used as any kind of plural, sometimes along with other forms of plurals, like in the above mentioned case of *juma:l*.

4.5.2 Human collectives

Collective nouns referring to human beings display the pattern CaC:a:Ca, and CaC:a:C or CaC:a:Ca as their singulative. These human collectives serve to designate a group of people with a certain (alleged) ethnicity or occupation. Well-known examples in Darfur are *ab:a:la *ʔbl* ‘camel herders’ and *bag:a:ra *bqr* ‘cow herders’. Generally, the singulatives of these human collectives refer to the occupation when the -a ending of the collective is omitted, and when this -a is replaced by -i (4.10 Relation, origin and suffix -i or *nisba*), it refers to the ethnical background.

Following this rule, in the case of *jaz:a:ra *dʒz* COLL ‘butchers’, a single butcher is *jaz:a:r*. ‘Horsemen’ *jaw:a:da *dʒwd* COLL or *xaj:a:la *xyl* COLL corresponds to *jaw:a:d* as a singulative (*xaj:a:l* is not used).

In Darfur, the occupations of *ab:a:la* COLL ‘camel herders’ and *bag:a:ra* COLL ‘cow herders’ are associated with ethnical background rather than with the profession. Therefore, the singulatives *ab:a:l* ‘camel herder’ and *bag:a:r* ‘cow herder’ are not used much. However, an *ab:a:li* refers to a Bedouin Arab from north Darfur and a *bag:a:ri* to a Bedouin Arab from south Darfur. Other examples are *xar:a:bi *yrb* SG, *xar:a:ba* COLL ‘western (wind direction) people’; *fal:a:ti* sg, *fal:a:ta* COLL ‘West Africans’ and *jal:a:bi *dʒlb* SG, *jal:a:ba* COLL ‘northern Sudanese Arabs’.

However, this rule of collective patterns for humans with their singulatives according to occupation and ethnicity is far from consistent. For instance, the singulative of the above mentioned *jaz:a:ra* PL ‘butchers’ is not only *jaz:a:r* but also *jaz:a:ri*. Furthermore, *fal:a:ga* PL has *fali:g* ‘stupid’ (Qasim 2002:538) as a singulative; *mar:a:sa* ‘marisa¹³ maker’ and *ʔaw:a:sa* ‘kisra maker’ (both women) can be used as a SG or PL; and *hak:a:ma* ‘woman lead singer’ is a singulative and its plural is *hak:ama:t*.

4.6 Diminutives

Diminutives are either formed by the pattern CiCe:C(a), by adding the suffix -a:j (4.7.2 Meaning and use of -a:j nouns) or both. Although Manfredi (2010:88,89),

¹³ marisa is (home made) sorghum beer

Ishaq (2002:55,56, 190-202), Jullien de Pommerol (1999:45, 46) and Owens (1993:81) report on the richness of diminutives by means of the CiCe:C(a) pattern and derivations of it in West Sudanic Arabic, in Abéché (Roth 1979:132) and the Arabic spoken by my Darfurian informants, the pattern does not appear much.

The only diminutives with the CiCe:C(a) pattern found in the corpus are *ije:l* ‘calf’, *wile:d* ‘boy’ (1), *suwe:br* **swb* ‘food container’ and *jire:w* ‘puppy’ (2). The only two diminutives of adjectives that figure in the corpus are *sixaj:ar*~*sixe:r* ‘small’ (standard in Darfur Arabic; *saxi:r* is not used) (1) and *xibe:f* ‘grey’ (4.12 Colors and deficiencies). Like the nouns ending in *-aj*, the CiCe:C(a) nouns receive *-(a)t-* before a suffix (2). The pattern CaC:uC(a) (Ishaq 2002:193) does not figure in the corpus as a diminutive.

- (1) *ʔa:j* ***wile:d*** ***sixaj:ar*** *kida* (...) *wa:d:-o:=ni*
 yes small boy.SG small.SG like that PFV.send-PL=1SG
 xalwa
 Koranic school.SG
 ‘Yes, as a small boy they sent me to the Koranic school.’ (AJ)
- (2) '*akal-o* '*firb-o* *id:en=um* *xas:a'l-o* **ysl*
 PFV.eat=PL PFV.drink-PL hands=3PL PFV.wash-PL.3SG
 jire:wa=tum *ad':-o*
 puppy=3PL PFV.give-PL.3SG.3SG
 ‘They ate and drank, washed their hands and gave [some food] to their puppy.’ (MHa)

Other diminutive nouns elicited with the CiCe:C(a) pattern are

- (3) *ije:l* ‘calf’
 sixe:l ‘small goat’
 dihe:fi ‘small donkey’
 file:wa ‘foal’
 gire:fa:t PL ‘pennies’
 axa:j-axe:j ‘little brother’ (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns)

Ishaq (2002) attests singulatives with the CiCe:C(a) pattern such as

- (4) *tuwe:ri* ‘small bird’ (Ishaq 2002:55)
ħile:li ‘small village’ (ibid)
ʃime:li ‘small carpet’ (ibid)
ħime:li ‘lamb’ (Ishaq 2002:56)
hiye:li:ja ‘small desert fruit tree’ (Ishaq 2002:191)

4.7 Suffix *-aj*

Nouns ending in *-aj(a)*, like in *ri:f-aj* ‘feather’, are very productive in Darfur Arabic. The suffix can either function as a singulative device or as a diminutive marker. When used with non-countable nouns, it expresses a small quantity, such as in *atrun-aj* ‘little salt’ or *guru:f-aj* ‘coin’ or ‘pennies’.

4.7.1 (Morpho)phonology of *-aj* nouns

As to the phonological occurrence of the suffix *-aj*, the diphthong in this morpheme is regularly realised as the monophthong *-e:* and the lengthened vowel *a:* is not always realized as long but rather as half long (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants). The suffix might be realised as *-oj(a)* after bilabials.

The historical feminine variant *-aja* (Roth 1979:117; Manfredi 2010:91-92; Owens 1993:81-82) appears only once in the Darfurian corpus as *xan:-aja* ‘woman singer’. However, in elicitation, the added *-a* in these nouns is obviously perceived, as well as mentioned by Ishaq (2002:125, 192-202). Moreover, when another suffix is added to a noun ending in *-aj*, a *-t-* appears before that additional suffix, like in other historical feminine nouns ending in *-a* (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns). Examples of such nouns followed by a possessive suffix are *bine:t=i* ‘my daughter’ (Attachment 2: song *bine:ti hasa:bak*); *isba:j-t-ak* ‘your finger’ and *absalomboj-t-i* ‘my small mouse’.

In line with this rule, I attested *ʃa:j-it-kum* ‘your PL tea’ (1). In the noun *ʃa:j* ‘tea’, the ending *-aj* of the word is part of the word itself and not a suffix. The supplemental *-t-* may have been added here by analogy with words ending in the diminutive or singulative *-aj* with a pronominal suffix.

- (1) *hma:k bit-a:kul-u wa ʃajit-kum ti-ʃarb-u*
 there IPFV.2-eat-PL and tea.SG-2PL IPFV.2-drink-PL
jal:a ti-gu:m-u
 then IPFV.2-get up-PL
 ‘There you eat and drink your tea and then you make a move.’ (MG)

Plurals of nouns ending in *-aj* can either be internal in nature, like *gad:aj* ‘hole’ SG, *gudu:d* PL and *ʃuxula:j* SG ‘thing’, *ʃaxalit* PL; or its collective form can be used, as in *bit:exaj* SG ‘melon’, *bit:ex* COLL. Interestingly, some plurals of *-aj* nouns, especially loanwords, turn into the pattern CaCa:Ca, like singular CaCCa nouns (4.4.2 Internal plurals). For example, there is *war:aj* SG (Fur *war':e*) ‘door’, with its plural *war:a:ri* PL; *rombaj-ramboj* SG, ‘bucket’ *rawa:mbi* PL (also see Ishaq 2002:196); *abala:j* SG ‘monkey’, *aba:li* PL; and *barwaj* SG, *bara:wi* PL ‘small piece of soap’.

4.7.2 Meaning and use of *-aj* nouns

The general rule for collective nouns that obtain an *-aj* suffix, is the following: when the singulative form with an *-a* suffix does not occur, the *-aj* suffix expresses the singulative meaning of the noun. For example *xanam* ‘goats’; *xanam-aj* ‘goat’ (*xanam-a* does not occur).

When a collective plural noun receives an *-a* suffix to express the singulative, the suffix *-aj* has the meaning of the diminutive. This is the case with, for example, *ʃadar* ‘trees’; *ʃadar-a* ‘tree’; and *ʃadar-aj* ‘small tree’. However, this is a very general rule with numerous exceptions. When asked about a certain *-aj* word in elicitation, some Darfurians claimed it was a singulative, some said it was a diminutive, others said it could be both. Apparently, whether the *-aj* suffix contains the diminutive or singulative meaning, is to be disambiguated from the (pragmatic) context, like in Abéché (Roth 1979:115-117) and Kordofan Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:90). Below (1) some more examples from nouns with suffixed *-aj* from the corpus and elicitation are given.

- (1) *te:r-aj *tjɾ* ‘(small) bird’
*hajar-aj *ħdʒɾ* ‘(small) stone’
*ʒabal-aj *dʒbl* ‘(small) mountain’
*la.m-aj *lħm* ‘bit/piece of meat’
*su:f-aj *swf* ‘a hair’
*har-aj *ħrr* ‘the sun’

bite:x-a:j *bɛx 'a melon'
banado:r-a:j 'tomato'
farax-a:j *fɪx 'piece of paper'
barw-a:j *brw 'small piece of soap'
hirb-o:j 'chameleon'
arnab-a:j *ʕrnb 'small rabbit'
kidik-a:j 'rat'
dol:-a:j *ðɪl 'shady spot'
gad:-a:j *qdd 'hole'
dub:a:n-a:j *ðbb 'fly'
jime:z-a:j '(small) gemeiza tree'
adum-a:j *ʕðm 'bone'
zalat-a:ja *zɪt 'rock'
sim-a:ja *sm 'name giving'
kub:-a:ja *kbb 'cup'
salak-a:ja 'spear'
suksuk-a:ja 'bead'
dan-a:ja *dɪn '(small) sheep'

Jullien de Pommerol reports that the *-a:j* suffix is merely used for non-human singulative nouns in Chad (1999b:59), but in Darfur the marker is also used with humans. The frequently occurring *bina:j-bine:j* 'daughter' and *axa:ja* 'sister' are examples of the application of *-a:j* with humans, and it also occurs with names, like in *Miram-a:j-Mirjam-a:j* 'little Miryam'. Ishaq reports other names with *-a:j* suffix, like *Moham:ad-a:j* 'little Mohammed' (2002:125); *A:dam-a:j* 'little Adam' and *Zainab-a:j* 'little Zainab' (2002:192).

Ishaq also points out the frequent use of the suffix and provides many other examples, like *sabu:n-a:ja* 'small piece of soap' (2002:125); *zo:l-a:j* 'small man', *bagar-a:j* as well as *bagar-a:ja* 'small cow' and *be:t-a:j* 'small house' (2002:192). He claims diminutives of diminutives occur, i.e. pattern CiCe:C (4.6 Diminutives) combined with the *-a:j* suffix, such as *wile:d-a:j* 'small boy'; *sixe:l-a:j* 'small goat'; *ʕije:l-a:j* 'calf'; *siki:kir-a:j* 'litte sugar' and *diki:ki:n-a:j* 'small shop' (2002:192). Lastly, Ishaq claims the suffix is not only used in diminutives but also to express verbal nouns (5.13 Verbal noun), as in *xasa:r-a:j* 'losing'; *bakij-a:j* 'crying' and *akil-a:j* 'eating' (2002:126-127). Verbal nouns with *-a:j* suffix, however, do not appear in the corpus.

Despite Roth's characterisation of the suffix as indicating descent, like *born-a:j* 'from the Borno tribe' (1979:116), the suffix does not appear in that sense in the Darfurian corpus.

An example from the corpus (2) and a well-known saying (3) illustrate the frequent use of the *-a:j* suffix in multiple senses.

- (2) *mura:ka* *de* *ma* *hajar-a:j#* *bas:* *ind=u*
 grindstone.SG **rhk* DEM.SG top stone-SG only with=3SG
ʔa'ʔa# (...) *na:j-a:i-tu* *da:k*, *darduma* *kida*
 baby.SG (...) baby-SG=3SG DIST.SG round like that
 'For the grindstone 'murhaka' is a stone. It has a baby stone. That small stone is round like that.' (AA)

- (3) *ʃadar-a:j* *ka:n* *ho:zaz-at*, *ja* *ʃabal-a:j* *ja* *habu:b-a:j*
 tree-SG if pfv.SG either monkey-SG either blow of wind-SG
 'When a (small) tree shakes, it is because of a monkey or a gust of wind [proverb].'

4.8 Dual nouns and suffix *-e:n*

Like other spoken varieties of Arabic, the Arabic of Darfur Arabic exhibits a dualis with nouns (Ishaq 2002:138-142; Manfredi 2010:77; Owens 1993:59; Bergman 2002:20). The dual is marked by the suffix *-e:n* (1) and by *-te:n* when following a historical feminine noun (2).

- (1) *agarab* *da* *bardu* *has:a* *fi* *balad* *de* *no.-e:n*
 scorpion.SG dem.SG also now in place DEM.SG kind-DUAL
 'There are two kind of scorpions where we live.' (IA)
- (2) *ka:n* *ja:b* *walad*, *ind=ana* *tala:taʃe:la (...)#* *ka:n* *ja:b*
 if PFV.get.3SG boy.SG with=1PL three gift.SG if PFV.get.3SG
bit:, *itne:n#* *ʃe:l-te:n*
 girl.SG two gift-DUAL
 'If a boy is born, we bring three gifts. If it is a girl, two. Two gifts.' (KN)

Some nouns that have the dual morpheme *-e:n* suffixed, semantically denote a plural. This phenomenon, called pseudo-dual (Blanc 1970), can be divided into

three categories with respect to the West Sudanic area. The first and most widespread type of pseudo-dual concerns paired body parts. This kind of pseudo-dualis is also present in other Arabic dialects. Example (3) demonstrates the use of this kind of pseudo-dualis in the Arabic of Darfur.

- (3) *ind=u arba kur-em*
 with=SG four leg-DUAL
 'It has four legs.' (MHa)

In this example it is clear that reference is not made to four pairs of legs but simply to four legs, hence the term 'pseudo-dualis'. Possessive suffixes can be added to this kind of noun marked for dualis without deleting the final *-n* of the suffix *-e:n*. This feature contrasts with other Arabic dialects in which *-n* is then deleted (Fischer & Jastrow 1980:89), but corresponds with the Arabic spoken in Abéché (Roth 1979:137). Although it is debatable whether the dual or plural is intended in examples (4) and (5), they demonstrate the maintenance of *-n* in dual suffix *-e:n* when combined with a bound pronoun.

- (4) *'ba-mf-u bar:a ba'dug:-u id-e:n=u 'ba-l.ab-u*
 IPFV.3-go-PL outside IPFV.3-hit-PL hand-DUAL=3SG IPFV.3-dance-PL *lʃb
 'They go outside, clap their hands and dance.' (IA)

- (5) *ga:l-l-a Marjam Marjam nil-e:n=i we:n*
 PFV.say.3SG-to=3SG Miryam Miryam shoe-DUAL=1SG where
 'She said to her: "Miryam Miryam, where are my shoes?"' (MHa)

In the second category of the pseudo-dualis, the *-e:n* suffix is used as a plural suffix for all kinds of body parts, including the parts that do not appear in pairs. This kind of pseudo-dualis, productive in Abéché (Roth 1979:123) and Darfur Arabic, is exemplified in (6-8).

- (6) *bana:t kul:=u bi-'fi:l-u bə rus-e:n=um*
 girl.PL all=3sg IPFV.3-take-PL.3SG by head-PL=3PL
 'All the girls carry [it] on their heads.' (MY)

- (7) *ja-msah-'o* *fi ʃa.r-e:n=hum* *ja-msoh-o* *julud=hum*
 IPFV.3-anoint-PL.3SG in hair-PL=3PL IPFV.3-anoint-PL skin.PL=3PL
da *kul:=u*
 DEM.SG all=3sg
 'They rub it in their hair as well as on their skin.' (KN)
- (8) *and-um* *fikra* *kati:r* *fi rus-e:n=um*
 with=3PL idea.SGmany in head-PL=3PL
 'They have many ideas in their heads.' [i.e. 'They know a lot']. (XO)
- (9) *masar-e:n* *msr *da:k* *bi-saw:-u* *kam:uni:ja*
 intestin-PL DIST.SG IPFV.3-make-PL.3SG kamunija
 'They make kamunija [tripe sauce] of the intestins.' (AA)

Other words denoting plural body parts for which the morphological dualis suffix is used in Darfur Arabic are *ragab-e:n* 'necks' and *wijih-e:n* 'faces'.

In the third category of the pseudo-dualis, the *-e:n* suffix is used as a plural marker with nouns other than those denoting body parts, such as *rijil-e:n* 'men' and *xawa:l-e:n* 'maternal uncles'. This last category of pseudo-dualis appears in Chad according to Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:57-58). It does not occur as such in the Darfur Arabic corpus.

4.9 Adjectives

Adjectives qualify nouns and in the Arabic spoken in Darfur and generally (but not always) agree in number with that noun (6.3.2 Number). As attributives, they directly follow the noun they qualify, like in *moja ba:rid* 'cold water' (example 1 in 4.9.2 Ca:CaC). As predicates, they also follow the noun to which they refer, but other phrases can possibly figure between the noun and the predicative adjective, as for example in *na:s annaha:r sajmi:n* 'people at daytime are fasting' (example 12 in 4.9.2 Ca:CaC). Below the most productive patterns of adjectives are given and exemplified.

4.9.1 CaCi:C

The most common adjectives have the pattern CaCi:C and generally express inherent or permanent qualities: *aji:b* *ʕdʒb 'amazing'; *ba:i:d* *bʕd 'far'; *kati:r* *kθr

‘much’ ‘many’; *kabi:r* ‘big’; *gari:b* ‘close’; *tagi:l* *θql ‘heavy’; *hadi:d* *hdd ‘iron’; *basi:t* *bst ‘little’ ‘few’; *nadi:v~nadi:p~nati:f* *nəf ‘clean’; *sari:* *srɪ ‘fast’; *tawi:l* *tɔl ‘tall’ ‘long’; *jadi:d* ‘new’; *xafi:f* *xɪf ‘light’; *gasi:r* *qsr ‘short’; *naji:d* *ndɔz ‘smart’ ‘grown up’; *jami:l* *dʒml ‘beautiful’; *raxi:s* *rxs ‘cheap’; *gadi:m* ‘old’; *lazi:z* ‘tasteful’; *taxi:n* *θxn ‘thick’; *sa:i* *shh ‘correct’; *da:i:f* *dɪf ‘weak’ ‘lean’.

- (1) *wa ka:n big-a wa: id zo:l naji:d, jal:a fi*
and if PFV.become-3SG one man.SG grown-up.SG then in
le:l ji-.a:ir-u-k da:k a-mɪ-i a-ktul
night.SG IPFV.3-hire-PL=2SG DIST.SG IMP-go-SG IMP-eat.SG
‘And if a man grows up, they come to hire him at night (and say) ‘you, go and kill’. (IA)
- (2) *al-A:dam ga:l ha:ja basit gal-l-e:j kida*
ART-Adam PFV.say.SG thing.SG little.SG PFV-to=1SG like that
‘Adam told me it would be a something small’. (XO)
- (3) *isum-u naʃa:m, rakab=tu tawil da*
name=3SG ostrich.SG neck.SG=3SG long.SG DEM.SG
‘It is called ostrich and it has a long neck.’ (MHb)
- (4) *wal:a jida:d da katir*
by God chickens.COLL DEM.SG many.SG
‘By God, there are many chickens.’ (AF)

The historical feminine variant of these adjectives, i.e. including an *-a* suffix, only occurs twice in the corpus, both qualifying historical feminine nouns that also end in *-a*:

- (5) *harba hadi:da*
spear.SG iron.SG
‘an iron spear’ (IA)
- (6) *kabira gudur de*
big.SG like DEM.SG
‘(The nugara drum is) big like that.’ (XO)

These CaCi:C adjectives display the internal plural CuCa:C, like *kuba:r* ‘big’; *suxa:r* ‘small’ (SG *sixaj:ar~sixe:r*); *duga:g* ‘small’ (especially used for children, no cognate SG); *tuwa:l* ‘long’ ‘tall’; *suma:n* ‘fat’; *kuta:r* ‘many’; *juda:d* ‘new’. Nevertheless, the sound plural *kati:r-i:n* appears once in the corpus (10).

- (7) *na:s al=kuba:r na-sur-u albi*
 people ART=big.PL IPFV.1-herd-PL camel.PL
 ‘We adults herd camels.’ (AJ)
- (8) *and=u sunu:n tuwa:l*
 with=3SG tooth.PL tall.PL
 ‘It (elephant) has tall teeth.’ (IA)
- (9) *?ija:l ad=duga:g da ba-sar-u*
 children.PL ART=small.PL DEM.SG IPFV.3-herd-PL *srh
 ‘Small children herd.’ (SA)
- (10) *na:s lam:-u, kati:r-in ga:id-i:n*
 people PFV.gather-3.PL many-PL PTCP.stay-PL
 ‘People got together, they were many.’ (MHa)

4.9.2 Ca:CiC

Adjectives with the pattern Ca:CiC derive from active participles of the ground pattern (5.11 Participle), like *ba:rid* ‘cold’; *xajin *xwn* ‘deceiving’; *ma:ni *mnf* ‘strong’; *ga:jim *qwm* ‘growing’ ‘getting up’; *dajir *dwr* ‘wanting’; *wa:si *wsf* ‘wide’; *sajim *swm* ‘fasting’; *ra:gid *rqd* ‘plenty’ (1-3). Another type of adjective that has the Ca:CiC pattern is *wa:id~wa:id *whd* ‘one’ ‘a single’ (4) and the ordinal numbers *ta:ni* ‘second’ ‘other’ (6) and *ta:lit *θlθ* ‘third’. The ordinal numbers may also precede the qualified noun (example 5 and 4.15 Numerals).

These adjectives sometimes display a historical feminine variant, i.e. with a suffixed *-a* (7), but the unmarked masculine variant is preferred, independently of the historical gender of the noun it qualifies (1, 6). The adjective *ra:gid* ‘plentiful’ only acts as a predicate and is never inflected (8-10). Otherwise, there are only external plurals of these adjectives, i.e. they are formed by suffixing *-i:n* (11-13).

- (1) *fi moja barid bas: ju-kub:-u dagi:g*
 in water cold.SGonly IPFV.3-pour-PL flour
 'They just pour flour in cold water.' (MG)
- (2) *sa.r *fhr ka:mil*
 month.SG complete.SG
 'A whole month.' (XO)
- (3) *al-gif: ga:jim*
 ART-grass growing.SG
 'The grass is growing.' (MG)
- (4) *li zo:l wa:hid na-gu:l-u wa:.id tak*
 to man.SG one IPFV.1-say-PL one only
 'We call one man 'wa:.id tak' just one.' (AF)
- (5) *ta:lit jo:m ba-rfa.-u *rʔ al=id:a*
 thirdday.SG IPFV.3-take away-PL ART=dishes
 'The third day they take the dishes away.' (MY)
- (6) *ʔab=u and=u mara ta:ni?*
 father=3SG with=3SG woman second.SG
 'Does his/her father have another wife?' (AF)
- (7) *jinzi:r wa:ida fad:al-at*
 chain.SG one PFV.remain-3SG
 'One chain was left.' (MHb)
- (8) *jida:d ra:gid*
 chicken.PL plentyfull
 'There are a lot of chickens.' (XO)

- (9) *bija:r* ***ra:gid***
 well.PL plentiful
 'There plenty of wells.' (AJ)
- (10) *akəl* ***ra:gid***, *na:s* *ba:-kul-u* *bas:*
 food plentiful people IPFV.3-eat-PL only
 'There is plenty of food, people just eat.' (MY)
- (11) *ma* *gaba:jil* ***ta:n-i:n*** *kuwqj:is-i:n*
 TOP tribe.PL other.PL good-PL
 'For the other tribes are good.' (AJ)
- (12) *aʃa:n* *na:s* *an:aha:r* ***sajm-i:n***
 because people daytime fasting-PL
 'Because the people fast during daytime.' (SA)
- (13) *na:s* ***wa:id-i:n*** *bi-ʃarab-u* *xamar* *hina:k*
 People some-PL IPFV.3-drink-PL alcohol there
 'Some people drink alcohol there.' (IA)

The adjective pattern Ca:Ci also takes part of the pattern Ca:CiC but contains the glide *j* as the last consonant of the root. Examples are *ja:ri* **jrj* 'running'; *ba:gi* **bqj* 'left over' and *fa:di* **fđj* 'empty' (14). Historical feminine variants of this type of adjectives do not appear in the corpus.

- (14) *ba-xal:-i* *l=o* *sa:n* ***fa:di***
 IPFV.3-leave-sg to=3SG plate**shn* empty.SG **fđj*
 'He/she leaves him an empty plate'. (MHa)

4.9.3 maCCu:C and adjectives starting with *mu-~mi-*

Adjectives with the pattern maCCu:C derive from passive participles from the ground stem (5.11 Participle) *mabsu:t* **bst* 'happy'; *maktu:b* 'written'; *mamnu:.* **mnʃ* 'forbidden'; *marhu:m* **rhm* 'deceased'; *mawlu:d* 'born'; *mafru:d* **fřđ* 'obligatory'; *maksu:r* 'broken' and *maxsu:s* **xss* 'special'. Adjectives with the patterns with *mu-* or *mi-* other than mentioned above, are active or passive participles of derived patterns (5.11 Participle).

Historical feminine versions of adjectives derived from participles (i.e. with *-a* suffix) are not used and in their plural forms, they obtain *-i:n* as a suffix (2, 4).

- (1) *fasa:d* *ma fi ka:n#* ***mamnu:*** *fi balad*
 depravation.SG NEGEXS PFV.be.3SG forbidden in place.SG
 'There was no depravation. It was forbidden in Darfur.' (IA)
- (2) *a.l *ʔhl* *al=ʔazu:ma* *hana* *wile:d (...)* ***mabsu:t-i:n***
 folks ART=occasion GEN boy happy-PL
na-lab-u *l=o*
 IPFV.1-dance-PL *lʃb for=3SG
 'The organisers of the occasion, the parents of the boy, are happy, we dance for him.' (SA)
- (3) *ja:r=ak* *al=muhawhaw* *kala:m=u*
 neighbour=2sg ART=nasty.SG talk=3SG
la *ta-s'm-a*
 NEG IPFV.2-listen-SG.3SG *smʃ
 'Don't listen to what your nasty neighbour says.' (SA)
- (4) ***mugaj:il-i:n*** *hina:k* *ma:.=u*
 spending afternoon-PL there with=3SG
 'We are spending the afternoon there with her.' (XO)

4.9.4 CaCCa:n

Adjectives with the pattern CaCCa:n generally concern the state of being of people, reflect feelings or judgements and are temporal in nature: *ʃab.a:n* *ʃbʃ 'sated'; *fatra:n* *ftr 'tired'; *mala:n~malja:n* 'full'; *wasxa:n* 'dirty'; *ta.ba:n* *tʃb 'tired'; *za.la:n* *zʃl 'annoyed'; *farha:n~far.a:n* *frh 'happy'; *ʔaj.a:n* *ʃjn 'sick'; *ja.a:n* *dʒʃn 'hungry'; *aʃta:n~iʃta:n* *ʃtʃ 'thirsty'; *baxla:n* 'stingy' and *gabala:n* *qbl 'approving'. Here again, the historical feminine form is never used, not even when the qualified noun is historically feminine (2). The plural of this pattern of adjectives is external and hence formed by adding the suffix *-i:n* (3-5).

- (1) *hidm=ak al=wasxa:n da (...) asxi'l-u*
 garment=2.SG ART=dirty DEM.SG IMP.wash.SG=3SG *ɣsl
 'Wash those dirty clothes of yours.' (SA)
- (2) *arabij:a malja:n ma ba-gta sari:*
 car.SG full.SG NEGIPFV.3-traverse.SG *qɬ fast *srɬ
 'A full car cannot travel fast.' (MY)
- (3) *ʃaba:b za.la:n-in ke:f bit: samih za:ɖ de*
 young man.PL annoyed-PL how girl.SG beautiful like that
ja-d':-u ʃa:jib
 IPFV.3-give-PL.3SG old man.SG
 'Young men are annoyed that a beautiful girl like that marries an old man.' (SA)
- (4) *farha:n-in ta-lab-u*
 happy-PL IPFV.2-dance-PL *lɬb
 'You are happy, so you dance.' (XO)
- (5) *al:e:la ani:na ta.ba:n-in*
 today 1PL tired-PL *tɬb
 'Today we are tired.' (MHa)

4.9.5 Other adjectives

Adjectives with the pattern aCCaC and its plural CuCuC concern colors or deficiencies (4.12 Colors and deficiencies) and adjectives ending in *-i* are so called *nisba* nouns that can function as substantives as well as adjectives (4.10 Relation, origin and suffix *-i* or *nisba*).

Other adjectives that occur frequently are *sami-simi* SG, *samh-i:n* PL *smħ 'good' 'beautiful', also used as an adverb meaning 'well' or 'OK' (3.3.2 Adverbs of manner); *halw* SG *halw-i:n* PL 'tasteful' 'beautiful'; and *kwaj:is* SG, *kwaj:is-i:n* PL *kjs 'fine'. The predicatives *a:fi* *ɬfj, always SG, *te:b-i:n* *tjb (always PL), *behe:r-beke:r* (< *bi xe:r*) all represent common positive answers to informative questions on a person's well-being. In this context, it is noteworthy that *ze:n* *zjn 'good' (Manfredi 2010:199, Roth 1979:78) does not occur in the corpus and is claimed to be used only by 'Arabs' according to the key informants.

Remaining frequently used adjectives are *hayyin* SG, *hayni:n* PL **hwn* ‘easy’; *fi:u~fwaj:a* **fwy* ‘little’; *fe:n* SG, *feni:n* PL **ʃn* ‘ugly’ ‘bad’; *ka.ab* SG, *ka.abi:n* PL **kʃb* ‘lousy’ ‘bad’; and *gawi* SG *gawi:n* **qwj* PL ‘powerful’ ‘strong’ as in *ra:s gawi* ‘stubborn’ [lit. ‘strong head’] and *galib gawi* ‘brave’ [lit. ‘strong heart’]. To express ‘a little’, *fi:u~fwaj:a* can also precede the qualifying noun (5) and it can be used as a noun, just like *hab:a* **hbb* ‘littleness’ (6).

Below some examples of the adjectives mentioned in this subsection, are given.

- (1) *ni-sa-o* *kala:m* ***sami***
 IPFV.1-do-PL **swj* matter.SG good.SG
 ‘We organise something good.’ (SA)
- (2) *ʃuxəl* ***ka.b***
 thing.SG bad.SG
 ‘A bad thing.’ (IA)
- (3) *sin.-a:t* *da* ***hajn-im*** *tara*
 manufacture-PL **snf* DEM.SG easy-PL you see
 ‘Those manufactures are easy, you see.’ (AA)
- (4) *ind-um* *asara:r* ***ʃe:n***
 with=3PL secret.PL mean.SG
 ‘They have nasty secrets.’ (IA)
- (5) *wa.id* ***ʃru*** *kabi:r*, *wa.id* ***ʃi:u*** *sixaj:ar*
 one little big.SG one little small.SG
 ‘A little bigger one and a little smaller one.’ (SA)
- (6) *hu:t* ***hab:a***
 fish.SG small quantity **hbb*
 ‘There is little fish.’ (MY)

None of the adjectives mentioned in this subsection occur in its historical feminine version in the corpus, i.e. with suffix *-a*, except once as *ka.b-a* **kʃb* ‘lousy’ ‘bad’. In this utterance, the historical feminine *ka.b-a* refers to a place that is also referred to by means of a historical masculine pronominal suffix *=u* and a historical

masculine verb *ka:n* (5). See for more on lack of historical gender agreement 6.3.2 Gender.

- (5) *na:s ka:n bi-'na:d=u zaj da#*
 people PFV.be.3SG IPFV.3-call-PL.3SG like that
la:kin ka:n ka.ba kati:r
 but PFV.be.3SG bad very
 'People called it ["Mayo"] like that. But it was a very lousy place.' (MY)

The historical PL F suffix *-a:t* attached to an adjective occurs once in the corpus as *hala:t*, 'beautiful' qualifying *ija:l* 'children' (6).

- (6) *sa.b=i ta.a:l fi:f-i ija:l=i*
 friend=1SG IMP.come.SG IMP.see-SG children=1SG
big-u hala:t
 PFV.become-PL beautiful.PL
 'My friend, come and look how good-looking my children have become.'
 (MHb)

4.9.6 Paronomasia

Darfurians apply paronomasia, a figure of speech in which a word is repeated by using a cognate of that word in the same utterance. This stylistic device is used in order to emphasize the meaning of that word. In Semitic languages, paronomasia implies the repetition of the root of the word. In the following examples, it is the root of the adjective that is repeated in an abstract noun that directly follows that adjective (1-2). Also see 5.13 Verbal noun on this rhetorical device.

- (1) *asali:ja (...) biga hilu hala aji:b*
 asali:ja PFV.become.3SG sweet.SG sweetness wonderful.SG *ʕɔʒb
 'The asali:ja has become very tasteful, amazing.' (AF)
- (2) *il:a ʃa:f-at sagur kabi:r kabara*
 then PFV-see-3SG eagle big.SG bigness
 'Then she/he saw a very big eagle.' (MHa)

4.10 Relation, origin and suffix *-i* or *nisba*

The *-i* suffix called *nisba* in Arabic, is used to express belonging or relation, like the nouns or adjectives *su:da:n-i* ‘Sudanese’ and *baq:a:r-i* ‘cow keeper’ (PL *baq:a:ra*, ref. 3.4.2 human collectives). The *nisba* is typically used for a person with a certain (alleged) ethnical background, but also appears in non-human nouns or adjectives. However, like in Abéché (Roth 1979:111, 112), this suffix is not very productive in the Arabic spoken in Darfur. The only four historically masculine *nisbas* that occur in the corpus are *arab-i* ‘Arabic’ (as a language and as an origin, PL *arab*); *sanaw-i* ‘secondary school’; *arag-i* *ʕrq ‘strong spirits distilled from fruit or sorghum’ and *suk:ar-i* ‘diabetes’.

However, Ishaq reports a range of *nisbas* expressing professions, like *gaʃ:a:ʃ-i* ‘fodder seller’ and *had:a:d-i* ‘ironsmith’; owners, like *ʃam:a:l-i* ‘camel owner’ and *tanba:k-i* ‘tobacco owner or seller’; and origin, such as *ʃab:a:l-i* ‘person from the mountains’ and *Kat:a:m-i* ‘person from Kutum town’ (Ishaq 2002:254-255).

Historically feminine *nisba* nouns end in *-i:ja*. The following historically feminine *nisba* nouns are found in the corpus, in several cases ending in *-a:ni:ja* instead of *-i:ja*: *suksug-a:ni:ja* ‘pearl millet dish’; *ʃarak-a:ni:ja* ‘hoarding of plaited straw’; *burtum-a:ni:ja* ‘small glas jar with lid’; *asal-i:ja* ‘asalija *ʕsl (variant of millet beer)’; *farangab-i:ja* ‘Farangabi:ja’ (a Fur dance); *arab-i:ja* ‘car’; *tagal-i:ja* ‘okra and meat sauce’; *ʃal:ab-i:ja* ‘jellabia’; *ridm-i:ja* ‘path’; *unsur-i:ja* ‘racism’; *ʃima:l-i:ja* ‘northern direction’ and *suk:ar-i:ja* ‘sugar-bowl’. Ishaq attests more nouns of this type, all of them carrying a rather abstract meaning, such as *zurug-i:ja* ‘blackness’; *dukum-i:ja* ‘thickness’ and *suxun-i:ja* ‘heat’ (Ishaq 2002:135). The only historically feminine *nisba* adjective in the corpus, is *sulta:n-i:ja* in *ko:ra sulta:ni:ja* ‘heavy tin cup’.

When the *nisba* denotes people, it generally obtains the external human plural suffix *-i:n* (4.4.1 External plurals) to express the plural form. In Darfur Arabic, the plural ending does not become *-ji:i:n*, as in other dialects, but is contracted to only *-i:n*, like in *Suda:n-i:n* (1), *Taʃa:d-i:n* ‘Chadians’ or *Darfur-i:n* ‘Darfurians’.

- (1) *su:da:n-im* *da*, *ba:-xud-u* *ʔa:wi:n* *kati:r*
 Sudanese-PL DEM.SG IPFV.3-take-PL women.PL many
 ‘Sudanese (men) marry many women.’ (AF)

The *nisba* ending can refer to tribal background, such as in *ze:g-i* or *rize:g-i* SG, *rize:ga:t* PL ‘Rizeigat’; *misir-i* SG *misiri:ja* PL ‘Misiriya’; *zaj:a:d-i* SG, *zaja:adi:ja* PL

'Zayadiya'; *hab:a:n-i* SG, *hab:ani:ja* PL 'Habbaniya'; *sala:m-i* SG, *sala:ma:t* PL 'Salamat'; *ta.i:f-i* SG, *ta.ajfa* PL 'Ta'aisha'. These ethnic groups or tribes are considered Arab, and the given human plurals also denote the name of the tribe.

Members of 'African' ethnic groups (1.2.2 'Ethnic' groups) generally obtain *-a:wi* as a singulative suffix: *fur-a:wi~fo:r-a:wi* SG, *fur~for* PL 'Fur'; *zay-awi~zax-a:wi~zaq-a:wi~zaka:wi* SG, *zaya:wa* PL 'Zaghawa'; *masal-a:ti* SG, *masa:li:t* PL 'Masalit'; *tunjur-a:wi* SG, *tunjur* PL 'Tunjur'; *bert-a:wi* SG, *berti* PL 'Berti'; *me:do:b-i* SG, *me:do:b* PL 'Meidob'; *birgid-a:wi* SG, *birgid~birgit* PL 'Birgid'; *da:j-a:wi* SG, *da:jo* PL 'Daju'; *borg-a:wi* SG, *borgo* PL 'Borgu'; *gimr-a:wi* SG, *gimir* PL 'Gimir'; *tam-a:wi* SG, *ta:ma* PL 'Tama'; *irij-a:wi* SG, *i'rija* PL 'Erenga'; *fal:a:ti* SG, *fal:a:ta* PL 'West Africans' (mostly Hausa and Fulani), with the plurals not only designating human plurals but also standing for the names of the tribes.

Darfurians generally express origin as *min darfur* 'from Darfur' or *min jia:la* 'from Niala' instead of using the *nisba* nouns or adjectives. This way of referring to origin also applies to ethnic groups, for example *min al-Gimir* 'from the Gimir tribe' or *min awla:d ar=ri:f* 'from the sons of the Rif' (Darfurians known as having an Egyptian background; Ishaq 2002:49).

Note that a Darfurian with parents from both the Fur as well as the Zaghawa tribe, is called *Fo:rabe:ri* and a Sudanese from Khartoum can be named *zo:l saba: *sbh* 'man from the east' in Darfur.

4.11 Proper names

Ishaq dedicates 72 pages of his description of rural Darfur Arabic to boys' names, girls' names and nicknames (2002:340-412). Darfurians use Koranic names for their children and vary within that range by applying Darfurian phonology and morphology. Some salient and recurring names and their variants mentioned by Ishaq which also occur in my own data are mentioned here: *Fa:tima* occurs as *Fatni*, *Fan:i* (Ishaq 2002:56 and my data), *Fat:u:ma*, *Fatna:j*, *Fit:i:n* and *Fatno* (Ishaq 2002:p.371); *Hawa:ʔ* 'Eve' as *Hawa*, *Hawa:ja*, *Haw:o* and *Hawa:jte:n* (Ishaq 2002:366); *Kulθu:m* als *Kultum*, *Kaltu:ma*, *Kaltuma:j* and *Am Kaltuma:j* (Ishaq 2002:372, my data and 4.14.2 Compound nouns with *abu* and *am*); *Xadi:dʒa* as *Xad:o:j~Had:o:j*, *Di:ja* and *Xadi:jate:n* (Ishaq 2002:366 and my data); *Marjam* 'Mary' as *Marjam~Mirjam*, *Marjo:ma:ja*, *Marjo:ma* and *Marjama:j* (Ishaq 2002:372 and my data) and *ʕa:ʔiʕa* as *Ajfi* and *Aʕo:fi* (Ishaq 2002:370 and own data).

As to boys' names, *Aḥmad* appears as *A:mad* (own data); *A:dam* as *A:dam* and *A:dama:j* (own data); *Muḥam:ad* as *Mu:mad~Mo:mad*, *Maham:ade:n~Ma.am:ade:n*,

Maham:ada:j~Ma.am:ada:j, *Maham:ado* or *Ham:ado* (Ishaq 2002:354 and own data); *Iṣḥa:q* as *Isa:x*; *Ibra:hi:m* as *Ibrahi:m* or *Ibra.i:m*; *ʿabd ar-Raḥma:n* als *Ad:era:n*; *ʿabd ar-Raḥi:m* as *Ab:ara.i:m* (own data), *ʿuṯma:n* as *Itma:n* or *It:ima:n* (Ishaq 2002:353 and my data); and *ʿabd al-la:h* as *Ad:ul:a:j* (own data). Note that the latter name is also used to refer to ‘somebody’ or ‘person’, just like *zo:l* (1), *fula:n(a)~fila:n(a)* or *xa:dim al:a* literally ‘servant of God’. The Chadian version of ‘somebody’ *na:dum*, does not appear in the corpus.

- (1) *ka:n zo:l zalama le zo:l (...) fi mahkama da*
 if man IPFV.do evil.3SG to man in court.SG DEM.SG
ja-d':-u hag:
 IPFV.3-give-PL.3SG justice
 ‘If somebody does evil to another person, in that court sentence is passed.’
 (IA)

Proper names sometimes appear with the definite particle *al=* (3.4.1 Article).

- (2) *na-gis:-a le:-ki gis:at hag:at al=Mirjam*
 IPFV.1-tell-SG to=2SG story.SG GEN ART=Mirjam
 ‘I tell you the story of Mirjam.’ (MHb)
- (3) *xala:s al=Marjam de nazal-at*
 then ART=Marjam DEM.SG PFV.go down-3SG
 ‘Then Marjam got down (from hiding in a tree).’ (MHb)
- (4) *al=A:dam ga:l ha:ja basi:t*
 ART=Adam PFV-say-3SG thing.SG small.SG
 ‘Adam said that it was something small.’ (XO)

4.12 Colors and deficiencies

Darfur Arabic follows the pattern of aCCaC for colors and deficiencies, with CuCuC as a plural form, as in Old Arabic and other spoken varieties of the language (Manfredi 2010:93; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:73-74; Bergman 2002:17; Ishaq 2002:170). In Table 1, a range of colors and deficiencies are given. If the plural form is not indicated, it was not found in the corpus and could not be elicited.

Table 1: colors and deficiencies

<i>abyad</i> / <i>be:da</i> SG, <i>bujut</i> PL * <i>bjd</i>	'white' 'clean' 'smooth' 'fine' 'pure'
<i>azraq</i> SG, <i>zurug</i> PL * <i>zrq</i>	'black' 'dark blue'
<i>a.mar</i> SG, <i>homor</i> PL * <i>hmr</i>	'red' 'light colored' 'beautiful'
<i>axdar</i> SG, <i>xodor</i> PL * <i>xdr</i>	'green' 'dark colored'
<i>asfar</i> SG, <i>sofor</i> PL * <i>sfr</i>	'yellow'
<i>axbaḡ</i> SG, <i>xubuḡ</i> PL * <i>yḡ</i>	'grey' 'brown' 'trouble'
<i>a.war</i> * <i>ʔwr</i>	'one-eyed'
<i>ahwas~a.was</i> * <i>hws</i>	'cross-eyed'
<i>atraḡ</i> * <i>ʔrḡ</i>	'deaf'
<i>a.dab~ahdab</i> * <i>hdb</i>	'hunchbacked'
<i>a.ray</i> * <i>ʔrdʒ</i>	'limp'
<i>abkam</i> SG, <i>bukum</i> PL * <i>bkm</i>	'dumb'
<i>aḡwal</i> SG, <i>aḡwala:t</i> PL * <i>ʔwl</i>	'left-handed'

The modifier *abjad* not only expresses 'white' (1-2) but in context also 'clean', 'pure' 'smooth' or 'fine' (3-4). Furthermore, it is the only color term or adjective that sometimes also appears in its historically feminine pattern CaCCa, in this case *be:da* (5).

- (1) *adum-a:j* ***abjad*** *ba-j'd-o*
 bone-SG **ʔm* white.SG IPFV.3-trow-PL.3SG
 'They throw a white bone.' (IA)
- (2) *big-i* *ruma:d* ***abja:d***
 PFV.become-3SG ashes.COLL white.SG
 'It had turned into very white ashes.' (MHb)
- (3) *we* *ti-dug':-i#* *ti-dug':-i#* *ba-bḡ-a* ***ab:jad***
 and IPFV.2-hit-2SG.3SG IPFV.2-hit-2SG.3SG IPFV.3-become-SG fine.SG
 'And then you pound it and pound it until it becomes very fine.' (AA)

- (4) *bi-kub:-i -l-o moja bi, bi ibri:k# (...) ti-saj:-i kida#*
 IPFV.3-pour-SG-on=3SG water by, by jug.SG IPFV.2-do-SG like that
ab::jad
 clean.SG
 'You pour water on it [the meat] with a jug. You do like that. It becomes very clean.' (AA)
- (5) *lig-o bitabrak be:da talda*
 PFV-find-PL bitabrak.SG white.SG very
 'They found a snow-white bitabrak [a small bird].' (MHa)
- Roth (1979:134) and Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:79) as well as my key informants report on the many and variable ideophonic adjectives that can be added to colors in order to express its intensity (5).
- Darfurians use *a.mar* 'red' to indicate red, bright and light colors, to express beauty and, like *abjad* 'white', purity (6-10). The colors *axdar* 'green' and *azraq* 'black' also mean 'of dark color', with *azraq* referring to darker shades than *axdar* (10-12). Also see Bender (1983), Borg (2007) and Reichmuth (1981) on this topic.
- (6) *dagi:g ?e:f a.amar de bu-kub':-u fi xam':a:ra*
 flower.SG sorghum light.SG DEM.SG IPFV.3-pour-PL in yeast bowl.SG
 'They put that light-colored sorghum flower in a yeast bowl.' (AA)
- (7) A: *irig, irig al=ahamar da# irig al=ahamar da#*
 A: root.SG root.SG *ʕrq ART=light DEM.SG root.SG ART=light DEM.SG
 F: *buha:ra:t*
 F: spice.PL
 A: 'A root. That light root. That light-colored root [ginger].'
 F: 'Spices'. (AF)
- (8) *?ija:l-u de homo::r. homor kida*
 grains=3SG DEM.SG very pure.PL pure.PL like that
 'Its (from the sorghum) grains are very neat.' (7)

- (9) *big-a zo:l walad simi simi simi simi, aḥamar*
 PFV-become-3SG man boy.SG very beautiful light.SG
 'He became a very handsome man with a light skin color.' (MHb)
- (10) *wa ʔabal-a:j fi. abal-a:j noʔ-e:n# abal-a:j a.amar fi wa*
 monkey-SG EXS monkey-SG kind-DUAL monkey-SG red.SG EXS and
abal-a:j tikila, tiki, tiki da:k# aswad da:k# axadar da:k#
 monkey-SG tikila, tiki, tiki DIST.SG black DIST.S green.SG DIST.SG
 'And there are two kinds of monkeys: a light-colored one and the "tikila",
 the "tiki" monkey. That one is black. That one is dark-colored.' (IA)
- (11) *agarab. (...). wa:id azrag kabi:r kida. la:kin da kati:r ma*
 scorpion.SG one black.SG big.SG like that but DEM.SG often NEG
*bi-'.ad:-i *ʔdɗ*
 IPFV.3-sting-SG
 'The scorpion. One is black and big like that. But that one usually does not
 sting.' (IA)
- (12) *ti-ʔi:b-i kanfu:t, kanfu:t ʔe:f al=ʔaxadar de*
 IPFV.2-take-SG skin skin sorghum ART=dark DEM.SG
 'You take the skin of that dark-colored sorghum.' (AA)

Not occurring in the corpus but nevertheless in elicitation is the color 'yellow' *asfar*. Key informants claimed it is likewise used to express purity and beauty, just like *a.mar* 'red' and *abjad* 'white'.

Old and Modern Standard Arabic *aswad* 'black', is not much used as a color in the language variety at issue. Manfredi contributes the lack of this color term to the pan-Sudanic nominalization of the adjective expressing 'egg plants' (2010:94), but Ishaq explains the absence of *aswad* as a color as a taboo (2002:135).

The color *axbaʔ* also bears more than one meaning: 'grey' as well as 'brown' or 'not transparent' (13). It is the only color that appears in the corpus in the diminutive pattern (4.6 Diminutives) CiCe:C (14).

- (13) *mari:sa da, almi sa:kit axbaf bas:*
 marisa DEM.SG water just grey.SG only
 'Marisa is (looks) just like troubled water. (AJ)
- (14) *al-ʔarnab de, bi soforo:k bas: bi-dug':-u#*
 ART-rabbit.SG DEM.SG by boomerang.SG only IPFV.3-hit-PL.3SG
arnab al=xibe:f
 rabbit.SG ART=grey
 'They just hit the rabbit with a hunting boomerang. The grey rabbit.' (SA)

Notice that *nu:r-i* 'motley' appears for cows of more than one color. Apart from *nu:ri*, colors derived from items by *nisba* (4.10 Relation, origin and suffix *-i* or *nisba*) such as *burtuga:n-i* 'orange', *basal-i* 'onion color' or *ruma:d-i* 'ash color' do not appear in the corpus and are designated by all of my key informants as only used by members of Arab tribes. Although Ishaq (2002:258) argues that the *nisba* variant *-a:ni* occurs with colors in Darfur, such as *axdar-a:ni* 'green(ish)' and *asfar-a:ni* 'yellow(ish)', it does not occur in the corpus either.

The pattern aCCaC is not found in the corpus to express deficiencies. However, it appeared in elicitation, although the pattern CaCCa:C (4.9.4 CaCCa:n) is said to be preferred for deficiencies. Examples are *amja:n *ʕmy* 'blind' (with *dari:r* as a synonym) and *tarfa:n *trf* 'deaf' and it has the external plural pattern CaCCa:n-i:n.

4.13 Comparison

The prepositions *zaj:*, *mitil* and *gadur* are used to express the simulative 'like' (3.4.7.8 *zaj:*, *mitil* and *gadur* 'like').

In order to describe a higher degree of a certain quality, speakers of Arabic commonly use the so-called elative pattern aCCaC as in *asraf* 'faster'. In order to introduce the standard of comparison, this pattern is followed by the particle *min* 'than', like in *akbar min* 'bigger than' or *ašhar min* 'more famous than'. However, Darfurian speakers of Arabic only use this pattern aCCaC for expressing colors and deficiencies (4.12 Colors and deficiencies) and not in comparisons. Like in Abéché Arabic (Roth 1979:133-134) and like in Chad generally (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:78-79), the 'plain' singular adjective is used for comparison, followed by the

particle *min* ‘than’ (1-5). The quantifier *kama:n* ‘also’ (3.4.8 Quantifiers) possibly precedes or follows the adjective and may then be translated as ‘even’ (1-3).

An exception to the Darfurian use of the plain adjective for comparison, is the historical relative form *axe:r* **xjr* ‘better’ (5) and (Ishaq 2002:229). To express ‘more’ the noun *ziya:da* ‘increase’ can occur (6). Regrettably, the corpus neither contains a qualification that could be interpreted as the highest degree of a quality, nor could the superlative be elicited adequately.

- (1) *ʃe:n* *kama:n* *min* *da:k*
 ugly/bad.SG also than DIST.SG
 ‘It is even worse than that.’ (IA)
- (2) *jida:d-na* *kama:n* *halw* *min* *jida:d* *da:r* *de*
 chicken.COLL also nice.SG than chicken.COLL home DEM.SG
 ‘Our chickens taste even better than the chickens here.’ (SA)
- (3) *gawi* *min* *de:l* *kama:n*
 strong.SG than DEM.PL also
 ‘They are even stronger than these.’ (IA)
- (4) *il:a* *ani:na* *kubar* *min:=um*
 but 1PL big.PL than=3PL
 ‘But we are older than them.’ (SA)
- (5) *jara:ri* *jo:m* *al* *ʔaz'-:o* *axe:r* *min*
 Jarari when REL PFV.celebrate-PL.3SG *ʔzz better than
fagri **fqr* *ʃe:n*
 poor man.SG ugly.SG
 ‘Celebrating Jarari [dancing and singing performed at weddings] is better than an ugly poor man [who cannot afford to marry]’. (AA)
- (6) *xamsa* *hilal* *sab.a* *hilal*, *kati:r*, *ziya:da* *min* *ʔafara*
 five village.PL seven village.PL many increase than ten
za:t=u
 even=3SG
 ‘Five, seven villages, many, even more than ten.’ (MY)

4.14 Genitive and compound nouns

4.14.1 Genitive construction

As is characteristic for Semitic languages and illustrated in example (1), the genitive construction is a way to express possession and consists of successive nouns. The first noun or *nomen regens* is the head noun and the possessed, the second noun or *nomen rectum* is the modifier and the possessor (1-4).

- (1) *da:k bert mara, we de bert ra:ʒil*
 DIST.SG house.SG woman.SG and DEM.SG house.SG man.SG
 ‘That is a woman’s house, and this is a man’s house.’ (AJ)

In other varieties of Arabic, if the first noun of the genitive construction is feminine, its ending in *-a* turns into *-at* or *-it* in these constructions. This feature persists in Darfur Arabic, as in *farwat bahi:ma* ‘animal fur’ (AA) or *hil:at Malik* ‘the village of Malik’ (SA) in which *farwa* ‘fur’ and *hil:a* ‘village’ are historically feminine. However, a historically feminine first noun does not consistently end in *-at* in these constructions. This is exemplified in (2), where *la.aba* **lʃb* is historically feminine and turns into *-at* in one genitive construction but not in the other.

- (2) *la.aba jad:, la.abat fo:r*
 dance.SGseriousness dance.SG Fur
 ‘Fur dancing is serious dancing.’ (MY)

Furthermore, *-at* is sometimes also found with a first noun that is not historically feminine. In (3), *jo:m* ‘day’ obtains *-at* in its position of the first noun, although it does not end in *-a* and is not historically feminine. In (4), the first noun *um:* ‘mother’ is semantically feminine, but it does not end in *-a*. However, and in contrast to most other varieties of Arabic, it obtains *-at* as an ending in its status of historical feminine first noun here.

- (3) *wa jo:mat al=gija:ma bi-ha:si'b-u le na:s*
 and day ART=resurrection.SG IPFV.3-call to account-PL TR people
 ‘and on the day of resurrection people are called to account.’ (IA)

- (4) *jal:a um:at al=bit: bi-gu:m ji-j:a:j:is*
 then mother.SG ART=girl ipfv.3-start.sg IPFV.3-prepare.SG *dʒhz
 ‘Then the mother of the girl starts to prepare.’ (AF)

It should be noted that in the spoken Arabic of Darfur, this synthetic genitive construction appears less often than the analytical way of expressing possession, i.e. by means of a genitive particle between the possessed and the possessor (3.4.3 Genitive particles). In contrast to other Arabic dialects, the head noun in the latter construction appears once in the corpus with an *-at* ending (5).

- (5) *na-gis:-a le:=ki qis:at hag:at al=Mirjam*
 IPFV.1-tell-SG to=2SG story.SG GEN ART=Miryam
 ‘I will tell you the story of Miryam.’ (MHb)

From the above examples, we may conclude that Darfurian speakers of Arabic may suffix *-at* to any head noun of a genitive construction, or leave it out. This feature is independent of the historical gender of that noun and may concern the synthetic as well as analytical strategy of phrasing the genitive. Compared to other varieties of Arabic, this feature is only shared with the Arabic spoken in Abéché (Roth 1979:143).

4.14.2 Compound nouns with *abu* and *am*

The compound noun construction starting with either *am* (lit. ‘mother’) or *ab(u)~abun* (lit. ‘father’), is very productive in Darfur Arabic. It is particularly used for animals but also for games, food and illnesses.

The frequent occurrence of *abu-* and *am-* constructions is a typical West Sudanic Arabic feature (Roth 1979:146-147; Pommerol 1999b:44-45; Manfredi 2010:111-112; Owens 1993a:66-69). Although *abu* constructions occur in Sudanese Standard Arabic (Qasim 2002:27; Tamis & Persson 2011:25), the *am-* constructions are characteristic for West Sudanic Arabic (Qasim 2002:49-50). Ishaq (2002:284-311) dedicates 27 pages to *am-* constructions and examples, by which he stresses its salience.

The following three sets of examples below are taken from the corpus, elicitation, my collection of proverbs (forthcoming), Ishaq (2002) or a combination of these sources. The first set displays some *abu-* constructions designating animals, the second designating other (abstract) objects or persons and the third

set concerns several *am* constructions. The examples (4-5) demonstrate two *am*-constructions in context. Especially the second set and the latter two examples show that the construction is not restricted to certain semantic fields but may appear with a following noun denoting any kind of distinguishing feature.

- (1) *abun-xaf:a:f**xʃʃ / *ab-rigi**rʃʃ 'bat'
*abun-gada**qdh 'tortoise'
*ab-dab**dbb 'lizard' (Ishaq 2002:114)
ab-salombo'small mouse'
*abu-zir:e:g**zrq 'black snake'
*abun-dagi:g**dqg 'butterfly'
ab-gunfu:d SG, *ab-ganafi:d* PL *qnfð (Ishaq 2002:147) / *ab-fo:k**fʃwk
 'hedgehog'
- (2) *abun-aba:t**ʔbt 'maize'
*ab-turga**trʃʃ 'crack of thunder'
*ab-'sala**slʃ 'bold'
- (3) *am-nir:ika*'wasp' 'hornet'
am-jingir'sweet thin porridge'
*am-tabaj**bʃʃ 'light sweet sorghum beer'
*am-fari:ti**frt (?) 'diarrhea'
*am-ba:kir**bkr '(early) tomorrow' (Ishaq 2002:286)
*am-bahi:n**hjn 'early'
*am-ba:kirtu**bkr 'next day'
*am-lib:edo**lbd 'hide and seek'
- (4) *nug:a:ra* *fo:r*, *wə* *zaxa:wa#* *ind=um* *nug:a:ra#*
 nugara drum.SG Fur and Zaghawa with=3PL nugara drum.SG
il:a *nihna*, ***am-dalʊ:ka***
 but 1PL mother-dalluka drum.SG
 'The Fur and Zaghawa have the nugara drum. But we play the dalluka drum.' (SA)

- (5) *bi-'saw:-u am-bam*
 IPFV.3-do-PL mother-bang
 'They go "bang" [They make a pounding sound].' (MHb)

According to some informants, *zo:l am-be:n-be:n*, literally a 'fellow mother-between-between', is a 'busybody'. Others say it concerns a man who does not take sides or has not made a choice. Again, it is the (pragmatic) context that should clarify the intended meaning.

4.15 Numerals

4.15.1 Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals are used for counting and specifying number. In Darfur Arabic, the cardinal numerals conform to other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:112-115; Owens 1993a:46-47; Roth 1979:151-155; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:80-83) though they are governed by Darfurian phonology. The cardinal numerals from one to ten (including some phonetic variations) are as follows.

- (1) *wa:.id~wa:hid *ʔhd* 'one'
*itne:n~tine:n~it:ine:n~tit:e:n *θnj* 'two'
*tala:ti/a *θlθ* 'three'
*arba.a *rbʕ* 'four'
*k/h/xamsi/a *xms* 'five'
*sit:i *stt* 'six'
*saba *sbʕ* 'seven'
*tamanja~taman(j)i~tamajna~temeniya~to:ma:ni~tomajna *θmn* 'eight'
*tis.a *tsʕ* 'nine'
*qfara *ʕfr* 'ten'

The numerals 11 to 19 consist of an (abbreviated) form of the units 1-9 plus the ending *-a:far*, derived from the word *qfara* 'ten'.

- (2) *wa.ida:far / hida:far* 'eleven'
it(a)na:far 'twelve'
talata:far 'thirteen'
arbata:far 'fourteen'

h/k/xam(a)sta:far 'fifteen'
sit:a:far 'sixteen'
sabata:far 'seventeen'
tumunta:far 'eighteen'
tisata:far 'nineteen'

Multiples of ten up to 90 are formed by replacing the *-a* suffix of the name of the units (3-9) by the plural marker *-i:n*. Only the numeral for 'twenty' *ij(i)ri:n*, uses the irregular base *ij(i)r* from the root *ʃr* in *aʃara* 'ten'.

- (3) *ij(i)ri:n* 'twenty'
tala(j)ti:n 'thirty'
araba.i:n 'forty'
x/h/kamsi:n 'fifty'
sit:i:n 'sixty'
sabi:n 'seventy'
tama(j)ni:n 'eighty'
tisi:n 'ninety'

Remaining numerals that occur in the corpus are:

- (4) *mij:i* 'hundred'
alif 'thousand'
miljo:n~majlo:n 'million'

The dualis (4.8 Dual nouns and suffix *-e:n*) is generally used to express the quantity of two. Likewise, the numeral *mijr* 'hundred' and *alf* 'thousand' can be combined with the dual suffix *-e:n* in order to express 200: *mite:n* and 2000: *alfe:n*.

The higher numbers are formed by first mentioning the thousand, then the hundred, then the unit and finally the ten, with the conjunction *wa* 'and' between the last mentioned numerals (15). However, numerals above ten do not occur enough in the corpus to be too decisive about that. Since numerals are typically learned, repeated and hence internalized at school, I did not include elicited high or complex forms of numerals with my literate key informants here.

In the corpus, the form of the numerals does not change when combined with a noun. When combined with a numeral, the noun is usually a plural after a unit and

a singular from eleven onwards, although not consistently (10). The frequently occurring nouns *jo:m* 'day', *le:l* 'night', *sana* 'year', *jine:* 'pound' or *miljo:n* 'million', are always singular when co-occurring with numerals (12-17). The examples (5-17) below illustrate the occurrence of numerals in combination with nouns and/or other numerals.

- (5) *ana ji:-t bi jana wa: id bas:*
 1SG PFV.come-1SG with baby one only
 'I came with only one child.' (MY)
- (6) *ga:l-a um:-i ana da:jir haru:f wa: hid*
 PFV.say.3SG mother.SG=1SG 1SGPTCP.want.SG sheep.SG one
 'She said to her "Mother, I want one sheep".' (MHa)
- (7) *nia:la maʃ-e:ta mar:a wa: hid*
 Nyala PFV.go-1SGtime.SG one
 'I went to Nyala once.' (IA)
- (8) *arba jaraka:n-a:t za:j da*
 four jerrykan-PL like that
 'Four jerrycans like that.' (KN)
- (9) *ta:ni fi xamsa kila:b*
 otherwise EXS five dog.PL
 'And then there are five dogs.' (MHa)
- (10) *jal:a tisa ragaba*
 then nine neck.SG
 'Then (it had) nine necks.' (MHa)
- (11) *katal'-na hida:ʃar da:bi*
 PFV.kill-1PL eleven snake.SG
 'We killed eleven snakes.' (IA)

- (12) *ma tam:-e:t* *arba:in* *le:l*
 NEG PFV.complete-1SG forty night.SG
 'I did not complete forty days (yet)'. (XO)
- (13) *hamsin* *sana* *and-i* *ʔa:j. (...)* *and-i* *xamsin* *sana*
 fifty year.SG with=1SG yes with=1SG fifty year.SG
 Fifty years I am. Yes, I am fifty years old. (XO)
- (14) *ana* *gar-e:t* *xamsa sita* *sana*
 1SG PFV.go to school-1SG *qr? five six year.SG
 'I went to school for five, six years'. (AJ)
- (15) *sab.a* *wa* *qfrin* *jo:m*
 seven and twenty day.SG
 '27 days.' (IA)
- (16) *bi* *alfə* *jine:* *wa:id*
 by thousand pound.SG one
 'Thousand pounds a piece.' (MY)
- (17) *jamal* *has:a* *biga* *wa:id* *bi* *ʔafara* *miljo:n*
 camel.SGnow PFV.become-3SG one by ten milion
 'A camel now costs ten milion.' (AJ)

Like in other Arabic dialects and as shown above, the numeral *wa:id* 'one' behaves like an adjective and is in that capacity exclusively found after the noun (5-7). Otherwise, the numerals are usually placed before the noun, in which Darfur Arabic is similar to most other varieties of Arabic (Fischer & Jastrow 1980:97-100).

In addition, the numeral is regularly found after the noun or at the end of a nominal sentence. This manner of placement may be explained by the fact that numerals are considered 'ordinary' adjectives or nouns from a syntactic perspective in Fur (Beaton 1968:56); Maba (Weiss 2009:149-150), Masalit (Edgar 1989:67-71) and Zaghawa (Jakobi & Crass 1993:130-132). The syntax of numeral use in the local languages spoken in Darfur is possibly transferred into the Arabic spoken in the area. This feature is also mentioned by Roth (1979:153) for Abéché Arabic, but Reichmuth (1983:204) notes that the numerals are only placed clause-

final in Jukrija Arabic when they are indefinite and follow a definite plural noun. As shown in (18-21), this restriction does not hold for Darfur Arabic.

- (18) *bi ʃa.r jo:m talartim, ʔa:j*
 in month.SG *ʃhr day.SG thirty yes
 'A month has 30 days, yes'
- (19) *ra:ʒil ba:-xud mara talarta wə ba:-xud arba*
 man.SG IPFV.3-take.SG woman.SG three and IPFV.3-take.SG four
 'A man marries three or four wives.' (AF)
- (20) *ja-tal:-u bagar saba tamanja*
 IPFV.3-take out-PL *tʃ cows.COLL seven eight
 'They take (out) seven or eight cows.' (XO)
- (21) *xamsa ija:l xamsa# awla:d talarta wa bana:t itnem*
 five children.PL five boy.PL three and girl.PL two
 'Five children. Five. Three boys and two girls.' (IA)

4.15.1.1 Multiple meanings and applications of *wa:id*

'One' *wa:id-wa:hid* only appears as its historical feminine form *wa:ida* once in the corpus. Furthermore, this adjective is also used to express 'same' or 'similar' (1-2), and when preceded by the preposition *ma.a* 'with' and the definite article *al*, it acts like a synonym of *sawa* 'together' (example 20 and 3.3.2 Adverbs of manner). As a noun, *wa:id* can denote 'somebody'. In that sense, the lexeme can be pluralized by suffixing *-i:n* into *wa.id-i:n* 'some', which can also appear as an adjective (4-6). As an adverb, *wa:id* may denote 'well' (examples 7-8 and Ishaq 2002:122).

- (1) *kul:-ina wə:hid, da am:-ati tara kul:-u kala:m-na wə:hid*
 all=1PL one DEM.SG aunt=1SG that is all=3SG affair=1PL same
 'We are all one. This is my aunt, we are all the same.' (SA)
- (2) *hulanda wa s:uda:n ma wə:hid*
 Holland and Sudan NEG same
 'Holland and Sudan are not the same.'

- (3) *ja-lab-u* *ma.a* *l=wa:.id*
 IPFV.3SG-dance-PL with ART=one
 ‘They dance together.’ (MY)
- (4) *wa:hid* *bi:ja:j* *ja-gi:f*
 one next IPFV.3-stand.SG
 ‘Somebody (else) stands next (to it).’ (MG)
- (5) *awla:d* *wa:.id-in* *bi-'su:g-u* *araba:ja* *da*
 boy.PL one-PL IPFV-drive-PL cart.SG DEM.SG
 ‘Some boys drive such a cart.’ (MY)
- (6) *fi* *na:s* *wa:.id-in* *ind=um* *?uru:g*
 EXS people one-PL with=3PL root.PL
 ‘There are some people who have (tree) roots.’ (IA)
- (7) *anta* *ti-kal:im* *arabi* *wa:.id* *wa:.id*
 2SG IPFV.2-speak.SG Arabic well well
 ‘You speak Arabic very well.’
- (8) *big-i* *za:j* *wa:.id*
 PFV.become-3SG like well
 ‘It [the road] has become good.’ (XO)

Finally, ‘just one’ is expressed by *wa:.id tak* (9-10). Although Jullien de Pommerol notes that the particle is an onomatopoeia and also means ‘entirely’ (like Qasim 2002:156), it only appears as ‘only’ in the Darfurian corpus. However, Ishaq (2002:179) claims that the Old Arabic adverb *qaṭ* ‘only’ has undergone metathesis (2.3.6 Metathesis) and the sound shifts of *q* to *k* (2.6.2 Old Arabic phoneme *q*) and *ṭ* to *t* (2.6.8 Velarized consonants), resulting in *tak* in Darfur Arabic.

- (9) *wa:.id* *tak* *wala* *lag-e:t=u*
 one only NEG PFV-find-1SG=3SG
 ‘I didn’t find [even] one.’

- (10) *li zo:l wa:hid na-gu:l-u wa:id tak*
 to man.SG one IPFV.1-say-PL.3SG one only
 ‘We call one person “only one”’. (AF)

4.15.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals refer to a numbered position in a series of an item or a person. In Darfur Arabic, only the ordinal numerals *aw:al* ‘first’ (1), *ta:ni* ‘second’ (2) and *ta:lit* ‘third’ (3) are different in their ordinal appearance as compared to their use as cardinal numerals. They are placed immediately before or after the noun to which they refer. From ‘fourth’ onwards, the cardinal numerals are used as adjectives to express the ordinal meaning (4).

- (1) *aw:al madrasa de, ja:'b-o fi Fat:a*
 first school.SG DEM.SG PFV-get-PL.3SG in Fata
 ‘They got the first school in Fata.’ (IA)
- (2) *wa:id ja masak-at kura at-tani*
 one PFV.come.SG PFV.grab-3SG leg.SG ART=second
 ‘Somebody came and grabbed the second leg [in a fight].’ (MHa)
- (3) *ta:lit jo:m ba-arfa-u al=id:a*
 thirdday.SG IPFV.3-remove-PL**rff* ART=dishes
 ‘The third day they take the dishes away.’ (MY)
- (4) *na.a:r xamsa ti-mur'g-i*
 day.SG five IPFV.2-take out-3SG.3SG
 ‘On the fifth day, you take it out.’ (AA)

Notice that, in context, *aw:al* may denote ‘formerly’ (5-6) and *ta:ni* ‘other(wise)’, ‘again’, ‘next’ or ‘else’ (7-11). As such, the two lexemes occur as adjectives or adverbs.

- (5) *?aw:al maf-e:t xalwa*
 formerly PFV.go-1SG Koranic school.SG
 ‘I used to go to Koranic school.’ (AJ)

- (6) *ani:na* *ʔaw:al* *ma nədo:r-u* *min:=u*
 1PL formerly NEGIPFV.1PL-want-PL from=3SG
 ‘Formerly we did not want anything from it.’ (SA)
- (7) *ʃuyl* *ta:ni* *ma:* *fi*
 thing.SG second NEG EXS
 ‘There is nothing else.’ (AJ)
- (8) *ta:ni* *da:jir* *ʃenu*
 second PTCP.want.3SG what
 ‘What else do you want?’ (IA)
- (9) *ta:ni* *ji-lif:* *kida*
 second IPFV.3SG-turn.SG like that
 ‘He goes around like that again.’ (XO)
- (10) *ʔab=u* *and=u* *mara* *ta:ni?*
 father=3SG with=3SG woman second.SG
 ‘Does his/her father have another wife?’ (AF)
- (11) *ta:ni* *jo:m*
 second day.SG
 ‘The next day.’ (MHa)

In order to complete the Darfurian way to express a particular position of order among others, it is worth mentioning here that the preposition *wara* ‘behind’ may denote ‘last’ as an indeclinable adjective or adverb (3.4.7.6 *wara* and *fi da:r* ‘behind’). This is shown in (12-13).

- (12) *ana* *al-mara* *al=wara*
 1SG ART-woman.SG ART=last
 ‘I am the last woman.’ (SA)
- (13) *ija:l* *al wara* *tawa* *jo* *de*
 children REL last now PFV.come.PL DEM.SG
 ‘The children who came last.’ (AF)

5 Morphology: the verb and the verb phrase

5.1 The verb general

In this chapter, the verb is treated from its root until the various ways it is manifested in Darfur Arabic. Although its fundamentals fit in with other varieties of the language, as a matter of course specifically with West Sudanic Arabic, it is most similar to the verb in Chadian Arabic. Like in the latter dialect and like other language features of the Arabic spoken in Darfur, the verb is much influenced by language contact. Phonological influence of other Darfurian languages is noticeable in the verbs and their inflections in for example the omission of historical pharyngeals, which leads to variable manners of conjugation. In morphological respect, the lack of gender distinction (also see chapter syntax), apart from the retention of some historical forms, is characteristic. Furthermore, Darfur Arabic verb conjugations are far from stable but do display tendencies of paradigmatic leveling.

Since the verb and its characteristics in this language variant are for a large part identical with the Chadian Arabic verb, I regularly refer to Roth's and Jullien de Pommerol's descriptions of the Arabic spoken in the neighbouring country. Notably in comparison with those grammars, remarkable observations will be highlighted and tentative explanations offered.

As explained in the previous chapter (4.2 Roots and patterns), the morphology of Arabic is based on roots and patterns, and this also holds for verbs and the ways they are inflected and derived. Whether a verb is 'regular' or 'irregular' concerns the root of the verb, while the terms 'basic' and 'derived' concern its pattern. Below, first the basic regular verb is treated, then the verbs with irregular roots and hence their irregular conjugations, and finally the verbs with derived patterns. The final sections concern the participles, the imperative, auxiliaries and the verbal noun.

Verbs in Old Arabic as well as modern spoken varieties of the language display a past tense with an perfective aspect, referred to as 'perfect' and glossed as PFV; and a present tense with an imperfective aspect, referred to as 'imperfect' and glossed as IPFV. The use and meaning of those two manners of conjugation will further be explained in 5.4 Tense, mood and aspect of the perfect and imperfect conjugation.

Arabic, also in Darfur, is a null-pronoun or a pro-drop language: the pronoun of its subject is implicitly included in the verb by context and conjugation and only

explicitly mentioned when the speaker wants to stress this pronoun. Objects of transitive verbs usually directly follow the verb or can be rendered by a pronominal suffix (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns). Arguments of the verb other than the subject and the object can be introduced by prepositions (3.4.7 Prepositions).

5.1 Basic regular verb - perfect conjugation

The **basic** pattern of the verb consists of a root of three different consonants, also called radicals, with two short vowels in between and no affixes: CVCVC. For example

masak
 PFV.seize/hold.3SG
 'he/she seized/held'

with the three consonants *m*, *s* and *k* as its (both historical and synchronic) root, henceforth indicated as **msk*; or *rabat* PFV.tie.3SG 'he/she tied' with **rbt* as its historical root. In Arabic linguistics, this basic pattern is often referred to as the first stem, stem I or the ground stem.

Roots of verbs that contain three different consonants none of which is (historically) a glide (*j* or *w*) or a glottal stop (*ʔ*), occur most and are henceforth called **regular**. The roots of the previously mentioned examples of the basic pattern verbs *masak* **msk* 'he/she seized' or *rabat* **rbt* 'he/she tied' do not contain a glide or a glottal stop, so they are not only considered as basic, but also as regular verbs. This kind of regular root is generally referred to as a strong root in Arabic linguistics. Verbs of irregular or weak roots are treated in 5.6 Irregular roots.

The historical 3SG.M perfect form, like the previously mentioned *masak* or *rabat*, is taken as the basic form or starting point of a verb for the presentation of further paradigms and in lexicography, since it has no affixes. I will henceforth also use this 3SG.M perfect form as the citation form to explain further aspects of the verb. However, it should be noted here that a historical 3SG.M perfect verb form CVCVC, like *masak* PFV.seize.3SG, can be used with reference to masculine or to feminine subjects in the Arabic of Darfur, since this language variety does not exhibit gender distinctions and historically masculine or feminine forms appear in free variation. Darfur Arabic also disposes of a historical 3SG.F form, *masak-at*, but that

verb may also refer to a man as its subject in its syntactic or pragmatic context. This kind of lack of synchronic gender distinctions combined with remains of historical gender distinctions, is a recurrent feature that is displayed in different ways in Darfur Arabic (6.3.2 Gender), also in this chapter.

In Table 1, the paradigm for the perfect conjugation of *masak* ‘seize’ is given. Like in other varieties of Arabic, the perfect is marked by suffixed consonants and vowels to indicate its subject.

Table 1: perfect conjugation of *masak* *msk ‘he/she seized’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>masakta</i>	<i>masakna</i>
2nd person	<i>masakta~masakti</i>	<i>masaktu</i>
3rd person	<i>masak(a)~masakat</i>	<i>masaku</i>

The perfect could also be represented in the following two glossed formulas:

singular:

CVCVC-*ta/ta~ti/Ø~a~at*

perfect citation verb form-1/2/3

plural:

CVCVC-*na/tu/u*

perfect citation verb form-1/2/3

Examples (1) and (2) present forms of the basic regular verb *masak* ‘seize’ in the perfect conjugation of the 3SG (which in both examples denotes ‘to get hold of’ or ‘to develop’ in the context of diseases). Example (2) includes a bound pronoun referring to the object of the verb. Example (3) shows one of the possible 3SG forms of the basic regular verb *daxal* ‘enter’, *daxal-at*, historically feminine. In example (4), the same verb is used in the 3PL form.

- (1) *xala:s amfare:t masak batun=u*
 then diarrhea PFV.seize.3SG belly=3SG
 ‘Then he got diarrhea’. (lit. ‘Then diarrhea seized his belly’). (MHb)

- (2) *masak=ni* *wirdi*
 PFV.seize.3SG=1SG fever
 'I got fever.' (lit. 'Seized me fever.')
- (3) *zo:l* *daxal-at* *fi xala wa* *ba-ji* *ba-drub*
 man PFV.enter-3SG in desert and IPFV.3-come.SG IPFV.3-hit.SG
 'A man who went into the desert [to train] and then comes and hits.'
 [description of a rebel] (IA)
- (4) *Zaxa:wa* *daxal-u* *hina:k bas:*
 Zaghawa PFV.enter-3PL there just
 'The Zaghawa people just got there.' (IA)

5.2 Basic regular verb - imperfect conjugation

While the perfect is marked by suffixes, the imperfect is characterized by prefixes and *-u* as an affix for the plural forms, as shown in Table 1. The basic regular pattern of the imperfect is *ba*-CCVC, for example *ba-msik* 'he/she seizes'. As an alternative, *ja*-CCVC, like *ja-msik*, also occurs in the same person and with the same mood and aspect, but less frequent than *ba-msik* (5.5.3 Occurrence and meaning of imperfect prefix *b-*). Like the perfect, the historical 3SG.M form is also used as the citation form in the imperfect conjugation in Arabic linguistics. Since in Darfur Arabic, 3SG *ba*-CCVC occurs more often than *ja*-CCVC, I henceforth use the *ba*-CCVC form as the citation form for further explanations on the verbs in the imperfect.

Table 1: imperfect conjugation of *masak* **msk*: *ba-msik* 'he/she seizes'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>namsik(i)</i>	<i>namsuku</i>
2nd person	<i>tamsik(i)</i>	<i>tamsuku</i>
3rd person	<i>bamsik(i)~jamsik(i)</i>	<i>bamsuku~jamsuku</i>

Leveling features (i.e. generalisation of a feature across all forms of a paradigm) like the so-called *naktib-naktubu* feature in the first person, the rare occurrence of the *t*-prefix in 3SG and the occurrence of *b*-prefix in the third person only, will be elaborated upon below (5.5 Number, gender and type of verbal paradigms). This leveling results in a very regular paradigm of the imperfect: the consistent use of the prefixes *na-* for the first person; *ta-* for almost only the second person; *ba-* or

ja- for the third person and the use of the suffix *-u* as the marker for all plural forms. The conjugation of the basic regular imperfect verb in Darfur Arabic can hence be represented in the following glossed formula:

na/ta/ba~ja-CCVC-Ø~i/u

1/2/3-imperfect citation verb form-SG/PL

Example (1) illustrates the imperfect of the basic regular verb *ba-rkab* **rkb* 'he mounts' in the 1SG form. In example (2) the use of *ba-lbas* **lbs* 'he dresses', is illustrated in the 3PL form.

- (1) *jo:m bahi:m-ti ma: fi, na-rkab le jamal*
 day cattle.SG=1SG NEG EXS IPFV.1-mount.SG TR camel.SG
le jawa:d de na-tur'd-i
 TR horse.SG DEM.SG IPFV.2-chase=3SG
 'When my cattle is not there, I mount a camel or a horse to pursue it.'
 (XO)

- (2) *ar-ruja:l ba-lbas-u zaj:a da jala:li:b da*
 ART-man.PL IPFV.3-dress-PL like DEM galabija.PLDEM.SG
 'The men wear like that, they wear galabijas.' (XO)

Henceforth, the citation form of verbs will be given in the 3SG perfect followed by the 3SG imperfect conjugation, e.g. *masak*, *bamsik* 'seize' or *jara*, *bayri* 'run'.

5.3 Morphophonological features of the verb

As mentioned in chapter phonology, the vowel *u*, a suffixed marker for most plural forms of the verbs as well as a pronominal suffix (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns), can be realized as [o], especially in the proximity of or when merged with phoneme *a* or with historical pharyngeals (2.2.2.1.4 Phoneme *o* [o] [ɔ]). For example, *masaku* 'they seized' can be realized as *masako*.

Table 1 in the previous section demonstrates the effect of vowel harmony: although *bamsik* 'he seizes' shows *-i-* as a middle vowel between the last two consonants of its root, it changes into *-u-* when the plural suffix *u* is added: *bamsuku* 'they seize' (2.3.4 Vowel harmony).

The vowel of the imperfect prefixes is -a- by default, like in *ba-msik* ‘he/she seizes’. Nevertheless, -i- and -u- also occur regularly in the prefixed imperfect morpheme, such as in *ti-farab* *f_{rb} ‘you drink’ or *bu-turdu* *t_{rd} ‘they chase’. Also this prefixed vowel is variable as well as subject to vowel harmony and neighboring consonants.

5.3.1 Vowels and transitivity

Apart from their flexibility and the influence of surrounding phonemes, the quality of the vowels in basic regular verbs often relate to its meaning. Distinctive vowel quality in verbs can roughly be divided in the three following categories.

The first category of the basic regular verbs has -a- as short vowels between the three consonants in the perfect tense, like *masak* ‘he/she seized’. In the imperfect, those middle vowels may turn into -i-, like *masak* PFV.3SG, *bamsik* IPFV.3SG ‘seize’; *halab*, *bahlīb* *h_{lb} ‘milk’; or *sarag*, *basrig* *s_{rq} ‘steal’. But the vowel -a- of the perfect may also be maintained in the imperfect, like in *kasar*, *baksar* *k_{sr} ‘break’; *daba*, *badba* *ḏ_{bḥ} ‘slaughter’ or *ʔamal*, *ba.mal* *ʔ_{ml} ‘do’ ‘make’. Verbs with -a- in their perfect paradigm generally refer to actions and are of transitive nature, i.e. they entail an object. These verbs can generally be detransitivized or made reflexive by prefixing *it-* (5.9.3 Detransitivization or middle verbs). The following examples contain conjugated verbs of this kind in the imperfect (1) and perfect (2) conjugations, both including an object in their pronominal suffix.

- (1) *ta-ski'r-i* *sayqj:ar*
 IPFV.2-break-SG.3SG *k_{sr} small.SG
 ‘You break it into small pieces.’ (AA)
- (2) *tarad-u:=na* *min balad=na*
 PFV.chase-PL=3SG *t_{rd} from country.SG=1PL
 ‘They chased us from our country.’ (AF)

The second category of verbs contain -i- as middle vowels in the perfect. They are generally inchoative, or denote a state of being and/or are intransitive. These vowels turn into -a- in the imperfect, such as *ʔirif*, *ba.raf* *ʔ_{rf} ‘know’; *fitir*, *baftar* *f_{tr} ‘become/be tired’ (4); *nijid*, *banyad* *n_{dj} ‘become well done/mature’ (3); and *bigi*, *babga~bag:a* *b_{qj} ‘become’.

- (3) *ka:n nijid* *da, ti-ji:b-u (...)* *sa.an*
 if PVF.cook well.SG **nɗj* DEM.SG IPFV.2-bring-PL plate.SG **ʃhn*
 'When it is well cooked, you bring a plate.' (MG)

- (4) *nazal-o* *min al-li.b* *xala:s* *'fitir-u*
 PFV.go down-3PL from ART-dancing **ʃb* finally PFV.be tired-3PL
 'They stepped out from the dancing; they were finally tired.' (MHb)

The third and relatively small category of basic regular verbs, contains *-a-* in the perfect and *-u-* in the imperfect conjugation. This category does not carry a specific denotation. Examples are *ratan*, *bartun* **rtn* 'speak another language than Arabic'; *marag*, *bamrug* **mrq* 'go out'; *ragad*, *bargud* **rqd* 'lie down' 'sleep' or *ga.ad*, *bogod* **qɗd* 'be (situated)' 'remain' (5.3.5.2 Mediae pharyngeal roots). Example (7) demonstrates two of those verbs in the imperfect.

- (5) *ju-mrug* *min hina:k, jo-god* *hina*
 IPFV.3-go out.SG **mrq* from there IPFV.3-sit.SG here
 'She [F from context] goes out from there and sits here.' (1)

The three above mentioned categories are very general and have numerous exceptions. The phonetic effects of vowel harmony and the surrounding front or back consonants often seem to overrule the vowel patterns related to meaning as described above. Moreover, the vowels in verbs differ from person to person and from time to time. One encounters the same verb repeated in the same form in one speech utterance, but with different vowels (6). As opposed to the first and second category described above, example (7) illustrates the use of a transitive perfect verb with *-i-* vowels.

- (6) *ta-lbis* *jalabij:a* *wa ta:gij:a.* *ʔa:j wə* *na.al=u.*
 IPFV.2-wear.SG jalabia and skull cap.SG yes and shoes.PL=3SG
ta-lbas *na.a:l*
 IPFV.2-wear.SG shoes.PL
 'You wear a jalabija and a skull cap. Yes and (his) shoes. You wear shoes.'
 (AF)

- (7) *ka:n* *ʃirib-'ti* *ta-skar*
 if PFV.drink-2SG.3SG IPFV.2-get drunk.SG
 ‘If you drink it, you get drunk.’ (SA)

5.3.2 Perfect sg verbs ending in -a

A distinguishing feature of Sudanic Arabic compared to other varieties of the language, is the apparently optional -a ending with all persons of the sg perfect verb. This feature conforms to Chadian (Absi 1995:18) and Nigerian Arabic, even though the suffix occurs only as or before a pronominal suffix and often in a stressed or lengthened version according to Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:86, 127) and Owens (1993a:84 and 103). As to Sudanese Arabic, the -a suffix manifests itself in the 1SG and 2SG.M forms of Khartoum (Bergman 2002:22) and Kordofan Baggara (Manfredi 2010:129) Arabic. Although it is not attested in Jukrija Arabic (Reichmuth 1983:281), it is all the more present in Abbéché (Roth 1979:2 and 64-68) and Darfur Arabic. In the latter two dialects, this -a manifests itself as a short vowel and occurs with all perfect sg forms. It may be a pronominal suffix, but it also appears with intransitive perfect verbs.

In the 1SG, the verb ends in -a by default and in conformity with the phonological rule that words cannot end in two different consonants (2.4 Syllable structure), which is illustrated in (1). The same rule holds for the 2SG verbs, where the alternative -i ending looks like the historical feminine variant of this form, exemplified in (2), but also see 5.3.3 Imperfect sg verbs ending in -i.

- (1) *ana* *lam:an* *ga.ad-ta* *taw:al-ta* *za:t=i*
 1SG when PFV.be-1SG *qʃd PFV.take long-1SG *ʔwl self=1SG
 ‘Me, when I was [there], I took a long time myself.’ (XO)
- (2) *ajlom* *min* *halab-ta,* *fujur* *da* *al*
 ART-day from PFV.milk-2SG *hlb early morning DEM.SG REL
 halab-ti.=a, *kab:-e:ti* *fi* *ka:s*
 PFV.milk-2SG=3SG PFV.pour-2SG.3SG in bowl.SG
 ‘When you have milked [it], the [same] morning you milk it, you pour it in a bowl.’ (AA)

In the 3SG form the *-a* ending is optional (3-6) and can be anaphoric (4). It may also be explained as cataphoric (5-6). The *-at* ending (6) figures as the retention of the historical 3SG.F form (5.5.2 Gender).

- (3) *hawana**nfak*** *butun*
 air PFV.blow up.SG **nfx* belly.SG
 'The air has blown up [his] belly.' (XO)
- (4) *xawa:ja* *ʃa:l=a*
 white foreigner.SG PFV.take.=3SG
 'The white foreigner took it.' (AF)
- (5) *ka:n zo:l 'zalam-a* *le zo:l, (...) fi mahkama da*
 if man PFV.surpress-SG **ʔlm* TR man EXS court.SG DEM.SG
ja-d':-u hag:
 IPFV.give-PL.3SG right.SG
 'If a man surpresses another (...) they give him his right in court.' (IA)
- (6) *ja:bu bit de, gafal-a* *aju:n=u kidi*
 PFV-fetch-PLgirl.SG DEM.SG PFV.close-SG eye.PL=3.SG like that
 'They brought that girl and he blindfolded her.' (MHa)
- (7) *ra:jil ka:n 'marag-at* *la ta-mf-i ta-lha'g=a*
 man.SG if PFV-go out-3SG NEGIPFV.2-go-SG IPFV.2-go after=3SG
 'If a man [i.e. your husband] goes out, don't go after him.' (SA)

In Darfur and Abéché, the *-a* suffix may be attached to all sg perfect verbs, whether they are of regular or irregular roots, of basic or derived patterns and whether the verbs are transitive or intransitive of nature, although this is not the case in other Arabic dialects. Its irregular occurrence and origin is discussed extensively by Roth (1979:64-68) and still gives rise to 'des problèmes irritants', as she pin-points adequately. Possibly, this feature is a case of overgeneralisation: although the *-a* ending only occurs with particular persons and with particular types of verbs of sg perfect conjugations in Baggara and Sudanese Standard Arabic, it appears with all sg perfect verbs in Darfur and Abéché Arabic. Also see the following section on imperfect sg verbs ending in *-i* on another vowel suffixed to the verb.

5.3.3 Imperfect sg verbs ending in *-i*

A second characteristic feature of the Darfur Arabic verb, comparable with the *-a* ending in 3SG perfect verbs as explained above, is that transitive verbs in the sg imperfect conjugation often, but not always, end in *-i*. Like the *-a* ending, it appears with all sg persons, it may refer back or forward to its object or it has an implicit object (like in English ‘I know’, implying ‘I know that’). But although the *-a* ending in 3SG perfect verbs may occur with all kinds of verbs, the *-i* suffix in the 3SG imperfect only appears with transitive verbs. Lastly, the *-i* suffix generally bears stress (2.5 Word stress).

This feature is not attested in other varieties of (Sudanic) Arabic and seems therefore typical of Darfur. It is, however, a recurrent feature and in some cases rigorous: all informants regularly used this final *-i* in sg transitive imperfect verbs and some verbs do not occur without it at all. For example, all Darfurians interviewed consistently said *nado:ri* ‘I want’ and *na.rfi* ‘I know’, with or without following objects. Key informants affirmed that those verbs do not occur without the final *-i* in the sg imperfect forms.

Example (1) and (2) illustrate imperfect verbs in the 1SG, where the *-i* ending can be considered as a bound pronoun referring to an object previously mentioned in context. Examples (3-5) equally demonstrate imperfect verbs in the 1SG, but where the *-i* ending is not anaphoric. The verbs in the latter examples are cataphoric and refer forward to a verb (3-4) or an object (5).

- (1) *ji:b-i* ***ni-si:f-i***
 IMP-SG.3SG IPFV.1-see.SG=3SG
 ‘Bring it so I can see it.’ (MHa)
- (2) *kida* ***na-rab:it=i*** *bi* *ida:n* *da*
 like that IPFV.1-tie-SG.3SG **rbt* with pole.PL **wd* DEM.SG
 ‘I tie it to the poles like that.’ (SA)
- (3) *ma* ***na.rf-i*** *na-ktib*
 NEG IPFV.1-know-SG IPFV.1-write.SG
 ‘I can’t write.’ (SA)

- (4) *wə na-dor-i na-gr-i*
 and IPFV.1-want-SG IPFV.1-go to school-SG *qr?
 'And I want to go school.' (9)
- (5) *ga:la al:e:la ana na-ji:b-i le:-ki ha:ja*
 PFV.say-SG today 1SG IPFV.1-get-SG for-2SG thing.SG
 'He said: "today I will get you something."' (MHb)

Examples (6) and (7) show imperfect verbs in the 2SG in context, where in one speech utterance, the reference to the object of the *-i* verb is variably anaphoric or cataphoric. Note that the verb *jigu:m* 'it rises' in example (7), an intransitive verb, does not end in *-i*.

- (6) *ti-'durb=i bi aturun# wala ti-'durb=i*
 IPFV-prepare-SG.3SG with natron NEG IPFV.2-prepare-SG.3SG
sa:kit# wagit al ti-'durb-i da:k, min
 pure when IPFV.2-prepare-SG DIST.SG when
darab-'ti, (...) ti-'ji:b-i almi kombo da:k
 PFV-prepare-2SG.3SG IPFV.2-take-SG water kombo DIST.SG
 'You prepare it with salt. You don't prepare it without. When you have prepared it, you take kombo¹⁴ juice.' (AA)
- (7) *ka:m ti-dur=i ji-gu:m le:=k fi si'ra, ah,*
 if IPFV.2-want-SG.3SG IPFV.3-rise.SG for=2SG quickly *srʔ ah
ti-'ji:b-i taw:a:ra
 IPFV.2-take-SG yeast *tʷr
 'If you want it to rise quickly, you take yeast.' (AA)

Examples (8) and (9) demonstrate two imperfect verbs in the 3SG, where the *-i* ending is anaphoric. But examples (10) and (11) illustrate imperfect verbs in the 3SG where the *-i* ending verb refers forward to their objects.

- (8) *ab:a ba.arf-i*
 respected man.sg IPFV.3-know-SG
 'The boss knows [it].' (MHa)

¹⁴ kombo is a solid savouring extract made from okra or sorghum stalk

- (9) *la ta-s'm-a, le be:t=ak baxar'b-i*
 NEG IPFV.2-listen-SG.3SG REL home=2.SG IPFV.3-ruin-SG.3SG
 'Don't listen to her [otherwise] she will ruin your family.' (SA)
- (10) *baras da bi-fasi'li le zo:l*
 leprosy DEM IPFV.3-decompose-SG *fsl TR man
 'Leprosy makes the patient lose body parts [lit. leprosy decomposes a person].' (IA)
- (11) *bi-yib-i hatab*
 IPFV.3-fetch-SG firewood *hṭb
 'She fetches firewood.' (AF)

The *-i* suffix of the SG imperfect conjugation has much in common with the *-a* suffix in the SG perfect (5.3.2 Perfect SG verbs ending in *-a*) and both features are typical of the area. Like the *-a* suffix, it could be explained by paradigmatic leveling: although the *-i* ending only occurs with particular persons and with particular types of verbs of SG imperfect conjugations in Baggara and Sudanese Standard Arabic, it may have been generalized to all persons in Darfur Arabic. However, if the *-i* ending in SG imperfect verbs points in the direction of paradigmatic leveling, we still wonder why it is not there consistently and why some verbs seem to obtain the suffix more often than others.

A peculiarity of the *-i* suffix to SG imperfect verbs, is its transitive nature of those verbs. Maybe the Nilo-Saharan languages that are still vigorous in Darfur play a role in this matter. Indeed, in Fur (Beaton 1968:16-17& 94; Jakobi 1990:96; Waag 2010:73-74), Masalit (Edgar 1989:32), Zaghawa (Jakobi & Crass 1993:70) and Maba (Weiss 2009:285) transitivity is marked. Furthermore, grammatical morphemes generally appear as suffixes in Nilo-Saharan languages according to Angelika Jakobi (p.c.). Although object marking morphemes in those languages differ from the Darfur Arabic *-i* suffix, it is tempting to suggest that the suffix marks transitivity. This hypothesis concurs with other evidences of the strong influence of the substrates on the Arabic of Darfur. If the *-i* suffix can indeed be explained as a transitivity marker, a morphological case of interference with the local languages spoken in Darfur, seems to be at work here.

Lastly, and stressing its prevalence, it should be noted that the *-i* suffix is preferred in use to the unmarked transitive verb in the 2SG imperfect. This rule also holds for the imperative (1) and (5.10 Imperative). Also see Manfredi (2017:89-93) and Wellens (2003:100-105) on the discussion about the marking of transitivity in Ki-Nubi and Juba Arabic, resembling the hypothesis as put forward in the previous paragraph.

5.3.4 Syllable reshuffling

When a basic regular verb in the imperfect tense ends in a vowel, like the *-i* ending mentioned in the previous paragraph or the plural marker *-u*, it can undergo vowel reshuffling. The imperfect pattern can then alternate between the above mentioned ‘standard’ formula *na/ta/ba-ja-CCVC-i/u* and the ‘alternative’ formula *na/ta/ba-ja-CVCC-i/u*. In the latter formula, final *-i* is obligatory because Darfur Arabic excludes words ending in two different consonants (2.4 Syllable structure). Vowel reshuffling in verbs occurs in many Arabic dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980:65; Absi 1995:18) and is optional in Darfur Arabic. For example, both *jargudu* and *jarugdu* **rɔd* ‘they sleep’ or *tamrugi* and *tamurgi* **mrɔ* ‘you go out’ occur (1-3). Note that syllable reshuffling is also productive in the imperative (5.10 Imperative).

- (1) *bi-tur'd-i* *bi-tur'd-i* *le ha:ja* *kata'l-a* *da:k*
 IPVF-chase-SG **trɔd* IPFV.3-chase-SG TR thing.SG PFV.kill-3SG DIST.SG
 ‘He chases and chases something and kills it.’ (IA)
- (2) *ma ʔe:f* *za:t=u* *ta-murg-i* *min jabra:ka*
 TOP sorghum self=3SG IPFV-take out-SG from vegetable garden
da:k *ta:-kul*
 DIST.SG IPFV.2-eat.SG
 ‘For you take the sorghum itself from the vegetable garden and you eat [it].’ (SA)
- (3) *ja-mɪ-i* *ja-rugd-u*
 IPFV.3-go-SG IPFV.3-sleep-PL
 ‘They go to sleep.’ (KN)

A supplementary syllable can also be added to imperfect verbs by the insertion of a vowel between the two first consonants of the root of the regular basic verb. The ‘standard’ formula *na/ta/ba-ja-ta-CCVC-Ø~i/u* then turns into *na/ta/ba-ja-ta-CVCVC-Ø~i/u*. This process especially occurs by the effects of the bukara or gahawa syndromes (2.3.5 Epenthesis), as in *nixdim* or *nixadim* **x**dm* ‘I work’ (4-6), but also in verbs of different phonetic nature, like *badbu* or *badabu* **ḍbh* ‘they slaughter’ (5.3.5.3 Tertiae pharyngeal roots).

- (4) *ra:ʒil ba-xsal da ta-sarab*
 man IPFV.3-wash.SGDEM.SG IPFV.2-drink **ʃrb*
 ‘The man washes it [the ink from the wooden writing panel] and you drink (it).’ (XO)
- (5) *ta-xuruf-u kida fi ka:s*
 IPFV.2-scoop-PL like this with cup.SG
 ‘You scoop like this with a cup.’ (MY)
- (6) *na:s da:k ba-tala wə 'bi-nzil*
 people DIST.SG IPFV-go up.SG **tlʃ* and IPFV.3-go down.SG
 ‘Those people were going up and down.’ (MHa)

5.3.5 Roots with historical pharyngeals

As explained in (2.6 Historical considerations), historical gutturals in Darfur Arabic words are subject to variable change or can be omitted, depending on their nature and position. Like in Chadian Arabic, this phonological rule also concerns the historical pharyngeals in verbs, and in case it concerns the last consonant of the root, it has special effects on their conjugation.

5.3.5.1 Primae pharyngeal roots

When the first or second consonant of the root of a verb contains a historical *ħ* or *ʕ*, its realization follows the rules as described in (2.6.5 Old Arabic phoneme *ħ*). Otherwise, the conjugation of those verbs does not differ from regular verbs.

Examples of verbs starting with a historical pharyngeal are *amal*, *ba.mal* **ʕml* ‘do’ ‘make’; *al:am*, *biʔal:im* **ʕlm* ‘teach’ ‘mark’; *af:an*, *biʔaf:in* **ʕfn* ‘rot’ ‘stink’; *ay:in*, *biʔay:in* **ʕɖn* ‘knead’ ‘eat’; *irif*, *ba.rif* **ʕrf* ‘know’; and *halab*, *ba.lib* **ħlb* ‘milk’.

- (1) *ʔasa:n ba-rif al za:t=o ahal=o ba-sma.-u*
 because IPFV.3-know.SG REL self=3SG folks=3sg IPFV.3-hear-PL.3SG
 ‘So he himself knows that his folks hear it.’ (XO)
- (2) *jo:m al marag-ʼti bi-ʼafin-u*
 when REL PFV-take out-SG.3SG IPFV.3-stink-PL
 ‘When you take them out, they stink.’ (AA)
- (3) *irif-u da abu=.um*
 PFV.know-3PL DEM.SG father-3PL
 ‘They knew it was their father.’ (MHa)

5.3.5.2 Mediae pharyngeal roots

Examples of verbs with historical pharyngeals as the middle consonant of their root, are *li.ib*, *balab* *ʕb ‘dance’ ‘play’; *ʃa.ad*, *baʃad* *ʃhd ‘beg’, *ta.an*, *batan* *tʰn ‘grind’; *ti.ib*, *batab* *tʃb ‘become tired’ and *ga.ad*, *bogod* *qʕd ‘continue’ ‘stay’. In spite of the completely deleted historical pharyngeal in the middle of the conjugated imperfect verb, its conjugation is regular in the perfect conjugation. The full inflection of the verb *ga.ad*, *bogod* is nevertheless given in Table 1 and 2, since it appears frequently (also see 5.12.2 Second type: with semi-auxiliary). Note that the final *d* in the root of this verb assimilates to *t* when it is followed by the latter phoneme (2.3.2 Voicing and devoicing; 2.3.1.4 Other cases of assimilation).

Table 1: perfect conjugation of *ga.ad* *qʕd ‘he/she was (situated)’ ‘stay’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ga.adta</i>	<i>ga.adna</i>
2nd person	<i>ga.adta~ga.adti</i>	<i>ga.adtu</i>
3rd person	<i>ga.ad(a)~ga.adat</i>	<i>ga.ado</i>

Table 2: imperfect conjugation of *ga.ad* *qʕd: *bo-god* ‘he/she is (situated)’ ‘stay’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nogod</i>	<i>nogodu</i>
2nd person	<i>togod~togodi</i>	<i>togodu</i>
3rd person	<i>bogod~jogod</i>	<i>bogodu~jogodu</i>

- (1) *nunga:ra ma:si wə kul:=um wa'ra ba-'tab-u*
 nugara.SG PTCP.go.SG and all=3PL after IPFV.3-follow-PL *tbʃ
 'The [man playing the] nugara goes and they all follow.' (XO)
- (2) *tala:ta jo:m da 'ba-lab-u*
 three day.SG DEM.SGIPFV.3-dance-PL *lʃb
 'They dance for three days.' (KN)
- (3) *ana lam:an ga.ad-ta taw:al-ta za:t=i*
 1SG when PFV.be-1SGPFV.take a long time-1SG self=1SG
 'Me, when I was there, I took a long time myself.' (XO)
- (4) *la.as-at zaj da bas:*
 PFV.lick-3SG *lʃs like that only
 'It [the dog] just licked like that.' (MHa)

5.3.5.3 Tertiae pharyngeal roots

Lastly, there are verbs of which the third consonant of the historical root is a pharyngeal, for example *simi*, *basma* *smʃ 'listen' 'hear'; *firi*, *bafra* *frħ 'be happy'; *rafa*, *barfa* *rfʃ 'lift'; *tala*, *batla* *tʃʃ 'get out'; *masa*, *bamsa* *msh 'rub'; *sara*, *basra* *srħ 'pasture'; *raja*, *barja* *rdʒʃ 'return'; *gata*, *bagta* *qʃʃ 'cut'; *zara*, *bazra* *zrʃ 'seed' 'farm'; *gala*, *bagla* *qlʃ 'pull out'; *fata*, *bafta* *fʃħ 'open'; *bada*, *badba* *ðbħ 'slaughter'; *taba*, *batba* *tbʃ 'follow' and *wada*, *bo:da* *wɗʃ 'give birth'.

The instable position of historical pharyngeals in Nigerian (Owens 1993:139-142) Chadian (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:148, 149 & 155; Roth 1979:8-10) and Darfurian Arabic causes two ways in which historical tertiae pharyngeal verbs can be conjugated. In Darfur, both manners of conjugation can be used by the same speaker.

The first way accords with the phonological rules that apply to historical pharyngeals. This implies that the historical pharyngeal is deleted but remains as an 'echo', i.e. it lightly lengthens the preceding vowel when it occurs in the middle of the conjugated verb, or it is realized as a syllable break between two vowels (2.6.5 Old Arabic phoneme ħ). Examples of such inflected verbs are *daba.ta* *ðbħ 'I slaughtered' or *daba.o* *ðbħ 'they slaughtered'.

Second, historical tertiae pharyngeal verbs can be interpreted as tertiae infirmae verbs synchronically, since the verbs ends in a vowel due to the absence

of the final historical pharyngeal (5.6.4 Tertiae infirmae verb CVCV). They can therefore also be conjugated by analogy with the tertiae infirmae verbs conjugation, as in *dabe:t* ‘I slaughtered’ or *badabu* ‘they slaughter’ (with supplementary syllable, see 5.3.4 Syllable reshuffling).

In Table 1 and 2 the paradigms of the tertiae pharyngeal verb *daba*, *badba* *ðbħ ‘slaughter’ are given.

Table 1: perfect conjugation of *daba* *ðbħ ‘he/she slaughtered’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>daba.ta~dabe:t(a)</i>	<i>daba.na~dabe:na</i>
2nd person	<i>daba.ta/i~dabe:t(i)</i>	<i>daba.na~dabe:na</i>
3rd person	<i>daba~daba.at</i>	<i>daba.u~dabu</i>

Table 2: imperfect conjugation of *daba* *ðbħ: *ba-dba* ‘he/she slaughters’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nadba</i>	<i>nadba.u~nadbu</i>
2nd person	<i>tadba~tadba.i</i>	<i>tadba.u~tadbu</i>
3rd person	<i>badba~jadba</i>	<i>badba.u~jadba.u~badbu~jadbu</i>

The following five examples demonstrate historical tertiae infirmae verbs conjugated according to the phonological rules as described in 2.6.5 Old Arabic phoneme ħ in the perfect tense (1-3) and in the imperfect tense (4-5).

- (1) *ga:l xalas, masak-o# daba-o*
 then finally pfv.seize-pl.3sg pfv.slaughter-pl.3sg
 ‘Then they caught it and slaughtered it.’ (MHa)
- (2) *min wada.at da, ma jo-g.od liya:jat*
 when PFV.give birth.3SG DEM.SG TOP IPFV.3-stay.SG until
ji-tim: l=arba.i:n jo:m
 IPFV.3-complete.3sg ART=forty day.SG
 ‘When she has given birth, she must stay [at home] until forty days are over.’ (AJ)

- (3) *simi-ti* *min=ni?*
 PFV.hear-2SG from=1SG
 ‘Did you hear that from me?’ (SA)
- (4) *w az=ze:t al bu-msuh-’u fi fa.r bi-gu:l le:-u karka:r*
 and ART=oil REL IPFV.3-rub-PL.3SG in hair IPFV.3-say.SG to-3SG karkar
 ‘And the oil that they rub in their hair is called “karkar”.’ (1)
- (5) *dajr-i:n ja-dbah-o:=ni*
 PTCP.want-PL IPFV.3-slaughter-PL=1SG
 ‘They want to slaughter me.’ (MHa)

The next five examples demonstrate historical *tertia* pharyngeal verbs conjugated according to *tertia infirmae* verb conjugation in perfect (6-8) and in imperfect conjugation (9-11).

- (6) *il:a ka:n dabe=tu fi mahal:=u*
 only if PFV.slaughter=2PL **ḍbħ* in place.SG=3SG
 ‘You must slaughter it on the spot’ (IA)
- (7) *al=ba:gi da:k ’fitir-u xala:s, raj-u*
 ART=rest.SG DIST.SG PFV.become tired -PL then PFV.go back-3pl **rɔʒ*
 ‘The rest got tired, and then they went back.’ (MHb)
- (8) *ar=raqil da ’raf-u wad’:-o Bilti*
 ART=man DEM.SG PFV.pick up-PL.3SG PFV.take-PL.3SG Bilti
 ‘They picked up that [dead] man and took him to Bilti.’ (XO)
- (9) *a.l jafar-u*
 folks **ʔhl* IPFV.3-be happy-PL
 ‘The folks are happy.’ (MY)
- (10) *fi jaz:a:ra badab-u yanam*
 EXS butcher.COLL IPFV.3-slaughter-PL **ḍbħ* small cattle
 ‘There are butchers who slaughter sheep.’ (AJ)

- (11) *lam:an ji-tim:-i usbu:ʔ (...) ta-ft-a*
 when IPFV.3-complete-SG week.SG IPFV.2-open-SG.3SG *ftħ
 'After a week, you open it.' (AA)

The conjugation of the historical *tertia infirmae* verbs in the following three examples (12-14) are mixed ways of conjugation or can be explained by analogy with either the phonological or the *tertia infirmae* way.

- (12) *min wader'-ti, daba-u: le:=k ba.i:mi*
 from PFV.give birth-2SG PFV.slaughter-PL for=2SG animal.SG
 'After you have given birth, they slaughter an animal for you.' (AA)

- (13) *la awi:n ma 'badb-u. 'badba-u rija:l*
 no women NEGIPFV.3-slaughter-PL IPFV.3-slaughter-PL man.PL
 'No, women don't slaughter. Men slaughter.' (AJ)

- (14) *wa na-mf-i nasara ba.a:im*
 and IPFV.1-go-SG IPFV.1-pasture.SG animal.PL
wə nahif: zura:
 and IPFV.1-weed.SG crop
 'And I go pasturing cattle and weed the crop.' (AJ)

5.4 Tense, mood and aspect of the perfect and imperfect conjugation

The perfect conjugation bears a perfective aspect, i.e. from the point of view of the speaker, the action is presented from the outside as a single whole, in other words as a finalized unit. Depending on the context, a verb conjugated in the perfect can generally be translated as a simple past or as a past participle in English. It is generally used for sequences of actions in stories or tales. Verbs that semantically indicate an action in the past that took a short time and is completed, occurs in the perfect more often than in the imperfect conjugation. Example (1) shows a basic regular verb in the perfect conjugation of the 1PL and example (2) in the 1SG (5.7.1 Pattern CaC:aC). The perfect is also used in conditional expressions (3).

- (1) *ba.de:n 'ʔamal-o zari:ba kabi:r*
 after that PFV-make-PL closure.SG big.SG
 'After that they made a big enclosure.' (IA)

- (2) *ani wad:ar-ta qja:l=i ja jama:*
 1SG PFV.loose-1SG children=1SG VOC group.SG of people *dʒmʃ
 'I (have) lost my children, oh people.' (MHa)

- (3) *ka:n ma war:-erti=ni ana bu-qtul=ak*
 if NEGPFV.inform-2SG=1SG 1SG IPFV-kill.SG.2SG
 'If you don't tell me, I kill you.' (MHa)

The imperfect conjugation, in its turn, bears a imperfective aspect: the event presented is ongoing and is not finalized. The imperfect is used when referring to a present fact or custom (4); to simultaneity (5); to the (possible) future (6), after modal expressions (7) and sometimes in conditional expressions (8). It is the context that clarifies this aspect and/or mood of the verb, often supported by an adverb or a conjunction. Nevertheless, the imperfect regularly occurs in phrases that are grammatically or pragmatically embedded in narratives that take place in the past and should then be interpreted as a past tense too (9-10).

- (4) *aʃa:n kida bu-ktul zaj:ə da*
 for that IPFV.3-kill.SG like that
 'That is why it [millet beer] kills like that.' (XO)
- (5) *law inta ma ta-stati: kama:n ma ti-sarw-u muna:saba*
 if 2SG NEG IPFV.2-can.SG also NEGIPFV.2-make-PL celebration.SG
 'If you can't [afford], then you do not celebrate.' (AF)
- (6) *da:r as-sala:m min hina b-osal?*
 Dar Assalam from here IPFV.3-arrive.SG
 'Will she arrive to Dar Assalam from here?' (AA)
- (7) *dajra ti-ħad:ɪd*
 PTCP.want-SG IPFV.2-schedule.SG
 'You (will) want to fix a date.' (AF)

- (8) *ka:m ti-du:r=i* *ji-gu:m* *le:=k* *fi si'ra,* *ah,*
 if IPFV.2-want-SG.3SG IPFV.3-rise.SG for=2SG quickly *srʃ ah
ti-'ji:b-i *taw:a:ra*
 IPFV.2-take-SG yeast *tʷr
 'If you want it to rise quickly, you take yeast.' (AA)
- (9) *ʃadara ka:n lig-o,* *bəsangar-u*
 tree.SG when PFV.find-PL.3SG IPFV.3-sit down-PL
 'When they found a tree, they sat down.' (MHa)
- (10) *tam:-e:na* *sa.r.* *sa.r* *ka:mi.l.* *ma ba-mʃ-i*
 PFV.complete-1PL month.SG *ʃhr month.SG whole.SG NEGIPFV.3-go-SG
 'We took a month. A whole month [to get here]. It [the truck] hardly moved.' (XO)

Note that the auxiliary *ga.ad*, *jogod* 'continue' 'remain' can be used for the progressive tense and continuous past (5.12.2 Second type: with semi-auxiliary) and see 5.5.3 Occurrence and meaning of imperfect prefix *b-* on this prefix in the imperfect conjugation.

5.5 Number, gender and type of verbal paradigms

5.5.1 Number

Like in Old Arabic as well as other Arabic colloquial varieties, Darfur Arabic distinguishes number in all persons. The suffix *-u* is a general plural marker for verbs; only with the 1PL of the perfect conjugation, *-na* is the suffix marker.

5.5.1.1 *naktib-naktubu*

Like Chadian Arabic, Darfur Arabic takes part of the so-called *naktāb*, *naktābu* or *-* in the case of Darfur - *naktib*, *naktubu* type of Arabic dialect. This feature implies that in the imperfect conjugation, the prefix *na-* or *ni-* is used for both the 1SG and 1PL, with *-u* as a suffix to mark the plural. In this respect, the paradigm aligns with the Western Arabic type of dialects generally, whereas in Old Arabic and Eastern Arabic dialects the 1SG prefix is *a-* and *na-* or *ni-* for the 1PL without suffixes.

Owens (2003) argues that the *naktib*, *naktubu* feature has an Egyptian origin. It is remarkable, however, that in West Sudanic Arabic, Owens (1993:107-108) as well as Manfredi (2010:130-131) note that Nigerian and Kordofan Baggara Arabs also

switch to *a-* as a 1SG prefix or leave out *-u* as a plural marker for the 1PL. Roth nor Jullien de Pommerol mention this kind of grammatical switching in Chadian Arabic and the Darfurian informants were also consistent in applying *na-* as a first person prefix with *-u* as a plural marker. Example (1) demonstrates a 1SG imperfect verb with *na-* prefix and example (2) a 1PL imperfect verb with *na-* prefix and *-u* suffix.

- (1) *jara:ri da na-xan-i, ana tawa ma na-gdar*
 jarari DEM.SG IPFV-sing-SG 1SG now NEGIPFV-can.SG
 'I cannot sing jarari [anymore] now.' (AA)
- (2) *'na-rhak-u mura:ka*
 IPFV.1-grind-PL grindstone.SG *rhk
 'We grind [with a] grindstone.' (AJ)

5.5.2 Gender

As to gender distinctions, the dialect does not display gender distinction in the first person, which is equally in accordance with Old Arabic as well as most Arabic colloquial varieties. As is common for most sedentary Arabic dialects, there are no gender distinctions in any of the plural forms either. However, other varieties of (West) Sudanic Arabic do distinguish gender, even in plural forms (Owens 1993:103 & 105; Bergman 2002:22; Manfredi 2010:129; Reichmuth 1983:275 & 281) and it is therefore remarkable that Darfur Arabic does not distinguish gender at all.

5.5.2.1 Historical gender distinctions

In the 2SG and 3SG, three verb forms in Darfur Arabic reflect historical feminine variants: CVCVC-*ti* PFV 2SG.F; CVCVC-*at* PFV 3SG.F; and *ta*-CCVC-*i* IPFV 2SG.F. However, those historically feminine forms, like their historically masculine equivalents, only agree at random with the gender of their subject in their syntactic or pragmatic context (6.3.2 Gender). Historically feminine and masculine verb forms have thus only remained as interchangeable forms that distinguish person, but not gender. So in spite of the presence of historical gender distinguishing forms, there are no gender distinctions in the verb in Darfur Arabic from a synchronic point of view since both are used indiscriminately, just like there is no gender distinction in the Nilo-Saharan substrates of the area.

I have made the same observation on Darfur Arabic as Roth on Abéché Arabic, where she notes that ‘on rencontre souvent la forme féminine CVCVC-*ti* pour la 2. m.s. dans les textes, tandis qu’à la 3~ème pers., c’est la forme masculine qui tend à être utilisée pour les deux genres’ (1979:69). Following my thesis in the previous paragraph, as to the Arabic spoken in Darfur, I would not designate different verb forms used in the same person and number as feminine or masculine forms, but as synonyms. However, the preference of CVCVC-*ti* to CVCVC-*ta*, is indeed remarkable and its origin remains unknown.

The three examples from the corpus below are exemplary for the mixture of historically feminine and masculine verb forms in perfect and imperfect conjugation, indicating that both forms can be used independently of the gender of their subjects.

In example (1), the subject is masculine but the corresponding 3SG perfect verb historically feminine. In example (2), the subject is again masculine (from the context) and so is the corresponding auxiliary historically (5.12.2 Second type: with semi-auxiliary). But the following main verb with the same subject, is historically feminine.

- (1) *ra:jl ka:n 'marag-at la ta-mf-i ta-lha'g=a*
 man.SG if PFV-go out-3SG NEGIPFV.2-go-SG IPFV.2-go after=3SG
 ‘If a man [i.e. your husband] goes out, don’t go after him.’ (SA)
- (2) *ba.de:n maf-a sakan-at zaj sana-te:n fi Am Ruwa:ba*
 after that PFV.go-3SG PFV.live-3SG like year-DUAL in Am Ruwaba
 ‘After that he [M from context] went to live about two years in Am Ruwaba.’ (IA)

In example (3), the 2SG imperfect verb is used twice with the same subject. It is first conjugated in the historically masculine form *tagu:m* ‘you get up’ and second with an *-i* suffix: *tatan-i *tħn* ‘you grind’. This *-i* suffix marks 2SG.F person in other varieties of Sudanic Arabic. However, considering the appearance and explanation on the *-i* suffix (5.3.3 Imperfect sg verbs ending in *-i*), the *-i* might be here because it is a transitive verb (and the first verb is not) and not because it is historically feminine.

- (3) *ta-gu:m* *badri*, *ta-'tan-i* *mura:ka*
 IPFV.2-get up.SG early IPFV.2-grind-SG grindstone.SG **rhk*
 'You get up early and grind [with a] grindstone.' (SA)

5.5.2.2 Rare occurrence of *t*-prefix as historical 3SG.F marker

The lack of gender distinctions in Darfur Arabic further perseveres by the rare occurrence of the *t*- marker as the historically 3SG.F prefix in the imperfect conjugation.

In the imperfect conjugation of Old Arabic and modern spoken varieties of Arabic including West Sudanic Arabic, *ja/ji-* is the masculine prefix and *ta/ti-* the feminine prefix of the 3SG form. In Darfur Arabic, the *ja-* or *ba-* prefix is almost the only prefix that has been preserved to express the 3SG form of both genders. If the subject is a woman, the historically feminine prefix *ta-* for this person occurs less than ten times in the corpus and only with three informants. Conversely, the *ja-* or *ba-* prefix occurs hundreds of times as a general 3SG imperfect prefix, independent of the gender of the subject. This is why I did not include *ta-* as a 3SG imperfect prefix.

The virtual lack of *ta-* as a 3SG imperfect prefix seems to be an exceptional feature of Darfur Arabic because it is not mentioned by other linguists who documented West Sudanic Arabic varieties, including closely related Chadian Arabic. The *ta*-prefix is included as a 3SG.F marker in the paradigms of the imperfect verb in Absi's *Chadian Arabic* (1995:19); Jullien de Pommerol's *Grammaire pratique de l'arabe tchadien* (1999b:131) and Roth's *Esquisse grammaticale du parler arabe d'Abbéché* (1979:3), as well as in Kordofanian (Manfredi 2010:129 and 132) and Nigerian Arabic (Owens 1993:105). Roth, however, points out the frequent abolishment of gender distinctions in verbs generally (1979:3 point 3; 1979:63 second paragraph; 1979:69 note 3). She also provides examples of 3SG verbs in their historical masculine form with a female subjects (1979:48, second paragraph) and notes that 'certain speakers' distinguish masculine from feminine forms in the 3SG (1979:49), implying that many (or most?) speakers of Arabic in Abéché, like in Darfur, do not.

The following four examples by four different speakers from the corpus show 3SG imperfect verbs with historical masculine *ja-* or *ba-* as prefixes, but with females as their subjects.

- (1) *bine: jo-g.od hina:k ji-tm:i arba.i:n jo:m*
 girl.SG IPFV.3.stay.SG there IPFV.3.complete.SG forty day.SG
 'The girl [who has given birth] stays there [home] until she completes
 forty days.' (KN)
- (2) *jagid ja.ni al=mara ga:lo al ja-ld-i bagu:lu*
 when so ART=woman.SG say REL IPFV.3-give birth-SG say
da, i.na ma and=ina da:ja
 DEM.SG 1PL NEG with=1PL midwife.SG
 'So when a woman gives birth, we don't have a midwife.' (XO)
- (3) *has:a da ka:n and=u ija:l we:n ba-gdar ba-ji*
 now DEM.SG if with=3SG children how IPFV.3-can.SG IPFV.3-come.SG
 'Now if she [F from contex] had children, how could she have come
 [here]?' (SA)
- (4) *sa:a xamsa um:=um ba-gum bi'-saj:-i*
 hour.SG five mother=3PL IPFV.3-get up.SG IPFV.3-make-SG
asi:da
 sorghum porridge
 'At five o'clock their mother gets up and makes sorghum porridge.' (AJ)

5.5.3 Occurrence and meaning of imperfect prefix *b-*

As opposed to Old Arabic, *b-*, *bi-* or *ba-* can be prefixed to imperfect verbs in particularly Eastern Arabic dialects. This *b-* imperfect is characteristic of many and major spoken varieties of the language on the Arabic peninsula, the Syro-Palestinian area, Egypt and Sudan. Depending on the area, it indicates a present, habitual or future tense and can have modal functions such as intention and probability (Retsö 2011; Bergmann 2002:38).

The use and function of the *b-* imperfect in West Sudanic Arabic is unstable according to the available documentation. Owens (1993:105-110) states that in Nigerian Arabic the prefix only occurs with the 1SG, 3SG and 3PL but not consistently, that its occurrence is not predictable and its meaning undefined. According to Manfredi (2010:152-153), the prefix may appear before all persons and expresses indicative present in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic. Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:206-207) attests that the prefix is only found before the 3SG and

3PL forms and semantically indicates a stronger probability than the alternative *ja-* prefix in Chadian Arabic. However, he also notes that ‘Ces nuances sont imperceptibles. De plus, le choix du préfixe << *ba-* >> ou << *ja-* >> semble être de plus en plus commandé par la facilité de l’articulation, par harmonie vocalique ou consonantique’ (1999b:207).

Lastly, Roth provides a thorough overview of the documentation on the *b-* prefix in Chad (1979:60-63). Apparently, it only appears before the 1SG, the 3SG and 3PL forms. Most linguists on Chadian Arabic interpret the prefix as a mere alternative personal marker without any aspectual, temporal or modal function, though some state it has a more definite function than its alternative prefixes. Concerning her own data on the Arabic of Abbéché, Roth claims that the *ba-* prefix is the default 3SG and 3PL person marker, has *ja-* as an alternative and bears no modal function. Only in few cases the prefix appears before other persons and can then have the modal function of insistence (Roth 1979:49-52).

Darfur Arabic displays a very similar use of the *ba-* prefix with imperfect verbs to Chadian Arabic. The prefix virtually only appears with the 3SG and 3PL forms (1-2), it alternates with the prefix *ja-* (2) and does not carry a particular modal, habitual or future denotation. As opposed to most other dialects, auxiliaries can be followed by *b-* prefixed verbs too (3-4).

- (1) *na-gu:m-u* *sa.a* *sit:a#* *wə* *fi* *na:s* *ba-gu:m-u*
 IPFV-get up-PL hour.SG six and EXS people IPFV.3-getup-PL
sa.a *sab.a*
 hour.SG seven
 ‘We get up at six. And some people get up at seven.’ (SA)
- (2) *az=zo:l* *al* *bi-‘dorr-i* *ay:n* *‘ji-farab*
 ART=man REL IPFV.3-want-SG thin sorghum porridge IPFV.3-drink.SG
 ‘Anybody who wants thin sorghum porridge, drinks [it].’ (AJ)
- (3) *al=walad* *da* *la:zim* *ba.mal* *al=wa:jib*
 ART=boy.SG DEM.SG must IPFV.3-do.SG *ʕml ART=duty.SG
 ‘The boy must do his duty.’ (AF)

- (4) *aʒa:m da ga:.id-i:n ba-ktā-u*
 day.PL DEM.SG PTCP.be-PL IPFV.3-cut-PL *qʔf
 ‘These days they are cutting [i.e. harvesting].’ (AJ)

5.6 Irregular roots

Next to the abovementioned regular three consonants roots, there are irregular roots in Arabic. Most of the irregular roots have two instead of three consonants, and contain either a glide *j* or *w* or the second consonant is reduplicated. This leads to irregular conjugations compared to the regular three consonant root paradigms given above. In Arabic linguistics, verbs with irregular roots are called weak or ‘defective’ verbs.

There are different categories of irregular roots. Compared to the basic regular verb *masak*, *jamsik* ‘seize’, with **msk* as its root, there are roughly three categories of irregularity.

First, the first consonant of a historical root may be a glide, *w* or *j* or the glottal stop *ʔ*. In Darfur Arabic, this *w*, *y* or *ʔ* often, but not always, turns into a (long) vowel when the verb is inflected in the imperfect, like *wisil*, *bo:sal* **wsl* ‘arrive’ ‘join’ (5.6.1 Primae *wa:w* verb *wVCVC* and primae *ja:* verb *yVCVC*). Second, the middle or last consonant of a root may historically be a glide *w* or *j*, like *ka:s*, *jaku:s* **kws* ‘look for’ (5.3.5.2 Mediae pharyngeal roots) or *faka*, *baʃki* **ʃkj* ‘complain’ (5.3.5.3 Tertiae pharyngeal roots). These glides all turn into vowels when conjugated as a verb. Third, the last two consonants of a root can be the same, like *sad:a*, *basid:* **sdd* ‘close’. As such, those consonants are geminated to one lengthened consonant, leading to different conjugations in the perfect tense compared to verbs with regular roots (5.6.5 Mediae geminatae verb *CVC:a*). Some verbs contain more than one irregularity in their root or conjugations. Those will be treated under one of the irregularities and referred to under the other. The frequently used verbs *ad:a*, *bad:i* ‘give’ and *ji*, *bi:ji* ‘come’ are treated in 5.6.6 Other irregular verbs.

In this paragraph, only verbs with irregular roots of the basic pattern are treated. Derived patterns with irregular roots are treated in 5.7 Derived patterns. The tables displaying the verbs in conjugation are followed by examples of that type of verb from the corpus.

5.6.1 Primae *wa:w* verb wVCVC and primae *ja:ʔ* verb yVCVC

Verbs of which the first consonant of the root is *w*, are called primae or initial *wa:w* (in accordance with the name of the letter representing *w* in Arabic) verbs. If the first consonant of a root consists of the glide *j*, the verb is called primae *ja:ʔ* (the name of the letter representing *j* in Arabic). Together, primae *wa:w* and primae *ja:ʔ* verbs are often referred to as glide-initial verbs.

Primae *wa:w* verbs inflect regularly in the perfect conjugation (Table 1). In the imperfect, however, there are two possible conjugations. In the first, the *w*- turns into a lengthened *o*: in combination with the following vowel *a* (Table 2). So unlike the regular *masak*, *bamsik* **msk* ‘seize’ the verb with the primae *wa:w* root **wsl* does not become *wasal*, *bawsal* but *wasal*, *bo:sal* ‘arrive’ ‘join’. This conjugation is applicable to most primae *wa:w* verbs.

Table 1: perfect conjugation of *wisil~wasal* **wsl* ‘he/she arrived’ ‘joined’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>wasalta</i>	<i>wasalna</i>
2nd person	<i>wasalta~wasalti</i>	<i>wasaltu</i>
3rd person	<i>wasal(a)~wasalat</i>	<i>wasalu</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *wisil~wasal***wsl*: *bo:sal* ‘he/she arrives’ ‘joins’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>no:sal(i)</i>	<i>no:salu</i>
2nd person	<i>to:sal~to:sali</i>	<i>to:salu</i>
3rd person	<i>bo:sal~jo:sal</i>	<i>bo:salu~jo:salu</i>

- (1) *min hina da b-o:sal# wal:aʔ*
 from here DEM.SG IPFV.3-arrive-SG by God
 ‘From here, will she [F from context] arrive?’ (AA)
- (2) *u ka:n 'marag-at la ta-mf-i t-o:sa'l=a*
 and if PVF.go out-3SG NEGIPFV.2-go-SG IPFV.2-join.SG=3SG
 ‘And if he [M from context] goes out, don’t follow him.’ (SA)

Other primae *wa:w* verbs that are inflected according to the two tables above are *wirim*, *bo:ram* **wrm* ‘swell’ and *wazan*, *bo:zan* **wzn* ‘weigh’.

Two primae *wa:w* verbs can also be conjugated in an alternative manner in the imperfect: the phoneme *w-* as well as the second vowel then disappear (Table 4). The verbs of the SG conjugations all obtain an *-i* suffix, possibly because of their transitive nature (as put forward in 5.3.3 Imperfect SG verbs ending in *-i*). The resulting paradigm of the imperfect is the same as the conjugation of most tertiae infirmae verbs (5.6.4 Tertiae infirmae verb CVCV).

Table 3: perfect tense of *warad* **wrd* 'she fetched water'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>waradta</i>	<i>waradna</i>
2nd person	<i>waradta~waradti</i>	<i>waradtu</i>
3rd person	<i>warad(a)~waradat</i>	<i>warado</i>

Table 4: imperfect tense of *warad* **wrd*: *ba-rdi* 'she fetches water'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nardi</i>	<i>nardu</i>
2nd person	<i>tardi</i>	<i>tardu</i>
3rd person	<i>bardi~jardi</i>	<i>bardu~jardu</i>

The verb *warad*, *bardi* (3SG translated as 'she' here because fetching water is a woman's task in Darfur) in Tables 3 and 4 can also be conjugated as in Table 1 and 2 and thus become *warad*, *bo:rid*. The other primae *wa:w* verb that can be conjugated both ways is *walad*, *baldi~bo:lid* 'give birth', a synonym of *wada*, *bo:da* **wɗɗ* equally a primae *wa:w* verb and mentioned below. Also Ishaq (2002:174) attests the same variability in the inflection of *walad*, *baldi~bo:lid* 'give birth'.

- (3) *ʔija:l de ba-lɗu=.um zaj:ə de*
 children_{DEM.SG} IPFV.3-give birth._{PL=3PL} like that
 'They just deliver babies like that.' (AF)
- (4) *wa inti ta-dangir ta-lɗ-i*
 and 2_{SG} IPFV.2-bend down._{SG} IPFV.2-give birth-SG
 'You just sit down and give birth.' (XO)

- (5) **ba-ld-i** *ija:l* *kati:r*
 IPVF.3-give birth-SG children many.SG
 ‘She gives birth to a lot of children.’ (AF)

The verbs *wada*, *bo:da* *wɗɗ ‘give birth’ (synonym of *walad*, *baldi~bo:lid* in the previous paragraph) and *waja*, *bo:ja* *wɗʒ ‘hurt’ are not only primae *wa:w* but also tertiae pharyngeal verbs (5.6.4 Tertiae infirmae verb CVCV). Both verbs are inflected according to the phonological rules applying to deleted or weakened historical ʕ (5.3.5.3 Tertiae pharyngeal roots).

- (6) *inta ʔaj:a:n*, *wə* *ra:s* **b-oʔ-a**
 2SG hungry.SG and head.SG IPVF.3-hurt-SG *wɗʒ
 ‘You are sick and you have a headache.’ (XO)

- (7) *uju:n=u* **b-oʔ-o**
 eye.PL=3PL*ʕjn IPVF.3-hurt-PL.3SG *wɗʒ
 ‘His eyes hurt.’ (SA)

Likewise, *waga*, *taga* *wqɗ ‘fall’ is not only a primae *wa:w* verb but also a tertiae pharyngeal verb. Like other tertiae pharyngeal verbs and demonstrated in Table 5, it can be conjugated in two ways: either according the phonological rules of historical pharyngeals and like *wada*, *bo:da* *wɗɗ ‘give birth’ and *waja*, *bo:ja* *wɗʒ ‘hurt’ mentioned in the previous paragraph; or according to tertiae infirmae verbs. The imperfect, however, displays a divergent conjugation compared to the other primae *wa:w* verbs (Table 6): both phonemes *wa:w* as well as the historical pharyngeal are gone.

Table 5: perfect tense of *waga* *wqɗ ‘he/she fell’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>wage:t(a)~waga.ta</i>	<i>waga.na~wage:na</i>
2nd person	<i>wage:t(a)~wage:ti~waga.ta~waga.ti</i>	<i>waga.tu~wage:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>waga~waga.a~waga.at</i>	<i>waga.o~wago</i>

Table 6: imperfect tense of *waga* *wqʕ: *ba-ga* ‘he/she falls’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>naga</i>	<i>nago</i>
2nd person	<i>taga~taga.i</i>	<i>tago</i>
3rd person	<i>baga~jaga</i>	<i>bago~jago</i>

- (8) ***ta-g-a*** *sa:j*
 IPVF.2-fall-SG just
 ‘You just fall over.’ (SA)

Like in other varieties of Sudanic Arabic (Bergman 2002:27; Owens 1993a:116; Roth 1979:13; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:151; Manfredi 2010:135) the primae *wa:w* verb *wigif*, *bagi:f* *wqf ‘stop’ has a regular perfect inflection like all primae *wa:w* verbs, but it is conjugated as a mediae infirmae verb (5.6.3 Mediae infirmae verb CV:C) in the imperfect. As opposed to many other verbs but like *waga*, *baga* ‘fall’ above, this verb is not found with an *-i* suffix in the SG persons of the imperfect conjugation (5.3.3 Imperfect SG verbs ending in *-i*), probably because it is intransitive.

Table 7: perfect tense of *wigif* *wqf ‘he/she stopped’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>wigifta</i>	<i>wigifna</i>
2nd person	<i>wigifta~wigifti</i>	<i>wigiftu</i>
3rd person	<i>wigif~wigifat</i>	<i>wigifu</i>

Table 8: imperfect tense of *wigif* *wqf: *ba-gi:f* ‘he/she stops’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nagi:f</i>	<i>nagi:fu</i>
2nd person	<i>tagi:f~tagi:fi</i>	<i>tagi:fu</i>
3rd person	<i>bagi:f~jagi:f</i>	<i>bagi:fu~jagi:fu</i>

- (9) *bu-wan:us-u* *juw:a* ***ba-gi:f*** *fi* *mukat:a*
 IPFV.3-chat-PL inside IPFV.3-stop.SG in station.SG
 ‘They chat inside and it [train] stops at the station.’ (MY)

The verb *jibis*, *be:bas* *jbs ‘dry’ is the only productive primae *ja:ʔ* (the name of the letter representing *j* in Arabic) verb and it only appears in the 3SG and 3PL: *jibis(u)*, *b/je:bas(u)*.

- (10) *ni-fag:u'g-u*, *nə-xut':-u* *fi habil*,
 IPFV-cut into pieces-PL.3SG IPFV-put-PL.3SG on string.SG
j-e:bas#
 IPFV.3-dry-SG
 ‘We cut it [meat] into pieces, we put it on a string and it dries.’ (AA)

5.6.2 Primae *a* verb aCaC

Primae or initial *a* verbs are verbs the root of which starts with a glottal stop in Old Arabic, called *hamza*, which is why they are often referred to as primae hamza verbs. In the imperfect conjugation, the glottal stop turns into a lengthened *a:*, and so it does in Darfur Arabic (Table 1 and 2).

The only four primae *a* verbs used in Darfur Arabic are *axad*, *ba:xud* *ʔxð ‘marry’ ‘take’; *akal*, *ba:kul* *ʔkl ‘eat’; *aba*, *ba:ba* *ʔby ‘refuse’ and *a:nas*, *biʔa:nis* *ʔns ‘chat’. The former two are conjugated according to the paradigms in given Table 1 and 2, which are followed by three examples from the corpus. The verb *aba*, *ba:ba* *ʔby ‘refuse’ is treated in 5.6.4 Tertiae infirmae verb CVCV and *a:nas*, *biʔa:nis* *ʔns ‘chat’ under the derived patterns below.

Table 1: perfect tense of *akal* *ʔkl ‘he/she ate’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>akalta</i>	<i>akalna</i>
2nd person	<i>akalta~akalti</i>	<i>akaltu</i>
3rd person	<i>akal(a)~akalat</i>	<i>akalu</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *akal* *ʔkl: *ba:-kul* ‘he/she eats’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>na:kul(i)</i>	<i>na:kulu</i>
2nd person	<i>ta:kul(i)</i>	<i>ta:kulu</i>
3rd person	<i>ba:kul(i)~ja:kul(i)</i>	<i>ba:kulu~ja:kulu</i>

- (1) *ra:ʒil ba-xud mara tala:ta wə ba-xud arba*
 man.SG IPFV.3-take.SG woman.SG three and IPFV.3-take.SG four
 'A man marries tree women and he marries [i.e. can marry] four.' (AF)
- (2) *ka:n marfa:i:n ba-kul=na xal:-i ja-kul=na*
 if hyena.SG IPFV.3-eat.SG=1PL IMP.let-SG IPFV.3-eat.SG=1PL
 'If a hyena eats us, let him eat us.' (MHa)
- (3) *axad kartu:f min Niala*
 PFV.take.SG hose.SG from Niala
 'He took a hose from Niala.' (MY)

The phonological rules in the language variety at issue, result in the fact that both the perfect as well as the imperfect inflection of primae *a* verbs is almost the same as the primae pharyngeal verbs (5.3.5.1 Primae pharyngeal roots). For example, the primae pharyngeal verb *amal*, *ba.mal* *ʕml 'do' 'make', in which a light echo of the historical pharyngeal can be perceived, is hard to distinguish from the primae *a* verb *akal*, *ba:kul* *ʔkl 'eat'. The only remaining difference between the primae pharyngeal and primae hamza verb conjugation is the vowel *u* in the imperfect conjugation of the primae *a* verbs between the last two consonants of the root: *ba.kulu* (they eat) versus *ba.malu* 'they do' (also see Roth 1979:8).

5.6.3 Mediae infirmae verb CV:C

Verbs such as *ka:s*, *jaku:s* *kws 'look for' or *ja:b*, *jaji:b* *dʒjb 'get' 'bring' 'fetch' do not have three but two consonants and a middle vowel as their root. In derived patterns (5.7 Derived patterns) of these verbs, this vowel is realized as a glide *w* or *j*, which is why its historical root always has one of those two glides as a middle consonant. Such roots are referred to as mediae infirmae or hollow roots and can be represented as CV:C. Some very frequently used verbs consist of this irregular root, such as the previously mentioned *ja:b*, *jaji:b* *dʒjb 'get' 'bring' 'fetch'; *ga:m*, *bagu:m* *qwm 'rise' 'start to'; *ʃa:f*, *baʃu:f*~*baʃi:f* *ʃwf 'see' and *ga:l*, *bagu:l* *qwl 'say' 'call'.

In the perfect conjugation (Tables 1 and 3), the middle vowel of basic mediae infirmae verbs is a lengthened *a:* in the unmarked 3SG form and in the forms in which the person suffix starts with a vowel. This concerns the 3SG and 3PL forms, for instance *ka:s-at* *kws 'he/she looked for' and *ka:s-u* 'they looked for'. The middle

vowel becomes a short *u* or *i* in the forms in which the person suffixes start with a consonant, i.e. in all other persons than the 3SG and 3PL. Whether the latter vowel turns into *u* or *i* depends on the root of the verb: if the middle consonant of the root is *w* it becomes *u* in conjugation and if the middle consonant of the roots is *j* it becomes *i* in conjugation. An example of such a conjugation is *kus-ta* **kws* PFV. look for-2PL ‘you looked for’.

In the imperfect tense (Tables 2 and 4), the middle vowel of the mediae infirmae verb is either a lengthened *u*: or *i*: in all persons, which also depends on the root. As the middle consonant of the root, *w* is found more often than *j*, so the conjugations in Table 1 and 2 *ka:s*, *baku:s* **kws* occur more often than in Table 3 and 4 *ja:b*, *baji:b* **ɟjb*. Unlike the short vowels in verbs and other words, the long vowels of the mediae infirmae verbs are stable and not effected by proximate vowels or consonants, except for some particular verbs pointed out below.

Table 1: perfect tense of *ka:s* **kws* ‘he/she looked for’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>kusta</i>	<i>kusna</i>
2nd person	<i>kusta~kusti</i>	<i>kustu</i>
3rd person	<i>ka:s(a)~ka:sat</i>	<i>ka:su</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *ka:s* **kws*: *ba-ku:s* ‘he/she looks for’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>naku:s(i)</i>	<i>naku:su</i>
2nd person	<i>taku:s(i)</i>	<i>taku:su</i>
3rd person	<i>baku:s(i)~jaku:s(i)</i>	<i>baku:su~jaku:su</i>

Table 3: perfect tense of *ja:b* **ɟjb* ‘he/she got’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>jibta</i>	<i>jibna</i>
2nd person	<i>jibta~jibti</i>	<i>jibtu</i>
3rd person	<i>ja:b(a)~ja:bat</i>	<i>ja:bu</i>

Table 4: imperfect tense of *ja:b *dʒjɐ: ba-ji:b* ‘he/she gets’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>naji:b(i)</i>	<i>naji:bu</i>
2nd person	<i>taji:b(i)</i>	<i>taji:bu</i>
3rd person	<i>baji:b(i)~jaji:b(i)</i>	<i>baji:bu~jaji:bu</i>

Other basic mediae infirmae verbs that are conjugated as in Table 1-4, are *ʔa:s*, *baʔu:s* *ʔws ‘prepare thin sorghum bread’; *na:m*, *banu:m* *nwm ‘sleep’; *fa:t*, *bafu:t* *fwt ‘leave’ ‘go (away)’ ‘be over’; *ka:n*, *baku:n* *kwn ‘be’ (also see 5.12.3 Third type: with auxiliary); *sa:t*, *basu:t* *swt ‘prepare sorghum porridge’; *ma:t*, *bamu:t* *mwt ‘die’; *da:x*, *badu:x* *ðwq ‘taste’ and *fa:r*, *bafu:r* *fwr ‘boil’. A few mediae infirmae verbs have *w* in its root but nevertheless obtain *i*: in the imperfect conjugation, like *za:d*, *bazi:d* *zwd ‘increase’ and *ʃa:l*, *baji:l* *ʃl ‘take’ ‘carry’. The first five examples below illustrate various conjugations of basic mediae infirmae verbs.

- (1) *na:s wa.id-i:n bi-ji:b-u (...) ma jibt-a# wala na-dor-i*
 people one-pl IPFV.3-get-PL NEGPFV.get-1SG NEG IPFV.1-want-SG
 ‘Some people get it [fish]. I did not get it. And I don’t want it.’ (AA)
- (2) *ani:na zama:n=na fa:t*
 1PL time.SG=1PL PFV.3.be over.SG
 ‘Our time is over [those days are gone].’ (AA)
- (3) *has:a tawa tara'd-o fa:t ma fi*
 now now PFV.chase-3.PL PFV.3.go away.SG NEGEXS
 ‘Now it [the tiger] they have chased it away, it is gone, it is not there.’ (AJ)
- (4) *int-i da mart=ak kibi:ra w mart-at*
 2-SG DEM.SG wife.SG=2SG old.SG and PFV.3-die-SG
w xal:-a ʔaja:l
 and PFV.leave-3SG children
 ‘You, your first wife, who died and left children.’ (4)
- (5) *xawa:j-a ʃa:l=a*
 white foreigner-SG PFV.take.1SG=3SG
 ‘The white foreigner took it.’ (AF)

The verb *xa:f*, *baxa:f* **xwf* has *a:* in both its perfect as well as its imperfect conjugation (6) and only obtains *u* in the 1st and 2nd perfect conjugations.

- (6) *de:l ba-dug':-u wala ta-'xa:f*
 DEM.PL IPFV.3-hit-PL NEG IPFV.2-be afraid.SG
 '[How can] they hit while you are not afraid?' (SA)

The verb *ga:m*, *bagu:m* **qwm* 'rise' 'do' (also see 5.12.2 Second type: with semi-auxiliary) occurs as the mediae geminatae *gam:a*, *jugum:* in Chadian Arabic (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:140; Roth 1979:15) but it does not occur as such in the Darfurian corpus.

- (7) *min gum-na na-'farab-u ani:na jabana*
 from PFV-get up-1PL IPFV.1-drink-PL 1PL coffee
 'From the moment we get up, we drink coffee.' (SA)
- (8) *min gam-at, ah ra:s=ak wala ti-dax:il-i fo:g=u*
 from PFV.3-rise-SG ah head=2SG NEG IPFV.2-enter-SG above=3SG
 'When it has risen, don't put your head above it [for it has a strong smell].
 (AA)
- (9) *il:a gam tfar::*
 then suddenly PFV.do.3SG tfar::
 'All of a sudden, it went pfff [sound of diarrhoea leaving the body].' (MHa)

The verb *ba:*, *bibi:* **bjʃ* 'sell' 'buy'; is historically a *tertia* pharyngeal verb (5.3.5.3 *Tertia* pharyngeal roots) and is conjugated according to the phonological rules that apply to historical pharyngeals (10-12).

- (10) *jal:a ba-u haru:f wa:.id*
 then PFV.3-buy-PL sheep.SG one.SG
 'So then they bought one sheep.' (MHb)

- (11) *da al has:a bi-bi:-u al=daladi:m da*
 DEM.SG REL now IPFV.3-sell-PL ART=ball.PL DEM.SG
 ‘That is what they now sell in balls.’ (AA)
- (12) *bi'bi: bundugij:a ba.de:n ahu, ja-darb-u:=na ni:na*
 IPFV.3-buy.SG rifle.SG then PRST IPFV.3-hit-PL=1PL 1PL
 ‘He buys a rifle and then they hit us.’ (IA)

When conjugated, the verb *daw:ar*, *bado:ri* **dwr* ‘want’ ‘love’ appears in mixed forms of the basic and the CaC:aC pattern and is treated at in 5.7.1.1.1 *daw:ar*, *bado:ri*. The verb also occurs as a participle and an auxiliary.

5.6.3.1 Notes on *ʃa:f*, *baʃu:f~baʃi:f* ‘see’

The verb *ʃa:f*, *baʃu:f~baʃi:f* **ʃwʃ* ‘see’ occurs with *u* as a short middle vowel in the perfect conjugation but with *u:* or *i:* in the imperfect conjugation. Due to vowel harmony, the middle vowel tends to become *i:* more often when *-i* is suffixed to an imperfect verb (14). With this feature, Darfur Arabic aligns with Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:242), where the same verb also occurs with either *i* or *u* as a middle vowel. In Chadian and Nigerian Arabic, however, the verb exclusively occurs with *i* (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:144 and Roth 1979:14; Owens 1993:120), apart from the possible Nigerian Arabic perfect 1sg *ʃuf*.

- (13) *il:a ʃa:f-at sagur kabi:r kabara*
 then PFV-see-3SG bird of prey big.SG bigness
 ‘Then she/he saw a very big bird of prey.’ (MHa)
- (14) *ji:b-i ni-ʃi:f-i*
 IMP.bring-SG IPFV.1-see-SG
 ‘Bring it so I can see [it].’ (MHa)
- (15) *jal:a (...) as=suda:n (...) ʃuʃt-i kam fi:=a bagar*
 then ART=Sudan PFV.see-2SG how many in=3SG COW.COLLECT
 ‘Have you seen [i.e. noticed] how many cows there are in Sudan?’ (AF)

5.6.3.2 Notes on *ga:l*, *bagu:l* ‘say’

Apart from its literal meaning, the verb *ga:l*, *bagu:l* **qwl* ‘say’ (16-17) is used to express ‘it is called/claimed’ by using *ba-gu:l l=o* IPFV.3-say.SG to=it ‘he says to it’ (18-19) or *na-gu:l l=o* IPFV.1-say.PL to=it ‘we say to it’ (6.5 Passive voice). Furthermore, the grammaticalized derivative *ga:l* occurs as a subordinating conjunction (3.4.9.11 Asyndeton and *ga:l*). In addition, the verb is found in all possible conjugations as a discourse marker (20-23). In the latter case, it can sometimes be translated as ‘(it goes) like’ ‘say’ ‘you know’ or not be translated at all, since the verb has then lost its semantic role and only functions to organise or connect fragments of discourse or to fill the gaps where other words do not come to the mind of the speaker. Lastly, it is worth mentioning here that the combination of the two conjugated forms of the verb *ga:l-o w gul-na* lit. ‘they said and we said’ denotes ‘gossip’. For comparable and more elaborate theories and notes on this verb, see Miller (2003) and Woidich (2007).

- (16) *gul-ta* *l-e:j* *sid:-i* *wa:raj*
 PFV.say-2SG to-1SG IMP.close-SG door.SG
 ‘You told me to close the door.’ (SA)

- (17) *ga:l* *xal-e:=na* *na-du:y-u* *ga:l*
 PFV.say.SG IMP.let-SG=1PL IPFV.1-taste-PL PFV.say.SG
 ‘He said ‘let’s taste’, he said.’ (MHa)

- (18) *ba-gu:l* *l=u* *kore:b*
 IPFV.3-say.SG to=3SG koreeb
 ‘It is called ‘koreeb’ [type of crop].’ (AF)

- (19) *and=um* *ha:ja* *ba-gu:l* *l=o* *tabaldi*
 with=3PL thing.SG IPFV.3-say.SG to=3SG tabaldi
 ‘They have a thing called ‘tabaldi’ [type of fruit tree].’ (IA)

- (20) *bi-gu:l-o ga:l dub:a:n ʃakɪ*,
 IPFV.3-say-PL PFV.say.SG fly.COLL PTCP.complain.SG
ga:l iʃta:n
 PFV.say.SG thirsty.SG
ga:l bi-do:r-i bi-ʃarab al=dam:
 PFV.say.SG IPFV.3-want-SG IPFV.3-drink.SG ART=blood
 'It goes [like] 'the flies are complaining, [like] it is thirsty, [like] it wants to
 drink blood' [a song]. (AA)
- (21) *na:s al til-u da, ga:l ga:l*
 people REL PFV.stay-PL *tll DEM.SG PFV.say.SG PFV.say.SG
le:=um kida ani:na ga:l ja.an-i:n
 to=3PL like that 1PL PFV.say.SG hungry-PL
 'The people who stayed [in Darfur] are hungry [you know].' (AF)
- (22) *ga:l-o ga:l bine:=ti hasa:b=ak (...)*
 PFV.say-PL PFV.say.SG girl.SG=1SG consideration.SG=2SG
 'It goes: 'mind you, my girl (...).' [singing]. (SA)
- (23) *al=marā ga:l-o al ja-ld-i ba-gu:l-u*
 ART=woman.SG PFV.3.say-PL REL IPFV.3-give birth-SG IPFV.3-say-PL
da, i.na ma and=ina da:ja
 DEM.SG 1PL NEGwith=1PL midwife.SG
 'If a women gives birth, we don't have a midwife [you see].' (XO)

Note that the mediae infirmae verbs *sa:r*, *basi:r* **sjr* 'break camp' 'move' 'leave', frequently used in Nigerian (Owens 1993b:120) and Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:138) and *ra:h*, *baru:h* **rwḥ* 'go', very common in Egypt and also occurring in Chad (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:139) are not used at all by my informants.

5.6.4 Tertiae infirmae verb CVCV

Verbs like *ʃaka*, *baʃki* **ʃkw* 'complain' historically have the glide *j*, *w* or the glottal stop *ʔ* as the third consonant of their root. Since that glide or glottal stop appears as a vowel when the root is conjugated as a verb, those verbs are sometimes called

weak-final verbs or two consonant verbs, but I henceforth refer to them as *tertiaef infirmae* verbs.

Most *tertiaef infirmae* verbs have *a* as vowels in their perfect form and end in *-i* in their 3sg imperfect form, like the just mentioned *ʃaka*, *baʃki* *ʃkw ‘complain’. They are then conjugated as in Table 1 or Table 2 respectively.

Fewer *tertiaef infirmae* verbs, mostly the ones of inchoative nature or denoting a state of being, have *i* vowels in their perfect conjugation and *a* in their imperfect forms, like *nisi*, *bansa* *nsj ‘forget’. However, the vowels of this category of *tertiaef infirmae* verbs are variable and *nisa*, *bansi* *nsj ‘forget’ also occurs. This variability also leads to variable conjugations in the imperfect sg forms. The perfect conjugation of these verbs is given in Table 3 and the imperfect conjugation in Table 4.

Table 1: perfect tense of *ʃaka* *ʃkw ‘he/she complained’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ʃake:t(a)</i>	<i>ʃake:na</i>
2nd person	<i>ʃake:t(a)~ʃake:ti</i>	<i>ʃake:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>ʃaka~ʃakat</i>	<i>ʃaku~ʃako</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *ʃaka* *ʃkw: *ba-ʃki* ‘he/she complains’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>naʃki</i>	<i>naʃku</i>
2nd person	<i>taʃki</i>	<i>taʃku</i>
3rd person	<i>baʃki~jaʃki</i>	<i>baʃku~jaʃku</i>

Table 3: perfect tense of *nisi~nisa* *nsj ‘he/she forgot’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nisi:t(a)</i>	<i>nisi:na</i>
2nd person	<i>nisi:t(a)~nisi:ti</i>	<i>nisi:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>nisi(a)~nisa~nisat</i>	<i>nisu</i>

Table 4: imperfect tense of *nisi~nisa* *nsj: *ba~nisa~ba~nisi* ‘he/she forgets’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nansa~nansi</i>	<i>nansu</i>
2nd person	<i>tansa~tansi</i>	<i>tansu</i>
3rd person	<i>bansa~jansa~bansi~jansi</i>	<i>bansu~jansu</i>

As opposed to Sudanese Standard Arabic (Bergman 2002:30) as well as Kordofan Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:133), Nigerian Arabic (Owens 1993:113) and Chadian Arabic (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:142, 154), but like Abéché Arabic (Roth 1979:15) the 1SG and 2SG perfect forms of the *tertiaef infirmae* may obtain a final -a, i.e. one finds *mafe:t* as well as *mafe:ta* 'I went' (1-2).

- (1) *ana maf-eta le gub:a fo:g*
 1SG PFV.go-1SGto dome.SG up
 'I went [all the way] up to the dome.' (IA)
- (2) *ʔaw:al maf-ert xalwa gar-ert bi lo:h*
 formerly PFV.go-1SGKoranic school PFV.read-1SG by board.SG
 'Formerly, I went to the Koranic school and I studied by a wooden board.'
 (AJ)

Like in *nisi(a)~nisa*, *bansa~bansi* *nsj 'forget', especially frequently occurring *tertiaef infirmae* verbs alternate in vowels and hence in their conjugation. An example is the *tertiaef infirmae* verb that may occur most often: *mafa*, *bamfi* *mfj 'go', which also appears as *mifi*, *bamfi* (also see 5.11 Participle). Therefore, one encounters *mafe:t* 'I went' but also *mifi:t* with the same meaning. However, the former form is preferred in use.

Other examples of *tertiaef infirmae* verbs (including variable vowels and according conjugation) are *bada*, *babda* *bdʔ 'begin'; *gara*, *bagra~bagri* *qrʔ 'read' 'go to school'; *bika*, *babki* *bkj 'cry'; *ligi~liga*, *balga* *lqj 'find'; *jara*, *bayri* *dʒrj 'run'; *haba*, *ba.bi~bahabi* *hbw 'crawl'; *saga*, *bazgi* *sqj 'give water'; *taka*, *batki* *wkj 'lean'; *bana*, *babni* *bnj 'build'; *xili*, *baxla* *xlw 'become expensive'; *rama*, *barmi* *rmj 'throw'; *aba*, *ba:ba* *ʔbj 'refuse' (imperfect prefix like 5.6.2 *Primae a* verb aCaC*primae* hamza); *gala*, *bagla* *qlw 'fry'; *mala*, *bamala* *mlʔ 'fill'. The verb *tila* *tlw 'remain' only seems to be used in the perfect conjugation (6). The variability of the vowels in *tertiaef infirmae* verbs is also attested in Chadian Arabic by Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:154) and Roth (1979:16). The examples (3-5) show some of this variability, i.e. the same verb in the perfect conjugation but with different vowels.

Examples (6-11) demonstrate more of the use of various *tertiaef infirmae* verbs of the basic pattern in perfect (6-7) as well as in imperfect conjugation (8-11) .

- (3) *xazal-a:j li'g-it=u?*
 gazelle-SG PFV.find-2SG=3SG
 'Have you [ever] found [i.e. seen] a gazelle?' (IA)
- (4) *wal:a:hi lag-erta s:uksuk-a:ja nafax-ta*
 By God PFV.find-2SG bead-SG PFV.blow-1SG
 'By God, I found a bead and I blew on it.' (MHa)
- (5) *ka:n ji:-ti lig-erti=na mahal be:t*
 if PFV.come-2SG PFV.find-2SG=1PL place.SG house.SG
Maham:ed Sa:i:d ti-staxrab
 Mohammed Saeed IPFV.2-be surprised.SG
 'If you would come and found us at Mohammed Saeed's house, you would be surprised.' (SA)
- (6) *le til-u da, ti-xut:-i xa:di*
 TR PFV.remain-PL *ðll DEM.SG IPFV.2-put-SG over there
 'What is left over, you put (it) over there'. (AA)
- (7) *ind=i kibəra kati:r fi ra:s=i ma (...) nis-itt ana*
 with=1SG expertise much in head=1SG NEG PFV.forget-1SG 1SG
 'I have a lot of expertise, I did not forget.' (XO)
- (8) *na-'xut:-u gif: bi hina na-bun-u*
 IPFV.1-put-PL straw.SG by here IPFV.1-build-PL
na-bun-u ni-'saw:-u fo:g
 IPFV.1-build-PL IPFV.1-make-PL up
 'We put straw here and we build up and up.' (AJ)
- (9) *Sani:n da, zo:l ba-gar-a kati:r*
 Saneen DEM.SG fellow IPFV.3-read-SG much
 'This Saneen is a fellow who reads a lot.' (IA)
- (10) *wal:a:hi faxali:t de, fuxul kida*
 by God thing.PL DEM.SG thing.SG like that
ba-rm-u ma: fi

IPFV.3-throw-PL NEG EXS

'By God, they do not throw a single thing.' (AA)

- (11) **'na-mf-i** **'na-zg-i** wa 'na-sara
 IPFV.1-go-SG IPFV.1-give water-SG and IPFV.1-pasture.SG *srĥ
 'I go to give water and I pasture.' (AJ)

Notice that the vowels in *tertia* infirmas verbs are restricted to *i* or *a* and are never *u*. Furthermore, it should be pointed out here that also some historical *tertia* pharyngeal verbs are conjugated as *tertia* infirmas verbs, such as *riji~raya*, *jarja* *rǧʃ 'return' (5.3.5.3 *Tertia* pharyngeal roots).

Like in other varieties of Sudanic Arabic (Behnstedt & Woidich 2014:Band III:331) *ra.a*, *bira.i* *rʔj 'see' is sometimes used as a synonym of *ʃa:f*, *baʃu:f~baʃi:f* *ʃwʃ 'see'. The verb is conjugated as in Tables 1 and 2 above, but with the particularity that the vowel *-a-* between the first two consonants of the root is lengthened in the imperfect conjugation. This classifies the verb as belonging to the first pattern in its perfect, but to the derived *Ca:CaC* pattern (5.7.2 Pattern *Ca:CaC*) in its imperfect conjugation. Also see the discourse particle *tara* 'you see', a derivative of this verb, at 3.4.9.13 Discourse particles and interjections.

5.6.4.1 Notes on *biga*, *babga* 'become'

The verb 'become' needs special attention here because it occurs often and appears with all possible *tertia* infirmas vowels in the perfect tense. In the imperfect conjugation, the first consonant of the root frequently assimilates with the following consonant: *biga~bigi~baga*, *babga~bag:a* *bqj 'become'. The examples (12-17) illustrate different forms and contexts in which the verb *biga*, *babga* 'become' manifests itself. Note that the imperfect 2SG IPFV form of this verb is exclusively *tabga* and the historical feminine *tabgi* is not found (16). It seems likely that this is due to the intransitive nature of the verb (5.3.3 Imperfect SG verbs ending in *-i*). In some cases, *biga* can be translated as 'it has turned out that' 'this means that' (17-18). The verb also occurs as an auxiliary (5.12.2 Second type: with semi-auxiliary).

- (12) **bag-e:na** haba:jib ja sa:b=i
 PFV.become-1PL mate.PL voc friend=1SG
 'We have become mates, my friend.' (MHb)

- (13) *big-i* *ruma:d* *abja:d*
 PFV.become-3SG ash.COLL white.SG
 'It had become very white ash.' (MHa)
- (14) *ba-gt-a* ***ba-bg-a*** *itne:n*
 IPFV.3-cut-SG IPFV.3-become-SG two
 'He cuts and it becomes two.' (XO)
- (15) *bi-rak:a'b-u* *fi na:r* ***bag:-a*** *ahma::r*
 IPFV.3-put on a fire-PL on firel.SGPFV.become-3SG red
 'They put it [asaliyya] on the fire and it becomes great.' (AJ)
- (16) *ant-i kama:n* *ta-bg-a* *ami:ra*
 2-SG also IPFV.2-become-SG princess
 'You also become a princess.' (MHa)
- (17) *has:a* *ji:-na* *hina* ***big-a*** *ma* *fi#*
 now pfv.come-1pl here pfv.become-sg neg exs
figir-na#
 pfv.become poor-1pl
 'Now that we have come here [in Khartoum], it turned out that there is nothing. We have become poor.' (SA)
- (18) *jo:m at=tala,* ***big-a*** *kala:m* *ga::si*
 day ART=going out PFV.become-SG matter severe
 'When she goes out, it means something very serious is going on'. (KN)

5.6.5 Mediae geminatae verb CVC:a

The second and the third consonant of mediae geminatae roots are the same, which is why they are also called doubled roots. When the mediae geminatae root appears as a verb, these doubled consonants merge into one lengthened consonant. This happens for instance in *sad:a*, *basid*: *sdd 'close' or *kab:a*, *bakub*: *kbb 'pour'.

The first vowel in this kind of irregular verb in the perfect tense is always *a*, and in the imperfect tense *i* or *u*, although in Darfur Arabic, the latter is also

governed by regressive vowel harmony. Compared to other Arabic dialects, a typical Sudanic Arabic feature is the *-a* ending in the historical 3SG.M of the perfect tense in the mediae infirmae verbs, i.e. *sad:a* ‘he/she closed’ and not *sad:.* According to Roth (1979:11-12), this *-a* ending is also present in the imperfect tense in Abbéché Arabic for the 1SG and 3SG.M. However, I only found this ending vowel for the same persons in only a few cases in the Darfur Arabic corpus. In Darfur, the default SG imperfect endings are *-CC* or rather *-C:*, like in *nasid:* ‘I close’ and *basid:* ‘he/she closes’. However, *-i* is sometimes suffixed when the verb is transitive (5.3.3 Imperfect SG verbs ending in *-i* and example 6).

Notice that in the perfect tense, the mediae geminatae verbs are conjugated like the tertiae infirmae verbs. Furthermore, it should be noted here again that gemination is not perceived prominently in Darfur Arabic (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants). For example *tasid:* ‘you close’ might be perceived as *ta'sid* ‘you close’ and *sad:e:t* as *sade:t* ‘you have closed’. The combination of these two features makes the mediae geminatae difficult to distinguish from tertiae infirmae by their form.

Table 1: perfect tense of *sad:* **sdd* ‘he/she closed’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>sad:e:t</i>	<i>sad:e:na</i>
2nd person	<i>sad:e:t~sad:e:ti</i>	<i>sad:e:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>sad:a~sad:at</i>	<i>sad:u</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *sad:* **sdd*: *ba-sid:* ‘he/she closes’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nasid:(i)</i>	<i>nasid:u</i>
2nd person	<i>tasid:(i)</i>	<i>tafid:u</i>
3rd person	<i>basid:(i)~jasid:(i)</i>	<i>basid:u</i>

Other examples of mediae infirmae verbs are *haf:a*, *bihij:* **ħjff* ‘weed’; *dag:a*, *badug:* **dq* ‘hit’; *laz:a*, *biliz:* **lzz:* ‘push’; *jar:a*, *bayur:* **džrr* ‘pull’; *taf:a*, *butuf:* **ɬff* ‘grill’ ‘burn’; *nat:a*, *banut:* **ntt* ‘jump’; *fad:*, *baſid:* **fd* ‘load, saddle’; *xat:a*, *baxut:* **ħtt* ‘put’; *kab:a*, *bakub:* **kbb* ‘pour’; *tam:a*, *batim:* **tmm* ‘complete’; *lam:a*, *balim:* **lmm* ‘collect’; *sal:a*, *bisil:* **sll* ‘pull out’ (not to be confused with *sal:a*, *bisal:i* **slw* ‘pray’; *gal:a*, *bigil:(i)* **qll* ‘lift (up)’; *kar:a*, *bikir:* **krr* ‘roar’; *bal:a*, *babil:* **bll* ‘moisten’ ‘wet’; *ſam:a*, *naſum:* **ſmm* ‘smell’; *laf:a*, *bilif:* **lff* ‘turn’; *ſar:a*, *bifur:* **ſfr* ‘spread out’ ‘hang out’; *kas:*, *bakis:*

(unknown origin) ‘keep away’ ‘remove’; *gaʃa*, *baɣuʃ*: *qʃʃ ‘sweep’; *xaz:a*, *baxuz*: *xzz ‘pierce’; *gas*:, *bagis*: *qss ‘tell’; *hak*:, *bahuk*: *hkk ‘scratch’; *gad*:, *bigid*: *qdd ‘make holes’.

- (1) *min matar kab:-at fa:t, (...) aja:m da*
 from rain PFV.pour-3SG PFV.be over-3SG day.PL DEM.SG
ga:.id-i:n ba-kta.=u
 PTCP.PROG-PL IPFV.3-cut-PL
 ‘When the rains have fallen and are over, then they are cutting [i.e. harvesting].’ (AJ)
- (2) *hak:-erti jism=ak kul:=u*
 PFV.scratch-2SG body.SG=2SG all=3SG
 ‘You have been scratching your whole body.’ (SA)
- (3) *al ʔaz:-a manu?*
 REL PFV.push-3SG who
 ‘Who was the one who pushed?’
- (4) *al=bit: xala:s ga:m-at ba-guʃi wata zaj:a da*
 ART=girl then PFV.ING-3sg IPFV.3-sweep.SG ground like that
 ‘Then the girl started to sweep the floor like that.’ (MHb)
- (5) *ta-mʃ-i hma:j ta-ʃi:l ta-mʃ-i ta-hiʃi*
 IPFV.2-GO-SG what’s-its-name IPFV.2-take.SG IPFV.2-go-SG IPFV.2-weed.SG
 ‘You go what’s-its-name, take out, you go to weed.’ (MG)
- (6) *fi ʔiffi, iffi al bi-gid:-i b=o*
 EXS needle.SG needle.SG REL IPFV.3-make holes-SG with=3SG
 ‘There is a needle that she [F from context] makes holes with.’ (AF)

5.6.6 Other irregular verbs

Two remaining irregular verbs comprehend more than the irregularities mentioned in the previous paragraphs. It concerns the verbs *ji*, *baji* *dʒj? ‘come’ in Table 1 and 2 and *ad:a*, *bad:i* *ʔdj ‘give’ given in Table 3 and 4. The high frequency of their occurrence compels to list their full conjugations here.

Table 1: perfect tense of *ji* **dʒi*? ‘he/she came’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ji:t(a)</i>	<i>ji:na</i>
2nd person	<i>ji:t(i)</i>	<i>ji:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>ji~ja~jat</i>	<i>jo</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *ji* **dʒi*? *ba-ji* ‘he/she comes’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>naji</i>	<i>naju</i>
2nd person	<i>taji</i>	<i>taju</i>
3rd person	<i>baji~jaji~ji:ji~ji:gi</i>	<i>baju~jaju</i>

The conjugation of *ji*, *baji* ‘come’ is similar to Chadian Arabic (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:143; Roth 1979:19) and to a lesser extent to Nigerian and Kordodan Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010:135; Owens 1993a:114). The verb also occurs as a participle (5.11 Participle). The phonetic variability of the different forms of this irregular but high frequency verb (especially IPFV.3SG) is illustrative for the general phonetic flexibility of Darfur Arabic and the accommodation of phonemes to their surroundings. Also, the 1SG perfect form *je:t(a)* instead of *ji:t(a)* ‘I came’ occurs three times in the corpus.

- (1) *jɪt-a* *hina* *ra:gid* *sari:r* *da*
 PFV.come-SG here PTCP.lie.SG bed.SG DEM.SG
 ‘I came here lying on this bed.’ (AJ)
- (2) *ka:n* *jo* *il:a* *na'-.ajin* *fi:.=um*
 if PFV.come.3PL only IPFV.1-watch.SG to=3PL
 ‘When they come, I just watch them.’
- (3) *bala* *marisa* *zo:l* *ma* *baji:=k*
 without marisa man NEG IPFV.3-come.SG=2SG
 ‘Without marisa, nobody comes to you.’ (SA)

- (4) *t-aḡ-i* *bi* *ʔe:n=ak* *ta-fu:f*
 IPFV.2-come-SG with eye=2SG IPFV.2-see.SG
 ‘You come and see with your [own] eyes.’ (XO)

Table 3: perfect tense of *ad:a* *ʔdj ‘he/she gave’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ad:e:t(a)</i>	<i>ad:e:na</i>
2nd person	<i>ad:e:t(a) ad:et(i)</i>	<i>ad:e:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>ad:a</i>	<i>ad:u</i>

Table 4: imperfect tense of *ad:a* *ʔdj: *bad:i* ‘he/she gives’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nad:i</i>	<i>nad:u</i>
2nd person	<i>tad:i</i>	<i>tad:u</i>
3rd person	<i>bad:i-jad:i</i>	<i>bad:u~jad:u</i>

Interestingly, *ad:a*, *bad:i* ‘give’ is not mentioned in the Chadian Arabic grammars by Roth, Jullien de Pommerol, Zeltner nor Lethem. In Chadian Arabic, the act of giving is expressed by the verb *anta*, *janti* (5.7.3 Pattern aCCaC), which appears alongside *ad:a*, *bad:i* in Darfur Arabic, but the latter verb is preferred in use by a large margin. The indirect object of this verb can follow this verb directly or be introduced by the preposition *le* ‘to’.

- (5) *nil-e:n=ak* *ad:-ert=a* *le Nabra*
 shoe-DUAL=2SG PFV.give-1SG=3SG to Njabra
 ‘I gave your shoes to Njabra.’ (MHb)
- (6) *al=munaz:ama* *ad:-a:=na*
 ART=organization.SG PFV.give.3SG=1PL
 ‘The organization gave [it] to us.’ (AF)
- (7) *A:dam* *has:a* *da,* *ja-d:-i:=k* *telefo:n,*
 Adam now DEM.SG IPFV.3-give-SG=2SG telephone.SG
ta-ji *ta-fu:f*
 IPFV.2-come.SG IPFV.2-see.SG
 ‘Adam gives you a call then, [so] you can come and see.’ (XO)

- (8) *mu.askar* ***ba-di=na*** *fa.am* *ji-sow-u* *kawa:ni:n*
 camp.SG IPFV.3-give=1PL charcoal.COLL IPFV.3-make-PL stove.PL
 'The [refugee's] camp gives us charcoal so they can make stoves.' (AF)
- (9) *am:i=tum* *da* *ma* ***bad:i*** *akəl*
 aunt=3PL DEM.SG NEG IPFV.3-give-SG food.COLL
 'Their aunt does not give food.' (MHa)

5.7 Derived patterns

Derived patterns of roots contain prefixes, infixes, geminated consonants or lengthened vowels as compared to the basic pattern CaCaC of the three consonants root. An example is *sa:har*, *bisa:hir* **shr* 'stay up at night' of the pattern Ca:CaC. It has a regular three consonant root but a lengthened *a:* between the first two consonants compared to the basic pattern. The conjugations of the derived patterns are generally the same as the basic pattern but include some particularities pointed out in this section.

Two derived patterns are productive in Darfur Arabic. The pattern with a geminated middle consant CaC:aC, biCaC:iC, often represented as CaCCaC, biCaCCiC, is most productive, followed by the pattern with a long vowel between the first two consonants of the root: Ca:CaC, biCa:CaC. However, since it is often not obvious to distinguish short vowels and consonants form lengthened ones phonetically (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants), it is not always easy to distinguish these two derived patterns from each other and from the basic pattern. For example, the previous Ca:CaC example *sa:har*, *bisa:hir* 'stay up late' could be realized or perceived as *sah:ar*, *bisah:ir* of the pattern CaC:aC, biCaC:iC. Moreover, Darfurians sometimes mix the basic as well as the derived patterns of the same root as to their conjugations. This happens for example with the verb *wan:as*, *biwan:is* **ʔns* 'chat' (5.7.1.1 Primae *wa:w* and mediae infirmae roots), *marag*, *yumrug* **mrq* 'get out' (5.7.1 Pattern CaC:aC) and *daw:ar*, *bado:ri* **dwr* 'want' 'love' (5.7.1.1.1 *daw:ar*, *bado:ri*).

A common phonetic feature of al derived patterns in Darfur Arabic is the predominance of *a-a* as vowels between its root consonants and *a-i* in the imperfect conjugation and as a prefixed vowel in the imperfect conjugations. As opposed to the basic pattern, the vowel in the prefixed imperfect markers *ni-/na-*, *ti-/ta-*, *bi-/ba-* or *ji-/ja-* is mostly *i-*. Examples are *gad:am*, *bigad:im* **qdm* 'see off' and

sa:har, *bisa:hir* **shr* 'stay up late'. However, all vowels can be affected by vowel harmony or surrounding high or low consonants, with *-i-* being a little more changeable than *-a-*. This results in verbs such as *gaj:il*, *biga:jil* **qjl* 'spend the day/afternoon' (with *-i-* as a second perfect vowel presumably caused by the lengthened *-j-*); *ras:al*, *biras:il* **rsl* 'send' but *biras:ulu* 'they send' (with *-u-* as a second imperfect vowel because of regressive vowel harmony); and *te:rab*, *bite:rib* **trb* but *nite:ribu* (presumably with *-i-* as a second imperfect vowel because of the lengthened *-e:-* in the verb).

Old Arabic and modern spoken varieties of the language have more than two derived forms of the verb. Most of those derived forms do not seem to be productive in Darfur Arabic but are limited to a fixed set of verbs. A last group of derived patterns has an *it-* or *in-/an-* prefix. Those are treated separately in section 5.9 Passive voice, reflexivity, detransitivization, reciprocity and the prefixes *it-* and *in-* since they express the distinct semantic notion of passivity, reciprocity or reflexivity.

Derived patterns may be formed from a regular or an irregular root. The root of the previously mentioned verb *sa:har*, *bisa:hir* **shr* 'stay up at night' of the pattern *Ca:CaC*, is regular. An example of a verb of a derived pattern with an irregular root is the frequently occurring *saw:a*, *bisaw:i* **swj* 'do' or 'make'. The pattern of this verb is the derived pattern *CaC:aC* because the middle consonant is lengthened. Furthermore, the root of this verb contains *w* and *j*, which classifies it as the irregular media infirmae root as well as the *tertia infirmae* root, and which affects its conjugation compared to the regular root. Verbs of both derived patterns as well as irregular roots are treated under the patterns under which they fall below.

5.7.1 Pattern *CaC:aC*

Pattern *CaC:aC*, *biCaC:iC* is often referred to as the second stem or stem II in Arabic linguistics. This pattern often carries a causative or intensifying meaning. For example, the basic pattern *fa:r*, *bafu:r* of the root **fwr* means 'boil (over)' and the pattern *CaC:aC* of the same root *faw:ar*, *bifaw:ir* the causative meaning 'to make boil'. Another example is the basic pattern of the root **ksr*: *kasar*, *baksir* 'break' and its *CaC:aC* form *kas:ar*, *bikas:ir* with its intensifying meaning 'break into (small) pieces'. Nevertheless, not all basic patterns *CaCaC* have a productive *CaC:aC*

pattern and not all CaC:aC patterns have a productive basic pattern. The basic pattern of the root of the same CaC:aC verb *ras:al*, *biras:il* **rsl* 'send' is not productive, for example, but *ras:al*, *biras:il* itself, is.

However, many CaC:aC verbs derive from nouns and do not denote causality or intensification. For instance, the CaC:aC verb *gaj:il*, *bigaj:il* **qjl* 'spend the day/afternoon', is denominalized from the noun *gajla* or *gajli* 'afternoon' and does not carry a causative or intensifying denotation. Both Roth (1997:28-29) and Manfredi (2010:141) point out that many CaC:aC verbs derive from nouns in West Sudanic Arabic, such as the previously mentioned *gaj:il*, *bigaj:il* **qjl* 'spend the afternoon'; *kaj:as*, *bikaj:is* **kjs* 'put in a bag' from *ki:s* 'bag'; *saj:af*, *bisaj:if* **sjf* 'spend the summer' from *se:f* 'summer'.

The CaC:aC pattern is very productive in Darfur. It can be preferred in use: where in other varieties of Arabic the basic pattern of a certain root is common, Darfurians might use the CaC:aC pattern of that root. An example of such a verb is *xas:al*, *bixas:il* **ysl* 'wash' (5), used as such in plural and singular forms, while the basic pattern of that root, *xasal*, *baxsil* is not used. But also the opposite occurs: for example the the basic pattern verb *marag*, *bamrug* of the root **mrq* and denoting 'go out' is also used in the causative sense of 'take out' (7). In the latter case, speakers of Sudanese Standard Arabic (Tamis & Persson 2011:137) or Chadian Arabic (Jullien de Pommerol 1999a:834) use the CaC:aC pattern *mar:ag*, *jimar:ig*. I hypothesize that this mixture of patterns could be due to the reduced manner in which speakers of Arabic in Darfur tend to lengthen vowels or geminate consonants (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants) in comparison to other varieties of Arabic. Because of this, the difference between the basic CaCaC and the derived CaC:aC verb patterns is possibly hardly or not perceived or realized in the perfect conjugation. Consequently, the two patterns can be mixed easily. Notice that Arabic based pidgins and creoles only exhibit a limited number of lexicalized derived verb patterns.

Table 1 provides the inflection of the perfect tense of the CaC:aC verb *ras:al*, *biras:il* **rsl* 'send' and Table 2 the imperfect tense of that verb, as an example of the conjugation of regular CaC:aC verbs.

Table 1: perfect tense of *ras:al* **rsl* 'he/she sent'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ras:alta</i>	<i>ras:alna</i>
2nd person	<i>ras:alta~ras:alti</i>	<i>ras:altu</i>
3rd person	<i>ras:al(a)~rasalat</i>	<i>ras:alu</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *ras:al* **rsl*: *biras:il* 'he/she sends'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>niras:il(i)</i>	<i>niras:ulu</i>
2nd person	<i>tiras:il(i)</i>	<i>tiras:ulu</i>
3rd person	<i>biras:il(i) jiras:il(i)</i>	<i>biras:il jiras:ulu</i>

More examples of the regular CaC:aC pattern are *kal:am*, *bikal:im* **klm* 'speak'; *rak:ib*, *birak:ib* **rkb* 'to put on the fire'; *lam:as*, *bilam:is* **lms* 'touch'; *ʔal:am*, *bi.al:im* **ʔlm* 'teach'; *naq:id*, *binay:id* **nɗj* (with metathesis) 'cook' 'mature'; *nak:at*, *binak:it* **nqɛ* 'drip'; *kam:al*, *bikam:il* **kml* 'be complete' 'be over'; *ʕaj:an*, *bi.aj:in* **ʕjn* 'watch'; *gad:am*, *bigad:im* **qdm* 'see off'; *ta..am*, *bita..im* **ʔʕm* 'make taste'; *gad:ad*, *bigad:id* 'make holes'; *gas:am*, *bigas:im* **qsm* 'share' 'split'; *aj:in*, *biʕaj:in* **ʕɗn* 'eat' (lit. 'knead'); *lab:ad*, *bilab:id* **lbd* 'hide'; *al:ag*, *bi.al:ig* **ʕlq* 'hang'; *daf:ag*, *bidaf:ig* **dfq* 'throw (away)'; *lag:at*, *bilag:it* **lqt* 'pick'; *ad:al*, *bi.ad:il* **ʕdl* 'repare'; *fat:af*, *bifat:if* **ʕfʃ* 'look for'; *bar:id*, *bibar:id* **brd* 'wash' 'wet'; *saj:al*, *bisaj:il* **sdʒl* 'register' 'record'; *gab:al*, *bigab:il* **qbl* 'return' 'do again'.

- (1) *ba.ade:n ras:al-u le:=.um wa:hid-i:n bi xuju:l*
 after that pfv.send-3pl to-3pl some-pl on horses.pl
 'Then they sent them some people on horses.' (IA)
- (2) *an-na:s bi-ta..im-u:=k sija:da*
 ART-people.PL IPFV3-make taste-PL-3SG **ʔʕm* nobility.SG
 'The people will make you taste nobility.' (IA)
- (3) *has:a al-gura al gas:am-na jib-na da,*
 now ART-pumpkin.SG REL PFV.split-1PL PFV.take-1PL DEM.SG
de wala gura
 DEM.SG NEG pumpkin.SG
 'The pumpkin that we (just) split and took, it is not pumpkin.' (MHb)

- (4) *ʔaj: da ka:məra w da bi-sa:ɣil*
 yes DEM.SG camera.SG and DEM.SG IPFV.3-record.SG
 'Yes, that is a camera and that [thing] records.' (AF)
- (5) *bi-'xas:il-u kul:=u kida amalas*
 IPFV.3-wash-PL all=3SG like that smooth.SG
 'They wash all of it like that, smoothly.' (AA)
- (6) *ju-mrug min hina:k, jo-god hina*
 IPFV.3-go out.SG *mrq from there IPFV.3-sit.SG here
 'She goes out from there and sits here.' (KN)
- (7) *ma ʔe:s za:t=u ta-murg-i min*
 TOP sorghum self=3SG IPFV.2-take out-3SG from
jabra:ka da:k
 vegetable garden DIST.SG
 'For you take the sorghum itself from that vegetable garden.' (SA)

5.7.1.1 Primae wa:w and mediae infirmae roots

Primae wa:w and mediae infirmae roots have an irregular conjugation in their basic pattern, but are conjugated regularly in the CaC:aC pattern. The glides *w* and *j* in those irregular roots appear as consonants when inflected in this pattern. Examples of primae wa:w root verb in the CaC:aC pattern are *wad:ar*, *biwad:ir* *wdr 'loose' and *wan:as*, *biwan:is* 'chat'. The latter verb historically has *ʔns as its root and also occurs as *ʔa:nas*, *biʔa:nis* (5.7.2 Pattern Ca:CaC). Examples of mediae infirmae roots in the CaC:aC pattern are *xaj:at*, *bixaj:it* *xjt 'sew'; *taw:al*, *bitaw:il* *tɰl 'take long'; *jaw:ad*, *bijaw:id* *dʒwd 'correct'; *zaj:an*, *bizaj:in* *zjn 'shave'; *zaw:aj*, *bizaw:ij* *zwdʒ 'marry (off)'; and the previously mentioned *qaj:il*, *biqaj:il* *qjl 'spend day/afternoon' and *kaj:as*, *bikaj:is* *kjs 'put into a bag' (2).

The first two examples show the use of some primae wa:w and mediae infirmae verbs in the perfect (1-2) and in the imperfect tense (3-4).

- (1) *fa:t-at* ***taw::al-at*** *xala:s itla:g-o*
 PFV-leave-3SG PFV-take long-3SG then PFV.meet each other-3PL
zaj:e da
 like that
 'She went off, took a very long time and then they met again.' (MHb)
- (2) ***kaj:as-o*** *fi ki:s*
 PFV.put into a bag-3PL in bag.SG
 'They put it in a bag.' (MHa)
- (3) *gis:a* *ʔa:j* *bi-gas:us-u* ***bi-wan:us-u***
 story.SG yes IPFV.3-tell-3PL *qss IPFV.3-chat-PL *ʔns
 'Yes, they tell stories and chat.' (SA)
- (4) *da:jir* ***ni-zaw:ag***
 PTCp.want.SG IPFV.1-marry.SG *zwdʒ
 'He wants to get married.' (AF)

5.7.1.1.1 *daw:ar, bado:ri*

The verb *daw:ar, bado:ri* *dwr 'want' or 'love' is a special case of a frequently occurring verb of the mediae infirmae in the CaC:aC pattern. In its perfect conjugation, a Darfurian may choose between the basic CaCaC and the CaC:aC pattern in the 1st and 2nd persons (Table 1). The imperfect conjugation of the verb, however, is more consistent and only appears with a long o: (Table 2). Roth (1979:25) as well as Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:156) note similar conjugations of this verb in Chadian Arabic. The variable inflection of this verb seems an illustrative example of the phonological features that gemination is weak (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants) and that phonemes w and u in the proximity of or combined with a, are inclined to turn into o (2.2.2.1.4 Phoneme o [o] [ɔ]).

A distinctive feature that sets Darfur Arabic apart from Chadian Arabic in this verb, is the invariable ending in -i in all sg forms of the imperfect tense, which was produced by all my informants in the corpus as well as by my key informants. This -i is absent in the paradigms of Chadian Arabic (5.3.3 Imperfect sg verbs ending in -i).

Lastly, it should be noted here that the participle *da:jir* of this verb (5.11 Participle) is also used frequently.

Table 1: perfect tense of *daw:ar *dwr* 'he/she wanted'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>durta~daw:arta</i>	<i>durna~daw:arna</i>
2nd person	<i>durta~daw:arta~durti~daw:arti</i>	<i>durtu~daw:artu</i>
3rd person	<i>daw:ar(a)~daw:arat</i>	<i>daw:aru</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *daw:ar *dwr: bado:ri* 'he/she wants'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nado:ri</i>	<i>nado:ru</i>
2nd person	<i>tado:ri</i>	<i>tado:ru</i>
3rd person	<i>bado:ri~jido:ri</i>	<i>bado:ru~jido:ru</i>

- (1) *da:jir* *ʔakil*, ***ni-dor-u*** *ni-ʃrab*,
 PTCP.want.SG food.SG IPFV.1-want-PL IPFV.1-drink.SG
wə da:jir *moja. wə* ***na-dor-i*** *na-gr-i*
 and PTCP.want.SG water and IPFV.1-want-SG IPFV.1-read-SG
 'I want food, we want to drink, I want water and I want to go to school
 [needs of a child].' (AF)
- (2) *fi* *hilal* *rija:l* ***bi-dor-u*** *ʃara:b*
 in village.PL man.PL IPFV.3-want-PL drink
 'In the villages the men want to drink [alcohol].' (AJ)
- (3) *ma* ***na-dor-i*** *ha:ja*
 NEG 1PL-want-SG thing.SG
 'I don't want anything.'
- (4) *ma* ***ja-dor=ak***
 NEG IPFV.3-want.SG=2SG
 'She does not want [to marry]/like/love you.'

- (5) *al ma ba-do:r-i ba-mf-i ba-fi:l-i bi ra:s=u*
 REL NEGIPFV.3-want-SG IPFV.3-go-SG IPFV.3-carry-SG on head.SG=3SG
 ‘Anybody who does not want [water from a tank], goes and carries it on her [F from context] head.’ (SA)

5.7.1.2 Tertiae infirmae roots

The irregular tertiae infirmae roots in the CaC:aC always have -a as the ending vowel in the perfect tense and -i in the imperfect tense. When conjugated in the perfect tense (Table 1), the pattern appears exactly like the perfect mediae geminatae verbs of the basic pattern (5.6.5 Mediae geminatae verb CVC:a). The imperfect tense of tertiae infirmae verbs with biCaC:iC pattern is nevertheless a little different to the conjugation of the mediae geminatae verbs: the singular forms of the former invariably end in -i (Table 2). Examples of CaC:aC tertiae infirmae verbs are *sal:a*, *bisal:i* *slw ‘pray’; *gar:a*, *jigar:i* *qr? ‘teach’; *xal:a*, *bixal:i* *xlj ‘let’ ‘abandon’; *xan:a*, *bixan:i* *xnj ‘sing’; *dal:a*, *bidal:i* *dlw ‘let down’; *rab:a*, *birab:i* *rbw ‘raise’; *sam:a*, *bisam:i* *smj ‘name’. The frequently occurring verb *wad:a*, *biwad:i* *?dj ‘bring’ (5) is a tertiae infirmae CaC:aC verb which is also primae wa:w type and not to be confused with *wada*, *bo:da* *wdf ‘give birth’ (5.3.5.3 Tertiae pharyngeal roots).

Table 1: perfect tense of *xan:a* *xnj ‘he/she sang’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>xan:et(a)</i>	<i>xan:e:na</i>
2nd person	<i>xane:t(a)~xan:e:ti</i>	<i>xan:e:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>xan:a~xan:at</i>	<i>xan:u</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *xan:a* *xnj: *bixan:i* ‘he/she sings’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nixan:i</i>	<i>nixan:u</i>
2nd person	<i>tixan:i</i>	<i>tixan:u</i>
3rd person	<i>bixan:i~jixan:i</i>	<i>bixan:u~jixan:u</i>

- (1) *wə muxrib sal-ema sala:t*
 and evening.SG *yrb PFV.pray-1PL *slw prayer.SG*slw
al=muhrib
 ART=evening.SG *yrb
 ‘And in the evening we did the evening prayer.’ (IA)
- (2) *ma:t-at u xal-a aja:l*
 PFV.die-3SG and PFV.leave-3SG children
 ‘She died and left children.’ (4)
- (3) *ta-xan-i ʔasa:n ta-nab:is=u*
 IPFV.2-sing-SG *ynj in order to IPFV.2-insult=3SG *nbz
 ‘You sing to insult him.’ (XO)
- (4) *wala na-xal-u adm-a:i kul:u*
 NEG IPFV.1-leave-PL bone.SG *ʔəm at all
 ‘We don’t leave a single bone.’ (MG)
- (5) *taja:ra bi-wad-i:k Fa:ʃir*
 aeroplane IPFV.3-bring-2SG Al-Fashir
 ‘[There is] a plane that brings you to Al-Fashir.’ (AJ)

5.7.1.2.1 *saw:a, bisaj:i*

A special case of a CaC:aC *tertiaef infirmae* verb is *saw:a, bisaj:i* *swj ‘do’ ‘make’, where the middle consonant of the root, *w*, generally changes into *j* when followed by an *-i* suffix, the marker of the singular forms in the imperfect tense (Table 2). Like in Abéché Arabic, a sg form like *bisaj:i* may be shortened to *bise:i* (Roth 1979:27). Moreover, the ending of plural forms in the imperfect tense, *-aw:u*, are often merged into *-o* (6), following the phonological rule that *u* or *w* in the proximity of or combined with *a* becomes *o* (2.2.2.1.4 Phoneme *o* [o] [ɔ]). The verb occurs frequently in this language variant and is therefore presented here fully, including examples from the corpus.

Table 1: perfect tense of *saw:a* *swj 'he/she did/made'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>saw:e:t(a)</i>	<i>saw:e:na</i>
2nd person	<i>saw:e:t(a)~saw:e:ti</i>	<i>saw:e:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>saw:a~saw:at</i>	<i>saw:u~sa.u</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *saw:a* *swj: *bisaj:i* 'he/she does/makes'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nisaj:i~nise:i</i>	<i>nisaw:u~niso</i>
2nd person	<i>tisaj:i~tise:i</i>	<i>tiwaw:u~tiso</i>
3rd person	<i>bisaj:i~jisaj:i~bise:i~jise:i</i>	<i>bisaw:u~jisaw:u~biso~jiso</i>

- (1) *ma saw:-e:ti sami*
 NEG PFV.do-2SG well *smħ
 'You didn't do that well.'
- (2) *ma:f-i:n ma:f-i:n lam:an te:ri saw:-a l-o fi*
 PTCP.walk-PL PTCP.walk-PL until bird.SGPFV.make-3SG to-3SG on
rus-e:n=um ija:l
 head-DUAL=3PL children
 'They walked and walked until a bird made a nest on their head [i.e. they walked for a very long time].' (MHa)
- (3) *ana da saw:-e:ta mando:la*
 1SG DEM.SG PFV.make-1SG food basket.SG
 'I made a [palm fronds] food basket myself.' (AF)
- (4) *ha:ja abjad de da:jir ti-saj:-i bi=u fənu*
 thing.SG white DEM.SG PTCP.want.SG IPFV.2-do-2SG with=3SG what
 'That white thing, what do you want to do with it?' (MHa)
- (5) *la la masare:n da:k bi-saw:-u kamuni:ja*
 no no intestins *msr DIST.SG IPFV.3-make-PL tripe sauce
 'No, those intestines they make [with them] tripe sauce.' (AA)

- (6) *mu.askar bad:-i:=na fa.am ji-s-o kawa:ni:n*
 camp.SG IPFV.3-give-SG=1PL charcoal IPFV.3-make-PL stove.PL
 'The camp [i.e. the relief organization] gives us charcoal and they make
 stoves.' (AF)
- (7) *kala:m da:k al hum:a saw'ʔ-a ti-'sa-u*
 matter DIST.SG REL 3PL PFV.do-SG.3SG IPFV.2-do-SG.3SG
 'You do [the same] as they did.' (SA)
- (8) *jal:a xa:ru:f niza:m=u ritit bi-saj:-i kidɪ*
 then sheep.SG system.SG=3SG ritit IPFV.3-do-SG like that
 'Then the sheep went like 'ritit' [sound of a chain], he did like that.' (MHb)
- (9) *ʔaw:al na:s bi-'saw:-u da taw:a ja:tu*
 formerly people IPFV.3-do-PL DEM.SG now who
bi-saj:-i taw:a mari:sa za:t=u
 IPFV.3-do-SG now sorghum beer self=3SG
 'People used to make that [in the old days], now who makes sorghum beer
 now?' (AA)

Note that *war:a~o:ra*, *biwar:i~bo:ri* **wrj* (**rʔj* in Old Arabic) 'inform' 'tell', both a primae *wa:w* as well as a tertiae infirmae verb, is dealt with in 5.7.3 Pattern aCCaC.

5.7.2 Pattern Ca:CaC

The pattern Ca:CaC, biCa:CaC is often designated as stem III in Arabic linguistics and generally has a person as its subject as well as its object. An example is *ʃa:kal*, *bifa:kil* *ʃkl 'quarrel' 'look for trouble'. Not all Ca:CaC verbs have a person as an object, and they can even be intransitive, such as *sa:far*, *bisa:fir* 'travel'. Like the CaC:aC pattern, it has *a-a* in the perfect and *a-i* in its imperfect conjugation and the prefixed vowel of the imperfect is *i-*. The verb in the Ca:CaC pattern occurs less frequently than the CaC:aC pattern in the previous section. Since gemination and vowel lengthening is weak in the language variety at issue (2.2.3 Lengthening vowels and consonants; Roth 1979:31), both patterns are hard to distinguish from each other phonetically and they almost seem to merge into one single derived pattern.

Table 1 demonstrates the conjugation of the Ca:CaC verb *ʃa:kal*, *bifa:kil* ‘quarrel’ in the perfect and Table 2 in the imperfect conjugations as examples of the way in which the Ca:CaC, biCa:CaC verbs are inflected.

Table 1: perfect tense of *ʃa:kal* *ʃkl ‘he/she quarreled’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ʃa:kalta</i>	<i>ʃa:kalna</i>
2nd person	<i>ʃa:kalta~ʃa:kalti</i>	<i>ʃa:kaltu</i>
3rd person	<i>ʃa:kal(a)~ʃa:kalat</i>	<i>ʃa:kalu</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *ʃa:kal* *ʃkl: *bifa:kil* ‘he/she quarrels’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nifa:kil</i>	<i>nifa:kulu</i>
2nd person	<i>tifa:kil(i)</i>	<i>tifa:kul</i>
3rd person	<i>bifa:kli~jisfa:kil</i>	<i>bifa:kulu~jifa:kulu</i>

More examples of the Ca:CaC verbs in the regular roots are the previously mentioned *sa:far*, *bisa:fir* *sfr ‘travel’; *a:laɣ*, *bi.a:liɣ* *ʕldɣ ‘treat (medically)’; *ha:sab*, *biha:sib* *hsb ‘count’; *sa:har*, *bisa:hir* *shr ‘stay up late’; *ba:raḳ*, *biba:rik* *brk ‘bless’; *ha:rab*, *biha:rib* *hrb ‘wage war (against)’ ‘fight’; and *ha:faz*, *biha:fiz* *hfə ‘learn (Quran) by heart’.

- (1) *ji-'sa:har-u* *tange: (...)* *ji-'sahar-u*
 IPFV.3-stay up late-PL *tange* IPFV.3-stay up late-PL
ji-'sahar-u (...) *le:* *l=efə*
 IPFV.3-stay up late-PL until ART=evening.SG *ʃw
 ‘They stay up late and dance ‘tange’ (a northern Darfur dance). They dance and dance until the evening.’ (KN)
- (2) *ba.de:n* *Sini:n da,* *ga:m-at* *ha:rab-at* *li sulta:n*
 after that Sinin DEM.SG PFV.start-3SG PFV.fight-3SG to sultan.SG
 ‘After that, Sinin started to fight the sultan.’ (IA)

5.7.2.1 Primae wāw and mediae infirmæ roots

Like the CaC:aC pattern, verbs with primæ wāw and mediae infirmæ roots are conjugated in the Ca:CaC pattern of the basic regular verb. Examples are *wa:fag*,

biwa:fig *w_fq ‘agree’; *ʃa:war*, *biʃa:wir* *ʃ_wr ‘consult’; *ta:wag*, *bita:wig* *t_wq ‘look (from above)’; *a:wan*, *bi.a:win* *ʔ_wn ‘help’; *sa:wag*, *bisa:wig* *s_wq ‘market’ and *ʔa:nas*, *biʔa:nis* *ʔ_ns ‘chat’. The latter verb also occurs in the CaC:aC pattern as *wan:as*, *biwan:is* (5.7.1.1 Primae wa:w and mediae infirmae roots) and seems another example of the fluidity of the CaC:aC and Ca:CaC verbs in Darfur Arabic.

- (1) *awi:n* *da:was-u* *abg-a* *taraf*
 women.PL PFV.fight-3PL IMP-SG side.SG
 ‘When women fight, stay off.’ (ref. proverbs)
- (2) *jal:a* *ji:-j-i* *ja-ta:wig* *ija:l-ak* *big-u*
 then IPFV.3-come-SG IPFV.3-look at.SG# children.PL-2SG PFV.become-PL
gadar *ʃənu*
 like what
 ‘Then she [F from context] came to have a look [at the new-borns]. “Your children have become so great!”’ (MHb)

5.7.2.2 Tertiae infirmae roots

Like the CaC:aC, biCaC:iC pattern, the ending vowel of the tertiae infirmae roots of the Ca:CaC, biCa:CiC pattern is invariably -a in the perfect and -i in the imperfect conjugation. It is consequently conjugated likewise too (Table 1 and 2). Examples of tertiae infirmae verbs of the Ca:CaC pattern are *la:ga*, *bila:gi* *l_qj ‘meet’; *ja:ra*, *biya:ri* *d_zrj ‘flow’ ‘seep’; and *na:da*, *bina:di* ‘call’. The verb *ra.a*, *bira:i* *r_ʔj ‘see’ is used in the basic pattern in the perfect and in the biCa:CiC pattern in the imperfect conjugation. The latter verb, however, only occurs once in the corpus; *ʃa:f*, *bifu:f~bifi:f* *ʃ_wf ‘see’ (5.6.3.1 Notes on *ʃa:f*, *baʃu:f~baʃi:f* ‘see’ is preferred in use.

Table 1: perfect tense of *la:ga* *l_qj ‘he/she met’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>la:ge:t(a)</i>	<i>la:ge:na</i>
2nd person	<i>la:ge:t(a)~la:ge:ti</i>	<i>la:ge:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>la:ga~la:gat</i>	<i>la:gu</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *la:ga *lqj: bila:qi* ‘he/she meets’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nila:gi</i>	<i>nila:gu</i>
2nd person	<i>tila:gi</i>	<i>tila:gu</i>
3rd person	<i>bila:gi~jila:gi</i>	<i>bila:gu~jila:gu</i>

- (1) *ni-la:g-i-k* *we:n*
 IPFV.1-meet-SG=2SG where
 ‘Where shall I meet you?’
- (2) *da ni-na:d-o la:da:j*
 DEM.SG IPFV.1-call-PL fireplace.SG
 ‘We call that “lada:j” *?dw) [fireplace made of three stones].’ (SA)
- (3) *ga:m-at xala:s na:d-at kila:b=um da:k*
 pfv.start-3sg then pfv.call-3sg dog.pl=3pldist.sg
 ‘Then she called their dogs.’ (MHb)

5.7.2.3 Co:CaC, biCo:CiC and Ce:CaC, biCe:CiC patterns

Sudanic Arabic includes a variant on the Ca:CaC verbs, i.e. one with a lengthened *o*: instead of the lengthened *a*: in the same pattern: Co:CaC, biCo:CiC. This variant concerns the verbs *go:lab*, *bigo:lib* *qlb ‘stir’ ‘turn’; *ho:zaz*, *biho:ziz* *hzz ‘shake’; *ko:rak*, *biko:rik* ‘yell’ ‘cry’ and the *tertiaie infirmæ* *go:ga*, *bigo:gi* ‘carry a baby in a sling on the back’. The latter two verbs do not have an Old Arabic root and are likely to be of local origin with Arabic morphology.

Table 1: perfect tense of *ko:rak* ‘he/she cried’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ko:rakta</i>	<i>ko:rakna</i>
2nd person	<i>ko:rakta~ko:rakti</i>	<i>ko:raktu</i>
3rd person	<i>ko:rak(a)~ko:rakat</i>	<i>ko:raku</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *ko:rak: biko:rik* 'he/she cries.'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>niko:rik</i>	<i>niko:ruku</i>
2nd person	<i>tiko:rik~tiko:riki</i>	<i>tiko:ruku</i>
3rd person	<i>biko:rik~jiko:rik</i>	<i>biko:ruku</i>

- (1) *ʃi:f axwa:n=i ha:ja bi-ko:rik da ʃənu*
 IMP.look.SG brother.PL=1SG thing.SG IPFV.3-yell.SG DEM.SG what
 'Look guys, what is it that is yelling?' (MHa)
- (2) *wa:id-i:n ba-'ko:ruk-u wa:id-i:n ma ba-'ko:ruk-u*
 some-PL IPFV.3=cry-PL some-PL NEG IPFV.3-cry-PL
gulu:b=um gawi
 heart.PL-3PL strong.SG
 'Some of them cry [when circumcised], some don't, they are brave.'
 (MY)
- (3) *ti-xut:-i fi na:r ti-go:li'b=i*
 IPFV.2-put-SG.3SG on fire.SG IPFV.2-stir=3SG
 'You put it on the fire and you stir it.' (AA)

The verb *o:gad, bo:gid *wqd* 'kindle', which partly looks like the latter type of Ca:CaC verb, is treated under (5.7.3 Pattern aCCaC).

A second variety on the Ca:CaC, biCa:CaC pattern of verbs is Ce:CaC, biCe:CaC. I encountered only one of them: *te:rab, bite:rib *trb* 'sow' 'grow' (see Behnstedt & Woidich 2011:Band II:278-279 on its etymology).

Table 1: perfect tense of *te:rab *trb* 'he/she sowed'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>te:rabta</i>	<i>te:rabna</i>
2nd person	<i>te:rabta~te:rabti</i>	<i>te:rabtu</i>
3rd person	<i>te:rab(a)~te:rabat</i>	<i>te:rabu</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *te:rab* **trb*; *bite:rib* 'he/she sows'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nite:rib(i)</i>	<i>nite:ribu</i>
2nd person	<i>tite:rib(i)</i>	<i>tite:ribu</i>
3rd person	<i>bite:rib(i)~jite:rib(i)</i>	<i>bite:ribu~jite:ribu</i>

- (4) *il='e:ʃ* *ni-te:ri'b=a*
 ART=sorghum IPFV.1-SOW=3SG
 'I sow the sorghum.'

- (5) *bata:tis* *fi. ni-te:ri'b=u*
 potato.PL EXS IPFV.1-SOW=PL.3SG
 '[Yes] there are potatoes. We grow them.' (AJ)

5.7.3 Pattern aCCaC

Pattern aCCaC, baCCaC only occurs in two verbs clearly: *asba*, *basbi* **sbħ* 'become (morning)' and *anta*, *banti* **ʔtj*. This pattern is often referred to as stem IV in Arabic linguistics.

- (1) *ka:n wata (...)* *asb-a,* *int-i* *ti-wal:-i*
 if world PFV.become morning-3SG **sbħ* 2-SG IPFV.2-light-SG **wlʃ*
na:r ti-saw:-i *akil*
 fire IPFV.2-make-SG food
 'When it becomes morning, you light fire and make food.' (MY)
- (2) *has:a* *asba* [*azbuh*] *xa:jin*
 now PFV.become.SG **sbħ* PTCP.treacherous.SG
 'Now he has become treacherous.' (IA)

According to Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:159), *anta*, *banti* 'give' derives from the historical root **ʔtj*.

Table 1: perfect tense of *anta* *ʕtj 'he/she gave'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>ante:t(a)</i>	<i>ante:na</i>
2nd person	<i>ante:t(a)~ante:ti</i>	<i>ante:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>anta</i>	<i>antu</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *anta* *ʕtj: *banti* 'he/she gives'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nanti</i>	<i>nantu</i>
2nd person	<i>tanti</i>	<i>tantu</i>
3rd person	<i>banti~janti</i>	<i>bantu~jantu</i>

- (3) *ti-murg-i* *alma:=u* ***t-ant-i*** *na:r* *ba:-ku'l-u*
 IPFV.2-take out-SG water=3SG IPFV.2-give-SG fire IPFV.3-eat-PL.3SG
 'You take out its water, put it on the fire and then they eat it.' (AA)

- (4) *Mu.am:ad Sa:i:d* *ka:n* *j-e* ***j-ant-i=k***
 Mohammed Said if PFV.come-3SG IPFV.3-give-SG=3SG
 'When Mohammed Said comes, he will give it to you.' (SA)

Notice that the historical feminine 3SG perfect form *antat* does not occur. As opposed to Chadian Arabic (Pommerol 1999b:196; Roth 1979:32), however, it should also be remarked here that *tertia infirmae* verb *ad:a*, *bad:i* (5.6.6 Other irregular verbs) is used more often than *anta*, *banti* to express 'give'.

The two verbs *o:gad*, *bo:gid* *wqđ 'kindle' and *war:a~o:ra*, *biwar:i~bo:ri* *rʔj in Old Arabic 'inform' 'tell'. Both historically belong to the aCCaC pattern and the historical *rʔj root has turned into *wrj synchronically. Since in Darfur Arabic the vowels *u* or glide *w* often assimilates with *a* into *o* (2.2.2.1.4 Phoneme *o* [o] [ɔ]), *primae* *wa:w* verbs start with *o*: in this pattern. The high frequency *tertia infirmae* verb *o:ra*, *bo:ri*, however, may also be realised as in Sudanese Standard Arabic: *war:a*, *biwar:i*. Phonetic variants between *bo:ri* and *biwar:i* also occur, such as *biʔo:ri*, current in Chad (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:171; Roth 1979:33). All inflections of *war:a~o:ra*, *biwar:i~bo:ri* 'tell' are given in Tables 3 and 4, followed by three examples.

Table 3: perfect tense of *war:a~o:ra *r?j* 'he/she informed/told'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>war:e:t(a)~o:re:t(a)</i>	<i>war:e:na~o:re:na</i>
2nd person	<i>war:e:t(a)~o:r:et(a)~war:e:ti~o:re:ti</i>	<i>war:e:tu~o:re:tu</i>
3rd person	<i>war:a(t)~o:ra(t)</i>	<i>war:u~o:ru</i>

Table 4: imperfect tense of *war:a~o:ra *r?j*; *biwar:i~bo:ri* 'he/she informs'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>niwar:i~no:ri</i>	<i>niwar:u~no:ru</i>
2nd person	<i>tiwar:i~to:ri</i>	<i>tiwar:u~to:ru</i>
3rd person	<i>biwar:i~jiwar:i~bo:ri~jo:ri</i>	<i>biwar:u~jiwar:u~bo:ru~jo:ru</i>

- (5) *kam o:ra=k ta:a:l o:ri'=ni*
 if PFV.tell.SG=2SG IMP.come.SG IMP.tell.SG=1SG
 'If he tells you, come and tell me.'

- (6) *wal:ahi ka:n ma or-e:ti=ni ana bu-gtul=ak*
 by God if NEG PFV.tell-2SG=1SG 1SG IPFV.1-kill.SG=2SG
 'By God, if you don't tell me, I will kill you.' (MHa)

- (7) *?amf-i ?ald-i ija:l ta:a:l ana*
 IMP.go-SG IMP.give birth-SG children IMP.come.SG 1SG
na-war-i=k
 IPFV.1-show-SG=2SG
 'Go and have children, then come back and I will let you know [what I mean].' (MHb)

5.7.4. Other patterns

Although Old Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and many spoken varieties of Arabic display many more patterns or stems of the three consonant root, they appear in Darfur Arabic with such a rarity that they should rather be considered as loanwords than proper to the dialect.

In the corpus, the pattern iCtaCaC, biCtaCiC (stem VIII) occurs in verbs such as *ixtalaf*, *bixtalif* *xlf 'differ'; *istalam*, *bistalim* *slm 'receive'; *intaha*, *bintihi* *nhj 'end'; *intahan*, *bintahin* *mhn and *iftaka*, *jiftaki* *fkj 'complain'.

- (1) *Fal:a:ta* *ʃ-o* *l=o* *if'tak-o*
 West Africans¹⁵ PFV.come-PL to=3SG PFV.complain-3PL
 'The West Africans came to him and complained.' (IA)
- (2) *gis:a* *intah-at* *xala:s*
 story.SG *qss PVF.end-3SG over
 'The story has ended, it is over.' (MHb)
- (3) *al=bine:ʃi (...)* *ba-gr-i* *bi-ntahin*
 ART=girl IPFV.3-study-SG IPFV.3-take exam.SG *mħn
li *ja:mi.a*
 at university.SG
 'The girl studies and takes exams at university.' (SA)

The pattern *istaCCaC*, *bistaCCiC*, often designated as stem X in Arabic linguistics, occurs in verbs like *istaxrab*, *bistaxrib* *yrb 'be surprised' (4-5) and *ista'ta*, *basta'ti* *twf') in (example 6 and also see 4.3 Singular nouns).

- (4) *ka:n fuf-ti* *ad=dahab da,* *ti-staxrib*
 if PFV.see-2SG ART=gold DEM.SG IPFV.2-be surprised.SG
 'If you would see this gold, you would be surprised.' (MHa)
- (5) *wa:lahi xawa:ʃi* *de* *istaxrab-at* *le kala:m*
 By God white foreigner.SG DEM PFV.be surprised-3SG to matter.SG
zaj:ə de
 like that
 'By God, the white foreigner was surprised by that matter.' (AF)
- (6) *law int-a ma ta-stati:* *kama:n* *ma ti-sa:w-u* *muna:saba*
 if 2-SG NEGIPFV.2-can.SG also NEGIPFV.2-make-PL occasion.SG
 'If you can't, you also do not have to organise an occasion.' (AF)

The patterns with *it-* or *in-* prefixes are treated in 5.9 Passive voice, reflexivity, detransitivization, reciprocity and the prefixes *it-* and *in-*.

¹⁵ More specifically in Sudan: a collective term for Fula and Hausa people.

5.8 Four consonant roots

Four consonant roots verbs CaCCaC, biCaCCiC have two different middle consonants, as opposed to the CaC:aC pattern with a geminated middle consonant. The four consonant root verbs are quite productive in Darfur Arabic and many of those verbs are characteristic of the area. In proportion to the three consonant root, they often contain the loan phoneme *ŋ*, are ideophonic and their origin is speculative. Many roots of the verbs given in this section do not have any relation with Old Arabic.

Examples of four consonant root verbs are *dangar*, *bidangir* *dngr ‘bend forward’ ‘plunge’; *sangar*, *bisangir* *sngr ‘sit/go down’; *xarbat*, *bixarbit* *xrbt and *laxbat*, *bilaxbit* *lxbt ‘mix (up)’; *fartag*, *bifartig* *frtq ‘undo’ ‘empty’ ‘scatter’; *jankab*, *bijankib* *dʒnkb ‘weed’; *tandal*, *bitandil* *tndl ‘pile’; *zaxrat*, *bizaxrit* *zyrt ‘trilling shrill of joy by women’; *baftan*, *bibaftin* *bʃtn ‘treat contemptuously’. The conjugation of the quadrilateral verbs is like the regular derived CaC:aC pattern (5.7.1 Pattern CaC:aC), and like all derived patterns, the vowels are *a-a* in the perfect and *a-i* in the imperfect conjugation, with *-i-* as the imperfect prefixed vowel. In Table 1 and 2 the full inflection of the four consonant root verb is displayed, followed by four examples in context.

Table 1: perfect tense of *jankab* *dʒnkb ‘he/she weeded’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>jankabt(a)</i>	<i>jankabna</i>
2nd person	<i>jankabt(a)~jankabti</i>	<i>jankabtu</i>
3rd person	<i>jankab(a)~jankabat</i>	<i>jankabu</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *jankab* *dʒnkb: *bijankib* ‘he/she weeds’

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nijankib(i)</i>	<i>nijankubu</i>
2nd person	<i>tijankib(i)</i>	<i>tijankubu</i>
3rd person	<i>bijankib(i)~jijankib(i)</i>	<i>bijankubu~jijankubu</i>

- (1) *ti-jankab* *bi* *kadanka*, *jar:a:j*
 IPFV.2-weed.SG with weeder.SG weeder.SG
 ‘You weed with a weeder.’

- (2) *farəŋʔarabij:a fi:, ta-xan:-u ta-zaxrat-u*
 farangabija EXS IPFV.2-sing-PL IPFV.2-shrill-PL
 ‘There is Farangbija (a Fur dance): you sing and you shrill of joy.’ (AF)
- (3) *wə fu:l wə simsim tandal-o l=um gudur di*
 and beans and sesame PFV.pile up-3PL for=3PL size DEM.SG
 ‘And they piled up for them this much of beans and sesame.’ (MHa)
- (4) *aʃ=ʃanta (...) ji-farti'g-u hɪna:k fi l=birif da:k*
 ART=bag IPFV.3-empty-PL there on ART=mat.SG DIST.SG
 ‘They empty the bag [of wedding presents] there, on that mat.’ (MG)
- Four consonant verbs may consist of two (partly) reduplicated syllables, such as *nəŋnəŋ*, *binəŋniŋ* *nɛŋnɛ ‘chat’ ‘grumble’; *karkar*, *bikarkir* *krkr ‘retch’; *damdam*, *bidamdim* *dmdm ‘tidy’; *ʃawʃaw*, *bifawfiw* *ʃwʃw ‘simmer’; *tartal*, *bitartil* *trtl ‘sieve’; *kabkab*, *bikabkib* *kbbk ‘pamper’ and *dardag*, *bidardig* *drdg ‘roll’.
- (5) *il:a ba-gu:m bi-ʃawfiw*
 until IPFV.3-start.SG IPFV.3-simmer.SG
 ‘Until it starts to simmer.’ (AF)
- (6) *ti-tarti'l-i (...) daɣi:g=u da ba-mrug*
 IPFV.2-sieve-SG flower=3SG DEM.SG IPFV.3-come out.SG
 ‘You sieve it and its flower comes out.’ (AA)
- (7) *to-god ti-saj:-i ti-damdim be:t=ak*
 IPFV.2-stay.SG IPFV.2-do-SG IPFV.2-tidy.SG house=2SG
 ‘You stay [at home] and tidy your house.’ (SA)
- (8) *tawa:li na-wad':-i jad:=i ni-karkir*
 immediately IPFV.1-put-SG hand=1SG IPFV.1-retch.SG
 ‘I immediately put my hand [there] and retch.’ (XO)

5.9 Passive voice, reflexivity, detransitivization, reciprocity and the prefixes *it-* and *in-*

Verbs of the basic, CaC:aC, Ca:CaC and CaCCaC patterns, i.e. all the productive patterns in Darfur Arabic, obtain a passive, reflexive or reciprocal meaning when an *it-* or *in-* morpheme is prefixed to the root. Moreover, *in-* and *it-* verbs may detransitivize the verb and correspond to the unaccusative or middle verbs in English. It is not always clear whether an *in-* or *it-* verb renders the passive voice, reciprocity, the unaccusative or a middle verb, as these meanings overlap. Its interpretation depends on the context.

It is remarkable that in contrast with Chadian, Kordofanian Baggara and Nigerian Arabic (Roth 1979:38; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:159-161; Manfredi 2010:144-145 & 174; Owens 1993a:124-127), an *al-* prefix with a similar function is not found before verbs among my Darfurian informants. However, all three consonants of the West-Sudanic prefixes *in-*, *it-* or *al-* generally assimilate with alveolar first phonemes of the verb (like in Table 1 and 2). Furthermore, and like in other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic, the prefixed vowel of the imperfect tense is *-i-* but due to vowel harmony, sometimes *-a-*, like in the plural imperfect forms in Table 2. Hence, when assimilated to the first consonant of the root, *in-*, *it-* or *al-* can often not be distinguished from each other. For example, in *as:al:amo* 'they greeted each other' (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:160) and *iz:awayo* 'they married' it is not clear which of the three prefixes is used.

Like other derived verbs, the vowels of the verb following the prefix, are generally *a-a* in the perfect and *i-i* or *a-i* in the imperfect conjugation, for example *itmasak*, *bitmasik* **msk* 'be seized' or *ingara*, *bingiri* **qr?* 'be read'. Only the vowels of the mediae infirmae and geminatae verbs are always *-a-*, in all conjugations (s.g. examples 2-4 in 5.9.1 Passive).

Table 1 contains the full conjugation of *itzaw:ay* **zwdʒ* 'he/she got married' in the perfect tense and Table 2 in the imperfect tense. Verbs with the *in-* prefix have the same inflection. The verb *itzaw:ay* itself is treated in 5.9.3 Detransitivization or middle verbs.

Table 1: perfect tense of *itzaw:ay-iz:aw:ay* **zwdʒ* 'he/she got married'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>itzaw:ayta</i>	<i>itzaw:ayna</i>
2nd person	<i>itzaw:ayta~itzaw:ayti</i>	<i>itzaw:aytu</i>
3rd person	<i>itzaw:ay~itzaw:ayat</i>	<i>itzaw:aju</i>

Table 2: imperfect tense of *itzaw:aj~iz:aw:aj *zwdʒ*: *batzaw:aj* 'he/she gets married'

	singular	plural
1st person	<i>nitzaw:ij</i>	<i>natzaw:uju</i>
2nd person	<i>titzaw:ij</i>	<i>tatzaw:uju</i>
3rd person	<i>bitzaw:ij~jitzaw:ij</i>	<i>batzaw:uju~jatzaw:uju</i>

5.9.1 Passive

Verbs with prefixed morphemes *in-* or *it-* may express the passive voice in Darfur Arabic. In order to render the passive voice, the *in-* prefix is preferred (1-4), but *it-* also occurs (5-6). Some of the verbs in these examples may be regarded as detransitivized verbs rather than passive verbs (5.9.3 Detransitivization or middle verbs).

- (1) *a.san min da:k b-in-axlij tawa:li*
 better than DIST.SG IPFV.3-PASS-treat *ʕldʒ immediately
 'It is better than that. It is treated immediately.' (IA)
- (2) *ʔaj gari:b. b-in-fa:f*
 yes close.SG IPFV.3-PASS-see.SG *ʃwf
 'Yes it [the place] is close by. It is seen [i.e. so close that it is visible]. (IA)
- (3) *ʒamal ʕil-i. ʔaj#*
 camel PFV.become expensive-3SG *ylw yes
ma b-in-ba: kul:u
 NEG IPFV.3-PASS-sell.SG *bjʃ at all
 'The camel has become expensive. Yes. It is not sold or bought at all.' (AJ)
- (4) *hu da kama:n wal:a:i sami il:a b-in-fam:*
 3SG DEM.SG also by God good but IPFV.3-PASS-smell.SG
 'By God, that is also nice but it smells.' (AA)
- (5) *it-nasa min ra:s za:t=u*
 PFV.PASS-forget-3 *nsj from head.SG self=3SG
 'I have forgotten (lit. 'it is forgotten from my own head'). (SA)

- (6) *sari:r* *da* *ma* ***b-it-rigid***
 bed.SG DEM.SG NEG IPFV.3-PASS-lie down.SG **rqd*
 ‘You cannot sleep / lay down on that bed.’ (lit. ‘That bed is not to be
 slept.’)

Note that instead of the *in-* or *it-* prefix, the passive may also be expressed indirectly in a 3PL active verb without a specified subject (6.5 Passive voice).

5.9.2 Reflexive

Verbs that are grammatically reflexive entail a reflexive pronoun, ‘self’ in English, like ‘you wash yourself’ or ‘we kill ourselves’, implying that the object of the verb is semantically equal to its subject. A Darfurian key informant translated ‘he wants to kill himself’ as *da:yir yaktuli nafs* and ‘I want to kill myself’ as *nado:ri naktuli nafsi*, with *nafs* as the reflexive pronoun. However, no reflexive pronoun is identified in the corpus, neither is the focus particle *za:t* ‘self’ (3.4.10 Focus and topic particles) used in the sense of a reflexive pronoun.

In spite of the absence of a reflexive pronoun, verbs of the basic, CaC:aC or CaCCaC patterns can be made reflexive by prefixing *it-*. For example, *lab:id*, *bilab:id* **lbd* ‘hide’ with *it-* prefix then turns into *itlab:id*, *bitlab:id* ‘to hide oneself’ and *bar:id*, *bibar:id* ‘wash’ ‘wet’ into *itbar:id*, *bitbar:id* ‘wash oneself’ ‘bath’ according to my key informants. However, verbs with an *it-* prefix in an indisputable reflexive sense, do not appear in the corpus either. In the following two examples, verbs are used in a reflexive meaning but without the *it-* prefix. They confirm Roth’s description of Abéché Arabic, where she explains that the *it-* or *al-* prefix can be applied to express reflexivity, but there seems to be a stronger tendency to leave the morpheme out (Roth 1979:27-28 & 38). Reflexivity is then to be inferred from the context.

- (1) *ga:l* *il:a* *n-amf-i* *jo:m* *da#* ***lab:ad-it***
 PFV.say.SG then IPFV.1-go-SG day DEM.SG PFV.hide-3SG
 ‘She said [to herself] then I go today [but she was not allowed]. She hid
 [herself].’ (MHb)
- (2) *indas:-u* ***bar:ud-u***
 IMP.go inside-PL IMP.wash-PL
 ‘Go inside to wash [yourselves].’

5.9.3 Detransitivization or middle verbs

In Darfur Arabic, like in other varieties of Arabic, many verbs of the basic pattern, the CaC:aC or the CaCCaC pattern can be made intransitive by prefixing *it-* or *in-*. As explained in the previous paragraph, such verbs are grammatically not reflexive because they are not accompanied by a reflexive pronoun. Still, *it-* or *in-* verbs tend to reflexivity or passivity from a semantic point of view and may have grammatically reflexive or passive equivalents in other languages.

As such, the *in-* or *it-* prefix detransitivizes the verb and can be compared to an unaccusative or middle verb in English. For example, the verbs 'break' and 'read' are transitive in 'John broke the glass' and 'John reads poetry' but detransitivized in 'the glass broke' or 'poetry reads well' (Mahmoud 1991). In Darfur Arabic, the CaC:aC verb *zaw:aj*, *bizaw:ij* **zwdʒ* 'marry off' is transitive, and detransitivized by adding the *it-* prefix. The detransitivized verb then becomes *itzaw:aj*, *bitzaw:ij* 'get married' (Table 1 and 2 in 5.9 Passive voice, reflexivity, detransitivization, reciprocity and the prefixes *it-* and *in-*), translated in French by the reflexive verb 'se marier'. Its synonym *ʔar:is*, *jiʔar:is* and its *it-* variant works exactly the same way, illustrated in examples (1-2).

Other examples are the transitive verb *taka*, *batki* **wky* denoting 'lean (something)' or 'put against' while the detransitive *intaka*, *bantaki* of the same root but with *in-* prefix denotes 'lean [oneself]'. The CaC:aC verb *al:am*, *bi.al:im* **ʕlm* means 'teach' and the same root but with *it-* prefix *itʔal:am*, *bitʔal:im* 'learn', which can be interpreted as 'teach oneself'. An example of a detransitive *in-*verb is *ingata*, *bingiti* 'break' (3). Its cognate in the CaCaC pattern is the transitive *gata*, *bagta* **qʕʕ* 'break' or 'cut'.

However, in other *in-* or *it-* verbs, a reflexive or passive interpretation of the prefix is far-fetched. In those cases, the prefixes should rather be considered a morpheme that simply detransitivizes the verb. Examples are *xad:a*, *bixad:i* **ʔdj* 'serve lunch to' and *itxad:a*, *bitxad:i* 'have lunch' (4); *das:a*, *bidis*: **dss* 'insert' and *indas:a*, *bindas*: 'go inside' (5); *jam:a*, *bijim*: **dʒmm* 'make rest' and *injam:a*, *binjam*: 'relax'; *lam:a*, *bilim*: **lmm* 'collect' and *itlam:a*, *bitlam*: 'get together'; *kal:am*, *bikal:im* **klm* 'talk to' and *itkal:am*, *bitkal:im* 'talk' (6); *basat*, *babsut* **bst* 'make happy' and *inbasat*, *binbasit* 'enjoy (oneself)' (7); *waf:a*, *biwafi*: **wfj* 'fulfil (a promise or obligation)' and *itwaf:a*, *bitwaf:a* 'decease', historically 'be taken by God' (8).

- (1) *jal:a le uxt=u ar:as=a l=o*
 so then TR sister.SG=3SG PFV.marry off=3SG *ʔrs to=3SG
 ‘So then he married off his sister to him.’ (MHa)
- (2) *ant-i ari:s wa it.ar:as-u da, (...) ma*
 2-SG bridegroom and PFV.get married-3PL *ʔrs DEM.SG TOP
tu-rbut jiris
 IPFV.2-tie.SG bell.SG
 ‘[Suppose] you are the bridegroom and get married, [then] you wear a bell.’ (XO)
- (3) *jinzi:r wa: id bag:a bi-ngit-i*
 chain one PFV.remain.SG IPFV.3-break-SG *qʔf
 ‘[Only] one chain was left. It was going to break.’ (4)
- (4) *na:s bi-txad-u, wə ja-ptur-u:*
 people IPFV.3-have lunch-PL *yɗj and IPFV.3-have breakfast-PL *fʔr
 ‘People have lunch and breakfast.’ (MY)
- (5) *bin-das: b-alg-a ʃaxalt=u da:k bi-ʃar'b-i*
 IPFV.3-go inside.SG IPFV.3-find-SG thing.SG=3SG DIST.SG IPFV.3-drink-SG.3SG
 ‘He goes inside, finds that thing of his and drinks it.’ (SA)
- (6) *has:a an=na:s ga: id-i:n b-itkal:am-u*
 now ART=people PTCP.PROG-PL IPFV.3-talk-PL
 ‘People still talk [about it].’ (MY)
- (7) *wa: id ka:s ka:n ʃirib-ti zaj:ə da, wal:a:hi ta-nbasit*
 one cup.SG if PFV.drink-2SG like that by God IPFV.2-enjoy.SG
 ‘If you drink one cup [of it], by God, you enjoy.’ (AF)
- (8) *hija itwafi-a, l=marā*
 3SG PFV.die-3SG ART=woman.SG
 ‘The woman died.’ (MHb)

5.9.4 Reciprocal

Like reflexivity, reciprocity is not found from a merely grammatical perspective in Darfur Arabic, i.e. no reciprocal pronoun appears in the corpus. Nevertheless, reciprocity is one of the readings of the *it*-prefix on the verb and/or can be understood from the context.

Four verbs with a reciprocal meaning are found in elicitation or the corpus. They all derive from the CaC:aC or the Ca:CaC pattern. Three of them include an *it*-prefix: *itla:ga, jitla:gi *lqj* ‘they meet (each other)’ (1); *it:afag, jit:afig *wfq* ‘they agree (with each other)’; *id:a:was, jid:a:wis *dws* ‘they fight (with each other)’, with the prefixed *it*- morpheme assimilated to the first consonant of the root. The last example of a verb with a reciprocal meaning from the corpus is *fa:bah, bifa:bih *jbh* ‘be similar’ ‘look like each other’ (2), without *it*-prefix nor a reciprocal pronoun, but nevertheless semantically reciprocal as to its context.

- (1) *ta:ni itla:g-o*
again PFV.meet-3PL
‘They met again.’ (4)
- (2) *ga:l tabak we nabak# itne:n ba'fa:b-o.*
PFV.say.3SG “tabak” and “nabak” two IPVF.3-resemble one another-PL
?ajwa. fa:s wə ka:s# itne:n bi'fa:b-o
yes “fas” and “kas” two IPVF.3-resemble one another-PL
‘Like the two [words] “tabak” and “nabak” resemble one another. Yes.
“fas” and “kas”. The two resemble one another.’ (SA)

5.10 Imperative

As in most other varieties of Arabic, the basic pattern of the imperative mood is VCCVC. In Darfur Arabic, like in other varieties of Sudanic Arabic, the first vowel is normally *a*-, but it is sometimes subject to vowel harmony. The second vowel is the same vowel as in the imperfect form of the verb at issue, but also influenced by vowel harmony and surrounding consonants (Roth 1979:5; Manfredi 2010:164-165; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:131-132; Bergman 2002:24; Owens 1993a:111; Reichmuth 1983:218).

For example, the imperative of the imperfect 3SG *bamsik* ‘he/she seizes’ is *amsik* IMP.SG ‘seize’. Other examples of imperatives of basic regular verbs are *axdim *xdm* ‘work’; *albas *lbs* ‘put on (a garment)’ and *amrug *mrq* ‘go out’.

As to the forms of the imperative, there are two singulars of the imperative in Darfur Arabic: aCCVC and aCCVCi, and one plural form, marked by the suffix -u in aCCVCu. Although aCCVCi is historically feminine, the -i suffix with SG imperatives does not concern gender in Darfur Arabic. The use of the -i suffix seems to be preferred with transitive imperatives, like it does in the imperfect conjugation (5.3.3 Imperfect SG verbs ending in -i). It may be for this reason that the transitive imperative *amsiki* IMP.SG ‘seize’ is preferred to *amsik* IMP.SG ‘seize’, although both occur. The plural imperative of the same verb is *amsuku* IMP.PL ‘seize’.

The bukara and the gahawa syndromes (2.3.5 Epenthesis) as well as 5.3.4 Syllable reshuffling are also applicable to the imperative and influence the pattern. Therefore, one finds for example the previously mentioned *amrug* IMP.SG ‘go out’ but also its synonyms *amrugi* as well as *amurgi*. Likewise, I registered imperatives such as *asama=ni* *smf ‘listen to me’; *qfarbi* *frb ‘drink’ and *ahalbi* *hlb ‘milk’ in elicitation. As a plural imperative of the same verb, *amrugu* appears but *amurgu* and, with vowel harmony, *umurgu*, are also common.

The following three examples show imperatives of the basic regular verb in context.

- (1) *hidm=ak al=wasxa:n da asxi'l=u*
 clothes=2SG ART=dirty DEM.SG IMP.wash.SG=3SG *ysl
 ‘Wash your dirty clothes.’ (SA)
- (2) *amsik na.a:l de jal:a*
 IMP.seize.SG shoes.COLL DEM.SG then
 ‘Grab those shoes, then.’ (MHa)
- (3) *ga:l inta ogod fi dar Zagha:wa*
 IMP.say.SG 2SG IMP.stay.SG *qfd in homeland.SG Zaghawa
 ‘He said: “stay in the Zaghawa homeland”.’ (IA)

The mediae geminatae and tertiae infirmae imperatives always end in -i in the SG forms (4-5), except in the common welcoming expression *abga gid:a:m* IMP.become.SG *bqy forward ‘come in’. With the mediae geminatae verbs (5), the mediae infirmae verbs (6), the verbs of the CaC:aC or Ca:CaC pattern (7) and the quadriliteral verbs (8), there is no prefixed vowel to form the imperative.

- (4) *ha:j um:=i aʝr-i, um: aʝr-i*
 hey mother=1SG IMP.run-SG mother.SG IMP.run-SG
 'Mama run, mama run [mama, come quickly].' (MHa)
- (5) *kub'i-i l=o almi xut-i hina:k*
 IMP.pour-SG to=3SG water IMP.put-SG.3SG there
 'Pour water on it and put it there.' (AA)
- (6) *ga:l ji:b=u*
 PFV.say.SG IMP.bring.SG=3SG
 'He said: "bring him"'. (MHa)
- (7) *ga:l ra:s=ak at=ta:jir ragi'i'd-i*
 PFV.say.3SG head.SG=2SG ART=PTCP.fly.SG IMP.put down-SG
 'It [the lyrics of the song] goes: "put your messy hair down."' (SA)
- (8) *dunja dabanga, dardig-i biʃe:ʃ*
 world jar.SG IMP.roll-SG.3SG slowly
 'The world is like a big earthenware jar; roll it slowly.' [proverb]

Like the regular basic pattern, the imperative of primae *wa:w* verbs is formed by simply replacing the prefix of the imperfect conjugation by *a-*, as in *aldi *wld* 'give birth' (9), *ardi *wrd* 'fetch water' and *agi:f *wqf* (10-11) 'stop'. The CaC:aC and Ca:CaC patterns of the primae *wa:w* verbs is like the regular CaC:aC and Ca:CaC verbs (12) and the aCCaC pattern of the primae *wa:w* verbs obtains a lengthened *o:* as a prefix when used as an imperative: *o:gid *wqd* 'kindle' (13) and *o:ri *wrj* 'tell' (14).

- (9) *amʃ-i ald-i ij:a:l ta.a:l na-war:i:=ki*
 IMP.go-SG IMP.give birth-SG children.COLL IMP.come.SG IPFV.1-tell.SG=2SG
 'Go and have children, then come and I will tell you (something).' (MHb)
- (10) *agi:f an:i na-ji:b-i le:=k le dilka*
 IMP.stop.SG 1SG 1-bring-SG to=2SG TR ointment.COLL
 'Stop [wait], I get you some "dilka" [local ointment]'. (SA)

- (11) *agi:f* *agi:f* *ni-naz:il* *le:=kum* *ha:ja*
IMP.stop.SG IMP.stop.SG IFPV.1-send down.SG to=2PL thing.SG
‘Stop, stop, I will send something down to you.’ (MHa)
- (12) *wad:-i* *fi* *balad=kum*
IMP.take-SG.3SG to country.SG=2PL
‘Take it [with you] to your country.’ (XO)
- (13) *na:r* *da* *o:gi'd-i*
fire DEM.SG IMP.kindle-SG.3SG
‘Kindle the fire.’
- (14) *kam* *o:ra:=k* *ta.a:l* *or-i:=ni*
if PVF.inform.SG=2SG IMP.come.SG IMP.inform-SG=1SG
‘If he/she tell you, come and tell me.’

The imperatives of the verb ‘give’ *ad:a*, *bad:i* or *anta*, *banti* are respectively *ad:i* (15) and *anti* (16).

- (15) *asma* *ad:i:=ni* *da:k* *na-xas:al*
IMP.listen.SG IMP.give.SG=SG DIST.SG IPFV.1-wash.SG *ysl
al=fana:ji:n *da* *be* *sabu:n*
ART=cup.PL DEM.SG with soap.COLL
‘Give me that so I can wash the cups with soap.’ (MHa)
- (16) *anti:-ni* *ne:l=i* *he:l=i* *de*
IMP.give.SG=1SG shoe.PL=1SG GEN=1SG DEM.SG
‘Give me my shoes.’ (AF)

The imperative of the verb ‘come’ *ja*, *baji* (5.6.6 Other irregular verbs) the suppletive *ta.a:l* or *ta.a:li* SG and *ta.a:lu* PL.

- (17) *ga:la* *aju:z* *ga:l* *le:=a* *bit:=i*
PFV.say.SG old woman PFV.say.3SG to=3SG girl=1SG
ta.a:l *ta.a:l*
IMP.come.SG IMP.come.SG

'The old woman said to her: 'come my girl, come.' (MHb)

- (18) *na-'lim:-u* *ji:ra:n* *fila:n* ***ta:a:l***
 IPFV.1-collect-PL neighbor.COLL so-and-so IMP.come.SG
fila:n ***ta:a:l***
 so-and-so IMP.come.SG
 'We get together with neighbours [and say to every single person] 'come, come!' (AJ)

As to the primae *a* verbs, the *a-* prefix is lengthened according to key informants, such as in *a:kulu* *ʔkl 'eat'. Imperatives of the primae *a-* roots do not appear in the corpus, but do in elicitation, such as in (19).

- (19) ***a:kul-u*** *da*
 IMP.eat-PL DEM.SG
 'Eat this.'

The prohibitive is expressed by negating either the singular or plural 2nd person imperfect conjugation, preceded by one of the negation particles *la*, *ma* or *wala* (20-22).

- (20) *u ka:n* 'maragat ***la*** ***ta-mf-i*** *to:sa'l-a*
 and if PFV.go out.SG NEG IPFV.2-go-SG IPFV.2-join-SG.3SG
 'And if he goes out, don't follow him.' (SA)

- (21) ***ma*** ***ta-mf-i*** *aj:ə* *mihil* *ja* *bit:*
 NEG IPFV.2-go-SG any place.SG voc girl.SG
 'Don't go anywhere, girl.' (MHb)

- (22) *ʃuyəl* *de* ***ma*** ***ta-hab:if=u***
 thing.SG DEM NEG IPFV-touch.SG=3SG
 'Don't touch that.' (AJ)

5.11 Participle

Participles are verb forms used as adjectives. Active participles are formed by the pattern Ca:CaC of the basic pattern, such as *ga:.id* *qʃd 'continuing' 'remaining' and

dajir **dwr* 'wanting'. Passive participles are formed by the pattern maCCu:C of the basic pattern, for example *mabsu:t* **bst* 'happy' and *mamnu:* **mnʕ* 'forbidden'.

As to the derived patterns and four consonant root verbs, both active and passive participles are formed by prefixing *mu-* or *mi-* in the position of the personal prefix of the imperfect verb. The distinction between active and passive participles of the derived and four consonant root verb patterns is not made by different patterns or vowels, but must be inferred from their context. Examples are *mite:rib* 'sowed' 'sowing' and *mujankab* 'weeded' 'weeding'.

Darfur Arabic displays only singular and plural forms of participles; no gender distinctions are made. Historical feminine singular forms, marked by an *-a* suffix, only occur in *ja:ja* **ʃjʔ* 'coming' and *dajra* **dwr* 'wanting'. Those two words are only used by two informants, occur little and sometimes with a masculine subject. Plural forms are marked by the suffix *-i:n*, such as in *muda:wisi:n* PL 'fighting'; *ga:idi:n-gajdi:n* PL 'continuing' 'staying' and *mabsu:ti:n* PL 'happy'.

In Darfur Arabic, a limited number of active participles of the basic pattern are frequently used as a main predicate to express an ongoing state of being, mood or action and can be translated as a verb in English. These are *ga:id* SG, *gajdi:n* PL **qʃd* 'continuing' 'staying'; *ma:ʃi* SG, *maʃi:n* PL **mʃj* 'going' (1); *dajir* SG, *dajri:n* PL **dwr* 'wanting' 'loving' (2); *a:rif* SG, *arfi:n* PL **ʃrf* 'knowing' (3); *ja:j* SG, *jaji:n* PL **ʃjʔ* 'coming' (4) and *ja:ri* SG, *jari:n* PL **ʃrj* 'running' 'hurrying'. The former three of them also occur as auxiliaries (following section). Like finite verbs, transitive participles may be followed by a pronominal suffix (2 and 3).

- (1) *kul:u zo:l ma:ʃi le amal=u*
 every man PTCP.go.SG to work=3SG **ʃml*
 'Everybody goes to his work.' (SA)

- (2) *da ana ma 'dajr=u*
 DEM.3SG 1SG NEG PTCP.want.SG=3SG
 'I don't like that.' (SA)

- (3) *ana ma a:rif=ak*
 1SG TOP PTCP.know.SG=2SG
 'I [do] know who you are.' (XO)

- (4) *ja:j* *min* *we:n*
 PTCP.COME.SG from where
 'Where does that come from?' (MHa)

In case a certain root appears both in the imperfect conjugation and as a participle, such as in *daw:ar*, *bado:ri* **dwr* 'want' and its participle *da:jir* SG *dajri:n* PL, I did not notice any difference in meaning between the use of the two forms. Other participles of the basic pattern than the six ones mentioned in the previous paragraph, hardly occur in the corpus; imperfect verb conjugations are preferred to express actions, states or occurrences.

Passive participles of the basic pattern historically refer to completed actions. For example, *mamnu:* 'forbidden' is the passive participle CaCCu:C of the basic pattern with the root **mnʕ* (6). Passive participles occur as predicates like in the four examples below.

- (5) *mabsu:t-i:n* *na-lab-u* *l=o*
 PASS.PTCP.happy-PL **bst* IPFV.1PL-dance-PL **lʕb* to=3SG
 'We are happy and dance for him.' (SA)
- (6) *mamnu:* *fi balad*
 PASS.PTCP.forbid.SG **mnʕ* in country.SG
 'It is forbidden in the country.' (IA)
- (7) *ka:n* *mafru:d* *ma ta-'kal:im-u* *zaj:ə* *da*
 PFV.be.SG PTCP.PASS.supposed.SG **frd* NEGIPFV.2-speak-PL like DEM.SG
 'You should not have said that.' (XO)
- (8) *de* *maxsu:s* *li l=ha:ja-at* *da* *bas:*
 DEM.SG PTCP.PASS.specifically intended.SG to ART=thing-PL DEM.SG only
 'This is especially intended for only these things.' (AF)

As mentioned above, participles of verbs of derived patterns or four consonant roots are active or passive according to their context. Although the active participles of the basic pattern above may refer to states of being but also to moods or actions, participles of the derived patterns and four consonant roots generally only designate states of being. They can therefore also be translated as

participles in English. Below are some examples of participles of derived patterns and four consonant roots used as predicates.

- (9) *jal:a aju:s (...)* ***musangir*** *ga:.id*
 then old woman.SG PTCP.sit.SG *sng_r PTCP.be situated.SG
 ‘There was this old woman, sitting.’ (MHa)
- (10) *azZaxa:wa* ***mulaxbat-in*** *ma.=na*
 Zaghawa PTCP.mix-PL *lxb_t with=1PL
 ‘The Zaghawa people are mixed with us.’ (IA)
- (11) *al=buju:t* *ka:n-it* ***muxat:at***
 ART=house.PL PFV.be-SG PTCP.align.SG *xt_t
 ‘The houses were aligned.’ (MY)
- (12) *ani:na* *ma* ***mugaj:il-in*** *hina:k* *ma.a:=u*
 1PL TOPPTCP.spend the afternoon-PL *qj_l there with=3SG
 ‘For we are spending the afternoon there with him.’ (XO)

Other examples of participles of the CaC:aC pattern from the corpus are *mu.ax:ir-mu.ax:ar* *ʔxr ‘late’; *mudaf:ag* *dfq ‘thrown’; *muhan:an* *hnn ‘decorated with henna’; *mujaw:is* *zwdʒ (with metathesis) ‘married’; *masaj:il* *sdʒl ‘registered’; *mugab:al* *qbl ‘doing again’ ‘returning’ and *mu.af:in* *ʃfn ‘rotting’.

The only retrieved participles that derives from to the Ca:CaC pattern is *muwa:fig* *wʃq ‘agreed’; from the remaining historical patterns aCCaC *mumkin* *mkn ‘possible’ and iCtaCaC *murta:* *rwh ‘relaxed’ and *muxtalif* [mut:alif] *xlf ‘different’; and from the in- pattern *minjam:* *jmm ‘relaxed’ and *mundas:* *dss ‘entering’ ‘entered’.

More participles go back to the four consonant root pattern CaCCaC: *mubaryal* *brdʒl ‘at random’; *mudamdin* *dmdm ‘tidying’ ‘tidied’; *murdardig* *drdg ‘rolling’; *mudardam* *drdm ‘round’; *mujankab-mujankib* *dʒnkb ‘weeding’ ‘weeded’; *muhawhaw-mihawhaw* *hwhw ‘slovenly’.

Note that participles are used as predicates in the examples provided in this section, but they can also modify nouns as attributive adjectives (4.9.2 Ca:CaC and 4.9.3 maCCu:C and adjectives starting with *mu--mi-*). Finally, participles also occur as nouns (4.3 Singular nouns).

5.12 Serial verb constructions and auxiliaries

Serial verbs may be defined in different ways. I have identified three types of serial verbs constructions in Darfur Arabic.

5.12.1 First type: consecutive actions

In the first type, the verbs semantically refer to consecutive actions described by each verb, but which together convey a custom or an episode within a story (1-4). In Darfur Arabic, these serialized verbs share the same subject and they are asyndetic, i.e. they are not separated by the coordinating conjunction *wə* 'and'. This type of serialized main verbs occur in all verb forms, but all verbs in one series are always in the same conjugation, person and number. They appear frequently and both in the perfect and imperfect conjugations.

This type of serial verbs does not agree with most definitions of serial verbs, which state that the second verb is subordinate to the first, lexically restricted verb. This type of verbal syntagm is nonetheless mentioned in the first place here, since its grammar resembles the second type of serial verb constructions. The following four examples illustrate this type of serialization.

- (1) *min al=wata, ra'fa-ta jib-ta*
 from ART=ground PFV.pick up-1SG.3SG PFV.take-1SG.3SG
kas'ar-ta
 PFV.break in pieces-1SG.3SG
 'I picked it [a stone] up from the ground, took it and broke it into pieces.'
 (XO)
- (2) *al=gura al gas'am-na sage-na jib-na da,*
 ART=pumpkin REL PFV.divide-1PL PFV.cut-1PL PFV.take-1PL DEM.SG
de wala gura
 DEM.SG NEG pumpkin
 'That pumpkin that we [just] divided, cut and took, is not a pumpkin.'
 (MHb)
- (3) *ja-kul-u ji-'sarb-u 'ja-lšab-u*
 IPFV.3-eat-PL IPFV.3-drink-PL IPFV.3-dance-PL
 'They eat, drink and dance [at celebrations].' (AJ)

- (4) *fi be:t=na da, na-gil-'u, ni-dug'-'u,*
 in house=1PL DEM.SG IPFV.1-roast-PL.3SG *qlw IPFV.1-pound-PL.3SG
ni'farb-u
 IPFV.2-drink-PL.3SG
 'In this house, we roast it, pound it and drink it [i.e. coffee].' (SA)

5.12.2 Second type: with semi-auxiliary

The second type of serial verb constructions concern the type as aimed at by Versteegh in the *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (2011, accessed 2017): strings of verbs of which the first one or two (4, 8) verbs can be considered as an auxiliary verb.

Auxiliaries are verbs that in certain contexts convey a particular motion, mood or aspect of another verb. Serial verbs with auxiliaries do not encode a series of events, like in the first type of serial verb constructions above, but the first verb only adds a motional or modal dimension to the following verb. The following verb semantically acts as the main verb of the sentence, but it is subordinated to the preceding auxiliary.

The auxiliaries in this second type of serial verb constructions in Darfur Arabic, have not been fully transformed or grammaticalized from a lexical verb into auxiliaries. Although they only figure to add a motional or modal dimension to the following main verb, these auxiliary verbs coexist as lexical verbs. They do not show signs of grammaticalization such as loss of inflection and the development into a particle. This is why I call them semi-auxiliaries. However, semantically, some of them have lost part of their historical meaning. For example *mafa*, *jamfi* may lexically denote 'walk' but as an auxiliary it only carries the motional meaning of 'go' (1-2); and the lexical verb *jara*, *jajri* 'run' as an auxiliary means 'hurry' 'do quickly' (4). The following 11 examples demonstrate the use of serial verbs with various semi-auxiliaries.

- (1) *ji-mf-i ja-sara naha:r ja:-kul*
 IPFV.3-go-SG IPFV.3-pasture.SG *srh day IPFV.3-eat.SG
 'He goes to pasture during the day and he eats.' (SA)
- (2) *amf-i fi:f-i axwa:n=ak de:l*
 IMP.go-SG IMP.look.-SG brothers.PL=2SG DEM.PL
 'Go to check on these brothers of yours.' (MHa)

- (3) *jal:a* ***fart*** *hak-a* *l=o*
 then PFV.go off.3SG PFV.tell-SG **hkj* to=3SG
 'So he went off to tell him.' (MHa)
- (4) ***jir-i*** ***fart*** *daxal-at* *fi* *be:t=u*
 PFV.do quickly-3SG PFV.go.3SG PFV.enter-3SG in house.SG=3SG
 'She ran/quickly went into her house.' (MHb)
- (5) *ni-na:d-u* *a.l* ***ji:j-i*** *ja:-kul-u* *ji-saw:-o*
 IPFV.1-call-PL people.COLL IPFV-come-SG IPFV.3-eat-PL IPFV.3-make-PL
le:=u *simaja*
 to=3SG name giving celebration.SG
 'We call the people to come to eat and make a name giving celebration for him.' (AJ)
- (6) *Borgo badri* ***j-o*** *'sakan-o* *hini*
 Borgo early PFV.come-3PL PFV.settle-3PL here
 'The Borgo people came to settle here early.' (IA)
- (7) *ma* ***gidir-at*** *gar:ab-at* *hil:at=um*
 NEG PFV.can-3SG PFV.approach-3SG village.SG 3PL
 'She could not get close to their village.' (MHb)
- (8) *ma* ***ta-gdar*** ***ta-j-i*** *ti-ji:b*
 NEG IPFV.2-can.SG IPFV.2-come-SG IPFV.2-fetch.SG
al=hatab *za:t=a*
 ART=firewood**htb* self=3SG
 'You even cannot come to fetch firewood.' (AF)
- (9) *wala* ***ba-gdar*** *ba-kil:im*
 NEG IPFV.3-can.SG IPFV.3-talk.SG
 'She [F from context] cannot speak [against that].' (AF)
- (10) ***na-dor-i*** *na-gr-i*
 IPFV.1-want-SG IPFV.1-study-SG
 'I want to go to school.' (AF)

- (11) *bo-g.od* *ba-brud*
 IPFV.3-AUX.stay.SG *qʕd IPFV.3-cool down.SG
 'It [the cooked food] stays there to cool down.' (AA)

Both the frequently occurring ingressive auxiliaries *biga*, *babga* **bqj*, including its various phonetic realisations, and *ga:m*, *bagu:m* **qwm*, announce a certain action that starts to happen or is taking place, often in the background within a larger story (12-15). Both verbs also function as lexical verbs: *biga*, *babga* **bqj* 'become' and *ga:m*, *bagu:m* **qwm* meaning 'get up' 'come into action' and also as auxiliary verbs, they are conjugated.

- (12) *ka:n wata* *big-a* *asba (...)* *int-i*
 when atmosphere *wtʔ PFV.ING-3SG become morning *sbħ 2-SG
ti-wal:-i *na:r*
 IPFV.2-kindle-SG *wʕʕ fire.COLL
 'When it becomes morning, you kindle the fire.' (MY)

- (13) *da* *ʃənu* *li.b* *zaj:ə* *da.* *jal:a* *ga:m-at*
 DEM.SG what dance.SG like DEM.SG then PFV.ING-3SG
 'wigif-at
 PFV.stop-3SG
 "What kind of dance is this?" [she thought]. So she stopped [dancing].'
 (MHb)

- (14) *ba.de:n* *Sini:n* *da,* *ga:m-at* *ha:rab-at* *li*
 after that Sinin DEM.SG PFV.ING-3SG PFV.fight-3SG *ħrb to
sulta:n
 sultan.SG
 'After that, Sinin got to fight the sultan.' (IA)

- (15) *il:a* *l=xaru:f* *ba-gu:m* *ba-d.ak* *fo:g=u*
 then ART=sheep.SG IPFV.3-ING.SG IPFV.3-laugh.SG *dħk at=3SG
 'The the sheep started to laugh at her [F from context].' (MHb)

Another semi-auxiliary occurring in the corpus is *gab:al*, *bigab:il* **qbl* ‘do again’ (16-18). Although this verb also figures as a lexical verb denoting ‘return’, as an auxiliary it partly grammaticalized: it is still inflected but its semantics has changed to ‘again’. This auxiliary seems unique for Darfur and Abéché Arabic (Roth 1979:58); it is not found elsewhere in the Sudanic region.

- (16) *min ʔa:an-ti da kama:nti-gabriʔ-i ta-sidʔ-i*
 from PFV.kneel-2SG DEM.SG again IPFV.2-REP-SG IPFV.2-close-SG.3SG
 ‘After you have kneeled it again, you put the lid on again.’ (AA)

- (17) *ni-gab:ul-u na-j-u*
 IPFV.1-REP-PL IPFV.1-come-PL
 ‘We return / We will be back.’ (SA)

- (18) *ta:ni fuyul da ka:n gab:al-ta amal-ta, la*
 again thing.SG DEM.SG if PFV.REP-2SG PFV.do-2.SG no
 ‘If you make that stuff again, no [i.e. don’t make that stuff again]. (XO)

In other varieties of (Sudanic) Arabic (Bergman 2002:40-41; Manfredi 2010:161-164; Reichmuth 1983:293-298), main verbs following auxiliaries are often expressed in the imperfect conjugation, irrespective of the conjugation of the preceding auxiliary. This is the normal way in Arabic. In Nigerian (Owens 1993:163-166) and Chadian (Roth 1979:55-59; Jullien de Pommerol 1999:207) Arabic, perfect auxiliaries may also be followed by perfect main verbs, but it is remarkable that in Darfur Arabic, these main verbs are almost consistently uniform with their preceding auxiliaries such as illustrated in all the examples given in this section.

By analogy with the first type of serial verbs as described above, all consecutive verbs in serial verb constructions take the same conjugation, person and number. Woidich (2002) also establishes that in Egyptian Arabic, finite auxiliaries are often followed by main verbs in the same conjugation, especially in the perfect conjugation. He defines these constructions not as serial verbs but as ‘verbal phrases with asyndetic perfect’. In Darfur Arabic, however, these constructions of consecutive asyndetic uniform verbs are clearly preferred in use to the ‘normal’ Arabic constructions of auxiliaries followed by imperfect main verbs. In this language variety, as a rule, the first verb of a serial verb construction, whether this verb is lexical or auxiliary, dictates the form of the following verbs.

Finally, *xal:a*, *baxal:i* *xlj ‘let’ occurs once in the corpus as an adhortative or urging auxiliary (19). According to my key informants, the verb *gar:ab*, *jigar:ib* *qrb ‘come close’ is also used as an auxiliary denoting ‘almost’ (20). The latter auxiliary does, however, not appear in the corpus as such.

- (19) *ga:l* *hal-i=na* *na-du:y-u* *ga:l*
 PFV.say.3SG IMP.let-SG=1PL *xlj IPFV.1-taste-PL *ðwq PFV.say.3SG
 ‘He said: ‘let’s taste.’ (MHb)

- (20) *gar:ab-ta* *ni-.o:r-i* *al=bu:li:s*
 PFV.come close-1SG IPFV.1-inform-SG ART=police
 ‘I almost told the police.’

Other than in the examples (1-18), but more analogous to other varieties of Arabic, in the examples (19-20) the main verbs are inflected in the imperfect conjugation, which is not necessarily the same conjugation, person and number as their preceding auxiliaries. However, the grammar of serial verbs like the latter two examples occurs much less in the corpus than the previous eighteen examples.

5.12.2.1 Second type with participle

Only three auxiliaries also occur as participles (5.11 Participle) and are then also followed by a verb in the imperfect conjugation. It concerns the modal participle *da:jir* SG *dajri:n* PL *dwr ‘wanting’ (1-2) and the frequently used participle *ga:id* SG, *ga:idi:n* PL *qfd ‘being situated’ ‘staying’ ‘continuing’, which adds a progressive, durative or habitual aspect to the main verb (3-5). The participle *ma:fi* SG *mfj ‘going’ occurs once in the corpus in its function of an auxiliary only (6).

- (1) *ma* *da:jir* *ji-xal':-i*
 NEG PTCP.want.SG IPFV.3-let-SG.3SG
 ‘He does not want to leave it.’ (MHa)
- (2) *da:jir* *ja-rda*
 PTCP.want.SG IPFV.3.suck at mother’s breast.SG *rdʔ
 ‘He wants to suck at his mother’s breast.’ (XO)

- (3) *has:a ga: id 'ta-sg-i bi*
 now PTCP.PROG.SG IPFV.2-irrigate-SG *sqj with
hina:j, bi ba:bu:r
 whats-its-nam with pump.SG
 'These days you irrigate with a whats-its-name, with a pump.' (MY)
- (4) *min matar kab:-at fa:t, (...) aja:m da*
 from rain PFV.pour-3SG PFV.be over-3SG day.PL DEM.SG
ga: id-in ba-kta.-u
 PTCP.PROG-PL IPFV.3-cut-PL *qɬ
 'When the rains have fallen and are over, then they cut [i.e. harvest].' (AJ)
- (5) *almara ga: id il itwaf:a da,*
 ART=woman PTCP.PROG.SG REL PFV.die.3SG DEM.SG
ga:l le No:ri ?ija:l=i da ma ti-xal:=i
 PFV.say.3SG to Nori children.PL=1SG DEM.SG NEGIPFV.2-leave=SG.3SG
 'The woman who was dying said to Nori 'don't abandon my children.'" (4)
- (6) *masa ma:f-in ni-lab-u*
 evening.SG PTCP.go-PL IPFV.1-dance-PL *lʃb
 'In the evening we go to dance.' (KN)

5.12.3 Third type: with auxiliary

The third type of serial verb constructions concern auxiliaries that have developed into non-finite particles and as such, may not be regarded as verbs anymore. In Darfur Arabic only the two auxiliaries *la:zim*, expressing obligation (1), and the anterior particle *ka:n*, setting the event of the clause in the past (2-5), both have grammaticalized to an extent that only the historical 3SG.M form has remained. They are not conjugated and they are always followed by a verb in the imperfect conjugation.

- (1) *al=walad la:zim ba-.mal al=wa:jib*
 ART=boy.SG AUX.must IPFV.3-do.3SG ART=duty.SG
 'The boy must do his duty.' (AF)

- (2) *na:s al=kuba:r ka:n ba-.amal-o*
 people ART=big.PL AUX.ANT IPFV.3-do-PL.3SG *ʕml
 ‘Old people used to do that.’ (AF)
- (3) *da zama:n ka:n bi-lab:as-u suksuk*
 DEM.SG formerly AUX.ANT IPFV.3-wear-PL beads
 ‘Formerly they used to wear beads.’ (AF)
- (4) *ʔaw:al judu:d=na ka:n bi-ʔsaw:-u zaj:ə da:k*
 formerly ancestor.PL=1PL AUX.ANT IPFV.3-do-PL like that
 ‘In the old days, our grandparents used to do like that.’ (AJ)

5.13 Verbal noun

In Arabic generally, all verbs can theoretically be nominalized into a verbal noun, called *masdar* in Arabic. The basic pattern CaCaC exhibits several patterns of verbal nouns, but each derived verbal pattern exhibits its own pattern of a verbal noun, and sometimes two. For example, the CaC:aC pattern generally displays taCCi:C as a verbal noun, as in *tadxi:n* ‘smoking’, being the verbal noun of *dax:an* PFV.3SG *dxn ‘he/she smoked’.

Semantically, the verbal noun corresponds to the gerund in English. However, many verbal nouns are lexicalized to an extent that they have become independent nouns and only remotely refer to the action expressed in their corresponding verbs. For example, the Ca:CaC verb *na:sab* *nsb ‘be(come) related by marriage’, has *muna:saba* ‘occasion’ as its verbal noun. Although the two words are cognates from the same pattern and root, the noun does not directly refer to the act of becoming related, but bears its own, nominal, singulative and broader meaning. The Darfur Arabic verbal noun *mula:* *mlh ‘sauce’ derives from the basic regular verb *malaḥ* ‘salt’ ‘season’. The noun *mula:* does nevertheless not directly refer to the act of seasoning, but to the sauce as a substance.

Verbal nouns appear much less in Arabic colloquial varieties than in Old Arabic. But in all varieties of the language, many verbs exhibit more than one verbal noun, especially those of the basic pattern. This rule also holds for Darfur Arabic. For example, both *gij:am* and *gajmi:n* *qwm ‘rising’ occur as synonymous verbal nouns, just as *gira:ja* and *gari:n* *qr? ‘studying’ as well as *sangu:r* along with *sanga:r* *sngr ‘squatting’ ‘sitting’.

In order to demonstrate how the verbal noun displays itself in its productive verbal function in the Arabic spoken in Darfur, the following section 5.13.1 is mostly dedicated to patterns and examples of verbal nouns of the basic verb behaving as such. Verbal nouns of the basic pattern are varied and occur most. Section 5.13.2 provides occurrences of the verbal noun of derived patterns, which all behave as fully lexicalized nouns and occur little. Finally, in section 5.13.3 the verbal noun in Darfur Arabic is looked at from a general Sudanic Arabic perspective.

As demonstrated by the examples, productively derived verbal nouns can in the first place be used to simply nominalize the verb, as in ‘dancing is fun’ or ‘a whole night of going’ (1). In the second place, a (modified) verbal noun can follow a verb of the same root. This manner of repeating the root serves as a stylistic device in order to emphasize the action expressed in the verb. See the examples (4, 13) below and Ishaq (2002:127-137). Also see 4.9.6 Paronomasia on the use of the verbal noun with the same stylistic function, but in another word order.

5.13.1 Verbal nouns of the basic verbal pattern

Like in Kordofanian Baggara (Manfredi 2010:145), Chadian (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:42), and Nigerian Arabic (1993a:132-133), **CVCi(C)** is one of the most frequently used verbal noun patterns of the basic regular and *tertia infirmae* verbs. Apart from the examples from the corpus below, *katil* **ktl* ‘killing’; *zagi* **sqj* ‘giving water’ and *jari* **ḍrj* ‘running’ were registered from elicitation.

- (1) *le:l ka:miḷ maḡi*
 night.SG complete.SG going **mǧj*)
 ‘A whole night on the way.’ (MY)
- (2) *ba-rgus-u rakis ma ind=ana*
 IPFV-dance-PL **rqs* dancing **rqs* NEG with=1PL
 ‘They dance a [a kind of] dancing/dance that we don’t have.’ (XO)
- (3) *bana:t xani*
 girl.PL singing **ɣnj*
 ‘Girls do the singing.’ (AA)

- (4) *li.ib-na* *li.ib-na* *li.ib-na*
 PFV.dance-1PL PFV.dance-1PL PFV.dance-1PL *lʃb
li.ib *aji:b*
 dancing *lʃb amazing.SG *ʃdʒb
 ‘We danced and danced, it was amazing / We did awesome dancing.’ (KN)

The noun pattern **CVCa:C(a)** is common in all varieties of Sudanic Arabic (*huma:r* ‘donkey’; *guma:f* ‘material’; *kura:* ‘foot’, *ruma:d* ‘ashes’, *tura:b* ‘dust’) but designated by neither Manfredi, Roth (1979:90) nor Owens as a verbal noun in respectively Kordofan, Abéché and Nigeria. However, according to Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:42-43), **CuCa:C** is a reoccurring verbal noun in Chad. Apart from the examples from the corpus below, I also attested this pattern, corresponding to all sorts of verbal patterns and especially to the derived **Ca:CaC** verb pattern. Examples are *kora:k* *krk ‘screaming’; *duwa:s* *dws ‘fighting’; *gola:b* *qlb ‘stirring’ ‘turning’; *hara:ba* *hʀb ‘waging war’; *jaba:s* *jbs ‘drying’; *hiʃa:ʃa~hiʃa:ʃi* *hʃʃ ‘weeding’; *ruga:d* *rqd ‘sleeping’; *gija:m* *qwm ‘getting up’; *sowa:ta* *swt ‘prepare sorghum porridge’; *gawa:la* *qwl ‘saying’ ‘gossiping’ and *gira:ja~gira:ji* *qrʔ ‘studying’.

- (5) *has:a* *ani:na* ***gu.ʔd=na*** *di, (...) ma bi-na.ruf-u* *da*
 now 1PL being situated=1PL DEM.SG NEGIPFV.3-know-PL *ʃrf DEM.SG
 ‘Now the time that we are here, we don’t know that [explanation for not adhering to dates by numbers].’ (XO)
- (6) *wə* *ind=ak* ***zi'ra:*** *fi jabal*
 and with=2SG farming.SG on mountain.SG
 ‘And you have [i.e. there is] farming on the mountain.’ (IA)
- (7) *rija:l* *bi-do:r-u* ***ʃara:b***
 men.PL IPFV.3-want-PL drinking
 ‘The men want to drink.’ (AJ)

The verbal noun pattern **CaCu:C** or **CuCu:C** appears as a verbal noun all over the West Sudanic area (Owens 1993a:134; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:43; Roth 1979:93-94; Manfredi 2010:146) including Darfur (8-10). Elicitation revealed *sangu:r* *sngʀ; *buru:d* *brd ‘bathing’ and *naju:d* *ndʒ ‘maturing’ ‘cooking’ (with metathesis) and the following three examples are from the corpus.

- (8) *saba: za:j sa:.at al=fatur*
 morning *sbh like hour ART=having breakfast
 'In the morning, like the time of (having) breakfast.' (MY)
- (9) *ka:n fi tatur, ni-'na:d-i a.al=na kul:u,*
 if EXS circumcising *thr IPFV.1-call-SG folks=1PL *?hl all
ji:ra:n
 neighbour.PL
 'When there is a circumcising ceremony, I call all our folks and the
 neighbours.' (AJ)
- (10) *il:a subu:¹⁶ bi ramada:n da, la*
 but celebrating *sbf with Ramadan DEM.SG no
 'There is no celebrating during Ramadan.' (SA)

The verbal noun pattern **CiCCa** (Manfredi 2010:146; Roth 1979:76) occurs for some regular basic verbs in the area (11). **CaC:(a)** is the verbal noun pattern for basic mediae geminatae verbs in Kordofan Baggara (Manfredi 2010:147) as well as Nigerian Arabic (Owens 1993:133), and it also occurs in Darfur in that quality (12-14). However, neither Roth nor Jullien de Pommerol assign the latter pattern as a verbal noun in Chad (but see 5.13.3 Darfurian verbal nouns in Sudanic Arabic context). Apart from the examples below, I also elicited *sirga* *srq 'stealing'; *gaḡ*: *qf 'sweeping'; *haz*: *hzz 'shaking'; and *dag*: *dq 'hitting' 'pounding'.

- (11) *zo:l da ind=u irfi aji:b li l=gur'a:n*
 man DEM.SG with=3SG knowledge *ʔrf amazing *ʔdzb to ART=Quran
 'That man has an amazing knowledge of the Quran.'

¹⁶ The verbal noun **subu:** *sbf derives from *sabʔa* 'seven' and denotes 'name giving ceremony seven days after birth', synonym of *sim:ja* in Chadian Arabic according to Jullien de Pommerol (1999a:1142). But in the context of the corpus and according to my key informants, the word has obtained the extended meaning of 'celebration' or 'occasion'. It appears often in the corpus, along with its synonyms **muna:saba** (see next section) and **azu:ma** *ʔzm, including differentiations in meaning varying from place to place and person to person. Those occasions are rituals such as weddings, circumcisions or goodbye ceremonies, often milestones that mark the life of a Darfurian and in which women play an important role preparing and serving the food and drinks, singing and dancing.

- (12) *wala nat, ma ind=ana*
 NEG jumping **ntt* NEGwith=1PL
 'We don't do any jumping [in our dance].' (XO)
- (13) *min kab:-e'ti fo:g=u ta-xat':-i kat: kidi*
 from PFV.pour-2SG in=3SG IPFV.2-cover-SG **ytj* covering **ytj* like that
 'After you added that, you cover it well.' (AA)
- (14) *tuhu:r al=bana:t bi das:*
 circumcising **thr* ART=girls.PL with hiding
 'Circumcising girls is done hiddenly.' (MY)

Verbal noun patterns **CaCaC(a)** and **CaCCaCa** appear in all varieties of Sudanic Arabic as a noun, but the pattern is not designated as a verbal noun by other linguists. However, quite some occurrences of the pattern in Darfur Arabic could be assigned to this word class (15-18). The pattern correlates with regular basic and four consonant verb patterns. In elicitation, I found *marmata* **mrmt* and *xarbata* **xrbt* 'messing'; *zagal* **zql* 'throwing'; *fartaga* **frtq* 'separating'; *naynaya* **nynj* 'chatting' 'moaning'; *sakar* **skr* 'getting/being drunk'; *karkar* **krkr* 'retching' on top of the examples from the corpus below.

- (15) *zaman wagit wata kwaj:is wə haraka ma fi wə*
 time.COLL when atmosphere good.SG and turmoil NEGEXS and
katal ma: fi, ?ija:l ad=duga:g da ba-sar-u
 killing NEG EXS children ART=small.PL DEM.SG IPFV.3-pasture-PL **srh*
 'The time when the situation was good and there was no turmoil and no killing, the small children would pasture.' (SA)
- (16) *niswa:n=um ma ba.araf-u an=nayad da*
 women=3PL NEGIPFV.3-know-PL ART=preparing DEM.SG
 'Their women don't know how to prepare [i.e. cook] that.' (XO).
- (17) *da wanasa jami:l*
 DEM.SG chatting beautiful.SG
 'This is nice (a) chat(ting).' (IA)

- (18) *la.aba* *jad:*, *la.abat* *fo:r*
 dance.SGseriousness dance.SG Fur
 'Fur dancing is serious dancing.' (MY)

According to Manfredi (2010:146), the verbal noun pattern **CaCi:Ce** is one of the most common patterns corresponding to the basic regular as well as the basic *tertia infirmae* verbs in Kordofanian Baggara Arabic. It is remarkable that this pattern does not occur in the Darfurian corpus. The resembling pattern **CaCi:C(a)** (19-20) however, occurs twice in the corpus as a verbal noun, and could maybe be considered part of that pattern.

- (19) *dabi:a* *ka:n* *sa'w:-u*
 slaughtering **ḍbḥ* PFV.be.SG PFV.do-3PL
 'They used to slaughter.' (MG)

- (20) *ganis* *ruja:l*
 hunting men.PL
 'Hunting is done by men.' (SA)

5.13.2 Verbal nouns of derived patterns

Historical verbal nouns of the derived patterns are not productive in Darfur Arabic. This is in contrast with other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic, although Roth (1979:107-108) too attests to their restricted occurrence. The verbal noun pattern **taCCi:C** (1-2), corresponding to the derived **CaC:aC** verb pattern; noun **muCa:CaCa** (3-4) to verbal **Ca:CaC**; noun **iCtiCa:C** (5) to verbal **iCtaCaC**; and noun pattern **istiCCa:C** (6) corresponding to verbal pattern **istaCCaC**, all appear as a limited and fixed set of nouns that can be considered loanwords from Standard (Sudanese) Arabic. All of these have a specialized meaning other than a verbal function. Only six cases of derived verbal noun patterns occur in the corpus and they are exemplified below.

- (1) *kul:u* *zo:l* *takli:d=u* *hu ba-.arif=u*
 every man.SG tradition-3SG **qld* 3SGIPFV.3-know=3SG **ʔrf*
 'Every person knows his [own] tradition.' (SA)
- (2) *ti-rab:-u* *ija:l=kum* *bi* *tarbi:ja* *simi*

IPFV.2-raise-PL **rbw* children=2PL with raising **rbw* well
 ‘You raise your children well.’ (SA)

- (3) *ba-.amal-u muna:saba*
 IPFV.3-make-PL occasion.SG
 ‘They organise an occasion.’ (AF)

- (4) *muwasal-art ma fi ji-mf-i bi kura:=u*
 public transport-PL **wsl* NEGEXS IPFV.3-go-SG with foot.SG=3SG
 ‘There is no public transport, he goes on foot.’ (AJ)

- (5) *wa ta:ni itira:m ta-.b-a to-god*
 and second respect **hrm* IPFV.2-crawl-SG **hbw* IPFV.2-sit.SG
 ‘And then it is out of respect that you go down, on your knees.’
 [explanation how a woman serves food or drink to a man in Darfur]. (XO)

- (6) *ka:n ma ind-ak istita:, ba-xal':-u sa:kit*
 if NEGwith=2SG ability.SG **twl* IPFV.3-leave-PL just like that
 ‘If you don’t have the ability, they just leave it [i.e. they don’t bring alms].’
 (MY)

5.13.3 Darfurian verbal nouns in Sudanic Arabic context

The sparse use of verbal nouns in Darfur Arabic, not only when compared with Old Arabic but also with neighbouring varieties of the language, is distinctive. Moreover, the verbal noun pattern CaCaCa:n, specialized and common for the derivation from mediae geminatae and regular verbs in Kordofan Baggara (Manfredi 2010:147), Nigerian (Owens 1993a:139), East Sudanic Jukrija Arabic (Reichmuth 1983:142) and also referred to by Jullien de Pommerol (1999b:41) as a feature of the ‘Arabic of nomads’, is absent in the Darfurian corpus.

Another salient feature is the lack of the verbal noun ending in *-i:n* in the corpus. Verbal nouns ending in *-i:n* are the most common type of verbal nouns in Chad, corresponding to basic regular as well as all the irregular verb patterns according to Jullien de Pommerol (1993b:41-42). In Nigerian Arabic, this verbal noun suffix seems idiosyncratic (Owens 1993a:134) and in Abéché it is particularly used in verbal nouns corresponding to the four consonant root verb, the derived CaC:aC and the mediae geminatae verb patterns, and according to Roth (1979:112)

'en pleine extension'. Ishaq (2002:127-129) claims this verbal noun does not occur in villages around Al-Fashir, but it does in remote villages. He nevertheless provides many examples of verbal nouns ending in *-i:n* corresponding to mediae infirmae and some basic verbs, like *fo:fi:n* 'seeing', *je:bi:n* 'bringing' and *farhi:n* 'enjoying'. The *-i:n* verbal noun also appears regularly in the elicitation that I conducted with various key informants, such as *dag:i:n* **dqq* 'hitting' 'pounding'; *soti:n* **swt* 'prepare sorghum porridge'; *taf:i:n* **ʔff* 'grilling' 'burning'; *jar:i:n* **dʒrr* 'pulling'; *gari:n* **qr?* 'reading'; *zagi:n* **sqj* 'giving water'; *lam:i:n* **lmm* 'collecting'; *sal:i:n* **sll* 'pulling out'; *gomi:n* **qwm* 'rising'; *gogi:n* 'carrying a baby on the back' and *sad:i:n* **sdd* 'closing'. However, the *-i:n* verbal noun does not appear in Kordofan Baggara or East Sudanic Jukrija Arabic as to the documentation. It seems that the verbal noun ending in *-i:n* is a typical urban) Chadian feature and its probably capricious isogloss must be running through Darfur.

6 Selected topics in syntax

6.1 Syntax general

Various aspects of the syntax of Darfur Arabic have been dealt with in the previous part on morphology. For example, in sections such as negations particles (3.4.4 Negation particles); the conditional conjunction *ka:n* (3.4.9.10 Conditional *ka:n*); the object introducing particle *le* (3.4.2 Object introducing particle) and verbs ending in *-i* (5.3.3 Imperfect sg verbs ending in *-i*); the relative pronoun (3.2.6 Relative pronoun); serial verbs (5.12.1 First type: consecutive actions) and paronomasia (4.9.6 Paronomasia; 5.13 Verbal noun), syntactic aspects like word order, object marking and use of tense have been discussed, including examples in context from the corpus.

However, a few salient syntactic elements that set the language variety apart from others but which are not explicitly treated before, are dealt with in this chapter. Most of these features seem to be caused by intensive contact with the Nilo-Saharan languages that are spoken in the region. This chapter contains four sections: word order; (historical) agreement of definiteness, gender and number; possession; and the passive voice.

6.2 Word order

6.2.1 Nominal sentence

As in most varieties of Arabic, the word order in nominal sentences in Darfur Arabic is subject - predicate (1-2)

- (1) *mula:.=u* *halw*
 sauce=3SG nice.SG
 ‘It’s sauce is nice.’ (AA)

- (2) *bija:r* *ra:gid*
 well.PL plentiful
 ‘The wells are plentiful.’ (AJ)

Notice that the numeral is regularly found after the noun or at the end of a nominal sentence (4.15 Numerals).

6.2.2 Verbal sentence: SVO versus SOV

In Old Arabic, verbal sentences generally start with the verb, but in modern spoken varieties of Arabic the word order is mostly subject - verb (- object) or SVO. In Darfur Arabic, the same word order is found as in most modern Arabic colloquials (1-2).

- (1) *ʔa'ni na-gu:l tibis*
 1SG IPFV.1-say.SG tibis
 'I call it tibis'¹⁷. (MG)
- (2) *ar=ruja:l ba-lbas-u zaj:ə da jala:li:b da*
 art=man.pl ipfv.3-wear-PL like that DEM.SG galabija.PL DEM.SG
 'Men wear like that, [they wear] galabijas.' (XO)

However, like in the Fur (Waag 2010:203; Lewis, Simons and Fennig 2015:15), Zaghawa (Jakobi & Crass 1993:154), Masalit (Edgar 1989:74) and Maba (Weiss 2009:396) languages, the verbal predicate is often found at the end of the sentence with an object preceding that predicate, i.e. a SOV word order (3-5). Interference with those languages is obviously manifested here.

- (3) *fasa:d ma fi **kam.** mamnu: fi balad*
 depravation.SG NEGEXS PFV.be.3SG PASS.PTCP.forbid.SG *mnʃ in country.SG
 'There was no depravation. It was forbidden in Darfur.' (IA)
- (4) *jal:a dinja darat **big-it***
 then world rainy season PFV.become-3SG
 'Then it had become the rainy season.' (MHb)
- (5) *big-a na:s um:=u zira **ba-mʃ-i***
 PFV.AUX.ING-3SG people mother.SG=3SG field *zrʃ IPFV.3-go-SG
 'Her mother's household went to the field.' (MHb)

As a pro-drop language, the Arabic finite verb includes its subject. If a sentence-final verb includes its subject in Darfur Arabic, it may have a pronominal suffix to refer back to the object, which is in that case placed at the beginning of the

¹⁷ kind of cucumber, also called *fag:us* (<*fqs*)

sentence. The word order then becomes OV, with the subject mostly included in the verb (6-15). The anaphoric reference to the object is not always overt or even absent (11-14), but becomes clear from the context.

Jullien de Pommerol (1999:224) reports that fronting of the object occurs in Chadian Arabic in order to emphasize that part of speech. In Darfur Arabic, however, object fronting not necessarily implies that the object is emphasized when the context is taken into account. In some cases, the context excludes that the fronted object is emphasized. Considering that context, the substrates as well as the high frequency of the sentence-final position of the verb, I think that fronting of the object or rather putting the verb at the end of the sentence like in the examples below, is a contact feature rather than an emphasizing feature in the case of Darfur.

- (6) *asi:da* *ti-sort-'i*
sorghum porridge *ʔsd IPFV.2-prepare-SG
'You prepare the sorghum porridge.' (MG)
- (7) *ʃadara ka:n lig-'o,* *bi-sangar-u*
tree.SG if PFV.find-PL.3SG IPFV.3-squat-PL
'If they would find a tree, they would sit down [rest in its shadow].' (MHa)
- (8) *ʃuɣəl de ma ta-hab:ɪf-'u*
thing.SG DEM.SG NEGIPFV-touch.SG=3SG
'Don't touch that.' (AJ)
- (9) *le hab: ti-dug-'i*
TR seed.COLL IPFV.2-hit-SG.3SG
'You pound the seeds'. (AA)
- (10) *la:kin al=be:d bita:.=u bi-tur'd-u*
but ART=egg.COLL GEN=3SG IPFV.3-chase-PL.3SG *trd
'But its eggs are sought after.' (IA)
- (11) *nunga:ra ma:si wə kul:=um wa'ra ba-'tab-u*
nugara.SG PTCP.go.SG and all=3PL after IPFV.3-follow-PL *tbɪ
'The [man playing the] nugara goes and they all follow.' (XO)

- (12) *zaman wakıt bawabi:r ma ja'b-o, ta-gu:m badri*
 formerly time.SG pump.PL NEG PFV.bring-PL IPFV.2-rise.SG early
 'When there were no pumps yet, you would get up early.' (SA)
- (13) *al=bana:t fa.r ji-fartig zaj hag:=ik da*
 ART=girl.PL hair.COLL IPFV.3-undo.SG like GEN=2SG DEM.SG
 'The girls undo their hair, like yours.' (MY)
- (14) *da laban bagar ta-halib*
 DEM.SG milk COW.COLL IPFV.2-milk.SG
 'You milk the cow.' (XO)
- (15) *am:at=um ka:n had:as=u bagara bo-gtul=u*
 aunt=3pl if pfv.tell-pl.3sg cow.sg ipfv.3-kill=3sg *qtl
 'If they would tell their aunt, she would kill the cow.' (MHa)

Note that almost all the lines in the song *bine:ti hasa:bak* (Attachment 2: song *bine:ti hasa:bak*) end in a verb including the subject and a reference to the object such as in the latter ten examples.

6.2.3 Prepositional sentence

The prepositional sentence is a sentence with a prepositional phrase as a predicate. It can be classified as a subcategory of the nominal sentence and describes position. Especially when appearing with the preposition *and* or *ind* **ind* 'with' in Darfur Arabic the prepositional sentence expresses possession (3.4.7.1 and ~ind 'with' and 6.4 Possession).

The word order of this type of sentences is first the preposition including a suffixed clitic referring to the possessor from the context, followed by the subject, which is the located or possessed element of the clause (1-3). This manner of ordering words in this kind of sentences in Darfur Arabic agrees with other varieties of Sudanic Arabic (Manfredi 2010:196; Roth 1979:190; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:193-195; Owens 1993:211, 270).

- (1) **and=ana** munaz:ama b-ad:-i:=na akəl
 with=3PL organization.SG IPVF.3-give-SG=1PL food.COLL
 'We have a relief agency that gives us food.' (AF)
- (2) ka:n **ind=ak** xurba:l ti-xarbi'l-i
 if with=2SG sieve.SG IPFV.2-seive-SG.3SG
 'If you have a sieve, you sieve it.' (AA)
- (3) al=lu:ri bas: al **fo:g=u** sahin, gasab as=suk:ar
 ART=truck.SG only REL in=3SG cargo *ʃħn cane ART=sugar
 'Just the truck, which has [in it] cargo, sugar cane.' (XO)

However, sometimes the subject is found before the preposition *and~ind* in Darfur Arabic, placing the prepositional phrase and its suffix in the end of the sentence (4-6). This manner of word ordering corresponds to the Darfurian tendency to regularly place the predicate at the end of the sentence (6.2.2 Verbal sentence: SVO versus SOV). The same way of putting the prepositional predicate at the end of the clause, occurs in Arabic-based pidgins and creoles (Manfredi 2016:100-101; Luffin 2005:315-317; Wellens 2003:147).

- (4) ija:l **and=u**
 children with=3SG
 'He has children.' (XO)
- (5) bagar **ind=ak?**
 cow.COLL with=2SG
 'Do you have cows?' (AA)
- (6) saja:ra:-t ma **ind=ina**
 car-PL NEG with=1PL
 'We don't have cars.' (AJ)

6.2.4 Existential sentence

As already mentioned in (3.4.6 Existential), the existential particle *fi* is generally found in front of the noun phrase (1-2). However, it sometimes appears after the noun (3-4) and when negated, the existential is predominantly placed at the end of

the sentence (5-6). It seems that the same process as with the preposition *and~ind* (see previous section) is at work here: the existential particle *fi:* is a predicate or a verb-like copula in Arabic-based pidgins and creoles (Wellens 2005:144-147; Manfredi 2016:119; Luffin 2005:317-318). If Darfurians experience *fi:* as a predicate too, its place at the end of the sentence could be explained by analogy with the SOV word order in the local languages that this variety of Arabic draws upon.

- (1) *wa fi: go:s bita duxun*
and EXS land GEN pearl millet.COLL
'And there is land for [growing] pearl millet.' (MY)
- (2) *wa ka:n fi: mura:ka, ba-t.a'n-u*
and if EXS grinder.SG **rhk* IPFV.3-grind-PL.3SG **tħn*
'And if there is a grinder, they grind it.' (AA)
- (3) *nafi:r bardu fi:*
working group.SG also EXS
'There is also a working group.' (AF)
- (4) *ʔa:j fi:. faranʔarabij:a fi:*
yes EXS farangabijja EXS
'Yes, there is. There is farangabijja [a Fur dance].' (AF)
- (5) *moja baka:n ba-farab ma fi:*
water place.SG IPFV.3-drink.SG NEGEXS
'There was no water, no place to drink.' (MHa)
- (6) *mu:s ma: fi:*
razor.SG NEG EXS
'There is no razor.' (XO)
- (7) *hina:k zo:l bi-'bi: ma: fi:*
there man.SG IPFV.3-sell.sg **bjʃ* NEGEXS
'Nobody sells there.' (XO)

- (8) *ʃuxul kida ba-rm-u ma: fi:*
 thing.SG like that IPFV.3.throw.PL NEG EXS
 ‘There is nothing that they throw.’
 ‘Nothing is thrown away.’ (AA)

6.3 Agreement

In Old Arabic as well as in modern spoken varieties of Arabic, there is concord at both the phrasal and clausal level. At the clausal level there is agreement in gender and number, and at the phrasal level in gender, number and definiteness. The Arabic spoken in Darfur is exceptional with respect to this element of syntax. Almost on all levels, agreement is inconsistent to a degree that it is hard to establish rules. Certain parts of speech seem to be on their way towards neutralization of grammatical gender and number.

6.3.1 Definiteness

In Arabic, definiteness is expressed by the prefixed article *al-*, *il-* or *l-* (3.4.1 Article), by means of a pronominal suffix (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns) or through the second noun in the genitive construction (4.14.1 Genitive construction).

Although Darfur Arabic exhibits both articles and pronominal suffixes, the article on definite nouns is often omitted, as already pointed out in (3.4.1 Article). Moreover, and in contrast with other varieties of Arabic, when a noun is followed by a definite adjective (1-2), a demonstrative (3) or a genitive particle (4-5), this modified head noun is not necessarily marked for definiteness either. Hence, the dialect does not display agreement in definiteness.

- (1) *no: al=kuba:r da:k*
 kind.SG *nwʃ ART=big.PL DIST.SG
 ‘That big kind [of bird].’ (MY)
- (2) *jo:m al=tani, ji:-na hina da*
 day.SG ART=second PFV.come-1PL here DEM.SG
 ‘The next day, we came here.’ (XO)

- (3) *ma dajr-i:n haya-t di*
 NEG PTCP.want-PL thing-PL DEM.SG
 'We don't want these things.' (MHa)
- (4) *hala:l bita:=na kul:=a gut:i:ja*
 village.PL GEN=1SG all=3SGthatched hut.SG
 'All our villages are [i.e. consist of] thatched huts.' (AJ)
- (5) *ani:na hina:k gut:i:ja hag:=ina funduk*
 1PL there thatched hut.SG GEN=1PL hotel.SG
 'In our place, our thatched hut is [like] a hotel.' (XO)

Reversely, nouns with a pronominal suffix occasionally appear with an article, in which case definiteness is expressed twice (6-7).

- (6) *bi-'lim:-u kat:i:r taraf al=be:t=um*
 IPFV.3-come together-PL much.SG fringe.SG ART=house=3PL
 'Many get together, next to their house.' (MY)
- (7) *ani:na na-ktub ar-rja:l=na bas:*
 1PL IPFV.1-write.SG ART=man.PL=1PL only
 'With us, only men [can] write.' (XO)

Likewise, names sometimes appear with an article (4.11 Proper names), as in *al=A:dam*, *al=Mirjam* or *ad=Da:rfu:r*, where they do not when compared to other varieties of Arabic.

With regard to the genitive construction (occurring much less than the analytical genitive), the first noun never occurs with an article (8-10) and the second noun sometimes does appear with an article (10), like in other Arabic colloquials. However, in translation or interpretation, there does not seem to be a difference in terms of definiteness than without the article before the second noun. No clear case of a grammatically definite genitive in the corpus has been found where in other varieties of Arabic, it would be indefinite.

- (8) *ruta:na* *Fo:r*
 language.SG **rtn* Fur
 'The language of the Fur.' (AJ)
- (9) *?ij:a:l* *karkade*
 child.PL hibiscus
 'Hibiscus seeds.' (AA)
- (10) *bi-ji:b-u* *hurar* *al=bagar#*
 IPFV.3-take-PL excrements.COLL **hrr* ART=COWS.COLL
hurar *bagar*
 excrements.COLL cows.COLL
 'They take the dung. Dung.' (AF)

In conclusion and as already stated in section 3.4.1 Article, together with Abéché Arabic (Roth 1979:142-144), Darfur Arabic displays an article prefixed to nouns, but without its function as a particle making the noun phrase definite. Furthermore, when the article occurs in phrases with modifiers and pronouns, agreement is arbitrary and its occurrence does generally not correspond to the grammatical rules in most other varieties of the language. This is another feature indicating that Arabic is spoken as an untutored L2. The apparent random appearance of the article can be explained by the lack of an article in the Nilo-Saharan substrates.

6.3.2 Gender

Although remains of a historical gender distinction are present in Darfur Arabic, agreement between historical feminine or masculine forms is arbitrary to an extent that we can state that there is no synchronic gender system. In spite of the presence of historical feminine nouns (mostly ending in *-a*), the adjectives, pronouns, verbs and participles that refer to those nouns or to females, are mostly historically masculine, and occasionally this is the other way around. The absence of a synchronic gender distinction can be explained by the entire lack of it in the Nilo-Saharan languages spoken in Darfur.

Whether historical gender agrees or not, is unpredictable, but one can observe a clear preference for the historical masculine forms. A process of gender neutralization seems to be taking place. For example and as already reported in section 3.2 Pronouns, the historical 3SG.M independent pronoun *hu* (referring to

either a male or a female) occurs 67 times in the corpus and the historical 3SG.F *hi* four times, and an overt historical 3SG.F pronominal suffix is completely absent. Moreover, the quantifier *kul*: ‘all’ and the focus particle *za:t* ‘self’ do not often occur with another than the historical SG.M suffix *-u*, not only when it refers to masculine or feminine nouns but also to other than the third person and plural referents. Historically feminine forms of frequently occurring adjectives such as *simi* **smḥ* ‘good’, *halw* **hlw* ‘sweet’, *kati:r* **kθr* ‘much’, and *ʃe:n* **ʃn* ‘ugly’, are not found at all in Darfur Arabic. The very low occurrence of historical feminine forms of the participle (5.11 Participle) as well as the *t*-marker as the historical 3SG.F form of the imperfect conjugation (5.5.2.2 Rare occurrence of *t*-prefix as historical 3SG.F marker), further supports a tendency towards gender neutralization.

In Abéché Arabic, Roth (1979:131) observes gender distinction as well as agreement. She nevertheless also attests that, particularly among L2 speakers of Arabic, the opposition between masculine and feminine forms tends to disappear in syntactic agreement.

The following seven examples illustrate the arbitrariness of historical gender agreement in diverse grammatical constructions. As opposed to the other examples in this study, historical gender is glossed in these examples in order to show evidence of this feature.

- (1) *mara galb=u ha:r*
 woman.SG.F heart.M=3SG.M hot.SG.F **ḥrr*
 ‘The woman is brave.’ [lit. ‘Woman, his heart is hot.’] (SA)
- (2) *ti-mas':-i bi ide:n=ak kida*
 IPFV.2-rub-SG.F **msh* with hand-DUAL=2SG.M like that
 ‘You rub [it] with your hand, like that.’ (SA)
- (3) *al=bitr ga.id. fart-at zaj: an=na:s*
 ART=girl PTCP.SG.M PFV.leave-3SG.F like ART=people
has:a ta-ji# (...)
 now IPFV.3F-come.SG (...) *al=bint ma j-a*
 ART=girl NEG PFV.come-SG.M
 ‘[She said:] “The girl is here. She went off to the bathroom and will be back soon.” (...) [But] the girl did not come.’ (MHb)

- (4) *bit: wa: id wə ʤamal wa: id-a*
 girl.SG.F one.SG.M and camel.SG.M one-SG.F
 ‘One girl and one camel.’ (MHa)
- (5) *hilt-a ba: id*
 village-SG.F far.SG.M
 ‘A far-away village’. (IA)
- (6) *int-a ma ʤ-itt-i*
 2SG-M NEG PFV.come-SG.F
 ‘You did not come.’ (KN)
- (7) *zo:l daxal-at fi xala wa 'ba-ʤ-i 'ba-drub.*
 somebody PFV.enter-3SG.F in desert and IPFV.3M-come-SG IPFV.3M-hit.SG
ba-gu:l l-o Tora Bora
 IPFV.3.M-say.SG to=3SG.M Tora Bora
 ‘Somebody who entered the desert and comes to strike. He is called Tora Bora.’ (IA)
- A plural gender agreement, whether synchronic or historical, is entirely absent in Darfur Arabic (8-9). That is, the historical feminine plural adjective *hala:t *hlw* ‘sweet’ occurs once in the corpus, without agreement (10).
- (8) *al=haka:ma-at de:la:k hum zartu hum niswan bar:a*
 ART=women singer.PL.F DEM.PL 3PL.M FOC 3PL.M women.PL.F outside
 ‘Those women singers, they themselves, the women, are outside.’ (XO)
- (9) *al=banart ga: id-in ma l=ʔawla:d*
 ART=girl.PL.F PTCP.be situated-PL.M with ART=boys.PL.M
 ‘The girls are there with the boys.’ (XO)
- (10) *ʃi:f-i ija:l-i big-u hal-art*
 IMP-SG.F children=1SG PFV.become-3PL.M sweet-PL.F *hlw
 ‘Look how sweet my children have become.’ [said by a mother fox] (MHb)

6.3.2 Number

Like Abéché Arabic (Roth 1979:183-184), Darfur Arabic exhibits fluctuating number agreement. Singular nouns take singular agreement, but plurals do not always agree.

In line with the Darfurian preference for the historical 3SG.M independent pronoun (6.3.2 Gender), when it comes to bound pronouns and demonstratives, Darfur Arabic displays the same preference. Whether a pronominal suffix or a demonstrative pronoun refers to a singular male or female, to singular or plural inanimates or the dual, the historical 3SG.M occurs more often than others. Only plural animates usually take plural agreement.

6.3.2.1 Animate

Darfur Arabic in general displays number agreement when it comes to verbs, participles, adjectives and pronouns referring to humans (1-5), but exceptions appear regularly (6).

- (1) *farham-in ta-lab-u*
happy-PL IPFV.2-dance-PL *lʃb
'You are happy and/to dance.' (XO)
- (2) *al-fagara ba-ktub-u maha:ja*
ART=Koran reciter.PL IPFV.3-write-PL protection.SG *hmj
bi lo:ho
by wooden board.SG *lwħ
'The Koran reciters write a protection on a wooden board.' [traditional medical treatment] (AJ)
- (3) *ʃe:x kida bi-xut:=um fi ma.al*
sheikh.SG like that IPFV.3-put.SG=3PL in place.SG
wa:id kida bigar:i:=um
one.SG like that IPFV.3-teach.SG=3PL
'A sheikh puts them [i.e. boys] in one place and teaches them.' (AJ)
- (4) *na:s al bi:-j-u, kutar*
people REL IPFV.3-come-PL many.PL
'The people who come are many.' (KN)

- (5) *anta ma ti-fak:ar le ija:l=ak de:l*
 2SG NEG IPFV.2-think.SG TR child.PL 2SG DEM.PL
 'Don't you think about your children?' (MHa)

- (6) *ij:a:l=i ga:id*
 children=1SG PTCP.be situated.SG
 'My children are here.' (MHb)

Plural animals (7-10) and collectives (11-12) generally also take agreement with their corresponding adjectives, verbs, participles, as well as pronouns.

- (7) *wə baha:jim de:l fi l=ħala*
 and cattle.PL DEM.PL in ART=open country *xlw
 'And these cattle in the open country.' (MHa)

- (8) *wa ka:n 'lig-o huma:r ma baxal':-u*
 and if PFV.find-3PL donkey.SG NEG IPFV.3-leave-PL.3SG
 'And if they [i.e. wild dogs] find a donkey, they don't let it go.' (IA)

- (9) *kila:b=um xala:s j-o*
 dogs=3PL then PFV.come-3PL
 'Then their dogs came.' (MHb)

- (10) *tuju:r kubarr wa suyar*
 bird.PL *tjr big.PL and small.PL
 'Big and small birds.' (MY)

- (11) *hulanda da and=u bagar kubarr*
 Holland DEM.SG with=3SG COW.COLL big.PL
 'Holland has big cows.' (IA)

- (12) *Fal:a:ta j-o l=o if'tak-o*
 Fallata PFV.come-3PL to=3SG PFV.complain-3PL
 'The Fallata [people] came to him to complain.' (IA)

6.3.2.2 Inanimate

Inanimate plurals do not take (historical) feminine singular agreement like they do in Old Arabic and most Arabic dialects, including Sudanese Standard Arabic (Bergman 2002:52). In other varieties of Sudanic Arabic, however, is it usual for animate as well as inanimate plural nouns to agree with (feminine) plural verbs, participles, adjectives or pronouns (Manfredi 2010:227-228; Roth 1979:183-184; Jullien de Pommerol 1999b:200, 217; Owens 1993a:262; Reichmuth 1983:200-201).

Interestingly, plurals of non-human and inanimate items mostly correspond to plural adjectives (1-5), but bound pronouns (6-8) or demonstratives (8-12) referring to them are almost always singular.

- (1) *sin-ʔt* *da* *hajn:n* *tara*
making-PL *snʔ DEM.SG easy.PL *hwn that is
'It is easy to make those things, see.' (AA)
- (2) *ind=uguru:m* *tuwa:l*
with horn.PL *qrn long.PL *ʔwl
'It has very long horns.' (IA)
- (3) *ind=um* *kalajil* *kubar*
with=3PL eathenware pot.PL big.PL
'They have big eathenware pots.' (AA)
- (4) *ʃaxali:t* *wa:id-i:n*
thing.PL some-PL
'Some things.' (SA)
- (5) *ti-saj:-i* *dala:dim* *duga:g* *duga:g* *kidi*
IPFV.2-make-SG ball.PL small.PL small.PL like that
'You make very small balls, like that.' (AA)
- (6) *haja:t* *na-ʔut:-u* *juw:a*
thing.PL IPFV.1-put-PL.3SG *hʔt inside
'Things we put inside.' (AJ)

- (7) *le tamartim ni-na:d-u barando:ra*
 TR tomato.PL IPFV.1-call.PL tomato.PL
 'We call tomatos barandora.' (AF)
- (8) *le udam da kul:-u ba-sxu'l-u*
 TR bone.PL DEM.SG all-3SG IPFV.3=wash-PL.3SG *ysl
 'They wash all the bones.' (AA)
- (9) *na-xas:al al=fanayin da be sabu:n*
 IPFV.1=wash.SG *ysl ART=cup.PL DEM.SG with soap
 'I wash these cups with soap.' (MHa)
- (10) *da al has:a bi-bi:'.-u al=daladi:m da*
 DEM.SG REL now IPFV.3-sell-PL *bjʃ ART=ball.PL DEM.SG
 'That's what they now sell in balls.' (AA)
- (11) *?aj, fi l=xejam dak# taw:a:li*
 yes in ART=tent.PL DIST.SG continuously
 'Yes, [we live] in those tents. All the time.' (AF)
- (12) *za:j has:a al=xaz:art da*
 like now ART=gas-PL DEM.SG
 'It is like the soft drinks of these days.' (AF)

With regard to the latter seven examples, also see (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns; 3.2.4 Demonstratives) on the use of pronominal suffixes and demonstratives.

6.3.2.3 Dual

Agreement with (pseudo-)dual nouns (4.8 Dual nouns and suffix -e:n) varies between plural and singular. The examples (2-4) once again demonstrate the tendency towards an invariable pronominal system.

- (1) *wa kure:n=u humur*
 and leg.DUAL=3SG *krʃ red.PL
 'Its [i.e. the ostrich's] legs are red.' (IA)

- (2) *nile:n=ak* *ad:e:t-a* *la Niabra*
 shoe.DUAL=2SG PFV.give-1SG.3SG to Niabra
 'I gave your shoes to Niabra.' (MHb)
- (3) *masare:n* *dark* *bi-saw:-u* *kam:uni:ja*
 intestin.DUAL DIST.SG IPFV.3-make-PL.3SG kamunija
 'They make kamunija [i.e. tripe sauce] of the intestins.' (AA)
- (4) *akal-o* *firb-o* *id-en=um* *xas:a'l-o*
 PFV.eat-3PL PFV.drink-3PL hand-DUAL=3PL *jd PFV.wash-3SG.3SG
 'They eat and drank, and washed their hands.' (MHa)
- (5) *has:a* *kir.e:n=i* *de:l* *ratu:ba*
 now leg.DUAL=1SG DEM.PL humidity *rtb
 'Now I have rheumatism in my legs.' (SA)

6.4 Possession

In Darfur Arabic, possession or belonging is expressed by adding a pronominal suffix (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns and example 1); the preposition *ind~and* (3.4.7.1 *and~ind* 'with' and example 2); one of the genitive particles *bita:*, *hag:*, *hana* or *hi:l* (3.4.3 Genitive particles and examples 3-4); the genitive construction (4.14.1 Genitive construction and example 5); or the compound noun with *am-* or *ab(u) abun-* (4.14.2 Compound nouns with *abu* and *am* and examples 6-7). The syntax of these constructions has been explained and exemplified in the sections concerned; they are listed here to render an overview of the various ways in which possession can be expressed. Apart from several grammatical deviations, these manners of expressing possession also occur in other varieties of Arabic.

- (1) *ana habubt=u*
 1SG grandmother=3SG
 'I am his/her grandmother.' (SA)

- (2) *ind-i kibəra kati:r*
with-1SG experience.SG much.SG
'I have a lot of experience.' (XO)
- (3) *laban bita bagar*
milk GEN COW.COLL
'Cow's milk' (AJ)
- (4) *wə ta-ji:'b-i dagi:g hana ʔe:f*
and IPFV.2-take-SG flower GEN sorghum
'You take sorghum flower.' (AA)
- (5) *da:k bert mara, we de bert ra:ʔil*
DIST.SG house.SG woman.SG and DEM.SG house.SG man.SG
'That is a woman's house, and this is a man's house.' (AJ)
- (6) *ʔaj:ɪ de# a:ʔi am-tabaj hu*
yes DEM.SG yes mother-splitting *bʕdʒ 3SG
'Yes, that's it. That is amtabaj [light sweet sorghum beer].' (AA)
- (7) *ni-saw:-o fo:g=u ʔe:f ar=r:i:f, abun-abat*
IPFV.1-make-PL in=3SG livelyhood ART=countryside father-armpits *ʔbʔ
'We grow corn, maize in it [i.e. the vegetable garden].' (SA)

6.5 Passive voice

Instead of the *in-* or *it-* prefixed verbs (5.9.1 Passive), it is maybe more common in Darfur Arabic to express the passive in an indirect way that is also used in Chadian (Pommerol 1999b:222; Roth 1979:40); Kordofanian Baggara (Manfredi 2010:175-176) and Cairo Arabic (Woidich 2006:357) Arabic. In this way, a 3PL verb is given without a specified subject. The patient is rendered in the pronoun suffixed to that verb (1-6), but not always overtly (5-6). A literal translation of such a construction would be 'they act(ed) upon something/somebody', which can also be translated as a passive voice. To illustrate this type of sentences, the following five examples have a literal translation as well as a free translation with a passive voice in English.

- (1) **wilid-o:=ni** *fi* *Barakal:a* *za:t=u*
 PFV.give birth-PL=1SG in Barakalla self=3SG
 ‘They gave birth to me in Barakallah itself.’
 ‘I was born in Barakallah itself.’ (IA)
- (2) *ma* **zalam-o:=ni**
 NEG PFV. suppress-PL=1SG **ðlm*
 ‘Did they not suppress me?’
 ‘Haven’t I been suppressed?’ (SA)
- (3) *ʃaba:b* *za.la:n-i:n* *ke:f* *bit:* *samih* *zaj:ə de*
 young man.PL annoyed-PL how girl.SG beautiful like that
ja-dʿ-u *ʃa:jib*
 IPFV.3-give-PL.3SG old man.SG
 ‘Young men are annoyed that they give an old man to a beautiful girl like that.’
 ‘Young men are annoyed that a beautiful girl like that gets married to an old man.’ (SA)
- (4) *tawa* **taraʿd-o** *fa:t* *ma fi*
 now PFV.chase-PL.3SG PFV.leave.SG NEGEXS
 ‘Now they chased it [the tiger], it is gone, it is not there.’
 ‘Now it [the tiger] is chased away, it is gone, it is not there.’ (AJ)
- (5) *ʃuxul* *kida* **ba-rm-u** *ma:* *fi*
 thing.SG like that IPFV.3.throw-PL.3SG NEG EXS
 ‘There is nothing that they throw.’
 ‘Nothing is thrown away.’ (AA)
- (6) *da:k* **ba-gu:l** **l=u** *barta:l*
 DIST.SG IPFV.3-say.SG to=3SG bartal
 ‘He/she says to it “bartal” [i.e. round tray made of palm fibers].’
 ‘It is called “bartal”’. (AF)

In elicitation, I also attested *azam-o:-k?* **ʕzm* ‘have they invited you / have you been invited?’ and *o-ro:-na* **rʔj* ‘they have informed us / we have been told’.

7 Linguistic status of Darfur Arabic

7.1 Darfur Arabic as a dialect of Arabic

Darfur Arabic is Arabic. Now this may sound strange, but I nevertheless advance this claim here because I have heard many times that non-Darfurians label Darfur Arabic as *ma šarabi* ‘not Arabic’. Despite its divergencies and variability, this grammar provides evidence that the large majority of its grammatical rules (and vocabulary) is Arabic; in other words, the Arabic spoken in Darfur is an Arabic dialect like other Arabic dialects.

I think that the main reason why other speakers of Arabic do not seem to recognize or acknowledge Darfur Arabic as Arabic, is because, like Chad Arabic, its phonology lacks the typical Arabic pharyngeals and pharyngealisation. Other Arabic gutturals that are characteristic of Arabic in general, have mostly been replaced by other phonemes or have been deleted or mixed. More confusion in acknowledging and understanding the Darfurian Arabic colloquial by ‘Arabs’ outside the West Sudanic region or by Arabists may be caused by the lack of gender distinctions, fluctuating plural agreement and the particular word order, all deviating features when compared to most other varieties of Arabic, besides the local (loan) words.

In the next section, Darfur Arabic is further positioned as Sudanic Arabic, and narrowed down to a West Sudanic variety of Arabic. As such, I will present the characteristics that are unique for Darfur Arabic only. Subsequently, I will attempt to ground the definition of the Arabic spoken in Darfur as a contact language; pay attention to the use of this grammar as a means to establish the origin of speakers of Arabic; and end with suggestions for further linguistic research on Darfur.

The features below are generalizations. Not all features that typify the dialect varieties are listed exhaustively, only a number of salient ones. Some of the features also occur in other Arabic dialects, but it is the combination of the features listed that are characteristic of the language variety at issue. For purposes of readability, in this final chapter I do not refer back to previous examples, explanations and references after each feature. However, the details on the linguistic features and their contexts can be found in the sections concerned in the preceding grammar. Concerning the surrounding varieties of Arabic, the features mentioned below are found in the documentation as named in 1.4 State of the art and main publications, especially the relatively recent grammars of Roth (1979); Jullien de Pommerol (1999b); Manfredi (2010); Owens (1993a) and Bergman (2002).

7.2 Darfur Arabic as Sudanic Arabic

Darfur Arabic is clearly a variety of Sudanic Arabic. At the phonological level, it has *g* as the reflex of Old Arabic *q*; Old Arabic *ḡ* is often realized as *j*; there is an absence of interdentalals and CCC sequences; clusters of two consonants at the beginning or end of words are avoided; voiced consonants are devoiced when followed by voiceless consonants or at the end of words; and it exhibits the bukara and gahawa syndromes. From a morphophonological point of view, the Arabic spoken in Darfur, along with other varieties of Sudanic Arabic, displays *al=* as the definite article as well as the relative pronoun, and both the prefixed vowel of the imperfect conjugation and the imperative of the basic verb pattern is *a*.

From a morphological perspective, the historically masculine 3sg perfect mediae geminatae verbs always present a final *-a*; and the post-nominally placed demonstratives are *da/de/di* in their sg form, while *de:l* functions as a plural demonstrative pronoun. The normal negator is *ma* and the existential particle *fi*. Furthermore, frequently used adverbs and interrogative pronouns and particles are shared throughout the whole Sudanic area, including Darfur, such as *we:n* 'where'; *ja:t-* 'which' 'who'; *ḡanu* 'what'; *ke:f* 'how'; *has:a* 'now' and *za:t-* 'self'. In all Sudanic dialects, including the Arabic of Darfur, the verb *wagaf-wigif* 'stop' turns into a mediae infirmae verb in the imperfect conjugation: *bigi:f*; and *xat:a*, *bixut:(i)* **ħtt* is used to express the verb 'put'.

7.2.1 Darfur Arabic as West Sudanic Arabic

Darfur Arabic belongs to the Western variety of Sudanic Arabic, which is also spoken in Kordofan, Chad, North Cameroon and North-East Nigeria. Among other features, West Sudanic Arabic is grammatically typified by the presence of the phonemes *ɲ*, *ŋ* and *ʃ*; stronger vowel harmony than in East Sudanic Arabic; the 1sg suffixed pronoun *-i* is stressed; vowel reshuffling in certain verb forms; and the variable middle vowel of the imperfect conjugation of the verb *ṣa:f*, *bifi:f~baṣu:f* 'see'. The most salient phonological feature, however, is the absence of the pharyngeals (although Kordofan Baggara Arabic does exhibit pharyngeals, but neither Chad, Nigeria nor Darfur Arabic does).

In terms of morphology, *-a:j(a)* is a very productive suffix to form a singulative noun and is characteristic of all West Sudanic colloquials. A few typical adverbs and particles that mark West Sudanic Arabic are *ke* 'like that'; *ṣi:u~ṣi:a* 'little'; *ṣfat:* 'all'; *ha:j* 'hey' and *tara* 'that is' 'you see'. The Darfurian traditional names of the

Islamic months of the year are also typical of West Sudanic Arabic; as are the many compound nouns with *ab(u)-* or *am:-* prefixes.

7.2.1.1 Darfur versus Nigerian and Kordofanian Baggara Arabic

Within West Sudanic Arabic, there are striking and structural grammatical differences between the ‘Bedouin’ or ‘Arab’ (Owens 1993a; Zeltner & Tourneux 1986; Manfredi 2010) varieties of this dialect on the one hand, and the sedentary varieties (Jullien de Pommerol 1999b; Roth 1979 and this grammar) on the other.

Whereas Nigeria and Kordofan Baggara Arabic display several pharyngealized and implosive phonemes, urban Chad and Darfur Arabic do not. Although Nigerian and Kordofanian ‘Arabs’ generally realize the Old Arabic phoneme *y* as (implosive) *q*, Chadians and Darfurians prefer *x* as a reflex of the same phoneme. The phonological process of *ima:la* or raising of the vowel *a*, seems to occur more often in Nigeria and Kordofan than in Chad and Darfur.

The most salient morphological feature of Nigerian and Kordofanian Baggara Arabic when compared to Chadian and Darfurian Arabic, is the occurrence of gender agreement in plural word forms (Manfredi 2010:73–75, 129, 227–228; Owens 1993a:48–50, 103, 105, 260–261; Zeltner & Tourneux 1986:43). This feature stands out because distinguished plural masculine and feminine agreement is limited in most modern sedentary Arabic dialects, including those outside the Sudanic area. But it is all the more striking because both Eastern Chad and Darfur Arabic often lack (historical) gender agreement altogether, even in singular forms.

Kordofan Baggara and Nigeria Arabic display more distinctions than Chadian and Darfur Arabic in other morphological aspects. For example, the interrogative pronouns *ʃən-* ‘what’ and *ja:t-* ‘who’ ‘which’, the focus particle *za:t-* and the preposition and existential *fi-* ‘in’ can be followed by anaphoric pronominal suffixes referring to ten different forms of persons in Nigerian and Kordofanian Baggara Arabic. In Chad and Darfur, the possible pronominal suffixes which may follow those words are reduced to seven or are even on their way to converge into one single neutralized pronoun (6.3.2 Gender and 6.3.2 Number). For instance, *za:t=u* historically ‘himself’, is also used to express ‘myself’; ‘themselves’, et cetera.

Nigerian and Kordofanian Arabic exhibit the verbal noun *CaCaCa:n*, but it is (almost) absent in Chad and Darfur. Although ideophones occur in Chad and Darfur Arabic, they seem more productive in Nigerian and Kordofan Baggara Arabic according to the documentation. The same documentation reveals that some particular ‘Bedouin’ lexical items seem to be used in Nigeria and Kordofan

Arabic more often than in Chad: *ze:n* 'good' 'well'; *ra:ḥ, baru:ḥ* 'go' 'get lost' 'leave'; and *sa:r, bisi:r* 'break camp' are recurring words in the Nigeria and Kordofan Baggara Arabic grammars. They also occur in Jullien de Pommerol's dictionary of Chadian Arabic, but not at all in the Darfurian corpus and only rarely in the grammar of Abéché Arabic (Roth 1979:15).

Many of the above-mentioned features that are characteristic of Nigerian and Kordofan Baggara Arabic are also shared with the Arabic spoken by the Ula:d Eli in the Chad Basin (Zeltner & Tourneux 1986) and the Eastern Sudanic Jukriyya (šukriyya) Arabic (Reichmuth 1983). The reason for these differences seems clear: the speakers of the latter varieties of Arabic identify themselves as Arabs and a great deal of them live - or have recently lived - as (semi-)nomadic pastoralists. However, the informants on which this grammar is based, as well as the grammars by Jullien de Pommerol and Roth on Chad, are sedentary. The significant differences between the two varieties of West Sudanic Arabic point out that in this area, lifestyle (still) matters linguistically. Indeed, key informants asserted that Darfur Arabic is mutually intelligible by all Darfurians but not by all non-Darfurian Sudanese, with some distinctive but still intelligible differences between the 'Arab' and 'African' Darfurian speakers of Arabic. Hence, lifestyle and identity - without simplification - remains to be accounted for when studying this region. I endorse Roth's (1994:98) similar statements in this respect.

7.2.1.2 Darfur versus Chad Arabic

As already pointed out by Doornbos (1989:425) and referred to by Al-Amin (1999:56), this study has shown that Darfur Arabic is very close to the Arabic spoken in Chad and mostly to its eastern region Wadai, with its capital Abéché. This is not surprising, since Wadai shares significant ethnic, historical and linguistic elements with Darfur and Abéché is situated only approximately 150 kilometres (90 miles) from the border.

Phonologically, both urban Chadian and Darfurian Arabic lack the pharyngeals as well as the velarized phonemes. The Old Arabic phoneme *y* is normally realized as *x*.

On a morphological level, both Chad and Darfur Arabic display the object introducing article *le* and the historical dual suffix *-e:n* is not only used to pluralize body parts that occur in pairs, but other body parts as well. As to verb conjugations, both colloquials consistently display *na-ni* as the 1SG imperfect

prefix and the *na-ni* prefix plus the *-u* suffix to mark the 1PL imperfect verb (the so-called *niktib, niktibu* feature). According to Manfredi (2010:13) Owens (1993a:105 ff) and Zeltner & Tourneux (1986:72 ff), these features do not occur in the 'Arab' varieties of West Sudanic Arabic as consistently as they do in the sedentary dialects.

In contrast to Western Chad but in line with Abéché Arabic, the occurrence of the definite article *al-* in Darfur Arabic seems unstable and is often omitted. When further compared to West Chad, both language varieties in Abéché and Darfur deal with the puzzling *-a* suffix after perfect sg verbs; and derived patterns other than CaC:aC and Ca:CaC only occur as loan words. Lastly, Darfur and Abéché Arabic both exhibit fluctuating number agreement; the auxiliary *gab:il, bigab:il* 'do again'; and a tendency towards neutralization of the pronominal system (6.3.2 Gender and 6.3.2 Number).

7.2.1.3 Darfur Arabic

Although Darfur Arabic may be considered the same language variety as Wadai or Abéché Arabic, the corpus that constitutes the basis of this grammar, reveals a number of features that set Darfur Arabic apart from the latter.

Phonological features that characterize Darfur Arabic are the weak lengthening of vowels and consonants; and the occasional realization of Old Arabic phoneme *ḍ* as the Cairo Egyptian *g*. Furthermore, the Arabic gutturals appear to undergo more variable realizations than in Abéché, and therefore seem less stable.

From a morphological perspective, in the West Sudanic region only Darfur seems to display the 1sg pronoun *a'ni* as a synonym of *ana*. Furthermore, it has three genitive particles; the preposition *and~ind* is only used to express possession and not place; and reflexivity and reciprocity must generally be inferred from the context because it is not marked by a pronoun or a morpheme. Roth already mentions the frequent absence of the definite article and an apparent tendency towards neutralization of the pronominal system in Abéché (1979:184), but in Darfur these processes seem to have been developed into a more advanced stage.

Surprisingly, Darfur Arabic verbs do not exhibit an *al-*prefix in order to detransitivize the verb or express reflexivity or reciprocity, whereas this prefix is present all over the West Sudanic region. Moreover, the *t-*prefix marking the historical feminine 3sg imperfect verbs, is also virtually absent in Darfur Arabic. Conversely, a particular verbal feature present in Darfur Arabic but not in the surrounding dialects is the occurrence of an *-i* suffix in all persons of transitive sg

imperfect verbs. Only a set of six fossilized active participles are used as predicates; and as opposed to Chadian Arabic, no verbal nouns ending in *-i:n* occur in the Darfurian corpus.

As to the syntax of Darfur Arabic, overlapping with morphology, the most salient feature is what I have labelled as the absence of synchronic gender distinctions. Although a few historically feminine word forms exist, some forms do not display historical feminine variants at all or very little, and if they do, agreement is arbitrary. In addition, a regularly occurring SV or OV word order is characteristic of this variety of Arabic.

A few lexical words distinguish Darfur Arabic from its Chadian equivalent. As a former colony of France, the Arabic spoken in the latter country displays French loanwords while these are absent in the Arabic spoken in Darfur. Only one of the informants originating from a town close the Chadian border, uses *leko:l* 'school' once. Furthermore, I never attested Chadian *na:dum* 'man' 'somebody' (but all the more *zo:l*, *fila:n~fula:n* and once *ad:ula:i* < *?abd al:a:h* with the same denotation). On the other hand, Chad does not exhibit the verb *ad:a*, *bad:i* to express the verb 'give' (i.e. it does occur in Jullien de Pommerol's dictionary, but not in his grammar, nor in Roth's grammar, her dictionary, or in the grammars by Lethem or Zeltner & Tourneux).

Some of these features distinguishing Darfur Arabic from Abéché Arabic point in the direction of a stronger influence of the substrates and untutored L2 learning processes. This impact could be explained by the fact that my informants are illiterate and originate from villages, while Abéché experiences the dynamics of a city and schools, both factors affecting language use.

Other features, like the Darfurian preference for the previously mentioned verb *ad:a*, *bad:i* instead of the alternative West Sudanic *anta*, *banti* 'give'; the occasional realization of Old Arabic *ḍ* as *g*; and the presence of Egyptian *bita:* as a genitive particle, suggest (historically) stronger ties between Egypt and Darfur than between Egypt and Wadai. On the other hand, the interviews for this research project were carried out in Khartoum. Compared to Darfur, the Sudanese capital is, both historically and contemporary, in more direct contact with Egypt via the Nile river and the media. Apparent Egyptian influences on Darfur Arabic could therefore be explained as Sudanese Standard Arabic influences.

Last but not least, grammatical differences can of course be explained by time: Roth's grammar on Abéché Arabic is almost 40 years old and in the meantime, life and languages have evolved.

7.3 Further linguistic typification of Darfur Arabic

7.3.1 Pidgin or creole?

Whether a language is classified as a pidgin or a creole, depends on how pidgins and creoles are defined. In linguistics, neither the social nor the linguistic features of pidgins and creoles are considered universal and the debate about them is controversial (e.g. Arends, Muysken & Smith 1995 and Lefebvre 2004). Nevertheless, one of the main and stable linguistic features of pidgins and creoles is reduced derivational morphology compared to the language on which the pidgin or creole is based (Owens 1993b:89), in this case Arabic.

Darfur Arabic does not exhibit reduced morphology as is the case in languages that are called (Arabic based) pidgins or creoles (Luffin 2011:992-993). Its verbal system displays distinctive perfect and imperfect conjugations, first, second and third person and no creole-like tense, mode or aspect markers. Verbs, nouns and adjectives exhibit singular and plural forms and there are even duals in nouns. Like in other Arabic dialects, suffixed pronouns instead of creole-like independent pronouns express objects of verbs. Moreover, Darfurians show that they master Arabic grammar in for example the verbs that have lost their original pharyngeals but have joined existing Arabic verbal classes as to their conjugation; by applying paronomasia (4.9.6 Paronomasia and 5.13 Verbal noun), speakers play with Arabic roots and patterns; and even loan words from the Nilo-Saharan languages such as *romba:j* 'bucket' and *abala:j* 'monkey' get morphological Arabic plurals: *rawa:mbi* 'buckets' and *aba:li* 'monkeys' respectively. Despite its divergencies, this grammar shows that the majority of the features of Darfur Arabic are analogous to other varieties of Arabic and there are no signs of a radical restructuring of the language like there are in pidgins and creoles. In conclusion, confirming Miller's (2002:18) and Manfredi's (2013:23) claims about pidgins or creoles in West Sudan - or rather the lack thereof -, we can conclude that Darfur Arabic is not to be classified as a pidgin nor as a creole language.

It is, however, evident that Darfur Arabic displays features that are reminiscent of creoles: the loss of pharyngeals and pharyngealization; mixed gutturals; weak lengthening of vowels and consonants; some degree of distinctive stress assignment; the Arabic phoneme *f* is sometimes realized as *s*; irregular use of the

article *al-*; no gender distinctions; a process of neutralization of the pronominal system; irregular number agreement; strong influence of substrates; a high degree of variability; and heavy reliance on pragmatic context. As demonstrated in this study, the partly still vigorous substrates and untutored L2 learning processes are key in explaining the presence of these pidgin- or creole-like features.

7.3.2 Non-native language; imperfect learning; and simplification?

About a quarter of the informants in this research project were monolingual in Arabic and the multilingual informants learned Arabic *min badri* 'from a young age', as they themselves indicated. Labelling Darfur Arabic a 'non-native variety' of the language Arabic would therefore be incorrect.

In the context of languages in contact, insufficient availability of the target language may lead to what is called 'imperfect learning' or 'imperfect accommodation' (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:38 ff; Trudgill 1986:103). I hesitate to use this term with regard to Darfur Arabic. Firstly, because it suggests that there is a perfect variety of Arabic, but I do not think that there is. Secondly, the target language of the informants is unclear (1.5.3.2 Target variety of Arabic by Darfurians). This implies that we also do not know which language variety is considered perfect in the eyes of the informants. The relative anarchy of Darfur Arabic furthermore suggests that there might not even be a clear 'perfect' language variety aimed for.

In the literature, pidgin and creole languages are often presented as simplified versions of the language on which they are based. For example, verbs may not be conjugated and only one single pronoun may refer to masculine, feminine as well as plural nouns. Concerning the Arabic spoken in Darfur (and probably other similar languages), which also bears evidence of pidgin and creole features, it should be emphasized that the term 'simplification' of the language only concerns its phonology and morphology. By contrast, the language as a means of communication is not at all simple or simplified. With its high variability, the presence of many homonyms caused by 'hidden' gutturals (2.7 Homonyms), and unmarked references to the (pragmatic) context, Darfur Arabic demands in-depth knowledge of Darfurian society and culture in order to interpret the dialect correctly.

7.3.4 Contact language?

Typifying Darfur Arabic is not an easy matter. In view of the above, we can be certain that Darfur Arabic takes a middle position between an Arabic based pidgin or creole on the one hand, and a full-fledged Arabic dialect on the other. Without insisting on pigeon-holing the colloquial, I believe it would be appropriate to label Darfur Arabic as a contact language: a cover term for any language (variety) that is significantly influenced by contact with other languages.

7.4 Stability and status of Darfur Arabic

As indicated in the introduction, I assume that the high degree of heterogeneity in the Arabic spoken in Darfur is caused by the vastness of the region, reinforced by poor infrastructure and education; great diversity in linguistic background of its speakers; and the absence of norms in this non-standard and low prestige language variety. This variability or diffuse situation (Trudgill 1986:85-86) causes the dialect to be flexible so it can gently embrace regional and individual differences and adapt quickly to changes. But this pliability also makes Darfur Arabic an unstable and vulnerable colloquial. Like in Kordofan (Manfredi 2012), especially among young, literate and urban Darfurians, a process of dialect levelling seems to be taking place towards the dominant Sudanese Standard variety of Arabic. Strong stigmatization of West Sudanic Arabic in Sudan plays an important role in this process of change. Future social, economic and political developments will tell how long Darfur Arabic as it is described in this grammar, will persist.

7.5 Valorization: can this grammar be used to establish Darfurian origin?

This dissertation cannot provide decisive answers about the Darfurian origin of an Arabic speaking individual such as an asylum seeker in Europe. Three remarks should be made in this context.

First, this grammar has pointed out that the Arabic spoken in Darfur resembles the Arabic spoken in Chad, especially Wadai, to an extent that Darfurian Arabic and Eastern Chadian Arabic can be considered one dialect of Arabic. In addition, many Darfurians (temporarily) move to Chad or vice versa, in search of work or shelter from violence.

Second, linguistic features of Darfur Arabic that differ from Chad Arabic, described in this grammar and summarized above, are not only minor but also represent the speech of elder illiterate villagers. These elder illiterate villagers – i.e. my informants on whose speech this grammar is based – neither have the means nor the ambition to seek asylum in Europe, the United States or even countries closer to Sudan. Younger Darfurians, literates and/or city dwellers are likely to use a different language variety (1.5.3.2 Target variety of Arabic by Darfurians and 7.4 Stability and status of Darfur Arabic). Moreover, Darfurians who leave Darfur and manage to reach ‘Western’ countries, often spend time, sometimes years, in other places in Sudan, Chad, Libya, Egypt or places outside the Arabophone world, before they definitively leave their homeland, and this naturally affects their language use.

Third, it is worthwhile to repeat that in the Arabic speaking community, the language variety spoken in Darfur is generally neither acknowledged nor named *ʕarabi* ‘Arabic’, not even by Darfurians themselves (1.3.1 Sociolinguistics and 7.1 Darfur Arabic as a dialect of Arabic). This implies that when testing or informing about the Arabic language skills of an individual from the region, approach and terminology should be chosen with care.

7.6 Further research

Setting aside the problematic accessibility of the region, further investigation on West Sudanic Arabic, especially Darfur, is needed in order to replenish the West Sudanic language map. It would be interesting to explore the Arabic spoken by the Abbala, known to be Bedouin camel breeders in the North of Darfur who also dwell in Kordofan. Research is also needed on the Baggara Arabic spoken in the north of Cameroon, called Shuwa Arabic there. In addition, outside the West Sudanic area but inside Sudan, a huge gap is still to be filled on the Arabic spoken in the North of Sudan.

As to African linguistics, the endangered languages spoken in Darfur, but also the languages that could be threatened with extinction in the long term, should be documented before they actually disappear. Enhanced knowledge of those languages would not only enrich our general understanding of (African) linguistics and backgrounds of the Arabic superstrate, but would also contribute to the history and culture that are represented in those languages and that are in danger of disappearing together with the languages. The ‘overwhelming process of

Arabization affecting contemporary Sudan' (Manfredi 2013c:465) makes research on the local African languages urgent.

In this last paragraph, I want to return to my previous notes on variability in Darfur Arabic. At a certain point of my research for this study, I wondered aloud if the high degree of (individual) variation in the dialect and the many (near) homonyms never lead to misunderstandings among Darfurians. For example, is *na.a:r* **nhr* 'daytime' never confused with *na:r* **nwr* 'fire'; *xat:a* **ɣt̪w* 'cover' never mistaken for *xat:a* **h̥t̪* 'put'; or *wal:a* 'by God' as *wala* 'not'? The then present key informant claimed that there never are such misunderstandings in Darfur. Darfur Arabic is like poetry, he claimed. To me, that seems like a satisfying as well as an inspiring thought to conclude the present work.

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Attachment 1: text sample

Farangabijja

informant MJ (1.6.1 Informants); recording date 10 February 2012 at Suk Sitta, Mayo, Khartoum.

kala:m farangabij:a da, haj:in kala:s
matter farangabijja DEM.SG simple.sg *hwn very *xls
'Farangabijja¹⁸ is very simple.'

ʔa:j# kul:=um bi-laxbit-u#
yes all=3PL IPFV.3-mingle-PL
'Yes. They all mingle.'

ʔa:j# wa:.id bi-dug: nug:a:ra gid:a:m
yes one IPFV.3-hit.SG nugara at the front part
'Yes. One plays the nugara¹⁹ in the front'

ʔaw an=nug:ara at=ta:ni da, al ism=u bi:di
or ART=nugara ART=other DEM.SG REL name=3SG Bidi
'or the other nugara that is called Bidi²⁰.'

ʔa:j, fi wa:.id bi:di, ji-dug':-u ja:j wə ja:j
Yes EXS one Bidi IPFV.3-beat-PL.3SG side and side *j?
'Yes. There is one Bidi, they beat it on both sides.'

¹⁸ Farangabijja: a Fur dance with drums, performed at special occasions. People walk through the streets of the village in several processions with drums in the front and in the back. Women undo their hair and shake their heads, imitating the gazelle. They wave and turn round lids made of colored palm fronds. (*al-intiba:ha* [Sudanese newspaper], 5 February 2012, page 9).

¹⁹ nugara [nug:a:ra]: traditional large drum

²⁰ Bidi: a variant of a drum put across and hit at both sides (Qasim 2002:131; Jullien de Pommerol 1999a:657).

de:l kama:n bara:=u. wə bita: haʃa:b da:k,
 DEM.PL also alone=3SG and GEN senegal acacia tree DIST.SG
 ‘Those [lit. these] are also apart. And the one [made] of “hashab” wood,’

al=nug:a:ra bita: l=fu:r da
 ART=nugara GEN ART=Fur DEM.SG
 ‘the nugara of the Fur,’

kama:n da:k bara:=u
 also DIST.SG alone=3SG
 ‘that is also apart.’

ʔa:j. ji-mf-u bi ʃawa:ri, ji-lif, ʔa:j#
 yes IPFV.3-go-PL in street.PL *ʃrʃ IPFV.3-go around.SG yes
 ‘Yes. They go in the streets, it goes around, yes’

bi-lif: ʃawa:ri
 IPFV.3-go around street.PL *ʃrʃ
 ‘It goes around the streets.’

ta-mf-i ʃa:ri da,
 IPFV.2-go-SG street.SG *ʃrʃ DEM.SG
 ‘You walk in this street,’

wə t=ta:ni ji-lif: fi ʃa:ri.a ta:ni
 and ART=other.SG IPFV.3-go around.SG in street.SG*ʃrʃ other.SG
 ‘and the other goes around in another street.’

ʔa:j. wə ji-fartug-u ʃa:r, al=bana:t ʃa:r ji-fartig
 yesand IPFV.3-undo-PL *ʃrtq hair *ʃʃr ART=girl.PL hair IPFV.3-undo.SG
 ‘Yes. They undo their hair, the girls their hair is loose,’

zaj haq:=ak da
 like GEN=2SG DEM.SG
 ‘like yours.’

wa ji-mas:i.-u l=um ze:t, (...)#
 and IPFV.3-anoint-PL *msħ to=3PL oil
 ‘They anoint it with oil, (...).’

ka:n 'fitir-u, b-i:j-u ra:ji
 if PFV.3-become tired-PL IPFV.3-come-PL PTCP.return.SG *rjʃ
 ‘If they have finished, they come back’

ma l=azu:ma¹⁶
 with *mʃ ART=occasion.sg *ʕzm
 ‘to the occasion [i.e. to the place from where the occasion is organized].’

ʔa:j. azu:ma fi be:t wa:.id
 yes occasion.SG in house.SG one
 ‘Yes. The event is in one house.’

wə ʔa.l=u ja-far-u# ji-lib-u ba.de:n
 and folks=3SG IPFV.3-be happy-PL *frħ IPFV.3-dance-PL *lʃb after that *bʃd
 ‘And its residents are happy. Later they will dance.’

ja-.mal-u farangabij:a
 IPFV.3-do-PL *ʕml Farangabij:a
 ‘They do [dance] Farangabijja.’

ʔa:j# da, da, da niza:m bita l=fu:r.
 yes DEM.SG DEM.SG DEM.SG way.SG GEN ART=Fur
 ‘Yes. This, this, this is the way of the Fur.’

ʔa:j. ana za:t=a amal-ta zəjə da
 yes 1SG FOC=3SG PFV.do-1SG *ʕml like that
 ‘Yes. Me myself I have done like that.’

ʔa:j, təhur-ta ʔaja:l, ija:l=i. as:a bi buju:t=um
 yes PFV.circumcize-1SG children children=1SG now in house.PL=3PL
 ‘Yes, I circumcized the children, my children, who are now married [lit. in their houses].’

azam-ta ahl kul:=um ji:b-ta kurfa:n
 PFV.invite-1SG *ʕzm folks all=3PL PFV.get-1SG lamb.PL *xrf
 ‘I invited all the folks. I got [a couple of] lambs.’

amal-ta azu:ma bi tala:ta jo:m# na:s ba-lab-u bas:
 PFV.do-1SG occasion.SG by/in three day.SG people IPFV.3-dance-PL *ʕb only
 ‘I made [organized] an occasion for three days. People only danced.’

ʔa:j, wal:ahi# na:s ba-lab-u bas: (...)
 yes by God. people IPFV.3-dance-PL *ʕb only
 ‘Yes, by God. People just danced.’

ji-kat:-u nug:a:ra, ji-kan:-i# biʕjalab-u ma. al=wa:.id
 IPFV.3-put-PL *ʕt#nugara IPFV.3-sing-SG IPFV.3-dance-PL *ʕb with *mʕ ART=one
 ‘They put a nugara, she/they sing(s). They dance together.’

lam:an bu:li:s ba-gi:f. asa:n n=na:s ma ji-ʕa:kal-u
 until police IPFV.3-stop.SG for ART=people NEG IPFV.3-quarrel-PL
 ‘Until the police comes, so that the people don’t fight.’

tala:ta jo:m na:s ba-lab-u
 three day.SG people IPFV.3-dance-PL *ʕb
 ‘Three days the people dance.’

xala:s tam:-at azu:ma da, wə xala:s
 that’s it PFV.be complete-3SG occasion.SG DEM.SG and that’s it
 ‘That’s it. Then the occasion is over, and that’s it.’

has:a n=na:s ga:.id-i:n b-itgal:am-u
 now ART=people PTCP.PROG-PL IPFV3-talk-PL *klm
 ‘Now the people still talk [about it].’

wal:ahi ga:.id-i:n bi-kal:am-u has:a n=na:s,
 by God PTCP.PROG-PL IPFV3-talk-PL now ART=people
 ‘By God, still they talk about it now, the people.’

sid:it ma amal-ta azu:ma kabi:r
 intensity.SG *ʃdd that PFV.do-1SG *ʃml occasion.SG big.SG
 ‘That's how intense the big invitation was that I made.’

na:s bi-sa:w-i madi:da, wə mula:h-a:t
 people IPFV.3-make-SG thin porridge and sauce-PL
 ‘People make thin porridge, sauces’

wə la.m na:ʃif, wə ruz:. kul:=u bita: muna:sab-a¹⁶
 and meat *lhm dry.SG and rice all=3SG GEN occasion-SG
 ‘dried meat, and rice. All things that go with an occasion.’

al=bana:t al=hil:a bi-j-i bi-saw:-i za:jə t:ab:a:g-i:n
 ART=girls ART=village IPFV.3-come-SG IPFV.3-make-SG like cook-pl *təx
 ‘The girls of the village come to do like [professional] cooks.’

kul:u bi-saw:-i bi-lim:-u ma.l=wa:id
 all=3SG IPFV.3-make-SG IPFV.3-put together-PL together
 ‘Everything they make they put it together.’

kada, wa fatu:r# kul:=u fi be:t=ak
 lunch and breakfast all=3SG in house=2SG
 ‘Lunch, breakfast. Everything in your house.’

na:s bi-txad:-u, wə ja-btur-u
 people ipfv.3-have lunch-pl *ydw and IPFV.3-have breakfast-PL *ftr
 ‘The people have lunch, and breakfast.’

wa ta:ni zo:l ka:n da:jir aʃ:a
 and second man if PTCP.want.SG dinner
 ‘And also, if somebody wants dinner’

akal ra::gid, na:s ba:-kul-u bas:
 food plenty people IPFV.3-eat-PL only
 ‘There is plenty food, the people just eat.’

lam:a ja-tim: jo:m ka:mil,
 until IPFV.3-be complete.SG day.SG entire.SG
 ‘Until an entire day is over.’

jo:m ka:mil, da:k azu:m-a
 day.SG entire.SG dist.SG occasion-SG
 ‘An entire day, that is an occasion.’

tani jo:m, na:s al=hil:a b-i:j-u ra:ji
 next day.SG people ART=village *hll IPFV.3-come-PL PTCP.return.SG
 ‘The next day, the people of the village come back’

bi-kas:al-u id:a# bardu ma. duju:f
 IPFV.3-wash-PL *ysl dishes *ydd also with *mʃ guest.PL
 ‘to wash the dishes. Also with the guests.’

ta:lit jo:m b-arfa.-u al=?id:a
 third day IPFV.3-lift-PL *rʃʃ ART=dishes
 ‘The third day, they take away the dishes [i.e. people who brought dishes take them back home].’

tala:ta jo:m azu:ma# akal bas: na:s (...) ?a:j.
 three day.SG occasion food only people yes
 ‘The event takes three days. Just food, the people (...). Yes.’

na:s kul:=u b-i:j-u ba:-kul-u
 people all=3SG IPFV.3-come-PL IPFV.3-eat-PL
 ‘All the people come to eat.’

lam:an ji-gad:im duju:f
 until IPFV.3-see off.SG *qdm guest.PL
 ‘Until the guests are seen off.’

la'kin, la.ba fadi:d#
 but dance.SG *lʃb strong.SG
 ‘But a lot of dancing.’

la.ba jad:, la.bat fo:r
 dance seriousness dance Fur
 ‘Serious dancing, the dancing of the Fur.’

al=xuna bita: fo: wa l=wa:.idi:n b-alab-u bi arabi
 ART=singing GEN Fur and ART=some IPFV.3-dance-PL by/in Arab
 ‘[There is] the singing of the Fur and some dance Arab dances.’

kul:=u aj:ə zo:l bi tari:gt=u# ʔaj, wal:a:hi
 all=3SGany somebodyin way=3SG yes by God
 ‘All of them, every person in his way. Yes, by God.’

ʔaj. farangabij:a da bita: fu:r
 yes Farangabijja DEM.SG GEN Fur
 ‘Yes. Farangabijja is a Fur matter.’

al=, al=dinka bardu ga:.id-i:n bi-.amal-u farangabij:a
 ART ART=Dinka also PTCP.PROG-PL IPFV.3-do-PL Farangabijja
 ‘The Dinka [ethnic group from South Sudan] also do [a kind of] Farangabijja.’

ma za:j bita: al=fo:r. bita: l=fu:r samih
 NEGlike GEN ART=Fur GEN ART=Fur good.SG
 ‘[But] not like the Fur. The one of the Fur is good.’

mm# farangabij:a bita: l=fu:r samih
 mm. Fangabijja GEN ART=Fur good.SG
 ‘Mm. The Farangabijja of the Fur is good.’

Attachment 2: song *bine:ti hasa:bak*

This Darfurian song can be found in many varieties on the internet. All Darfurians I met knew it, liked it and it recurs at Darfurian parties. It contains advices from a mother to her daughter about how to behave when married. The song is not glossed with grammatical information because the grammar of songs often differs from the grammar of colloquials. However, all sentences end in verbs (6.2.2 Verbal sentence: SVO versus SOV) with a 3sg pronominal suffix (3.2.2 Pronominal suffixes or bound pronouns), which are typical features of Darfur Arabic. The lyrics in

Arabic script are copied from the website
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RzFL43ybzww>

بنيتي حسابك

bine:ti hasa:bak

‘Mind you, my girl’

بنيتي حسابك ل كلام راجل اسمعا

bine:ti hasa:bak la kala:m ra:jil ?asma.a:

‘My girl, please listen to the words of your husband’

الله والنبي ل كلام راجل تسمعا

al:a wa n:abi la kala:m ra:jil tasma.a:

‘By God and the Prophet, you listen to the words of your husband’

حسابك يا بنيتي كلامي لا تابا

hasa:bak ja bine:ti kala:mi la ta:'ba:

‘Please, my girl, don't decline my words’

كلامي كم أبيتته تكوسيه ما تلقا

kala:mi kam ?abe:ti taku:si ma tal'ga:

‘If you deny my words, you will seek and not find’

هي لا تخلية ينقنق ل كلامو تسفها

haj la taxal:i: jinaŋiŋ lə kala:mu tasfaha:

'Look, don't let him moan because you cast his word'

لا تقوي راسك، بكرة يقولوا طلقا

la tagaw:i ra:sak bukra jagu:lu tal:a'ga:

'Don't be stubborn, [otherwise] tomorrow they will say he divorced [you]'

فجر كم ولا عندو ل عشيّا أمهلا

fajur kam wa la andu lə ʔaʃi:ja ʔamhala:

'If he does not have [money] early in the morning, be patient until the evening'

بلا إذنو لا تمشي ل محل مآجرا

*bala ʔiznu la tamʃi lə mahal maʔa:ɟara: *ʔdʒr*

'Don't [even] go to a mourning place without his permission'

وراجل كم ما ناداك لا تمشي تلحقا

wa ra:ɟil kam ma na:da:k la tamʃi talhaga:

'If your man does not call you, then don't follow him'

وكم غبّت منك نادي أسألا

wa kam ɟab:at min:ak na:di ʔasʔala:

'If he turns his back on you, call him and ask him [what is the matter]'

قشي بيتك بدري وعيشك أطحنا

guʃ:i be:tik badri wa ʔe:ʃik ʔaṭṭha'na:

'Sweep your house and pound your millet early'

الما وساخة ، في خشم بيت لا تكشحا

almi wasa:xa fi xafum be:t la takʃa'ha:

‘Don't splash dirty water at the door of your house’

وكم عاطت فوقك لا تدقيه تفلعا

wa kam ʔa:tat fo:gak la: ta'dug:i tafla.a:

‘When he is yelling at you, don't hit him and don't wound his head’

إنتي أشكيه ل الله ل حقك يخلصا

inti ʔaʃki lə al:a: lə hag:ak jaxla'sa:

‘Complain to God and He will redeem your right’

انتي بنيتي كم ل كلامي تسمعا

inti bine:ti kam lə kala:mi tasma.a:

‘My girl, if you listen to my words’

الله والنبي ل كلام راجل تسمعا

al:a wa n:abi lə kala:m ra:jil tasma'.a:

‘By God and the Prophet, listen to the words of your husband’

حتي عجاج بيتك ، عنقريو فرشيه

hit:i ʔaja:j be:tak angare:bu far:i'fi:

‘Get rid of the dust in your house, make his bed’

وكورة أم قعر تحت سريره جيبه ختيه

wa ko:ra am ga.ar tihit sari:ru ji:'bi: xut':i:

‘Take and put the tin bowl with the strong bottom under his bed’

توبك المجنقر دا ب إبرة أمسكيه

to:bak almuɟangar da bi ibra amsi'ki:

'If your dress is torn, take a needle and sew it'

رجلينك المشقق دا أدرشيه حننيه

rigle:nik almuɟag:ag da ʔad'ruʃi: han:i'ni:

'Scrub your cracked feet and put henna on them'

شعرك المشمبل دا لميه مشطيه

ʃa.rik almuɟambal da lam'i: maʃ:i'ti:

'Put your tousled hair together and comb it'

المدونكت [الما مدوانتك] من قعارو فرتقيه

almɪ midwa:ntak min ga.a:ru farti'gi:

'Empty the bottom of the water jar'

أ طوي أوقاي ل ألي أردي جيبه

ʔatwi ʔowga:j lə almɪ ʔar'di: ɟi:'bi:

'Fold the ugay [**wqj*, round cloth on head to carry water jar on top], go and fetch water'

عجينة كم تعوسيه ل دوكي أتقيه

ʔaɟi:nɪ kam ta.u:si lə do:ki ʔat:i'gi:

'When you make dough [for *kisra*], clean the plate'

وكسرة كم تلت عقابو لميه شريه

wa kisra kam til:it aga:bu lim:i ʃur'i:i:

'And if there is left-over from the *kisra*, collect it and spread it out [to dry in the sun so you can store it and eat it later]'

جيبي مخبرك ل بطن بيتك بخريه

ji:bi: muxbarak lə butun be:tak bax:i'ri:

'Take your censer inside your house and perfume it with incense'

كم كملت خدمتك ل نارك أكتليه

kam kam':alti xidimtak lə na:rak ?aktu'li:

'If you finished working [cooking], extinguish the fire'

ب طلحاي ب دروتاى حفرتك ولعيه

[this sentence is on the website but not in the song]

'Put Talhaay or Durtaay [Droot, kinds of smelling wood] in your incense hole and burn it [i.e. make yourself smell nice]'

كم فتي بطن حله ، ل بيتك طليه شيفيه

kam fut:i butun hil:a lə be:tak tul':i: fi:'fi:

'When you go into the centre of the village [i.e. if you go out], check your house'

كلام كم تخاف لو من بيت لا تمرقيه

kala:m kam taxa:f law min be:t la tumur'gi:

'The words you are afraid of [i.e. that might put you in danger], don't let them get out of the house'

وقالوا وقلنا في لسانك لا تجيبه

wa ga:lu w gulna fi lisa:nak la taji:'bi:

'Don't let gossip get on your tongue'

جارتك المهوهوة دا لا بيتك بخريه

ja:rtak almuhawhaw da lə be:tak baxri'bi:

'Your vile neighbour, she might ruin your family'

نصیحتی کم سمعتیه ل بیتک أمسکیه

nasi:hti kam sami.ti: lə be:tak ʔamsiki:

‘If you listen to my advice, your house will be safe’

الله والنبي ل كلام راجل تسمعا

al:a wa n:abi lə kala:m ra:jl tasma.a:

‘By God and the Prophet, you listen to the words of a man’

Summary in English

A grammar of Darfur Arabic

The Arabic spoken in Darfur, the most western region of Sudan, is on all levels much influenced by the other languages that are also spoken in that area. Furthermore, Darfur Arabic closely resembles the Arabic colloquial as is it spoken in Chad, especially in the eastern part of this neighboring state. In spite of substantial variation in Darfurian Arabic speech, the following, most salient features have been established.

At the phonological level, the Darfur Arabic phoneme inventory lacks the ‘typical’ (Old) Arabic consonants *q*, *y*, the velarized consonants and notably the pharyngeals *ħ* and *ʕ*. In general, gutturals are either omitted, mixed or (variably) replaced by other phonemes. The phonological rules largely coincide with other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic (i.e. the Arabic spoken in North-East Nigeria, Chad and Kordofan), particularly with Eastern Chad. Examples include such as strong vowel harmony, weak consonant and vowel lengthening, avoidance of consonant clusters at the beginning or end of words and stress on pronominal suffixes ending in *-i*.

From a morphological and syntactical perspective, one of the most typical features is the absence of gender distinctions, i.e. some words or morphemes display historical gender distinctions, but only show arbitrary agreement with the context in which they are used. The verb phrase *ha:rabat*, e.g., which historically denoting ‘she fought’, may have a masculine subject and consequently mean ‘he fought’; and 3sg pronoun *hu*, historically ‘he’, can refer to a woman. Some word (forms), such as the names for the colors, the genitive particle *bita:* and the 3sg imperfect verb conjugation, (virtually) do not exhibit any historically feminine forms. Furthermore, because of the obvious preference for historically masculine forms of pronouns, a tendency towards an invariable pronominal system seems to be at work.

Other particular morphological features of Darfur Arabic are the 1sg independent pronoun *a'ni* and four genitive particles (*bita:*, *hag:*, *hana* and *he:l*), the latter feature being exemplary for the variability in the dialect. The definite article *al-* is often omitted, but the particle *le* can serve to introduce the object of a clause. Most of the remaining pronouns, such as the relative pronoun *al-*; the particles, such as the existential particle *fi:*; the adverbs; prepositions and singular and plural noun patterns, generally accord with Sudanic Arabic. Particular West

Sudanic morphological features are the *-a:j* suffix as a marker of the diminutive or singulative, the extended use of the pseudo-dual (e.g. *ru:se:n* 'heads') and the *ab(u)-* or *am:-* prefixes in compound nouns. However, the language variety does neither exhibit a reflexive nor a reciprocal pronoun, at least not in the corpus of sound recorded texts that serve as the data on which this grammar is based. In comparisons, not the elative form aCCaC is used but CaCi:C *min*, as in *kabi:r min* 'bigger than'. Color terms carry extended meanings other than hue, such as *abjad* 'white' 'pure' 'clean' and *a.mar* 'red' 'light' 'beautiful'.

The verbal morphology of the Arabic spoken in Darfur is also mostly in line with other Sudanic colloquials, with some interesting divergence. Speakers are consistent in using the so-called *nəktəb-nəktəbu* feature, and the *b*-prefix almost exclusively marks the 3SG imperfect conjugation. The *t*-prefix, as the marker of the historical 3.SG.F imperfect conjugation, is virtually absent and I hypothesize that the *-i* suffix indicates transitivity in some finite SG imperfect verbs. As in urban Chadian and Nigerian Arabic, verbs with roots that end in a historical pharyngeal, are often reanalyzed and conjugated as *tertia infirmæ* verbs. The productive number of derived verb patterns, participles and verbal nouns, is limited. It is remarkable that no clear case of the *al*-prefix marking detransitivization, reflexivity or reciprocity occurs in the corpus, since it does occur in other varieties of West Sudanic Arabic.

The regular occurrence of SV or OV word order is maybe the most striking and typical syntactic feature of Darfur Arabic. Furthermore, arbitrary historical gender agreement leads me to conclude that there are no synchronic gender distinctions. Number agreement is more consistent, but fluctuates.

Many linguistic features typical of the Darfurian Arabic colloquial can be explained by interference with the Nilo-Saharan substrates or implicit L2 learning strategies. Some of these features are shared with the those that typify Arabic based pidgin and creole languages. Its derivational morphology is too well developed to categorize the dialect as another pidgin or creole, however. The Arabic of Darfur takes up a middle position between a full-fledged Arabic dialect and a pidgin or a creole. Darfur Arabic is a contact language, stigmatized in Sudan in favor of Sudanese Standard Arabic, the powerful normative language (variety) in Sudan.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Een grammatica van het Darfur-Arabisch

Het Arabisch dat gesproken wordt in Darfur, de meest westelijke provincie van Soedan, wordt op alle vlakken sterk beïnvloed door de andere talen die daar ook gesproken worden. Darfur-Arabisch lijkt bovendien erg op het Arabisch zoals het in Tsjaad wordt gesproken, vooral in het oostelijk deel van dat aangrenzende land. Ondanks dat het gesproken Arabisch van Darfur aanzienlijke variatie vertoont, heb ik de volgende, meest opvallende kenmerken kunnen vaststellen.

Wat de fonologie betreft, ontbreken in de Darfur-Arabische foneeminventaris de 'typische' (Oud-)Arabische consonanten *q*, *ɣ*, de gevelariseerde consonanten en vooral de faryngalen *ħ* en *ʕ*. Gutturalen worden over het algemeen weggelaten, gemengd of variabel vervangen door andere fonemen. De fonologische regels komen grofweg overeen met andere varianten van het West-Soedanees Arabisch, in het bijzonder met dat van Oost-Tsjaad, zoals sterke klinkerharmonie; geringe verlenging van consonanten en klinkers; consonantenclusters aan het begin of eind van woorden worden vermeden en de klemtoon ligt op de *-i* als pronominale suffixen daarop eindigen.

Vanuit morfologisch en syntactisch oogpunt is het ontbreken van onderscheid naar geslacht een van de meest typische kenmerken. Dit houdt in dat sommige woorden of morfemen historisch wel vrouwelijk of mannelijk zijn, maar in context willekeurig met elkaar congrueren. De werkwoordsvorm *ha:rabat*, bijvoorbeeld, die historisch 'zij vocht' betekent, kan in Darfur een mannelijk onderwerp hebben en in Darfur dus 'hij vocht' betekenen; en het voornaamwoord van de derde persoon enkelvoud *hu*, dat historisch 'hij' betekent, kan naar een vrouw verwijzen. Sommige (soorten van) woorden, zoals de namen voor de kleuren, het genitiefpartikel *bita:* en de vervoeging van de derde persoon enkelvoud in het imperfectum, vertonen zelfs bijna helemaal geen historisch vrouwelijke variant. Doordat er een duidelijke voorkeur bestaat voor historisch mannelijke voornaamwoorden, lijkt het verder of er een tendens bestaat om alle terugverwijzende voornaamwoorden te uniformeren tot één.

Andere bijzondere morfologische kenmerken van het Darfur-Arabisch zijn dat het onafhankelijke voornaamwoord *a'ni* voorkomt voor de eerste persoon enkelvoud, en er vier genitiefpartikels (*bita:*, *hag:*, *hana* en *he:l*) bestaan. Het laatste verschijnsel is exemplarisch voor de variabiliteit in het dialect. Het bepaald lidwoord *al-* wordt vaak weggelaten, maar het partikel *le* kan dienen om het object van een zin aan te kondigen. De meeste van de resterende voornaamwoorden,

zoals het betrekkelijk voornaamwoord *al-*; de partikels, zoals het existentiepartikel *fi-*; de bijwoorden, voorzetsels en woordpatronen van naamwoorden in het enkelvoud en meervoud, komen over het algemeen overeen met het Soedanees Arabisch. Kenmerkende West-Soedaneese morfologische verschijnselen zijn het *-a:j* suffix om de diminutief of singulatief aan te geven; het verruimde gebruik van de pseudo-dualis (bijvoorbeeld *ru:se:n* 'hoofden' 'koppen'); en de *ab(u)-* of *am:-* prefixen in samengestelde substantieven. De taalvariant vertoont daarentegen geen reflexief noch reciprook voornaamwoord, tenminste niet in het corpus van opgenomen teksten dat dient als de data waarop deze grammatica is gebaseerd. In vergelijkingen wordt niet de elatiefvorm *aCCaC* gebruikt maar *CaCi:C min*, zoals in *kabi:r min* 'groter dan'. Kleurennamen hebben uitgebreidere betekenissen dan alleen kleur zelf: *abjad*, bijvoorbeeld, betekent niet alleen 'wit' maar ook 'puur' 'schoon'; en *a.mar* 'rood' kan ook 'licht' of 'mooi' betekenen.

De morfologie van het Darfur-Arabische werkwoord is ook grotendeels in overeenstemming met andere Soedanees-Arabische spreektaalen, afgezien van een aantal interessante afwijkingen. Zo zijn de sprekers consequent in het gebruik van het zogenaamde *naktab-naktabu*-kenmerk en het *b*-prefix dient bijna alleen om de derde persoon enkelvoud van het imperfectum aan te geven. Het *t*-prefix waarmee historisch de derde persoon enkelvoud vrouwelijk wordt gemarkeerd, komt bijna niet voor en ik stel als hypothese dat het *-i* suffix in bepaalde vervoegde werkwoorden in het imperfectum enkelvoud op hun transitiviteit wijst. Net als in het stedelijk Tsjadisch en Nigeriaans Arabisch worden werkwoorden met wortels die op een historische faryngaal eindigen, vaak gereanalyseerd en als *tertiaie infirmae* vervoegd. Afgeleide stammen van werkwoorden, participia en werkwoordsubstantieven worden beperkt gebruikt. Het is opmerkelijk dat er geen duidelijk geval in het corpus is te vinden van een *al*-prefix om het werkwoord intransitief, reflexief of reciprook te maken, hoewel dat wel gebeurt in andere varianten van het West-Soedanees Arabisch.

In syntactisch opzicht is de regelmatig optredende SV- of OV- woordvolgorde misschien het meest opvallend en typisch aan het Darfur-Arabisch. Verder heeft de arbitraire congruentie in historisch geslacht me ertoe gebracht om te concluderen dat er synchronisch geen onderscheid wordt gemaakt naar geslacht. Congruentie in getal treedt vaker op, maar fluctueert.

Veel typische taalkundige kenmerken van de Darfur-Arabische spreektaal lijken verklaarbaar te zijn aan de hand van interferentie met de Nijlo-Saharaanse

substraten en strategieën die ontstaan bij het verwerven van een tweede taal zonder formele instructie. Sommige van die eigenschappen behoren ook tot de kenmerken die ook pidgin- of creooltalen typeren. Toch kan het Arabisch dialect van Darfur niet als pidgin of creool bestempeld worden, want daar is het systeem van vervoegingen en verbuigingen te verregaand voor ontwikkeld. Het Arabisch van Darfur neemt een middenpositie in tussen een volledig ontwikkeld Arabisch dialect en een pidgin of creool. Darfur-Arabisch is een contacttaal, waar in Soedan op wordt neergekeken ten voordele van het Soedanees Standaard Arabisch, de machtige normatieve taal(variant) in Soedan.

Curriculum vitae Caroline (Jeanne) Roset

Born in The Hague in 1969, I finished secondary school at Spaarne Scholengmeenschap in Haarlem (the Netherlands) and worked one year as *jeune fille au pair* in Paris. I studied Arabic, French and Dutch at the School for Higher Professional Education ('Hogere Beroepsopleiding Tolk-Vertalen') in Maastricht, the Netherlands (degree 1993), part of which involved one semester at the French Département d'Études Arabes du Caire.

Subsequently, I obtained a scholarship to study Arabic for one year at the French Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas in Syria and after my return to The Netherlands, I studied Arabic for another three years at the University of Amsterdam. I did an internship at the Dutch Embassy in Sana'a, Yemen, in 1996, and graduated with a thesis on modern Yemeni poetry in 1997.

After I finished my studies, I was employed in a road safety project by the Dutch-British Shell oil company in Deir Ezzor, north-east Syria, for almost a full year in 1998. Back in the Netherlands, I found employment as an assistant at the Dutch Immigration Service ('IND') and later in an immigration lawyers' office for short periods of time.

From August 2004 until now, I have worked as a teacher at the Department of Arabic Language and Culture at the University of Amsterdam. In this position, I mainly taught undergraduate courses of language acquisition (Egyptian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic), Arabic linguistics and literature and reading classes. I travelled to Cairo a couple of times to freshen up my Egyptian Arabic and I translated an Iraqi novel into Dutch.

I started on the research for this dissertation in 2011. In order to collect and elicit data and transcribe them, I spent about eight months in Khartoum during the winters of 2011-2015 (1.6 Methodology).