

## The appearance of Glides in Classical Arabic defective verbs

### (1) purpose

- a. adduce evidence to the effect that defective verbs are biliterals
- b. predict the appearance of glides throughout conjugation
- c. show that their distribution can be understood only if two categories are distinguished:
  1. Glides of apophonic origin derived from V2
  2. Glides of suffixal origin
- d. motivate their existence

### (2) for a given weak verb, the Glide is predictable Chekayri&Scheer 1996

ex. defective verbs (Glide in C3)

V2	number of verbs with		example
	w	y	
a	230	118	da9aw - ya-d9uw ramay - ya-rmiy
i	-	132	Sadiy - ya-Sday
u	13	-	saruw - ya-sruw

complementary distribution according to V2 in imperfective forms

pf V2	number of verbs with		imp V2	example
	w	y		
a	230		u	da9aw - ya-d9uw
		118	i	ramay - ya-rmiy

==> for a given verb, the nature of the Glide is a function of imp V2.

### (3) imp V2 is the output of an apophonic derivation performed on pf V2 Guerssel&Lowenstamm 1996

Apophonic Path

$\emptyset \implies I \implies A \implies U \implies U$





## (7) configurations produced by morphology

	morph. output	apoph. Glide creation	status	result	underlying	surface	identification
a.	V2 + C						
	V2 = a	ayC	ok		rama + tu	ramaytu	pf act. sg 1
		awC	ok		dana + tu	danawtu	pf act. sg 1
	V2 = i	iyC, iwC	illegal	iiC	raDi + tu	raDiitu	pf act. sg 1
	V2 = u	uyC, uwC	illegal	uuC	saru + tu	saruutu	pf act. sg 1
b.	V2 + Vsuff						
	V2=Vsuff	aa	ok		dana + a	danaa	pf act. sg 3m
		uu	ok		?a-dnu + u	?a-dnuu	ipf act. sg 1
		ii	does not occur				
	u + a	uwa	ok		saru + a	saruwa	pf act. sg 3m
	i + a	iya	ok		raDi + a	raDiya	pf act. sg 3m
	a + u	ayu, awu	illegal	aa	?a-nha + u	?a-nhaa	imp act. sg 1
	i + u	iyu	illegal	ii	?a-rmi + u	?a-rmii	imp act. sg 1
	a + i	ayi, awi	does not occur	pred: aa			
	u + i	uwi	does not occur	pred: uu			
c.	V2 + VV						
	u + aa	uwaa	ok		saru + aa	saruwaa	pf act. du 3m
	i + aa	iyaa	ok		raDi + aa	raDiyaa	pf act. du 3m
	a + aa	ayaa, awaa	ok		dana + aa	danawaa	pf act. du 3m
	u + ii	uwii	illegal	ii	dnu + iina	dniina	ipf act. sg 2f
	i + ii	iyii	illegal	ii	rmi + iina	rmiina	ipf act. sg 2f
	u + uu	uwuu	illegal	uu	saru + uu	saruu	pf act. pl 3m
	i + uu	iyuu	illegal	uu	raDi + uu	raDuu	pf act. pl 3m
	a + ii	ayii, awii	illegal	ay	ta-nha + iina	ta-nhayna	ipf act. sg 2f
	a + uu	ayuu, awuu	illegal	aw	dana + uu	danaw	pf act. pl 3m

## (8) one and the same verb may exhibit two different Glides

if Glides were lexically present, this should not be the case.

Pf Active: [w]

	pers. suffix	dana=a-u	rama=Ø-i	saru=u-u	naha=a-a	raDi=i-a
sg 1	labis-tu	danawtu	ramaytu	saruutu	nahaytu	raDiitu
du 3 m	-aa	danawaa	ramayaa	saruwaa	nahayaa	raDiyaa

Pf Passive: [y]

	pers. suffix	duni=a-u	rumi=Ø-i	suru=u-u	nuhi=a-a	ruDi=i-a
sg 3 m	-a	duniya	rumiya	--	nuhiya	ruDiya

lpf Passive: [y]

	pers. suffix	dna=a-u	rma=Ø-i	sra=u-u	nha=a-a	rDa=i-a
pl 3 f	-na	yu-dnayna	yu-rmayna	--	yu-nhayna	yu-rDayna

(8) all Glides occurring are not of apophonic origin

e.g. Pf Active:

	pers. suffix	dana=a-u	rama=∅-i	saru=u-u	naha=a-a	raDi=i-a
sg 1	labis-tu	danawtu	ramaytu	saruutu	nahaytu	raDiitu

[y] ou [w] occur according to the underlying identity of V2.

vs.

Pf Active

	pers. suffix	dana=a-u	rama=∅-i	saru=u-u	naha=a-a	raDi=i-a
pl 3 m	-uu	danaw	ramaw	saruu	nahaw	raDuu

[w] appears regardless of V2.

if [w] were apophonic, generalisation (10) would be missed.

lpf Active	pers. suffix	dnu=a-u	rmi=∅-i	sru=u-u	nha=a-a	rDa=i-a
sg 2 f	-iina	ta-dniina	ta-rmiina	ta-sriina	ta-nhayna	ta-rDayna

unlike apophonically created Glides which are not supplied by the lexicon, [y] is the representative of /-ii/.

(9) the two different origins shown under (8) are not distinguished in traditional approaches:

a. the Glide is a function of V2.

b. the Glide is the surface form of the suffixal vowel.

(10) selection of [y] or [w]: apophonic derivation on V<sub>2</sub>.

	verb	underlying V2	surface V2	Glide	derivation on
pf act.	/dn	A	a	w	pf act./V2/
	/rm	∅	a	y	
	/sr	U	u	w	
	/nh	?	a	y	
	/rD	I	i	y	
pf pass.	/dn	I	i	y	pf pass. /V2/
	/rm	I	i	y	
	/sr	I	i	y	
	/nh	I	i	y	
	/rD	I	i	y	
ipf act.	/dn	U	u	w	pf act. /V2/
	/rm	I	i	y	
	/sr	U	u	w	
	/nh	?	a	y	
	/rD	A	a	y	
ipf pass.	/dn	A	a	y	pf pass /V2/
	/rm	A	a	y	
	/sr	A	a	y	
	/nh	A	a	y	
	/rD	A	a	y	

## generalisations

a. all ipf forms are derived from their corresponding pf, cf. (3) sound verbs.

b. pf /V2/ is the derivational basis for both ipf [V2] AND Glides.

(11)  $V_i + V_i \implies VV_i$  vs.  $V_i + V_i V_i \implies *VVV_i$  result VGVV

a + aa  $\implies$  ayaa, awaa

pf act.	pers.	suffix	dana=a-u	rama=Ø-i	saru=u-u	naha=a-a	raDi=i-a
du 3 m		-aa	danawaa	ramayaa	saruwaa	nahayaa	raDiyaa

i + ii  $\implies$  \*iyii result ii

ipf act.	pers.	suffix	dnu=a-u	rmi=Ø-i	sru=u-u	nha=a-a	rDa=i-a
sg 2 f		-iina	ta-dniina	ta-rmiina	ta-sriina	ta-nhayna	ta-rDayna

u + uu  $\implies$  \*uwuu result uu

pf act.	pers.	suffix	dana=a-u	rama=Ø-i	saru=u-u	naha=a-a	raDi=i-a
pl 3 m		-uu	danaw	ramaw	saruu	nahaw	raDuu

(12) direction of spreading

$V_{\text{stem}} + V_{\text{suff}}$   $V_{\text{stem}}$  wins

IpF Active: i + u  $\implies$  ii

	pers. suffix	dnu=a-u	rmi=Ø-i	sru=u-u	nha=a-a	rDa=i-a
sg 2 m	-u	ta-dnuu	ta-rmii	ta-sruu	ta-nhaa	ta-rDaa

$V_{\text{stem}} + VV_{\text{suff}}$   $VV_{\text{suff}}$  wins

Pf Passive: i + uu  $\implies$  uu

	pers. suffix	duni=a-u	rumi=Ø-i	suru=u-u	nuhi=a-a	ruDi=i-a
sg 3 m	-uu	dunuu	rumuu	--	nuhuu	ruDuu

$V_{\text{stem}}$  cannot spread on the suffixal position if the suffixal vowel is long, the result would be illegal:

i + uu  $\implies$  ii u

apophonic Glide-creation would not help: \*iiyu

(13) a + ii  $\implies$  \*ayii, awii result: ay why not ii?  
 a + uu  $\implies$  \*ayuu, awuu result: aw why not uu?

(14) misbehaving forms

Pf Active	pers. suffix	dana=a-u	rama= <sup>7</sup> ∅-i	saru=u-u	naha=a-a	raDi=i-a
sg 3 f	-at	danat	ramat		nahat	
du 3 f	-ataa	danataa	ramataa		nahataa	

vs. expected

sg 3 f	-at	danaat	ramaat		nahaat	
du 3 f	-ataa	danaataa	ramaataa		nahaataa	

cf.

Pf Active	pers. suffix	dana=a-u	rama=∅-i	saru=u-u	naha=a-a	raDi=i-a
sg 3 m	-a	danaa	ramaa		nahaa	

representing all and only the occurrences of ...a + aC

(15) conclusion

a. hierarchised reaction on morphological output:

action	result	consequence
1. concatenation: Vi + Vi	VVi	none
2. apophonic Glide-creation	VGv, VGC	adjunction of non-lexical material
3. spreading	various	loss of lexical material

morph. output	apoph. Glide creation	status	result	lexical material lost	melodic material lost	templatic material lost
a + u	ayu, awu	illegal	aa	u	U	--
i + u	iyu	illegal	ii	u	U	--
u + ii	uwii	illegal	ii	u	U	--
i + ii	iyii	illegal	ii	i	--	(CV)
u + uu	uwuu	illegal	uu	u	--	(CV)
i + uu	iyuu	illegal	uu	i	I	(CV)
a + ii	ayii, awii	illegal	ay	i	--	CV CV
a + uu	ayuu, awuu	illegal	aw	u	--	CV CV
V2 = i	iyC, iwC	illegal	iiC	--	--	--
V2 = u	uyC, uwC	illegal	uuC	--	--	--

b. no generalisation can be made unless

1. it is assumed that Glides are apophonically derived from V2.
2. defective verbs are biliterals.

## References

- Chekayri, Abdellah and Tobias Scheer 1996. The apophonic origin of Glides in the verbal system of Classical Arabic. In: Lecarme & al. 1996,62-76.
- Guerssel, Mohand and Jean Lowenstamm 1996. Ablaut in Classical Arabic measure I active verbal forms. In: Lecarme & al. 1996, 123-134.
- Lecarme, Jacqueline, Jean Lowenstamm, Ur Shlonsky (eds). Studies in Afroasiatic Grammar. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.
- Ségéral, Philippe, Tobias Scheer in press. A Generalised Theory of Ablaut. In: Ortmann, Albert, Ray Fabri, Teresa Parodi. Models of Inflexion. Tübingen: Niemeyer.



