Contents

Arabic Pronunciation & Accents

Geo-social Applications of the Natural Phonetics & Tonetics Method

6.
Arabic
vowels

6.1. Neutral Arabic has three short and three long vowels, with some remarkable taxophones, due to the influence of certain consonants and of syllable structure. There are more variations for /a(ː)/ and less for /u(ː)/, while /i(ː)/ is in an intermediate position.

There are two 'diphthongs' as well, /ai, au/, which, for practical purposes, are best considered as sequences of /a/ + /i, u/, since their actual realizations are obtained precisely by juxtaposing the various taxophones of the three vocalic elements.

fig 6.1. *Neutral* Arabic vowels: monophthongs.

/i/ [i#, i#, ₒi#, ɪC, Cɪ, ɪC, Cɪ, ɪC]
/iː/ [iː(#)C, Cɪː, ɪːC, CɪːC, ₒ(C)i(#-#-C)]

/u/ [u#, u#, ʊC, Cʊ, ʊC, CʊC, Cʊ, ʊC, CʊC]
/uː/ [uː(C), ʊːC, ʊːC, ₒu#, ₒu#]

/a/ [a, Ca, aC, Ca, aC, CɑC, ₒCa#, ₒCaɦ#]
/aː/ [ɑː, ₒa, Cɑː, aːC, Cɑː, ɑːC, CɑːC]
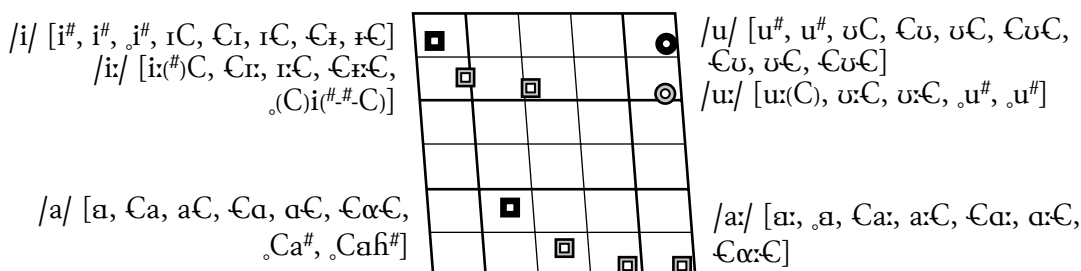
fig 6.2. *Neutral* Arabic vowels: diphthongs.

/ai/ [ɑi#, ɑɪC#, ɑɪ(#)C]

[ai#, aɪC#, aɪ(#)C]

[Cɑi#, CɑɪC#, Cɑɪ(#)C]

/au/ [ɑu#, ɑʊC, ɑʊ(#)C]

[au#, aʊC, aʊ(#)C]

[Cɑu#, CɑʊC, Cɑʊ(#)C]
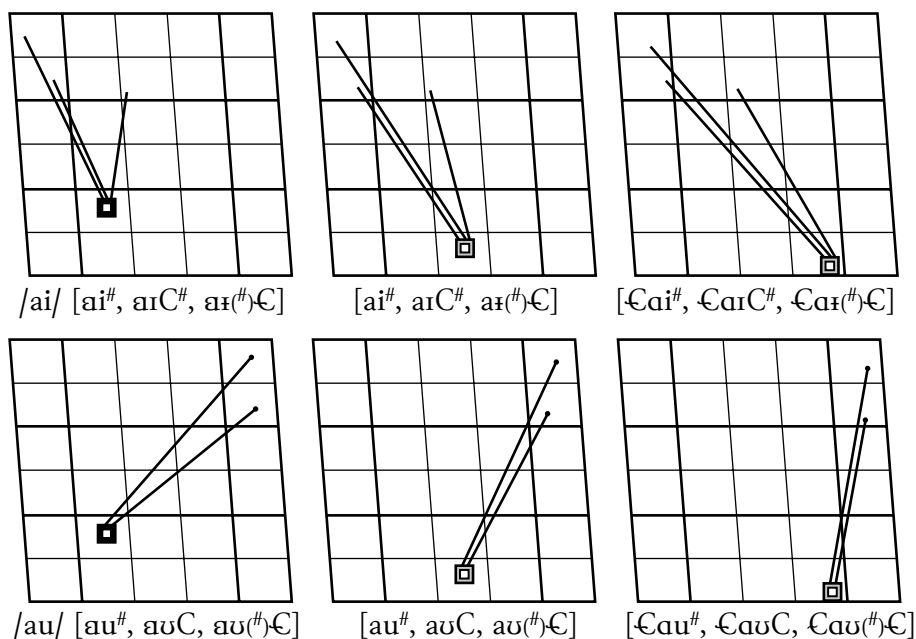
fig 6.3.1. *Neutral* Arabic spread vowels: orograms (including variants shown in *fig* 6.6-7).
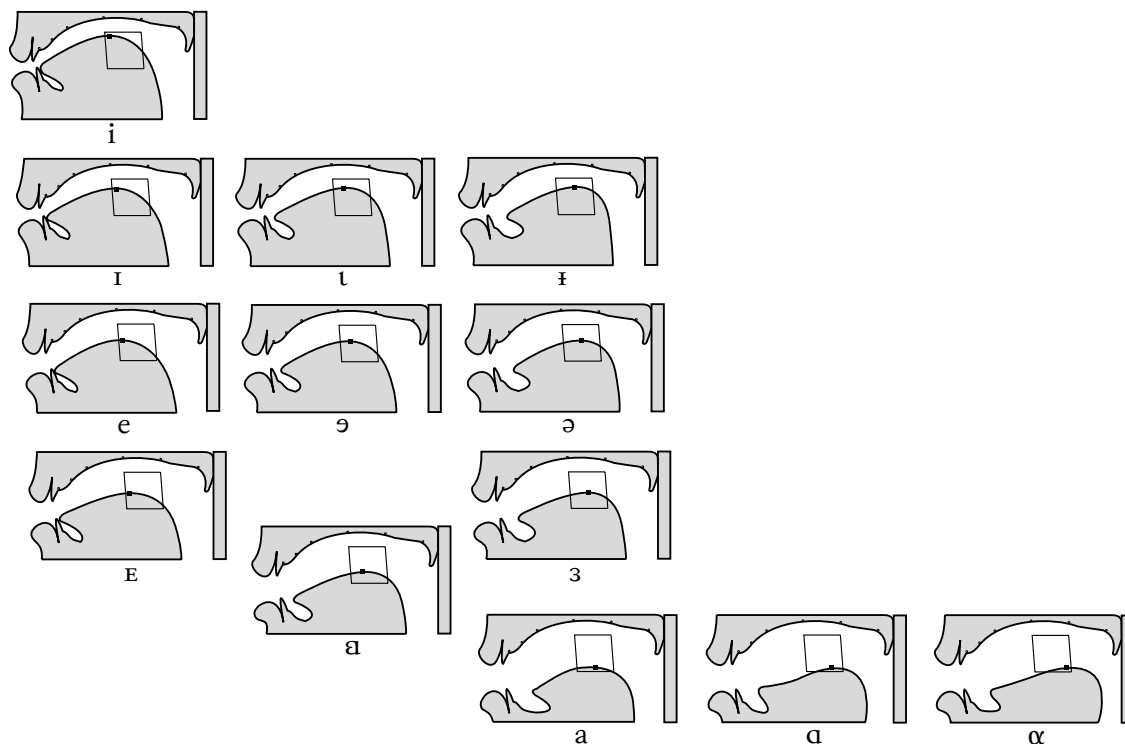
fig 6.3.2. *Neutral* Arabic rounded vowels: orograms (including variants shown in *fig* 6.6-8).
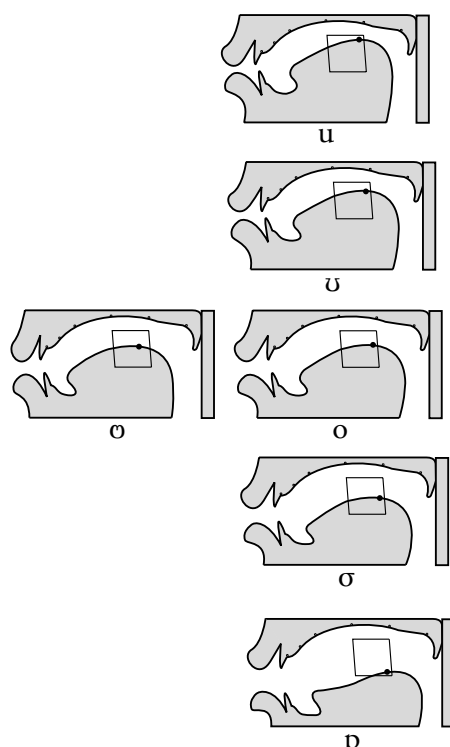
The influence of 'modern dialects' on the local pronunciation of supranational Arabic is very strong, even if unintentional. So strong, in fact, that it even occurs in teaching recordings, especially in the case of /ai, au/ but also of the basic vowels.

fig 6.4. *Neutral* Arabic vowels: labiograms (including variants shown in *fig* 6.6-8).
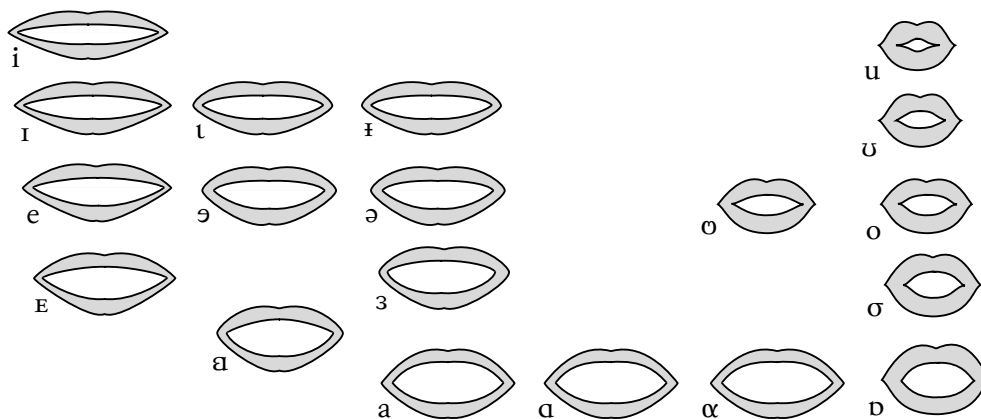
fig 6.5. *Neutral* Arabic vowels: palatograms (including variants shown in *fig* 6.6-8).
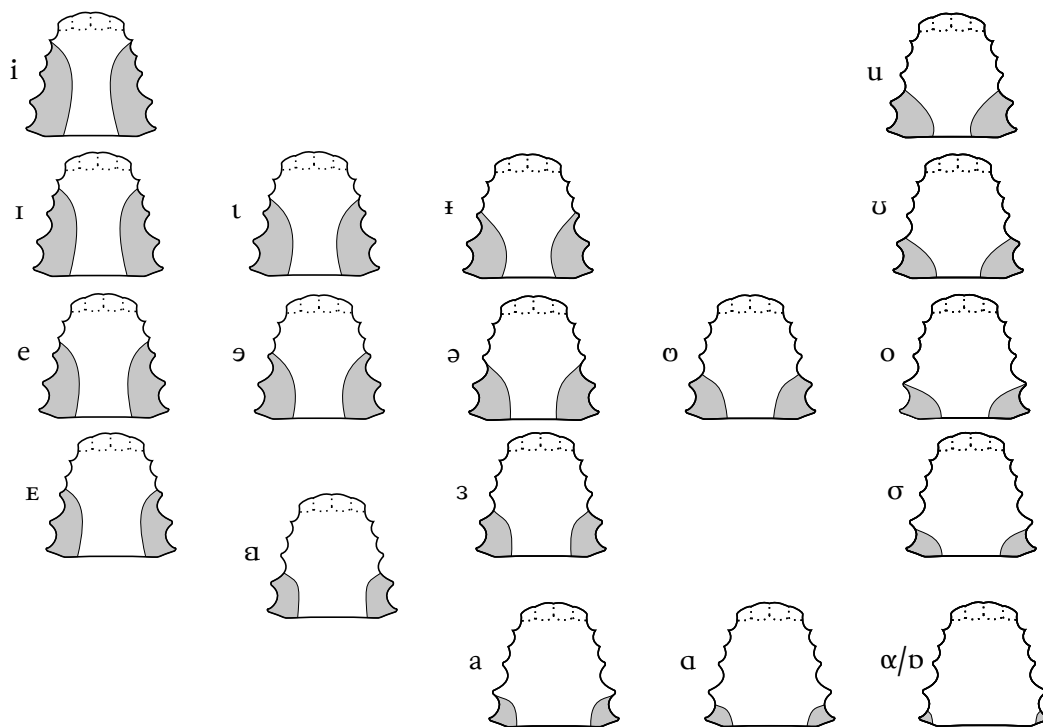
What we describe here is the actual neutral pronunciation, which does not necessarily correspond to everything one may hear even from educated native speakers.

Nevertheless, the reader who follows exactly the model proposed in this book will certainly achieve a kind of 'neutral' pronunciation (not a regional one), even if –for the vowels– this usage is quite close to that of Levantine Arabic (*cf* § 15.2).

This is true, in particular, for /ai, au/, seen that elsewhere they are generally realized as monophthongs ([eː, oː] or, at most, as narrow diphthongs, [ɛɪ, ɔʊ]).

The different variants of Arabic are not mere 'accents' of the same language, but partially different 'dialects', which in turn affect the language itself.

Let us consider, for instance, Gulf Arabic and Egyptian Arabic, while Maghreb Arabic is different still (especially Moroccan Arabic). However, here we will most-

ly consider 'supranational' (or, somehow, native-like 'international') Arabic pronunciation (although a few major differences will be dealt with, too – cf § 6.7, Ch 12-13).

6.2. The unmarked values of /i(ː), a(ː), u(ː)/, the ones that a native speaker would instinctively employ to articulate vocalic segments in isolation, are [i(ː), ɑ(ː), u(ː)] (shown by the black markers in the vocogram of *fig* 6.1). In addition to them, it is indispensable to properly recognize and reproduce all the taxophones that are listed below.

Another important feature of modern neutral pronunciation is that any /Vː/ will be realized as [V] (or [V·] at the most) in unstressed syllables, unlike neutral *Koranic* pronunciation, which dictates instead that vowel length be preserved as scrupulously as possible in every instance.

/i/   1.1 [ɨ] if preceded *or* followed by /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q/,
       1.2 [ɪ] if preceded *or* followed by /ħ, ʕ, ĸ, ʀ/,
       1.3 [ɪ] in checked syllables (with different consonants than in 1.1),
       1.4 [i] in free syllables (except 1.1-2);
       1.5 (in /ai/) as /i/, for 1.1-4;
/iː/   1.6 [ɨ(ː)] between /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q/ (in free or checked syllables),
       1.7 [ɪ(ː)] if preceded *or* followed by /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q/ (in free or checked syllables),
       1.8 [i(ː)] in all other cases (in free or checked syllables);

/a/   2.1 [ɑ] if preceded *and* followed by /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q/,
       2.2 [ɑ] if preceded *or* followed by /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q/ (and [ł]),
       2.3 [a] if preceded *or* followed by /ħ, ʕ, ĸ, ʀ, f/,
       2.4 [ɐ] if preceded *and* followed by other consonants (including [ʔ, h, ɦ]),
       2.5 [ɐ] if unstressed *and* in utterance-final position (except 2.2),
       2.6 [ɐ] for /a(ː)/, if unstressed and in utterance-internal word-final position, including monosyllables (except 2.1-3),
       2.7 [a; ɐɦ] /a(ɦ)#/, for *-ah* (*tāʔ marbūṭah* [ˈtɑʔ marˈbuːtɑ(ɦ)]) in pausal position (with no influence as in 2.2-5),
       2.8 (in /ai, au/) as /a/, for 2.2-4;
/aː/   2.9 [ɑ(ː)] if preceded *and* followed by /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q/,
       2.10 [ɑ(ː)] if preceded *or* followed by /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q/ (and [ł]),
       2.11 [a(ː)] if preceded *or* followed by /ħ, ʕ, ĸ, ʀ, f/,
       2.12 [ɐ(ː)] if preceded *and* followed by other consonants (including [ʔ, h, ɦ]),

/u/   3.1 [ʊ] if preceded ⁒or followed by /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q, ħ, ʕ/,
       3.2 [ʊ] in checked syllables,
       3.3 [u] in free syllables (except 3.1),
       3.4 (in /au/) as /u/, for 3.1-3;
/uː/   3.5 [ʊ(ː)] in syllables checked by /ŧ, đ, ş, ʐ, q, ħ, ʕ/,
       3.6 [u(ː)] in all other cases.

6.3. According to the distributions just seen, *fig* 6.1 shows the realizations of the (short and long) Arabic vowels, /i(ː)/ [i(ː), ɪ(ː), ɨ(ː)], /a(ː)/ [ɐ(ː), a(ː), ɑ(ː), ɑ(ː)] (and [ɒ(ː)], a conservative *Koranic* variant, *cf fig* 6.6), /u(ː)/ [u(ː), ʊ(ː)].

Here are some examples, which we present in their pausal form, stripped of case endings or any other terminations: *qif* [ˈqɨf], *qīqān* [qɨˈqɑːn], *sīdī* [ˈsɪːdi], *ṣadīq* [sɑˈdɪːq], *bint* [ˈbɪnt], *fīl* [ˈfiːl]; *ṣaqīʿ* [sɑˈqɪːʕ], *ṣaff* [ˈsafː], *ṭāḥa* [ˈtɑːħa], *baʿda* [ˈbaʕda], *rāhin* [ˈʁɑːɦɪn], *hādā* [ˈɦɑːða], *walad* [ˈwalad], *bāb* [ˈbɑːb]; *sūq* [ˈsʊːq], *hunā* [ˈɦuna], *ṣūf* [ˈsuːf], *kuṣūm* [ɢʊˈsuːm], *funduq* [ˈfʊndʊq].

fig 6.2 shows the different realizations of /ai, au/, which result from the combination of [ɐ-, a-, ɑ-] + [-i, -ɪ, -ɨ] or + [-u, -ʊ], according to context. Let us examine a few words, first in pausal form: *bayt* [ˈbaɪt], *ʿayn* [ˈʕaɪn], *qayl* [ˈqɑɪl], *fawẓ* [ˈfaʊz], *lawn* [ˈlaʊn].

But, with a termination, by virtue of which the (phonetic) syllable containing the diphthong becomes free (or unchecked): *baytun* [ˈbaɪtʊn], *ʿayn-ī* [ˈʕaini], *qaylin* [ˈqaɪlɪn], *fawẓan* [ˈfaʊzan], *lawnu-hu* [ˈlaʊnuˌɦu], *ʔawlādu-kunna* [ʔaʊˌlɑˈduˈkʊnna]. Further examples: *ʔayna* [ˈʔaina], *ʿawdah* [ˈʕauda; -aɦ], *muqawwam* [mʊˈqɑuwam] *ᵗ*[-ˈqɑwwam].

It is important to note that the above should be taken with a grain of salt, since even neutral diphthongs show a noticeable degree of elasticity, and nothing prevents us from articulating –say– *qayl* as [ˈqail] and *qaylin* as [ˈqɑɪlɪn] (mostly in *mediatic* accents), provided that the *first element* of the diphthong preserves the correct vocalic quality. A similar criterion should be applied to the taxophones of /au/.

6.4. *fig* 6.6 shows some more peculiar yet frequent realizations of /ai, au/: [eː, ɛɪ; oː, ɔʊ], which are very widespread outside neutral Arabic. However, one's pronunciation may still be considered neutral, although 'colloquial', even if it uses such variants, provided all other articulations are appropriate. Also consider *fig* 6.7.

Therefore, one should not be surprised to hear realizations such as *bayt* [ˈbeːt,

fig 6.6. *Neutral* Arabic vowels: *colloquial* & *Koranic* variants.
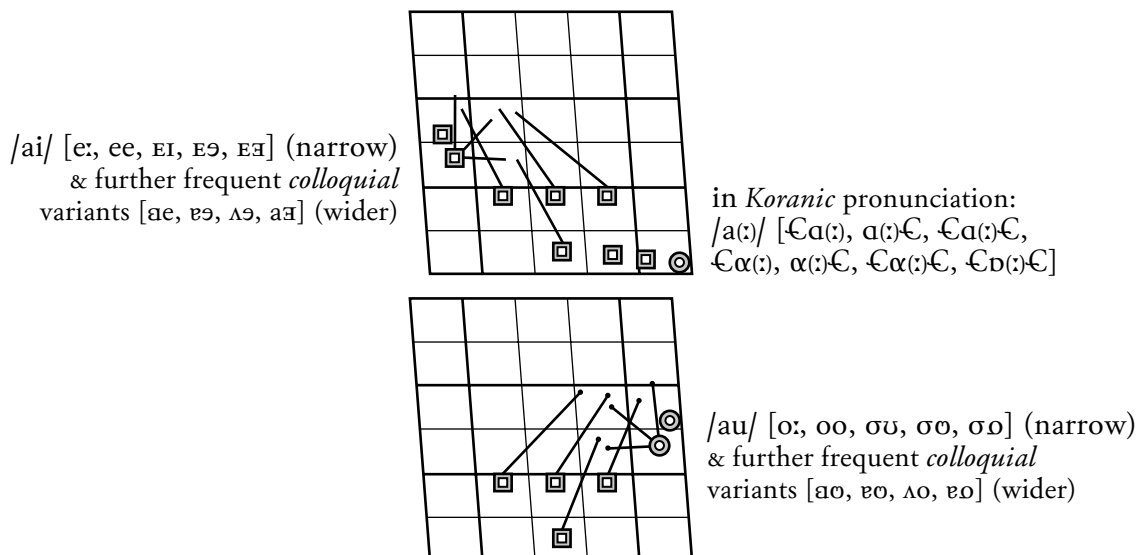
/ai/ [eː, ee, ɛɪ, ɛɘ, ɛɟ] (narrow)
& further frequent *colloquial*
variants [ɐe, ɐɘ, ʌɘ, aɟ] (wider)

in *Koranic* pronunciation:
/a(ː)/ [Ɛɑ(ː), ɑ(ː)Ɛ, Ɛɑ(ː)Ɛ,
Ɛɑ(ː), ɑ(ː)Ɛ, Ɛɑ(ː)Ɛ, Ɛɒ(ː)Ɛ]

/au/ [oː, oo, ɔʊ, ɔʊ, ɔɒ] (narrow)
& further frequent *colloquial*
variants [aʊ, ɐʊ, ʌo, ɐʊ] (wider)

'bɛɪt], *ʔayna* ['ʔeːna, 'ʔɛɪ-], *ʕaynī* ['ʕeːni, 'ʕɛɪ-], *fawẓ* ['foːz, 'foʊz], *lawn* ['loːn, 'loʊn]. As to *qayl*, ['qeːl, 'qɛɪl] would be possible but rather theoretical, because the very colloquial register associated with [eː, ɛɪ; oː, oʊ] would in turn call for a more colloquial realization of /q/ than neutral [q] is, *eg* [ʔ, g, g], if not its complete loss: ['geːl, 'gɛɪl; 'ʔeːl, 'ʔɛɪl; 'eːl, 'ɛɪl].

In fact, all the variants shown (both in *fig 6.2* and *fig 6.6*) have always been present, in official Arabic, although their usage has been restrained by formal (and religious) teaching.

However, the different Arabic 'dialects' are actual cognate *languages*, rather than real subdivisions of one and only language, as we know happened to the Romance languages derived by (different kinds of spoken, surely not written) Latin.

Thus, each one of these 'Arabic languages' has a phonemic (and grammatical) system of its own (also with partially different lexicon, of course). So, also their ('regionational', and more local) accents, certainly present more or less different peculiarities.

For this reason, modern Arabic, independently from its absurd and deceitful writing system (nobody can surely deny it), has /iː, aː, uː/ and /i, a, u/ and /ai, au/.

Therefore, undoubtedly, for the Arabic accents (and 'dialects'), we do not have simply to consider /iː, aː, uː/ and /i, a, u/ and /ai, au/, but *also* /ei, ou/, or /əi, əu/.

In addition, in some cases, even /ə/, without excluding some reductions among the three short vowels /i, a, u/. In fact, as we will see, we can certainly also have even /i, a, u/ → /ə/ (or /i, a, u/ → /a, ə/, or /i, a, u/ → /ə, u/).

Finally, *fig 6.6* also shows the rounded back realization of /a(ː)/ between /ŧ, đ, ş, ẕ, q/ (and some other cases). As said, this [ɒ(ː)] is more typical of *Koranic* pronunciation: scattered examples of it can be found here and there (and in § 6.3), and are often associated with solemn assertions, including quotations from holy scriptures.

6.5. *fig 6.7* shows further vocalic articulations, all of which are in the intermediate area of our vocogram (typically unused in neutral pronunciation, as can be seen in *fig 6.1*). The same happens for the variants of /ai, au/, as well: *maydān* [mɑiˈdaːn, mɜə-], *ʔawlād* [ʔɑuˈlaːd, ʔɜʊ-].

The *white* markers indicate unstressed realizations of /i, a, u/, [ə, ɜ, ʊ], which are considerably centralized.

The *broken-line white* marker, in turn, indicates the frequent neutralization of unstressed /i, a, u/, unified into [ə], which is more typical of *quick* and *familiar*

fig 6.7. Arabic vowels: unstressed *colloquial* variants.

/ˌi/ [ə], /ˌa/ [ɜ], /ˌu/ [ʊ], /ˌai/ [ɜə], /ˌau/ [ɜʊ] frequent *colloquial* variants

(/ˌi, ˌa, ˌu/ [ə] → /ə/ possible *colloquial* neutralization)
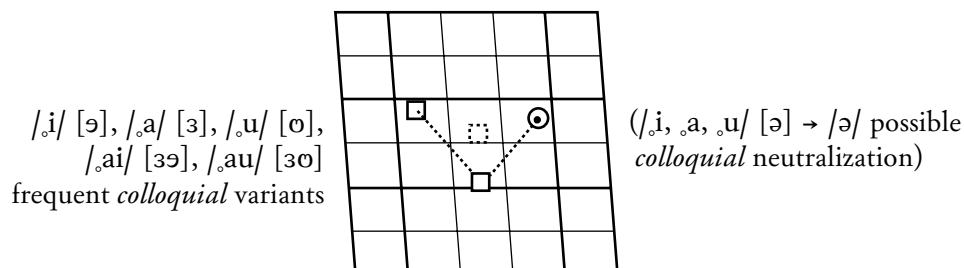
speech. Some examples: *siyāž* [siˈjɑːʒ, sə-, sə-], *timt̪āl* [tɪmˈθɑːl, təm-, təm-], *salāma* [saˈlaːma, sɜ-, sə-], *sahwān* [safiˈwaːn, sɜfi-, səfi-], *suhūla* [suˈfiuːla, so-, sə-], *muštaqq* [moʃˈtɑqː, moʃ-, məʃ-].

Such variants must have been in use for centuries, considering some well established renditions of Arabic words, such as *Moham(m)ed* in many Western languages and *Mehmet* in Turkish for neutral Arabic *Muḥammad* [moˈħammɑd], or *Moslem* for *Muslim* [ˈmoslɪm].

It is also reasonable to assume that the same tendency to merge unstressed vowels is one of the reasons behind the progressive erosion of the rich inflectional system of neutral Arabic, which ultimately leads to the disappearance of most morphological endings in modern 'dialects'.

But for the pronunciation model that we want to promote, it will be advisable to stick to the basics and refrain from excessive… innovations.

6.6. Another feature admitted in everyday pronunciation and in mediatic accents, but generally not in *Koranic* declamation, tends to avoid realizations like [ɑ(ː)] in whole (even long) words containing /t̪, d̪, s̩, z̩, q, ħ, ʕ, ʁ, ʁ, ʁ/: *mahrab* [ˈmaħ-ɾab, ˈmaħ-], *ṭalab* [ˈt̪alab, -lab], *tamḍī* [ˈtamd̪ɪ, ˈtam-], *manṣūb* [manˈs̩uːb, man-].

This sort of 'vowel harmony' somehow applies to other vowels as well, and indeed, it would make the pronunciation of Arabic a lot easier, if fully implemented and predictable. Unfortunately, it is neither. Learners of neutral pronunciation should then try their best to reproduce all vocalic taxophones whenever necessary and appropriate.

Though alien to the scopes of this work, it is worth recalling that, based on some historical evidence, a higher and fronter realization of /a(ː)/, possibily even an independent phoneme, is likely to have belonged to the vocalic inventory of neutral Arabic, or at least to the Meccan variety spoken by the Prophet and early followers.

Ancient Arab linguists used the term *ʔimālah* [ʔiˈmaːla; -afi], 'slanting, tilting', to describe the shift of a *ʔalif* to the vocalic quality of [ɛ(ː)] ('light' *ʔimālah*) or [e(ː)] ('heavy' *ʔimālah*). Both are still present in some modern 'dialects' –most notably, urban Lebanese– though not necessarily with the same distribution and mechanisms as in neutral Arabic.

Certain *Koranic* recitation (*tažwīd* [tɑʒˈwiːd]) styles still call for *ʔimālah* in a number of instances, which the reciter has to memorize, since even fully vocalized Arabic orthography has no means to indicate either *ʔimālah* or its exact opposite, [ɑ(ː), ɒ(ː)], unless supplementary *tažwīd* diacritics are employed.

6.7. Arguably, not every single realization given in *fig* 6.1-7 is really necessary for a good neutral pronunciation of Arabic. Nevertheless, if these realizations are rationed and used in a natural way (speaking fluently), a greater 'spontaneity', similar to that of native speakers, can be attained, again in the framework of colloquial neutral pronunciation.

A systematic and complete *shortening* of unstressed long vowels belongs to *modern* and *international* pronunciation, as observed before. On the contrary, *Koranic* (and in general, 'solemn') pronunciation not only avoids shorthening long vow-

els, but will often elongate them both for metric purposes and to make certain distinctions more evident.

Our readers are nonetheless advised that whenever homophony might lead to ambiguity, it will be useful to articulate unstressed long vowels at least as half-long, if not long: *eg katabna* [kaˈtɑbna] 'they (*fem.*) wrote' *vs katabnā* [kaˈtɑbnɑˑ; -ˌnɑː] 'we wrote'.

For a useful comparison with the diphthongs given in *fig* 6.2, let us carefully compare *fig* 6.8, which shows (central) approximant + vocoid sequences. Unfortunately, too many 'experts' still keep on considering them 'falling diphthongs', while they certainly are [CV], not [VV].

fig 6.8. Arabic /jV, wV/ sequences: not 'diphthongs'.
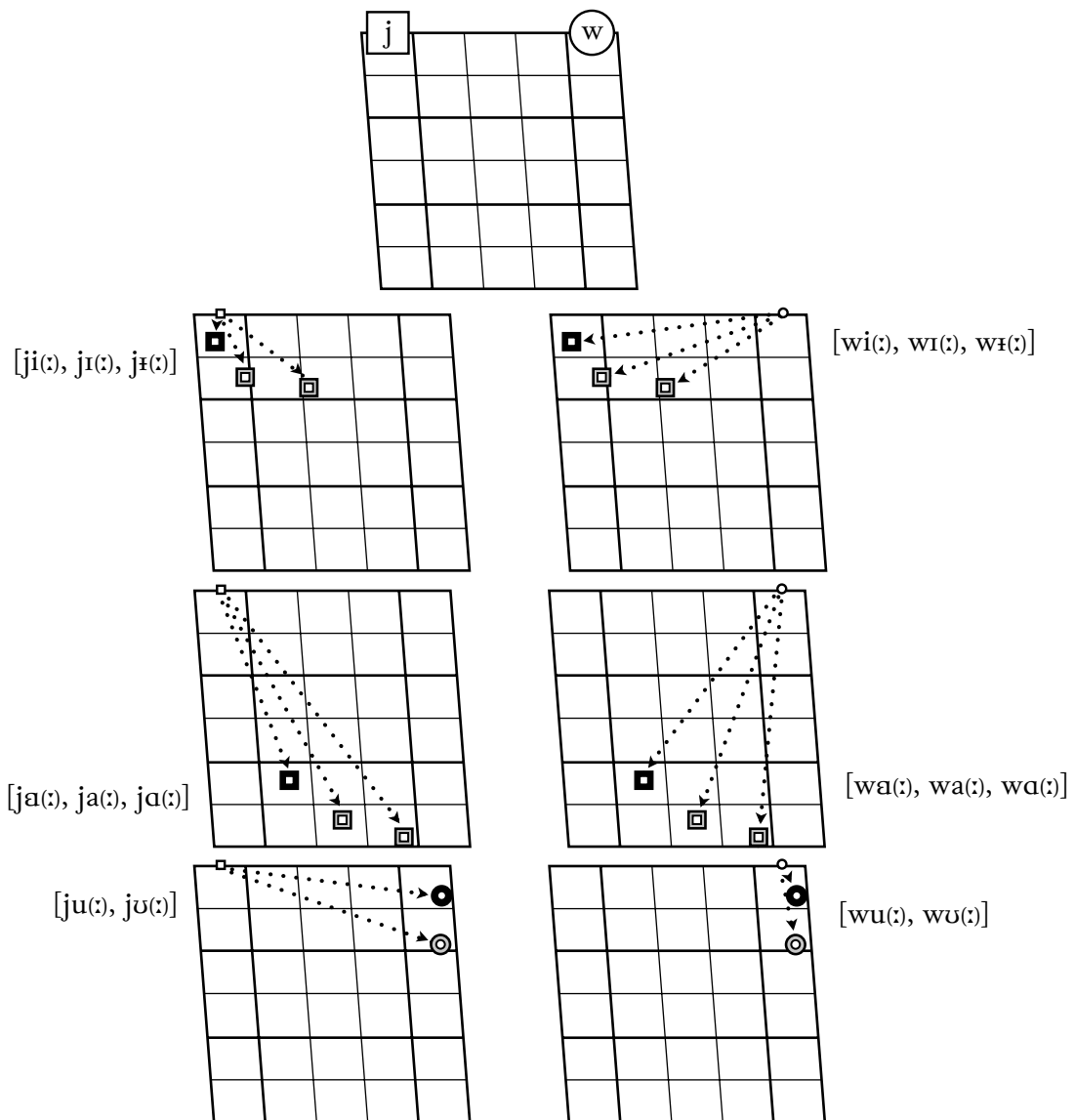
8.
Arabic
consonants

8.0. The consonantal phonemes and taxophones of neutral Arabic are shown in *fig* 8.0 (including two possible more traditional variants for /ʐ, ʒ/ [ʐ] *[ð̬], [ʒ] *[ʤ], but without some inferable, or less important, taxophones, as [ɫ, ɖ]).

Also non-assimilated consonant sequences, more typical of slower or more careful speech, will be shown in this chapter, although in Ch 9 their normal patterns will be shown.

fig 8.0. Table of *neutral* Arabic consonants.

	bilabial	labiodental	dental	uvularized dental	alveolar	uvularized alveolar	prepalatal	postalveo-palatal protruded	palatal	prevelar	velar	velar rounded	preuvular	uvular	pharyngeal	laryngeal
N	m [ɱ]		[n̪]		n		[ɳ]		[ɲ]	[ŋ]	[ŋ]		[ɴ]	[ɴ]		
K	[p] b		t d	ɫ ɖ						[k̟, g]	k [g]		[q]	q		ʔ
KS								(ʤ)								
X		f	θ ð	(ð̬)											ħ [ɦ]	
S			s z	ʂ ʐ				ʃ ʒ	[i̯ i̯]			[ɰ ɣ̞]				
J									j			w			ʕ [h] ɦ	
R							ɾ [ɾ̥]									
Ř														ʀ̊ ʀ		
L			[l̪]		l	(ɫ)	[l̺]		[ʎ]							

Nasals

8.1. There are two nasal phonemes, /m, n/ [m, ɱ, n̪, n, ɳ, ɲ, ŋ, ŋ, ɴ, ɴ] [ɲ̟] (which means that /n/ is assimilated to a following consonant, including before /ɾ, l/, while /m/ can only assimilate to a following /f/, becoming [ɱ]) – the prepalatal [ɲ̟], which is frequent in other languages, is included for comparison, not to be confused with [ɲ]).

A few examples, as usual in pre-pausal form: *mumaṭṭal* [muˈmaθθal], *tamžīd* [tamˈʒiːd, -ˈʤiːd], *šams* [ˈʃams], *Maryam* [ˈmaɾ-jam], *Muḥammad* [muˈħammad], *nimnim*

['nɪmnɪm], *žanb* ['ʒamb, 'dʒ-], *min bāb* [mɪm'baːb], *ʔanf* ['ʔamf], *bint* ['bɪnt], *winš* ['wɪɲʃ], *min maktab-ī* [mɪm'maktabi], *min yawm* [mɪɲ'jaʊm], *min Rūmā* [mɪɾ'ɾuːma, -nɾ-], *min Līmā* [mɪl'liːma, -nˡ-], *đank* ['ðaŋk], *ɛanwah* ['ɛaŋ-wa, -aɦ], *ƙanq* ['ʞɑɴq], *min qūwah* [mɪɴ'quːwa, -aɦ], *ʔinqiḍāʔ* [ɟɴqɾ'ɖɑːʔ].

However, *Koranic pronunciation* tends to avoid assimilating /n/ to a following consonant. So, in a forced and rather unnatural way, we would have: ↑['dʒanb, mɪn'baːb, mɪn'maktabi, mɪn'jaʊm, 'ʔanf, 'wɪnʃ, 'ðank; 'ɛan-wa, -aɦ; 'ʞɑɴq; mɪn'quːwa, -aɦ].

fig 8.1. Arabic consonants: *nasals*.
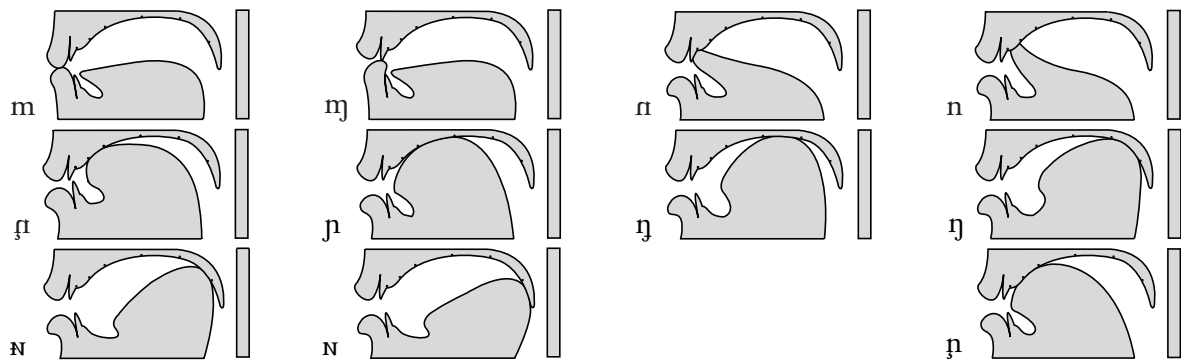
Stops

8.2.1. Arabic has no '/p/' (Proto-Semitic /p/, in fact, became Arabic /f/), but only /b/, which however may be realized as [p] when followed by voiceless consonants: *bāb* ['baːb], *laban* ['laban], *ħabs* ['ħaps]. On the other hand, neutral Arabic has no '/g/' either, but has the [g, ɡ] taxophones of /k/ before voiced obstruents: *ʔakbar* ['ʔagbaɾ].

However, Arabic has two voiceless stops in phonemic opposition, velar /k/ [k, ʞ] and uvular /q/ [q, ɢ]. Some examples: *kuskus* ['kʊskʊs], *mikṭaar* [mɪk'θaːɾ], *malik* ['malɪk], *qadīm* [qa'diːm], *ʔaqdām* [ʔaq'daːm], *sūq* ['sʊːq], *ʔal-Qurʔān* [ʔaɫqʊɾ'ʔaːn] (ᵗ[ˌʔaɫqʊɾ'ʔaːn]), *saqqāṭah* [saq'qɑːɬɑ(ɦ)] (ᵗ[sɑq'qɒːɬɑ(ɦ), -ɢ-]), *qiṭṭ* ['qɪɬː], *qīmah* ['qɪːma, -aɦ].

Arguably, /q/ [q, ɢ] enjoys great prestige, even among speakers who do not use it, although very frequently it is replaced with other articulations (as will be seen in § 8.7). Note: *kalb* ['kalb] 'dog' and *qalb* ['qalb] 'heart'. As already the best ancient Arabic grammarians did, /q/ might certainly be considered to be the natural (auditory-articulatory) result of /k/ with co-articulated uvularization ⁒or labialization, producing contoids like [ʞ] (= [q], and [ʞ̣, or [ʞ̣] = [ɢ], too).

Furthermore, we have the peculiar diphonic dental pairs /t, d/ [t, d] and /ṭ, ḍ/ [ɬ, ɖ] (uvularized). In *mediatic* pronunciation, /t/ and /k/ may be slightly 'aspirated', when at the beginning of a stressed syllable (but we will mark it only here): ['kʰ, 'tʰ] – [ʰ] is weaker than [h], being a laryngeal *semi*approximant.

Often, /t, d/ are denti-alveolar if final before a pause (but it is not necessary to use [t̪, d̪], unless one wants to be very precise: *tadāwul* [ta'daːwʊl], *šitāʔ* [ʃi'taːʔ], *ħadd*

[ˈħadː], *baṭāṭis* [baˈtɑːʈɪs] (ᵗ[-ˈʈɒː-]), *ḍarṭ* [ˈɖɑɽʈ] (ᵗ[ˈɖɑɽʈ; ˈɖɒɽʈ]), *ḍažir* [ˈɖɑʒɪɽ, -ʤɪɽ].

Although neutral Arabic has no [g], except for assimilation, this contoid occurs in several modern 'dialects' as a variant of either /ʒ/ or /q/ (that is to say, not both in the same dialect). Therefore, it is natural that these isolated phonemes may currently be brought to normalization. So, they change their articulations, in order to form a more homogeneous and coherent structural system.

Even the shift of /ʒ/ to [ʒ] (instead of the more *Koranic* –and ancient– [ʤ]), or to [g], is a part of this trend. Again, in *Koranic* pronunciation, /ʈ, ɖ, q/ can certainly be labialized: [ʈ, ɖ, q̂] (in fact, this peculiarity, which in several other languages may be felt to be uneducated or vulgar, is, on the contrary, perceived as better and adapt for religious purposes: *ḍarṭ* [ˈɖɒɽʈ], *qalb* [ˈq̂ɒlb]).

fig 8.2. Arabic consonants: *stops* (including English [ʈ, ɖ], for comparison).
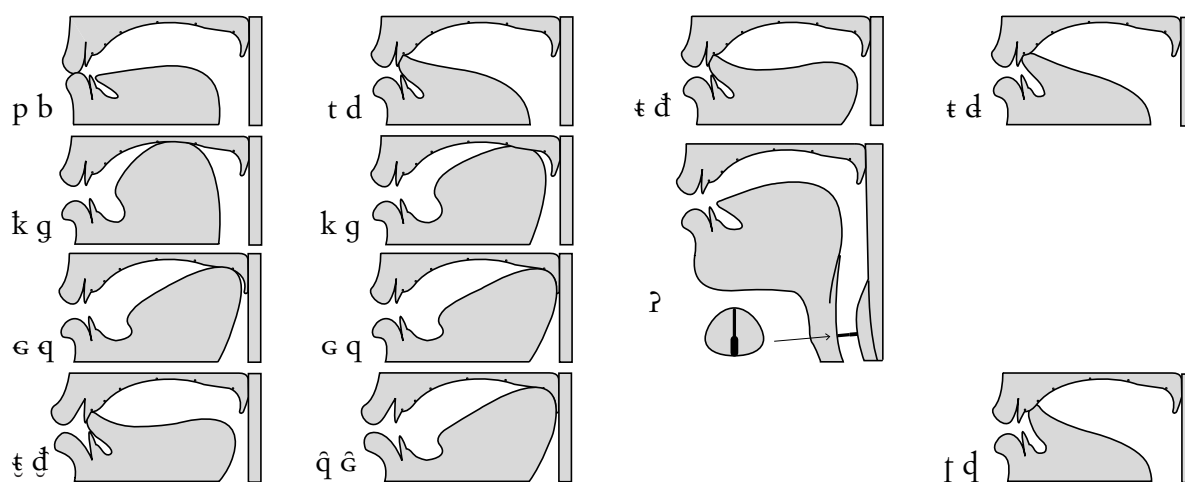
8.2.2. Our last neutral Arabic stop phoneme is /ʔ/ [ʔ], the so-called 'glottal stop', represented in written Arabic by the famous *hamzah* [ˈhamza, -aɦ], an important diacritic – technically, not a 'letter' of the Arabic alphabet on its own, but a 'true letter' in our transliteration, with its capital shape, as well: ʔ, Ɂ.

This phoneme may occur in every position, single or geminated, just like any other consonant: *ʔamīn* [ʔaˈmiːn], *sāʔiħ* [ˈsaːʔɪħ], *māʔ* [ˈmaːʔ], *ẓannaʔ* [ˈzannaʔ], *raʔs* [ˈɽaʔs], *badʔ* [ˈbadʔ], *saʔʔāl* [saʔˈʔaːl].

In the examples above, /ʔ/ has a semantic value, *ie* it is either part of the tri-consonantal root from which the word derives, as is the case with *ʔ-m-n*, *ẓ-n-ʔ*, *r-ʔ-s*, *b-d-ʔ*, and *s-ʔ-l*; or it is etymologically related to the root, as in *sāʔiħ* and *māʔ*, whose roots actually are *s-w-ħ* and *m-w-h*. There are also cases in which *ʔ* corresponds to an original *y* in the root and vice versa.

Unsurprisingly, the relatively unpredictable alternation between *ʔ*, *w*, *h*, and *y* is one of the difficulties involved in looking up words in Arabic dictionaries, where entries are not arranged alphabetically, but listed below their basic root.

Besides, Arabic phonotactics dictates that all phonic syllables begin with a consonant, and when there is no consonantal onset, due to etymological or morphological reasons, /ʔ/ is added to somehow 'protect' what otherwise would be a bare

vowel (or diphthong): *ʔab* [ˈʔab], *ʔidānah* [ʔiˈdaːna, -aɦ], *umm* [ˈʔʊmː].

An interesting case is *ruʔasāʔ* [ˌɾuʔaˈsaːʔ], the plural form of *raʔīs*: the former /ʔ/ is clearly etymological, the root being *r-ʔ-s*, while the latter is morphological, as it belongs to the suffix *-āʔ* within the 'broken plural' pattern *CuCaCāʔ*. But at the same time, this final /ʔ/ plays an important morpho-phonetic role, for it makes it possible to attach case endings *-u*, *-i*, *-a* without producing the sequences *-āu*, *-āi*, *-āa*, which Arabic phonotactics does not admit as valid diphthongs.

Most typically, we found the 'prosthetic /ʔ/' before the article *al-* in post-pausal position, *ie* at the beginning of an utterance: *ʔal-maktab* [ʔalˈmaktab]; but *ʔal-bay-tu wa-l-maktab* [ʔalˈbaitu walˈmaktab], not **wa-ʔal-maktab*. (The apheresis of *a*, [ʋal-]→[ʋl-], and of other initial short vowels will be explained below.)

The relative pronouns *ʔalladī* [ʔalˈlaði], *ʔallatī* [ʔalˈlati] (*cf* § 9.4.5 for their 'irregular' stress pattern), *ʔalladīna*, &c, whose first syllable etymologically *is* the definite article, exhibit the same behavior: *maktab-ī, ʔalladī…* [ˈmaktaˌbiˑˑ ʔalˈlaðiˑ] 'my office, which…' *vs ʔal-maktabu lladī…* [ʔalˈmaktabʊl ˌlaðiˑ] 'the office that…'.

Even the word 'Allah' behaves the same, though there is no consensus among scholars, especially Arab academicians, as to whether the first syllable, with *-l-* corresponds to the definite article (*cf* Italian *Iddio* [idˈdiˑσ], from *Il dio*, *Il Dio*, *il Dio*, literally 'The [only] God'): *ʔallāh* [ʔaɬˈɬaː(ɦ)] (& *ʔal-Llāh* [sic! with 3 *l*'s… the power of God!] & *ʔal-Lāh*, *ʔaLlāh*) *vs li-Llāh* [lɪlˈlaː(ɦ)].

8.2.3. If all phonic syllables must begin with a consonant, on the other hand, Arabic phonotactics does not tolerate more than one consonant in that position, except rare cases of loanwords not yet adapted to Arabic phonology. Initial consonant clusters are resolved in various ways, which nevertheless always involve a short vowel: an *epenthetic* 'echo vowel' as in *Ṭarābulus* [ɬaˈɾaːbuˌlʊs] 'Tripoli'; or, more frequently, a *prosthetic* vowel.

When words with [#CC-] (*ie* with an initial consonant cluster) occur –in connected speech– after a word ending in a vowel, it is not necessary to add the vowel (nor /ʔ/), therefore the two words are linked.

If, instead, the preceding word ends in a consonant, then, the vowel is added, but /ʔ/ is not. The reader is referred to grammars, where this phenomenon (indicated by a diacritic called *waṣlah* [ˈwaṣla; -aɦ]) is generally dealt with quite widely.

We can find this in connection with the article, certain verbal forms, the imperative and a dozen nouns. Among these, the most important are: *ʔibn* [ˈʔɪbn, -bn̩, -bɨn], *ʔimruʔ* [ˈʔɪmɾʊʔ], *ʔism* [ˈʔɪsm, -sm̩, -sɨm], *ʔiϑnāni* [ʔɪϑˈnaːni]. Also note: *raʔay-tu bn-ī* [ɾaˈʔaitʊb ˈniː], *bābu l-bayt* [ˈbaːbʊl ˈbaɪt].

8.2.4. The *a* of the definite article *al-* in fact is a prosthetic vowel, which in post-pausal position will –in turn– call for the prosthetic /ʔ/ that we have examined above. (Be noted that in modern 'dialects' and the corresponding regional accents of 'Standard Arabic', the article normally begins with [ɛ, ɪ] or some sort of '[ə]', not necessarily 'protected' by [ʔ].)

The fact remains that whichever vowel is prefixed, the only portion of the definite

article that matters is *-l-*, or its assimilated variants when followed by 'solar letters'.

If the preceding word already ends in a vowel –a thematic long vowel or a case ending, for example– the consonant cluster will be directly connected to it *in fluid speech*, and no supplementary prosthetic vowel will be needed anymore. That explains *wa-l-maktab* and similar cases: *fī l-maktabi l-žadīdi lladī fī-hi…* [fɪlˈmakta‚bɪl jaˈdiːdɪl‚laðiˌfiːhi-] 'in the new office where…' (lit. 'in the office the new which in it…').

Many other words feature a prosthetic vowel that can be elided, one of the best known being *ʔism* [ˈʔɪsm, ˈɪsm] 'name': while 'the name' regularly is *ʔal-ʔism* [ʔalˈʔɪsm] (two prosthetic vowels with two prosthetic /ʔ/!), 'what is your name?' is *mā smu-ka?* [ɜ̜ˈmɑːsmuˌkɑ·], instead. Hence the famous *incipit*: *bi-smi Llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm* [‚bɪsmɪlˈlɑfɪɾ· ‚ɾ̜afħˈmɑːnɪɾ fɑˈħiːm·‚] 'in the name of Allah the clement (and) the merciful'.

The tendency to rely on the preceding word is so widespread that certain words and morphological markers *genuinely ending in a consonant* will acquire a supplementary vowel –in this case, a *paragogic* vowel– that will make the liaison possible even if the prosthetic vowel could theoretically serve for that purpose. For example, *min maktab-ī* [mɪmˈmaktabi] 'from my office', but *mina l-maktab* [‚minalˈmaktab] 'from the office'; and *žalasat bint-ī* [ˈʒalasat ˈbɪnti, dʒ-] 'my daughter sat down', but *žalasati l-bint* 'the girl/daughter sat down' [ʒaˈlasatɪl ˈbɪnt, dʒ-], which, by the way, implies a stress re-adjustment.

8.2.5. It is important to note that the *ʔalif* signalling the presence of a prosthetic /ʔV-/ remains written –in the Arabic script– even if neither is pronounced, in order to keep the word recognizable, but in that case, the *ʔalif* should carry a diacritic called *waṣlah* –from *waṣl* 'connection, liaison'– though this in practice is rarely done. Our Romanization, instead, only spells out what is actually uttered.

Constrictives (or 'fricatives')

8.3. Among the phonemes belonging to this articulation manner, we find /f/ [f]: *farīd* [faˈɾiːd], *ifsād* [ʔɪfˈsɑːd]. The corresponding voiced phone [v] only occurs as an assimilatory taxophone of /f/, as in *lafẓ* [ˈlavʑ, -vð̬], but not as an independ-

fig 8.3. Arabic consonants: *constrictives* (including the possible variants for /ʑ, ʒ/ [ʒ, ᵗdʒ; ʑ, ᵗð̬]).
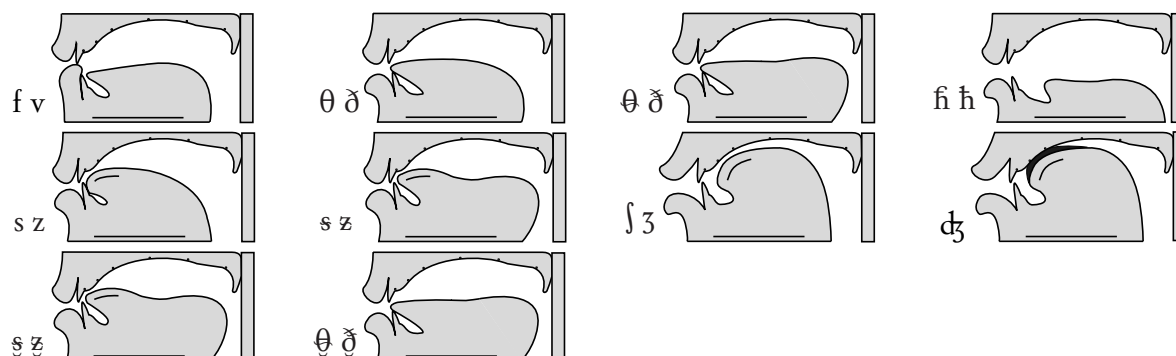
ent phoneme. In loanwords adapted to the Arabic phonic inventory, foreign /v/ is generally changed to /f/: *Fīktūr* [fikˈtuːʁ] 'Victor', *tilfizyūn* [ˌtɪlfɪzˈjuːn] 'television', *fīdiyū* [ˈfiːdiju] 'video', *Fiyatnām* [fiatˈnɑːm] 'Vietnam', *F(a)lādīmīr* [f(ɑ)ˌlɑdiˈmiːʁ] 'Vladimir'; or to /w/, as in *Bahlawī* [ˈbaɦlawi] 'Pahlevi', a Persian loanword.

In addition, there are two diphonic pairs, which pose no problems, /θ, ð; s, z/ [θ, ð; s, z]: *ṭalāṭ* [θɑˈlɑːθ], *maḏir* [ˈmɑðɪʁ], *ḏamm* [ˈðamː], *dars* [ˈdaʁs], *zār* [ˈzaːʁ], *kanz* [ˈkɑnz].

However, there are two more diphonic pairs, with variations that may pose some phonemic dilemmas. They are / s, z / [s] [z] (*[ð]) and /ʃ, ʒ/ [ʃ] [ʒ] (*[dʒ]).

We prefer [z, ʒ] for their voiced members, as they are more modern and more integrated in the phonemic system than their more Koranic variants [ð, dʒ], which are considered more prestigious (even by those who do not use them). But, since they have a different place or manner of articulation, they would complicate the phonemic system – not slightly, indeed.

However, they can be used – especially in a kind of pronunciation which aims more at a *traditional* than at an *international* accent: *ṣurṣur, -ūr* [ˈsʊʁsʊʁ, sʊʁˈsuːʁ], *rakkīṣ* [ʁaˈkɪːs], and *mahẓūẓ* [maɦˈzʊːz, *-ðʊːð], *ẓāmiʔ* [ˈzɑːmɪʔ, *ˈð-].

Also: *ʔišhād* [ʔɪʃˈhɑːd], *ʔašyāʔ* [ʔaʃˈjɑːʔ], *mušawwaš* [muˈʃawwaʃ, -auwaʃ], *ʔašadd* [ʔaˈʃadː], *raššāš* [ʁaʃˈʃɑːʃ], *ʔaš-šams* [ʔaʃˈʃams], *žamīl* [ʒaˈmiːl, dʒa-], *ʔažmaʕ* [ˈʔaʒmaʕ, ˈʔadʒ-], *tāž* [ˈtaːʒ, -dʒ].

In the *pharyngeal* place of articulation, we find the voiceless constrictive /ħ/ [ħ] (currently, the 'corresponding' voiced sound, the famous *ʕayin*, is considered to be constrictive, as well, but in neutral pronunciation, it is clearly an approximant, /ʕ/ [ʕ], as we will see below, § 8.4.2).

Examples: *ḥubbiyy* [ˈħʊbˈbɪj], *maḥtūm* [maħˈtuːm], *muḥaḍḍir* [mʊˈħaddʁ], *fariḥ* [ˈfaʁɪħ], *faḥḥāš* [faħˈħaːʃ].

Arabic also has a diphonic pair of *uvular constrictive trills*, [ɢ, ʀ] (as will be seen). Phonemically they might be represented with the official symbols /χ, ʁ/, but it will be more appropriate and convenient to use the same symbols (for the two levels): /ɢ, ʀ/ [ɢ, ʀ].

Approximants

8.4.1. Let us first consider the least peculiar ones (although there are rather free occurrences). Thus: /j, w/ [j, w], even realized as [i, u], for /Cj#, Cw#/ (and, possibly, for /#jC, #wC/, in *colloquial* variants, as no doubt in the different dialects) and /VjjV, VwwV/ [ij, *jj; uw, *ww], but /ijj#, uww#/ [ɪjː, ʊwː].

Some examples: *yāwir* [ˈjaːwɪʁ], *waṣiyyah* [waˈsɪjja, -aɦ; -ɪːj-], *wuṣūl* [wʊˈsuːl], *sayyid* [ˈsajjɪd, ˈsaijɪd], *nawwām* [nawˈwaːm, nɑuˈw-], *nayy* [ˈnajː, ˈnɑjː, ˈnaj, ˈnaɪj], *manhiyy* [manˈhɪjː, -ˈhɪjː; ijː, -ˈhɪjː, -ˈhɪj; -ˈhɪi], *ʔabw* [ˈʔabw, -bʊ, -bʊ̂, -bu] (cf *ʔabu* [ˈʔabu] /ˈʔabuː/). The *Koranic* pronunciation prefers [-jj-, -ww-], as in the cases seen above.

A note about the very common ending *-iyyah*: we shall present [-ˈɪjja, -aħ] as

typical in our transcriptions, but again, [-ˈi-] is fine as well, and even well-educated speakers might go as far as [-ˈi(ˑ)a] in fast, colloquial or mediatic pronunciation. Something like [-ˈi(ˑ)aɦ] would be theoretically possible, too, but quite inconsistent with the un-colloquial, conservative [-aɦ].

Let us also consider these further examples, which show us the differences between *modern* pronunciation and *traditional* Koranic pronunciation.

In principle, they coincide even with the most important cases where, even in *colloquial* accents and dialects, /ai, au/ do not change into monophthongs ([ɛː, ɔː]).

This happens when they are in absolute final position, and when in front of /j, w/ or after /iː, uː/, respectively, or when final, after a consonant.

The following examples show this: *kay* [ˈkai] ᵗ[ˈkai, ˈkaj̊, ˈkaj] (cf *kayy* [ˈkaɪj] ᵗ[ˈkaj̊ː, ˈkaj̊ː, ˈkaj̊ː]), *layyan* [ˈlaijan] ᵗ[ˈlajjan, ˈlaj̊jan, ˈlaj̊jan], *ʕumy* [ˈʕʊmi] ᵗ[ˈʕʊmjə, ˈʕʊmj̊ə, ˈʕʊmj̊ə], *law* [ˈlau] ᵗ[ˈlawə, ˈlaw̥ə, ˈlaɣ̊ə], *dawwar* [ˈdauwaɾ] ᵗ[ˈdauw-, ˈdaww-], *ʕadūwah* [ʕaˈduːwa, -aɦ] ᵗ[-uːw-, -uːɣ̊-], *sahw* [ˈsaɦu] ᵗ[ˈsaɦwə, ˈsaɦw̥ə, ˈsaɦɣ̊ə], *ʕafw* [ˈʕafu] ᵗ[ˈʕafw, ˈʕafw̥, ˈʕafɣ̊, ˈʕafu̥]. Let us also consider: *ʔaššarw* [ʔaʃˈʃaɾw, -aɾɣ̊, -aɾu̥].
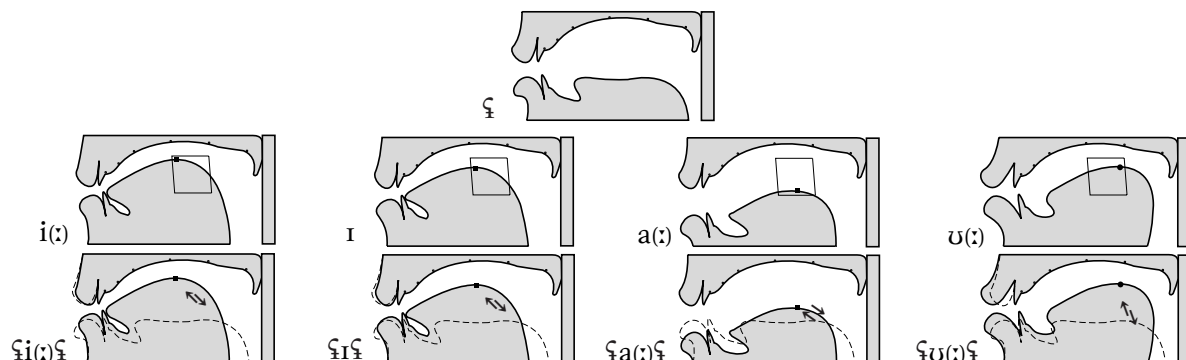
fig 8.4.1. Arabic consonants: central *approximants* (& some possible stronger variants: semi-constrictive and constrictive) /j, w/ [j, i̯, j̊; w, w̥, ɣ̊].
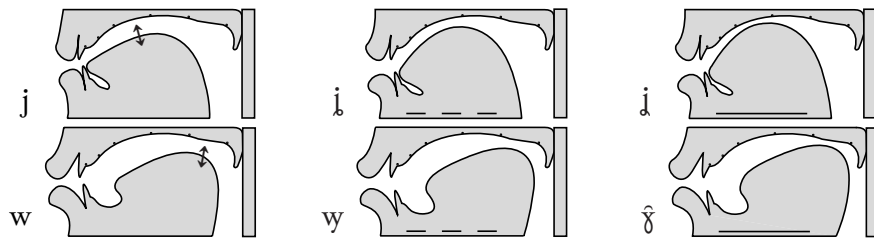
8.4.2. As we said above (§ 8.3), the Arabic phoneme /ʕ/ [ʕ] is an approximant (and generally, in *mediatic* pronunciation, it is laryngealized as well, [ʕ̰], which is fairly easy to detect by its lower intrinsic tonality and creaky voice).

But plain [ʕ] is sufficient for a good (and neutral) pronunciation, provided it does not become a simple vowel like [ʌ, ɤ], although short, non-syllabic, [ʌ̯, ɤ̯] might be acceptable (corresponding to creaky-voiced full vocoids [ʌ̰, ɤ̰] in mediatic accents and 'dialects').

fig 8.4.2. Arabic consonants: the voiced pharyngeal approximant [ʕ] (not a constrictive!) and its interplay in contact with different vocoids.

Examples: *ʕayn* [ˈʕaɪn], *ʕala* [ˈʕala], *maʕi* [ˈmaʕi], *maʕa* [ˈmaʕa], *baʕda* [ˈbaʕda], *biʕtu* [ˈbɪʕtu], *naʕnaʕ, -nāʕ* [ˈnaʕnaʕ, naʕˈnaːʕ], *faʕʕāliyyah* [ˌfaʕʕaˈlɪjja; -aɦ], *salʕ* [ˈsalʕ], *maʕ* [ˈmaʕ], *rubʕ* [ˈɹʊbʕ].

As a useful device for reflection and comparison, *fig* 8.4.2 shows the orograms of [ʕ] and the vocoids it can be in contact with. In these sequences, it is important not to think that some full vocoidal phones can somehow compensate for the occurrence of a real [ʕ] (as seen above).

It is occasionally possible to hear some peculiar *regional* –non-neutral– variants, as a laryngeal*ized* stop, [ʕ̰], or else a pharyngeal*ized* laryngeal contoid, [ʔˁ], eg: [ˈnaʕ̰- naʕ̰, naʕ̰ˈnaːʕ̰, ˈnɑʔˁnɑʔˁ, nɑʔˁˈnaːʔˁ].

Let us also have a look at *fig* 12.3.0, in order to familiarize with the coarticulatory mechanism of many further contoids, which we can certainly happen to hear, especially in mediatic (*cf* Ch 12) or in 'regionational' (*cf* Ch 13) pronunciations.

8.4.3. Our last Arabic approximant phoneme is a true laryngeal phone, /ɦ/ [ɦ, h], and has a very free occurrence (*cf fig* 8.4.3). The lenis voiced [ɦ] is the variant that we shall present as most typical in our transcriptions, for both simplicity and consistency; furthermore, [ɦ] is a better choice for non-native learners to keep /ɦ/ distinct from /ħ/. Our readers, however, must be aware that /ɦ/ may switch to the lenis voiceless [h] when near a pause or a voiceless consonant, or when geminate.

Examples: *ʔittižāh* [ˌʔɪttiˈʒaːɦ, -h; -ʤ-], *muhtar* [ˈmʊɦtaɹ, -h-], *hādihi* [ˈɦaːðiɦi, h-], *mahbūl* [maɦˈbuːl], *ʔinhizām* [ˌʔɪnɦiˈzaːm], *hafnāf* [ɦafˈnaːf, h-], *hiya* [ˈɦija, h-], *karh* [ˈkaɹɦ, -h], *bih* [ˈbɪɦ, -h], *qahwah* [ˈqaɦ·wa], *wahhāž* [waɦˈɦaːʒ, -hˑh-; -ʤ].

As many examples have shown so far, our Romanization represents *tāʔ marbūṭah* simply as *h*, since the cases in which there might be confusion with *ħ* are negligible. So we simply write *ʔal-madīnah* [ˌʔalmaˈdiːna, -aɦ], if the word is to be pronounced as such; but non-pre-pausal forms would restore the etymological *-t-*: *ʔal-madīnatu* [ˌʔalmaˈdiːnaˌtu], *madīnat-ī* [maˈdiːnaˌti], *madīnatu-hu* [madiˈnatuˌɦu], and so on.

fig 8.4.3. Arabic consonants: the laryngeal voiced approximant /ɦ/ [ɦ] (not a constrictive!) and its voicelss taxophone [h].
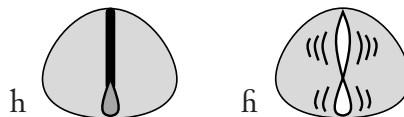
8.4.4. Besides, before diacritical dots were added to the basic 'skeleton' of early Arabic orthography (*rasm*), there was no visible difference between a 'real', etymological *hāʔ* and a *hāʔ* used as the pre-pausal variant of the (mostly feminine) marker *-t-*, so a sequence like *m-k-t-b-h* would legitimately stand for *maktabu-hu* [makˈtabuˌɦu] 'his office' and *maktabah* [ˈmaktaˌba, -aɦ] 'a library' alike (to mention only one of the translations possible for each word).

Context and good command of the grammar will help to sort out most doubts. Plus, Latin-alphabet transliterations will usually spell out all vowels, another potent means of disambiguation, as the couplet *maktabu-hu* : *maktabah* clearly demonstrates.

At the end of the day, our Romanization simply reflects how words are to be articulated in a certain context, so we shall spell *ʔal-madīnah* if pronounced [ˌʔal-maˈdiːna, -aɦ] in isolation (post-pausal *ʔal-* and pre-pausal *-ah*), but *ʔal-madīnatu* [ˌʔalmaˈdiːnaˌtu] if one wants to articulate the entire word, which may well sound too affected but certainly is not at all wrong.

8.4.5. If a more precise transliteration for *tāʔ marbūṭah* were really requested, something like a hyphenated *-h* (eg *ʔal-madīna-h*) would do fine without having to resort to yet another special glyph.

Be noted that *-ah* is pronounced [a, aɦ] primarily, but [a(ɦ), ɑ(ɦ)] if preceded by any consonant which is capable of modifying timbres. It is to be noted that a realization with [ɦ] represents a very careful, Koranic pronunciation, while the normal realization of *-ah*# is [a]: *hazzah* 'movement' [ˈhɑzza, -aɦ] but: *hazza* '(he) shook' is only [ˈhɑzza].

Thus, in sentences, any *-ah* (*tāʔ marbūṭah*), not followed by a pause, is [ɑ]: *muškilah mīkānīkiyyah fī sayyārat-ī* [ˈmʊʃkiˌla mɪˌkɑnɪˈkɪjja ˌfisajˈjaːʁaˌti]. When actually followed by a pause, it is [a]: *muškilah* [ˈmʊʃkiˌla].

Finally, as a useful device for reflection and comparison, *fig* 8.4.2 shows the orograms of [ʕ] and the vocoids it can be in contact with. In these sequences, it is important not to think that some vocoidal phones can somehow compensate for the non-occurrence of a real [ʕ].

Trills

8.5.1. Arabic *r* is typically realized as an apical voiced *uvularized* trill, [ɼ], in stressed syllables, and generally as a tap, [ɾ], in unstressed syllables (cf *fig* 8.5). In *mediatic* pronunciation, it can also be more simply *velarized*: [ɼ, ɾ], on the other hand, together with further more *co-articules* (ie 'emphatic' coarticulations, cf § 1.3.5), such as true (pre)pharyngealization, [ɼ̣, ɾ̣; ɼ̣, ɾ̣], more suitable in *Koranic* recitation. Accordingly, we have chosen to phonemicize this Arabic rhotic as /ɼ/, rather than simply /r/, or /ɾ/.

However, it is important to stress that /ɼ/ does *not* belong to the co-articule group, and in fact, ancient Arab grammarians and elocution masters would clearly advise against articulating *r* with too much *tafkīm* 'heaviness, thickness', the astonishing traditional term meaning '(consonantal) emphasis', ie simply mainly uvular coarticulation.

On the contrary, it is quite common that any coarticulation disappears when /ɼ/ comes in contact with [i(ː), ɪ] and no timbre-changing consonant is present: *rīm*

fig 8.5. Arabic consonants: *trills*.
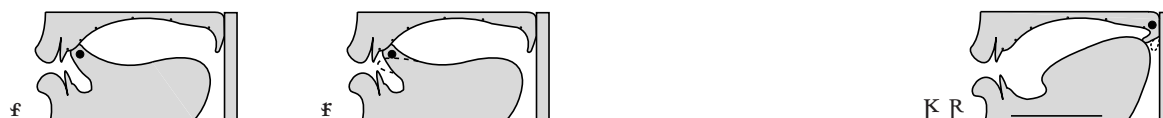
[ˈriːm], *birr* [ˈbɪrː], but *rīq* [ˈ𝼈ɪːq], *qirr* [ˈqɪ𝼈ː]. It is also possible to hear the alveolar approximant [ɹ], mainly for final *r*, but this pronunciation is more *mediatic* and not recommendable. In addition, especially in contact with /iː, i/, instead of [ɾ, 𝼈], we can certainly also find [r, ɾ], or a semivelarized version, [ɾ, 𝼈] (*cf fig* 12.7), which can occur even in other contexts, including with /aː, a; uː, u/.

8.5.2. For simplicity and consistency, we shall stick to [ɾ, 𝼈] everywhere: *ribq* [ˈ𝼈ɪpq], *marbūʿ* [maɾˈbuːʕ], *mariḥ* [ˈmaɾɪħ], *mirrīḥ* [mɪɾˈ𝼈iːħ], *mirāḥ* [miˈ𝼈aːħ], *fur-fur, -ūr* [ˈfʊɾfʊɾ, fʊɾˈfuːɾ].

As seen, the vowel quality of /a(ː)/ in contact with /𝼈/ cannot be any fronter than [a(ː)]. That is why many Arabic speakers have little trouble distinguishing the typical American realizations of /æ, ɐ/, [æ, ʌ], in a couplet like *Sam ≠ sum*, which they may easily re-interpret as '*sam*' [ˈsam] and '*ṣam*' [ˈsɑm]. More problematic would be the distinction between *ram* and *rum*, which would be likely merged into [ˈ𝼈am], since neutral Arabic taxophonics would not allow [ˈ𝼈ɑm] for *ram*.

8.5.3. As already said, Arabic has a diphonic pair of uvular *constrictive trills*, /ʀ̥, ʀ/ [ʀ̥, ʀ] (*cf fig* 8.5): *bakšīš* [baʀ̥ˈʃiːʃ], *kawk* [ˈʀ̥aʊʀ̥], *fakkārī* [faʀ̥ˈʀ̥aːɾi], *gadan* [ˈʀadan], *ṣagīr* [saˈʀiːɾ], *bālig* [ˈbaːlɪʀ], *mašgūl* [maʒˈʀuːl] ᵐ[-ʃˈʀ-], *tawaggul* [tɑˈwaʀʀʊl].

Let us notice that these two uvular consonants have a lesser effect on the 'color' of adjacent vowels than /q/ (*uvular* stop) or /ƫ, ɖ, ʂ, ʐ/ (which are *uvularized*), while /𝼈/ (which is *uvularized*, too) affects only /a, aː/ (as seen in § 6.2).
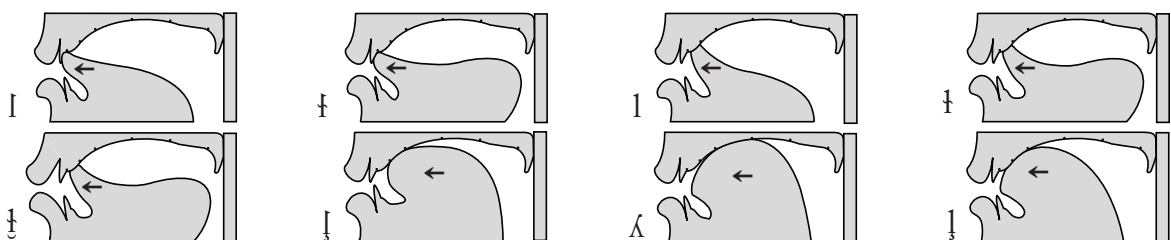
Laterals

8.6. There is one lateral phoneme in Arabic, /l/ [l] and [ɫ,]̣, ɭ, ɫ] (the last taxophone occurs in contact with /ƫ, ɖ, ʂ, ʐ, q/; it also occurs as a phonostyleme (*ie* a kind of stylistic phoneme), too, in the word *ʔallāh* [ʔɑɫˈɫɑː(ɦ)] 'Allah' (with /-ɦ/ being frequently dropped), even when used in connected speech and compound words: *ʔin šāʔa Llāh* [ʔɪɲˈʃaː ʔɑɫˈɫɑː(ɦ)] 'if God will', *ʔāyatu Llāh* [ʔaːjatʊɫ ˈɫɑː(ɦ), ʔaːjatʊɫˈɫɑː(ɦ)] (and frequently [ʔa̯jatʊɫˈɫɑː(ɦ)] as a compound word) 'sign of God, ayatollah', *ʕabdullāh* [ˌʕabdʊɫˈɫɑː(ɦ)] 'Abdullah, Abdallah'.

That is not the case with *-i Llāh* /-ilˈlaː(ɦ)/ sequences: *bi-smi Llāh* [ˌbɪsmɪlˈlaː(ɦ)] 'in the name of God', *ʔal-ḥamdu li-Llāh* [ʔalˈħamdu lɪlˈlaː(ɦ)] 'praise to God'.

For coarticulation, [ḷ] is followed by [ʃ, ʒ/ʤ], [ɭ], by [j], [ɫ] by /t, d; s, z; θ, ð/:

fig 8.6. Arabic consonants: *laterals* (and [ḷ] for comparison).

mutalaʔliʔ [ˌmutaˈlaʔlɪʔ], *talbīs* [talˈbiːs], *layl* [ˈlaɪl], *ŧalž* [ˈθaɭʒ, -ʤ], *malyān* [maɭˈjaːn], *ẓallāqah* [zalˈlɑːqɑ(ɦ)], *talqīħ* [taɫˈqɪːħ]. For the typical complete assimilation of /l/ in the article *ʔal*, cf § 9.1.1.

8.7. Let us concentrate, now, on some differences regarding the shape of the tongue in the production of some dental consonants, as shown in *fig* 8.7.

fig 8.7. Comparison between grooved, semigrooved and ungrooved (or slit) dental consonants.
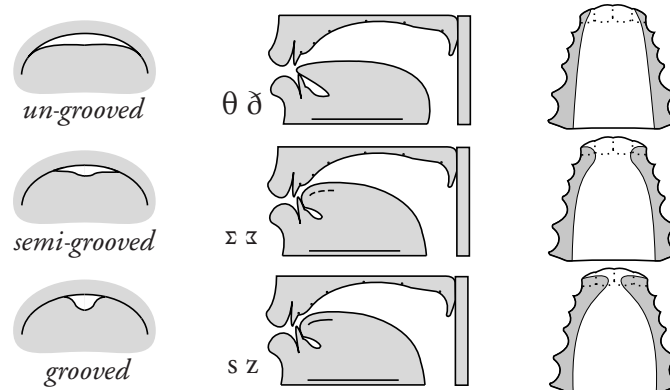
9.
Arabic
structures

Taxophonics

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

Assimilation of the definite article

9.1.1. The consonantal coda of the definite article *(ʔa)l-* /(ʔa)l#C/ undergoes full assimilation, [(ʔa)C#C], when followed by any of the so-called 'solar consonants', *ʔal-ḥurūfu š-šamsiyyah* [ˌʔalħʊˈɾuːfʊʃ ʃamˈsɪjja; -aɦ] : /t, d; ŧ, đ; θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ; ş, ʐ; n, ɾ, l/ (we have to include /ʒ/, in *modern* pronunciation – see below). Arguably, /#l/ does not trigger any real assimilation, being just a mere taxophonic juxtapositon.

The term *šamsiyy* 'solar', although frequently passed for something philosophical or poetic, is simply a practical (but highly disputable) classification expedient, since the Arabic word for 'sun' triggers assimilation: *ʔaš-šams* [ʔaʃʃams]. However, its antonym, 'moon', does not: *ʔal-qamar* [ʔalˈqamaɾ]; and that is why all other consonants are traditionally called 'lunar letters' (*ʔal-ḥurūfu l-qamariyyah* [ˌʔalħʊˈɾuːfʊł qamaˈɾɪjja; -aɦ]).

The assimilation is mandatory and knows no exception. The official orthography always spells out the *lām* of the article even if assimilation occurs. However, we have decided not to do so in our transliterations and transcriptions, according to the general principle of phonemic realism that our Romanization scheme intends to follow.

Examples: *ʔat-tāžir, ʔad-dars, ʔaṭ-ṭālib, ʔaḍ-ḍayf, ʔaŧ-ŧamar, ʔađ-đahab, ʔas-sūq, ʔaz-zawž, ʔaš-šabāb, ʔaž-žamāl* (see below), *ʔaş-şābūn, ʔaʐ-ʐuhr, ʔan-nūr, ʔar-ražul* [ʔatˈtaːʒɪɾ, ʔadˈdaɾs, ʔaŧˈŧaːlɪb, ʔađˈđaɪf, ʔaθˈθamaɾ, ʔaðˈðaɦab, ʔasˈsuːq, ʔazˈzaʊʒ, ˌʔaʃʃaˈbaːb, ˌʔaʒʒaˈmaːl, ˌʔaşşaˈbuːn, ʔaʐˈʐʊɦɾ, ʔanˈnuːɾ, ʔaɾˈɾaʒʊl].

9.1.2. Conservative speakers and scholars will consider it improper to apply this assimilation mechanism to *žīm* /ʒ/, based on particular considerations that might certainly be historically sound, but do not take into account the phonemic

situation of the language *as it is spoken today*.

In fact, the assimilation of the article became a basic feature of Arabic phonology in very remote times, when the pronunciation of *žīm* was rather closer to [g] (as in today's typical Egyptian pronunciation), or [gj] (as a southern Egyptian variant), than to [ʤ, ʒ].

Consequently, just like modern /-lk-, -lq-/, the ancestral /-lg-/ remained unassimilated. That explains the inconsistent behavior of speakers with such minimal pairs as *ʔaš-šamāl* vs *ʔaž-žamāl*, that many realize as [ʔalʒaˈmɑːl], the sole supposedly 'correct' form, by virtue of which the so widespread and legitimate realization [ˌʔaʒʒaˈmɑːl] should be… rejected.

9.1.3. However, [ˌʔaʒʒaˈmɑːl] is exactly what a large number of educated and proficient speakers of Modern Standard Arabic perceive as the most natural articulation, the one that suits best their instinctive propensity for an internally consistent language.

In a logical –and phonological– way, serious publications (free from traditional 'grammatical' bias in a strictly phonic matter) certainly give [-ʒʒ-] as perfectly legitimate, more than [-ʤʤ-] or mediatic [-gg-] (thus, with the not recommendable addition of ᵗ[ʔaʤʤaˈmɑːl], and ᵐ[ʔaggaˈmɑːl]).

In fact, structurally, /ʒ/ perfectly corresponds to /ʃ/. And it seems rather odd having to defend its rightful nature (in spite of traditional outdated beliefs), because this mechanism is so deeply rooted in the instinctive linguistic feeling of native speakers.

This certainly consolidates the correctness of our choice to posit /ʒ/ rather than /ʤ/ as the more convenient structural phoneme, forming a diphonic pair with /ʃ/. By the same token, we have preferred a more realistic Romanization *ʔaž-ž…* instead of *ʔal-ž…*

9.1.4. Here are some examples with their full transcriptions (not to forget that this substantially is a phonetics book):

ʔaš-šams [ʔaʃˈʃams], *ʔar-raqṣ* [ʔarˈɾaqṣ] ᵗ[-ˈɾɑqṣ], *ʔat-tutun* [ʔatˈtutʊn], *ʔaz-za-lal* [ʔazˈzalal], *ʔaḍ-ḍīq* [ʔaďˈďɪːq], *ʔaž-žamal* [ʔaʒˈʒamal] (and ᵗ[ʔaʃˈʤa-], ᵐ[ʔaʤˈʤa-, ʔalˈga-; ʔagˈga-]); but, of course: *ʔal-baḥr* [ʔalˈbaħɾ̥, -aħɾ̥], *ʔal-kušk* [ʔalˈkuʃk], *ʔal-wa-lad* [ʔalˈwalad].

Other assimilation phenomena

9.1.5. In fluid neutral speech (but not in mediatic accents), *voice assimilation* is quite common, with voiced obstruents becoming voiceless, before voiceless consonants, and vice versa: *ʔižtamaʕa* [ʔiʃˈtamaˌʕa], *ʔašdaq* [ʔaʒdaq].

Other cases of assimilation involving place ‰ or manner of articulation are possible, as we will show below, according to the 'strength' criterion that we will see in § 9.1.9-15.

However, we must say, various publications do not always agree on a single 'strength criterion'. For example, let us re-examine *ʔiẓtamaʕa* [ʔɪʃˈtamaʕa], form ᴠɪɪɪ of the verb *žamaʕa* [ˈʒamaʕa]: the 'stronger' phone apparently is the [t] of the *-ta-* infix, which devoices *ž*. However, the following form-ᴠɪɪɪ verbs show a different behavior –frequently, reciprocal assimilation– *which is even recorded by the official orthography*: *ʔizdāna* [ʔɪzˈdɑːna], *ʔiddaʕā* [ʔɪdˈdaʕa], *ʔiddakara* [ʔɪdˈdakaɾa].

9.1.6. And, likewise, with co-articles (ie 'emphatic' consonants): *ʔiṣṭabara* [ʔɨsˈtɑbaɾa], *ʔiḍṭaraba* [ʔɨtˈtɑbaɾa], *ʔiṭṭalama* [ʔɨtˈtɑlɑma], *ʔiṭṭalaʕa* [ʔɨtˈtɑlaʕa].

9.1.7. Another kind of assimilation that is usually recommended in neutral pronunciation, though not indicated by the official spelling, is the full assimilation of /d, ð; ŧ, đ, ẓ/ to the /t/ that is present in the perfective terminations *-tu, -ta, -ti, -tumā, -tum*, and *-tunna*; for example, *wažadtu* and *ʔakadta* should be rendered as [waˈʒattu, ʔaˈꞥatta].

However, as the recordings enclosed with language courses prove, such assimilation is not always automatic with /ð, ẓ/, which –being constrictives– are easier to be kept distinct from the following dental stop /t/; and in the case of /ŧt, đt/, a compromise like [ŧŧ] is possible, instead of [tt] (see below).

There are also assimilation phenomena that are mainly dictated by *Koranic* recitation practices, such as in the case of the indefinite case endings *-un, -in, -an* followed by a word starting with /l, m, ɾ/: /nˣl, nˣm, nˣɾ/ → /lˣl, mˣm, ɾˣɾ/. Other cases of assimilation occur in normal speech, instead, but are somehow more extreme and less obvious to categorize, *eg qad samiʕa* [qasˈsamɪˌʕa], *lam yurid šayʔan* [ˈlam ˈjuɾɪʃ ˈʃaiʔan], *ʔibʕaŧ dalika* [ˈʔɪbʕað ˈðaːliˌka], *ʔiħfaẓ žāraka* [ʔɪħfaʒ ˈʒaːɾaˌka].

Frankly, it seems disputable whether foreign learners should really memorize all the possible combinations and employ them in daily conversation, when even native speakers are never consistent in doing so. On the other hand, one should be aware that neutral Arabic words may be subject to more or less pervasive assimilation, and non-native speakers should be able to deal with that to improve their listening skills.

9.1.8. As far as active use of the language is concerned, we believe that the best advice we can put forward is: always apply assimilation to the article, where required by current use (more than by ancient rules), not only in those cases that are explicitly recorded in writing, but also, as said in § 9.1.9-12, in spite of different possible behavior in neutral, mediatic, and traditional accents – including pragmatic usages (as shown there).

Outline of current assimilation types

9.1.9. *Phonation type*: the first obstruent assimilates to the second *obstruent* of whichever kind (but not to *approximants*, /j, w; ʕ; ɦ/, nor to *sonants*, /m, n; l; ɾ/,

where we have: [Ç̬Ç̯] (but /Ç̬ɦ/ → [Çh], as shown below), and [Ç̬Ç̥#, Ç̬Ç̦#]). In addition, let us also consider the following 'stylistic' differences.

Obstruents + obstruents: /Ç̬Ç̯/ → [Ç̬Ç̯], [Ç̬Ç̥] (careful), [Ç̬Ç̬] (slow & mediatic),
obstruents + obstruents: /Ç̯Ç̬/ → [Ç̯Ç̬], [Ç̥Ç̬] (careful), [Ç̬Ç̬] (slow & mediatic).

Some contexts (and variants):

/dt/ → [tt] ᵐ[dd], /sʀ/ → [zʀ] ᵐ[sʀ], /sʕ/ → [sʕ], /ʂʀ/ → [ʐʀ] ᵐ[ʂʀ], /ʂʕ/ → [ʂʕ],
/ʃʀ/ → [ʒʀ] ᵐ[ʃʀ], /ʃʕ/ → [ʃʕ], /ʒd/ → [ʒd] ᵐ[ʒd, ʤd], /ʒt/ → [ʃt] ᵐ[ʃt, ʧt], /Ç̬ɦ/ → [Çh].

9.1.10. *Place/manner of articulation* (for /n, l/): the first element assimilates to the second. /nC/ → [n̴C] (homorganic nasals in ⁿ, but *semi*nasals in ᵐ, and *non*-homorganic in ꟼ).

Some contexts (and variants):

/nj/ → [ɲj] ᵐ[ɲ̯j] ꟼ[nj], /nw/ → [ŋw] ᵐ[ŋ̯w] ꟼ[nw], /nl/ → [ll] ᵐ[ɲ̯l] ꟼ[nl, ll],
/nꞃ/ → [ꞃꞃ] ᵐ[ɳ̯ꞃ] ꟼ[nꞃ, ꞃꞃ], /nt/ → [ɳt] ᵐ[ɳ̯t], /nd/ → [ɳd] ᵐ[ɳ̯d],
/ln/ → [nn] ᵐ[l̩n] ꟼ[ln, nn], /lꞃ/ → [ꞃꞃ] ᵐ[l̩ꞃ] ꟼ[lꞃ, ꞃꞃ].

9.1.11. *Place/manner of articulation* (for coronals): the simpler element (/t, d; θ, ð; s, z; ʃ, ʒ/) assimilates to the more complex (/�, ɖ; ʂ, ʐ/), or, in some cases, to the second one.

Some contexts (and variants):

/tꞆ, dꞆ; sꞆ, zꞆ/ → [ƫꞆ, ɖꞆ; ʂꞆ, ʐꞆ], /Ꞇt, Ꞇd; Ꞇs, Ꞇz/ → [Ꞇƫ, Ꞇɖ; Ꞇʂ, Ꞇʐ]
/tƫ/ → [ƫƫ], /tɖ/ → [ɖɖ], /ꞇt/ → [ƫƫ], /ɖt/ → [ƫƫ], /tz/ → [dz] ᵐ[zz], /tʐ/ → [ɖʐ],
/tʂ/ → [ƫʂ], /tʒ/ → [dʒ], /kz/ → [gz], /sʃ, ʂʃ/ → [ʃʃ] ᵐ[ss, ʃʃ], /sꞆ/ → [sꞆ],
/zʃ, ʐʃ/ → [ʃʃ] ᵐ[ss, ʃʃ], /ʒs/ → [ss], /ʒʂ/ → [ʂʂ], /ʒz/ → [zz], /zꞆ/ → [ʐꞆ],
/ʃs/ → [ss], /ʃʂ/ → [ʂʂ].

9.1.12. *Place/manner of articulation* (for back consonants): the simpler element (/ɦ/ [ɦ, h]) can assimilate to the more compex (/ħ; ʕ; q; ꝗ, ʀ/), or, in some cases, to the first one.

Some contexts (and variants):

/kq/ → [kk], /qk/ → [qq] ᵐ[kk, qq], /ꝗɦ/ → [ꝗꝗ], /ʀɦ/ → [ʀɦ] ᵐ[ʀʀ, ꝗꝗ]
/ʕħ, ʕɦ, ħʕ, ħɦ, ɦħ, ɦʕ/ → [ħħ].

9.1.13. Here are some of the most frequent combinations, for practice: *ribħin lī* [ˈꞃɪpħɪl ˈliː], *mubtallun* [mʊpˈtallʊn], *ħabsun* [ˈħapsʊn], *ʔabqa* [ˈʔapqɑ], *ʔitbāt* [ʔɪðˈbaːt], *muztamaʕ* [ˈmʊʃtɑˌmaʕ], *maħbūb* [maħˈbuːb], *maħzūz* [maħˈʐuːʐ], *makzan* [ˈmaʀzan], *madkal* [ˈmatꝗal], *maszid* [ˈmaʒʒɪd] (ᵗ[ˈmazʤɪd]), and:

mašgūl [maʒˈʀuːl] ᵐ[-ˈʃʀ-], *ʔasga* [ˈʔɑzʀɑ], *maqbūl* [mɑɢˈbuːl], *ʔazfara* [ˈʔɑsfɑˌfɑ], *magšūš* [maꝗˈʃuːʃ], *ʔagfala* [ˈʔɑꝗfɑˌla], *tabtaʕidu* [tɑpˈtaʕɪˌdu], *tusbiħu* [ˈtʊʐbɪˌħʊ], *ʔakbar* [ʔɑgbaꞃ] ᵐ[-ġb-], *naqdan* [ˈnɑɢdan] ᵐ[-ɢˈd-].

Others: *taʔbīn* [taʔˈbiːn], *maʔtūr* [maʔˈθuːꞃ], *biʔrun* [ˈbɪʔꞃʊn], *mitrās* [mɪtˈꞃaːs], *matʕūb* [matˈʕuːb], *ʔatlafa* [ˈʔat-laˌfa], *ʔatqal* [ˈaθqaɫ], *ʔatna* [ˈʔaθna], *mažrūħ* [maʒˈꞃuːħ], *mažnūn* [maʒˈnuːn], *taħsīn* [taħˈsiːn], *maktūm* [maꝗˈtuːm], and:

maƙfa [ˈmaχfa], *madrasah* [ˈmad-ɾaˌsa; -aɦ], *ʔadlā* [ˈʔad-la], *maẓbaħ* [ˈmaẓbaħ], *maẓʕūr* [maẓˈʕuːʀ], *muẓnib* [ˈmuẓnɪb], *martabah* [ˈmaɾtaˌba; -aɦ], *qirdun* [ˈqɪɾdʊn], *maryam* [ˈmaɾ-jam], *mazrūʕ* [maẓˈɾʊːʕ], *muzmin* [ˈmuẓmɪn], *tazhu* [ˈtazɦu].

9.1.14. Others: *musriʕ* [ˈmusɾɪʕ], *miswāk* [mɪsˈwaːk], *mašta* [ˈmaʃta], *mašwi* [ˈmaʃ-wi], *miṣbāh* [mɪẓˈbaːɦ], *maṣraʕ* [ˈmasɾaʕ], *ʔadžaʕa* [ˈʔadʒaˌʕa], *ʔadṣafa* [ˈʔadɕaˌfa], *maḍwi* [ˈmaɖ-wi], *maqtal* [ˈmaqtal], *maṭbūƙ* [matˈbuːχ], *matʕūn* [matˈʕuːn], or:

ʔaṭyab [ˈʔatˌjab], *ʔaẓlama* [ˈʔaẓlaˌma], *maẓnūn* [maẓˈnuːn], *furṣa* [ˈfuɾsa], *ʔardun* [ˈʔaɾɖun], *ƙurṭūn* [χʊɾˈtuːn], *malħūẓ* [malˈɦʊːẓ], *ʔalṣaqa* [ˈalsaˌqa], *ṭalʕa* [ˈtaɫʕa], *maʕžūn* [maʕˈʒuːn], *maʕrūf* [maʕˈɾuːf], *ʔaʕmāl* [ʔaʕˈmaːl], *ʔaglā* [ˈʔaʀ-la], and:

miftāh [mɪfˈtaːɦ], *ʔafraza* [ˈʔaf-ɾaẓa], *mafkūk* [mafˈkuːk], *mawḍiʕ* [ˈmauɖɪʕ], *mawkib* [ˈmaukɪb], *maqha* [ˈmaqha], *maktab* [ˈmaktab], *maksūr* [makˈsuːɾ], *makwā* [ˈmak-wa], *malʔān* [malˈʔaːn], *malʔūn* [malˈʔuːn], *ʔalyan* [ˈʔaʎ-jan].

Further: *ʔamtiʕa* [ˈʔamtɪˌʕa], *ʔamtara* [ˈʔamtaˌɾa], *ʔimkān* [ʔɪmˈkaːn], *ʔintafaʕa* [ʔɪn-ˈtafaˌʕa], *ʔinmāʔ* [ʔɪmˈmaːʔ], *ʔinʕakafa* [ʔɪnˈʕakaˌfa], *ʔihtamma* [ʔɪhˈtamma], *mahmūn* [maɦˈmuːn], *ʔahwā* [ˈʔaɦ-wa], *ʔawhama* [ˈʔauɦaˌma], and:

yayʔasu [ˈjaiʔaˌsu], *ʔayqana* [ˈʔaɾqaˌna], *ʔaynama* [ˈʔainaˌma], *ʔahlan* [ˈʔaɦlan], *naħnu* [ˈnaħnu], *wa-Llāh!* [watˈtaː(ɦ)], *ṭaqṭaqa* [ˈtaqtaˌqa], *ʕaqʕaqa* [ˈʕaqʕaˌqa], *mukk* [ˈmʊχ], *fiqh* [ˈfɪqh].

9.1.15. In addition: *ṣifr* [ˈsɪfɕ, -fɕ], *naml* [ˈnaml, -mḷ], *mahmā* [maɦˈmaː], *mawž* [ˈmauʒ], *sižn* [ˈsɪʒn, -ʒn̩], *fahrastu-hu* [faɦˈɾastuˌɦu], *ʔin šāʔa Llāh* [ʔɪɲˈʃaʔatˈtaːɦ] (colloquially, [ʔɪɲʃatˈtaːɦ]), *ʔuqāwimu* [ʔuˈqaːwiˌmu], *lužžatu-hā* [luʒˈʒatuˌɦa], *ʔaṭruqu* [ˈʔatˌɾuˌqu], and:

ʔimām [ʔiˈmaːm], *yamšī* [ˈjamʃi], *lāhiq* [ˈlaːɦɪq], *lāʕib* [ˈlaːʕɪb], *tisʕa* [ˈtɪsʕa], *sabʕūn* [sabˈʕuːn], *ħizb* [ˈɦɪzb, -bə], *ƙubz* [ˈχʊbz, -zə], *hiya* [ˈɦia] ᵗ[ˈɦija], *Sūriyyah* [suˈɾɪjja; -aɦ], *ʔawwal* [ˈʔauwal, -ww-], *huwa* [ˈɦua] ᵗ[ˈɦuwa], *hallāq* [ɦalˈtaːq].

Also: *ʔaʕhadu* [ˈʔaħɦaˌdu], *ʔiržiʕ*, *ħabīb-ī* [ˈɪɾʒɪɦ ˌɦaˈbiːbiˌ], *ʔiftah ʕaynay-ka* [ˈʔɪftaɦ ɦaiˈnaika], *ʔiftah hadiyyata-ka* [ˈʔɪftaɦ ɦadɪjˈjataˌka].

Vowel and consonant quantity

9.2.1. In Arabic, the quantity of both vowels and consonants is distinctive. In our phonemic transcription and transliteration, the *consonant* quantity is shown by *gemination*: /CC/, *CC*. In phonetic transcription, the same notation [CC] is fully appropriate between vowels, for it helps to parse phono-syllables correctly: *ʔaš-šattu* [ʔaʃˈʃattʊ].

In fact, one should expect a slight, but perceptible, difference between stressed and unstressed syllables, *at least in a tune*, such as [ʔaʃˈʃatːʊ, -tt-], but that is not really necessary except in very precise, 'hyper-phonetic' transcriptions, describing very careful speech. Elsewhere, it is better to resort to simple *lengthening*, [Cː]: *ʔaš-šatt* [ʔaʃˈʃatː#]. However, that really applies only to words in pure pre-pausal form, which is the exception, not the rule, in Arabic.

Unless we want to point out that a certain word was pronounced that way in a

specific recording, or *must* be pronounced that way for whatever reason, it will be more convenient to stick to '[CC]' everywhere. In this way, we can safely transcribe *ʕarabiyy* as [ˌʕaɾaˈbɪjj], implying that [-ɪjj-] is the basis for [ʔalˌʕaɾaˈbɪjju, ˌʕaɾaˈbɪjjaˌtan, ˌʕaˌɾabɪjˈjuːn(a)] &c – plus, of course, [ˌʕaɾaˈbɪjː, -ijː] and even [ˌʕaɾaˈbiː], as we have seen previously (cf § 8.4.1).

Vowel length is represented the same way in both phonemic and phonetic transcriptions: '/Vː/ [Vː]'. Again, it is predictable that in a protune, [Vː] may reduce to [Vꞏ] (or even lose its lengthening at all, [V], in very fast speech). As said before (cf § 6.2), unstressed long vowels are [Vꞏ] only in very formal ⁒ *Koranic* pronunciation, otherwise they are generally shortened to [V], but usually keeping their timbres.

9.2.2. In *very colloquial* speech, unstressed /i, u/ tend to reduce to some sort of [ə]-like vocoid (cf fig 6.7), or to drop entirely, provided this does not lead to the formation of a three-consonant cluster: *kitāb* [kiˈtaːb, kəˈtaːb; kˈtaːb]; cf *ʔal-kitāb* [ʔalkiˈtaːb, ˌʔalkəˈtaːb], but not *[ʔalkˈtaːb].

On the other hand, again in *non-formal* Arabic, terminations are often dropped even in *connected* speech. In that case, two word-final consonants may happen to be followed by a word-initial consonant; and since three-consonant cluster are not allowed, a short vowel is inserted: generally, /i/ or the colloquial [ə].

Furthermore, *long vowels* tend to shorten a little in stressed checked syllables (but less than in unstressed syllables): *ʔaṣ-ṣūqᵘ* [ʔasˈsuːqʊ, ʔasˈsʊꞏq#].

Reduction or elision of morphological markers

9.3.1. The 'codified' reduction or loss of case endings, verbal terminations, and other morphological markers has occurred in neutral Arabic since pre-Islamic times, and it still is scrupulously applied in reciting religious texts, and above all, poetry.

Koranic orthography itself, from which modern orthography derives, is based on the principle that words should be spelt out in their *pre-pausal* form, riskily leaving the reader the task of adding the required terminations when reading aloud.

That means that, in theory, one may pronounce all word-final morphological markers in every instance: it is *not* a mistake! Nonetheless, such practice is neither requested nor encouraged when aiming at the best possible pronunciation.

As said, all of that was and is 'codified' according to a complex of morpho-syntactic rules rather than phonology and phonetics *per se*, and therefore, our readers are advised to consult their grammar handbooks and teachers for a detailed account of those rules.

9.3.2. In *modern*, *colloquial* pronunciation, things are rather different: the more colloquial/informal the register is, the more frequent reductions and elisions will be. Very often, that is not due to any 'codified' pattern, but rather to the understandable difficulties that contemporary Arabic speakers themselves encounter in dealing with incredibly and absurdly complex grammar rules.

As a matter of fact, those rules have already been considerably simplified, follow-

ing some of the current behavior found in the modern 'dialects'.

There is even a 'modernist' trend that considers such simplified, 'de-inflected' version of Arabic as the sole credible compromise between the written-only literary language and the spoken-only 'dialects'.

We would be the first to welcome the adoption of a less heavily inflected *lingua franca* as the new official 'standard' Arabic, since pronunciation, too, would become much easier to teach and learn (to say nothing about its own rightful 'dignity').

Unfortunately, such option has proven unfeasible so far: first and foremost, due to the puristic conservatorism that associates neutral Arabic with Islam; but also because of some structural constraints of the language itself, which make people consider final markers still relevant in too many cases.

Therefore, against our own propensity for consistency and predictability (and simplification, as well), we should be forced to recommend our readers to do their best to speak Arabic with all required inflections.

9.3.3. Thus, whenever a doubt arises, it may be wise to introduce a short pause so that pre-pausal uninflected forms can (legitimately) be used; but remember: this 'trick' should be used only as *extrema ratio* and never within sequences that logically should be pronounced as a whole, such as *ʔal-madīnatu l-kabīrah* [ʔalmaˈdiˑnaˌtʊl ka'biːɾa(ɦ)] (noun + adjective), *bintu ž-žār* ['bɪntʊʒ 'ʒaːɾ, -ɟ 'ʒ-] (status constructus), *dakala l-walad* ['daχalal 'walad] (verb + subject), *wažadtu-hu* (verb + object suffix; note also: [wa'ʒattuˌɦu]), *fī l-funduq* [fɪl'fʊndʊq] (preposition + noun).

Verbs and *pronouns* are more likely to maintain their endings, which often have distinctive and pragmatic values.

Some of the following examples have legitimate colloquial variants with dropped vowels: *hādā kitāb* ['haˑða ki'taːb, 'haːðak 'taːb], *ʔal-ḥibru ṭayyib* [ʔal'ħɪb-ɾʊ 'ŧaɪ̯ɪb, ᵗ'ŧajjɪb], *katabtu bi-hi* [ka'taptuˌbiɦi, k'taptʊbˌɦi], *kāna fī l-bayt* ['kaˑna fɪl'baɪt], *raʔaytu l-bayt* [ɾa'ʔaitʊl 'baɪt].

9.3.4. As far as 'pre-pausal forms' are concerned, let us see some illustrative examples, keeping in mind that this is an 'orthological' phenomenon that people use to pronounce words *in tunes*, including preceding words, semantically and syntactically linked (to the exclusion of grammemes).

This category includes final short vowels (with or without indefinite suffixes *-un*, *-in*, *-an*): *kataba* ['kataˌba, 'katab], *yaktubu* ['jaktuˌbu, 'jaktʊb], *liʔan yaktuba* ['liʔaɲ 'jaktuˌba, 'jaktʊb], *fī madārisa* [ˌfimaˈdaːɾɪˌsa, -ɾɪs], *fī baytin* [fi'baitɪn, -'baɪt]; *baytun* ['baɪtʊn, 'baɪt], *mundu zamanin wažīzin* ['mʊnðu 'zamaˌnɪŋ wa'ʒiːz(ɪn)].

As seen, 'nunated' endings *-un*, *-in* can be completely elided in pre-pausal form, while accusative indefinite (and adverbial) ending *-an* is supposed to become /aː/ [-a], at least in traditional pronunciation: *ʔaçṭāhu çišrīna dinārā* [ʔaʕ'ŧaːɦʊ ʕɪʃ'ɾiːna di'naː-ɾaᵗ] – *dinārā* actually being the pre-pausal form of *dināran*, accusative singular indefinite of *dinār*. Worth noticing are reduplicated adverbs such as *katīran katīrā* [ka'θiːɾaɲ ka'θiːɾaᵗ].

However, luckily, this rule is increasingly perceived as too conservative, and in

everyday speech, one may encounter full preservation of *-an* or systematic reduction to *-ā* everywhere, depending on the speakers' degree of cultural and linguistic proficiency, as well as on their dialectal habits.

Full elision is uncommon, because unlike *-un*, *-in*, which can only be indicated in Arabic spelling by means of diacritics or are left unmarked, the presence of *-an* is signaled by a final *ʔalif*, whose orthographic conspicuousness is a potent 'reminder' to the speakers, at least when they are forced to read aloud written texts.

9.3.5. Nothing more is to be said about *tāʔ marbūṭah* except for its behavior when preceded not by the usual /a/, but by /aː/, ie *-āt-* plus the appropriate case endings. Many Arabic speakers are inconsistent in their pre-pausal form rendition, and in fact, the theoretical *-āh* /-ˈaː(ɦ)/ is much less common than what is really heard more often, ie *-āt*, eg *ḥayāt* [ħaˈjaːt] 'life', *zakāt* [zɑˈkɑːt] 'ritual alms'.

There are but a handful of such instances, and their rarity probably is the main reason why that habit has lastly prevailed over the rule. It is also possible that some sort of analogy with the homophonic plural ending *-āt*, and the presence of stress (unlike unstressed *-ah*), may have played a role, too, in influencing native speakers' preferences.

9.3.6. In addition, *colloquially*, very often /ʔ/ is not maintained when it occurs within words or at the end of words. So, it is dropped or changed into /j, w/, or else it may lengthen a possible preceding vowel: *miʔah* [ˈmiʔa, -aɦ, ˈmi-, ˈmij-, ˈmiː-], *yaʔkuđu* [ˈjaʔʁuˌðu, ˈjaːʁuˌðu, ˈjaʁu-], *raʔs* [ˈʁaʔs, ˈʁaːs], *samāʔ* [sɑˈmɑːʔ, sɑˈmɑː].

When two *hamza's* occur in contiguous syllables, the first one is certainly maintained: *žāʔa ʔažalu-hum* [ˈʒɑʔɑ (ʔ)ɑˈʒaluˌɦʊm, -(ʔ)ɑˈʒalɦʊm].

In /Cj, Cw, Cʁ, Cl/ sequences (and, more logically, /Cm, Cn/), the Arabic syllabification is heterosyllabic, /Cʰj, Cʰw, Cʰr, Cʰl/: *mitrās* [mɪtˈʁaːs], *ʔatlafa* [ʔɑt-laˌfa], *madrasah* [ˈmɑd-ʁaˌsa; -aɦ], *ʔadlā* [ʔɑd-la], *Maryam* [ˈmaʁ-jam], *musriʕ* [ˈmʊs-ʁɪʕ], *miswāk* [mɪsˈwaːk], *mašwi* [ˈmaʃ-wi], *ʔafraza* [ʔafˈʁaˌza], *makwā* [ˈmak-wa], *ʔalyan* [ʔaʎ-jan], *ʔahwā* [ʔaɦ-wa].

9.3.7. In final position, after consonants, the sonants (/m, n, ʁ, l/) may be realized in different ways, according to how accurately one speaks. From a *phonemic* point of view, they are just consonants, but –*phonetically*– they may be normally voiced (or devoiced, mainly in front of a voiceless consonant), or intense ('syllabic'), or even with a short epenthetic vowel (like [ɪ, ɨ], [ᵻ, ᶤ] – colloquially or mediatically also [ə, ᵊ], as even voiced obstruents can do).

Thus: *qism* [ˈqɨsm̥, -sm̩, -səm, -sɪm], *ladn* [ˈladn̥, -dn̩, -dən, -dɪn], *fatn* [ˈfatn̥, -tn̩, -tən, -tɪn], *duhn* [ˈdʊɦn̥, -ɦn̩, -ɦn̩, -ɦən, -ɦɪn], *badr* [ˈbadʁ, -dʁ̩, -dəʁ, -dɪʁ], *Miṣr* [ˈmɪsʁ̥, -sʁ̩, -sʁ̩, -səʁ, -sɪʁ], *fatl* [ˈfatl̥, -tl̩, -təl, -tɪl], *raṭl* [ˈʁɑtl̥, -tl̩, -təl, -tɪl].

We strongly suggest to avoid epenthetic vowels in international pronunciation and resort to intense consonants, instead, but only when that is really indispensable to articulate an otherwise difficult sequence to pronounce.

9.3.8. Here are some examples of typical Arabic *taxophonics*: *taʔbīn* [taʔˈbiːn], *maʔ-ṭūr* [maʔˈθuːɾ], *matʕūb* [ˈmatˤʕʊb], *ʔatqal* [ˈʔaθqɑl], *madkal* [ˈmatχal], *maḍʕūr* [mað-ˈʕuːɾ], *tazhu* [ˈtazɦu], *maszid* [ˈmazzɪd], *mašta* [ˈmaʃta], *mašgūl* [maʒˈʁuːl] *ᵐ*[-ʃˈʁuːl].

And: *maṣraʕ* [ˈmasˤɾaʕ], *ʔadžaʕa* [ˈʔadʒaˌʕa], *ʔaḍʕafa* [ˈʔadˤʕaˌfa], *ʔazlama* [ˈʔazla-ˌma], *maʕžūn* [maʕˈʒuːn], *maʕrūf* [maʕˈɾuːf], *ʔaʕmāl* [ʔaʕˈmaːl], *magšūš* [maχˈʃuːʃ] *ᵐ*[-ʁˈʃuːʃ], *maqhā* [ˈmaqha], *malʔān* [malˈʔɑːn], *yayʔasu* [ˈjaiʔaˌsu], *ʔawhama* [ˈʔau-ɦaˌma].

Stress

9.4.1. Theoretically, the perfect rendition of short and long vowels, as well as of single and geminated consonants would suffice to make one's pronunciation of Arabic fully intelligible, irrespective of stress.

However, for pronunciation to be considered as truly neutral, it is required that stress falls on the appropriate syllable, too. This does not mean that this 'rule' is always respected in mediatic and regional accents. As a matter of fact, stress in not distictive in Arabic. Thus, it is not really important, communicatively.

In fact, in mediatic and regional accents, stress is often on a different syllable than predicted by rules.

The neutral rule is simple: the stressed is on the first 'heavy syllable' encountered *counting from the end of the word*. An Arabic syllable is considered to be 'heavy' if its nucleus is either:

(*a*) a long vowel or a diphthong followed by *at least one consonant*, even if that consonant, in fact, belongs to the following syllable – in symbols: /VːC#, VVC#; Vː#C, VV#C/; or:

(*b*) a short vowel followed by *two consonants*, again, even if the second consonant belongs to the following syllable – in symbols: /VCC; VC#C/.

9.4.2. Therefore, a word like *kitābun* is to be parsed as *ki-tā-bun* from a purely phono-syllabic point of view, but as '*ki-tāb-un*' in order to detect syllable heaviness, which leads to /kiˈtaːbun/. The same parsing applies to the compound *kitāb-ī* /kiˈtaːbiː/.

According to (*b*), we have *kattaba* [ˈkattaˌba] but *kattabtu* [katˈtaptu] and *kat-tabtu-kunna* [katˌtaptuˈkʊnna], because, as said, the stress pattern will always re-arrange itself *counting from the last syllable backwards*.

If none of the last three syllables is heavy, the stress will fall on the third last, *eg kataba* [ˈkataˌba], and never any earlier than that, as for example in the compound word *kataba-hu* [kaˈtabaˌɦu].

9.4.3. For a detailed list of all the possible combinations, let us refer to the list below: the symbol /\$/ stands for 'light' syllables, *ie* /(C)V#, (C)V#, (C)VV#, (C)VC#/, while /\$/ indicates 'heavy' syllables, *ie* /(C)VːC#, (C)VVC#; (C)Vː#C, (C)VV#C/.

Finally, /\$/ indicates either a light or heavy syllable –indifferently– with no direct influence on stress assignment:

2 syllables: /ˈ$$, ˈ$$, $ˈ$/,
3 syllables: /ˈ$$$, ˈ$$$, $ˈ$$, $$ˈ$/,
4 syllables: /$ˈ$$$, $ˈ$$$, $ˈ$$$, $$ˈ$$, $$$ˈ$/,
5 syllables: /$$ˈ$$$, $$ˈ$$$, $$ˈ$$$, $$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$, $$$$ˈ$/,
6 syllables: /$$$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$$, $$$$ˈ$$, $$$$$ˈ$/.

9.4.4. As said, all the stress patterns given belong to *modern neutral pronunciation*. A dialectal peculiarity found in Lebanon (which should not be followed) puts a final stress on words ending in /Vː#, VV#/ (which, in neutral pronunciation, are not 'heavy' enough to bear a stress): *min-humā* [ˈmɪnɦuˌma] (and ↓[ˌmɪnɦuˈmaː]).

An Egyptian peculiarity consists in having a form like *katabatā* as [kaˈtabaˌta] pronounced [ˌkataˈbata] (in Cairo) or [ˈkataˌbata] (in Southern Egypt – but [kaˌtabaˈtaː] in Lebanon), and so on.

9.4.5. Prefixes, such as the definite article, the conjunction *wa-*, and monosyllabic prepositions (like *bi-*, *fa-*, *la-*, *li-*, which are hyphenated) do not influence the application of the *stress rule*: *yadun, ʔal-yadu, wa-l-yadu, bi-l-yadi* – all stressed on [ˈja-]: [ˈjadʊn, ʔaʎˈjadu, waʎˈjadu, bɪʎˈjadi].

That also explains why the relative pronouns *ʔalladī* and *ʔallatī* are pronounced [ʔalˈlaði, ʔalˈlati], not *[ʔalˈlaði, ʔallati], since as said, *ʔal-* is nothing but the definite article. Arguably, friendlier and morphono*logical* spellings would be *ʔal-ladī, ʔal-latī*.

An apparent exception to the rule arises when a monosyllabic prefix forms a compound with full pronouns or pronominal suffixes, eg *wa-huwa* [ˈwaɦua] ᵗ[ˈwaɦuˌwa], *bi-hi* [ˈbiɦi], *bi-ka* [ˈbika], *fī-hi* [ˈfiːɦi], *li-humā* [ˈliɦuˌma], *la-kumā* [ˈlakuˌma]. Here, a friendlier spelling, on the contrary, could be with *no* dash. Let us compare: *ʕalay-kum* [ʕaˈlaikʊm] and *maʕa-kunna* [ˌmaʕaˈkʊnna], with their heavy second last syllables.

As far as *secondary stress* in polysyllabic words is concerned, it tends to occur more or less on alternate syllables, but sometimes preferring the heaviest ones.

Lastly, here are some examples: *rasūl* [ɾaˈsuːl], *safanž* [saˈfaɲʒ], *murāsil* [muˈɾaːsɪl], *tarassul* [taˈɾassʊl], *ʕāṣimah* [ˈʕaːsɪˌma; -aɦ], *mutafawwiq* [ˌmutaˈfauwɪq] ᵗ[-ˈfawwɪq], *mufāraqah* [muˈfaːɾɑˌqɑ(ɦ)], *madrasah* [ˈmad-ɾaˌsa; -aɦ], *darak-ī* [ˈdaɾaˌki], *muktalifah* [mʊχˈtaliˌfa; -aɦ], *ʔažalu-hum* [ʔaˈʒaluˌɦʊm], *kataba-hu* [kaˈtabaˌɦu].

9.4.6. We give further useful examples: *ramat* [ˈɾamat], *ramat-hu* [ɾaˈmathu], *ʔaḥad* [ˈʔaħad], *ʔaḥadu-hum* [ʔaˈħaduˌɦʊm], *šadda* [ˈʃadda], *šadda-hu* [ˈʃaddaˌɦu], *ʔarḍā* [ˈʔaɾɖa], *ʔarḍā-hu* [ʔaɾˈɖaːɦu], *katabti* [kaˈtapti], *katabti-hi* [kaˈtaptiˌɦi], *muhallima--hu* [muˈhallimaˌɦu].

And: *ʔistalqā* [ʔɪsˈtaɫqa], *ʔistalqā-hu* [ˌʔɪstaɫˈqaːɦu], *kātabā* [ˈkaːtaˌba], *kātabā--hu* [ˌkataˈbaːɦu], *katabatā* and *kātabatā* [kaˈtabaˌta], *katabatā-hu* [kaˌtabaˈtaːɦu], *kātabatā-hu* [kaˌtabaˈtaːɦu], *šažarat* [ˈʃaʒaˌɾat], *šažaratun* [ʃaˈʒaɾaˌtʊn].

9.4.7. Here are more examples (some longer): *ʔadwiyatu-hu* [ˌʔadwiˈjatuˌɦu], *murtabiṭa* [mʊɾˈtabɪˌta], *murtabiṭatun* [ˌmʊɾtaˈbɪtɑˌtʊn], *šažaratu-hu* [ʃaʒaˈɾatuˌɦu].

And: *šažaratu-humā* [ʃaʒaɾaˈtuɦuˌma], *ʔadwiyatu-humā* [ˌʔadwijaˈtuɦuˌma], *mu-*

tažanniba [ˌmutɑˈʒanniˌba], *mutažannibatun* [muˌtɑʒanˈnibaˌtʊn], *mutaqātila* [ˌmutɑˈqɑːtiˌla].

Further examples: *ʔanā* [ˈʔana], *ʔabadan* [ˈʔabaˌdan], *ṭāwūṣ* [ɫɑˈwʊːɕ], *sižžādāt* [ˌsɪʒʒɑˈdɑːt], *kātib* [ˈkɑːtɪb], *kitāb* [kiˈtɑːb], *ḥāwlala* [ˈħaˑulaˌla], *baqāya* [bɑˈqɑːja], *ʔakalūha* [ʔakaˈluːħa], *ʔihtimāmu-hunna* [ˌʔɪhtiˌmɑmuˈħʊnna], *ʔistiqbālātu-hunna* [ʔɪˌstɪɢbaˌlɑtuˈħʊnna]. Let us end with *madrasah* [ˈmɑd-ɾaˌsa; -aħ], *madrasatun* [mɑdˈɾasaˌtʊn].

11.
Texts
in phonotonetic transcription

11.0.1. In this chapter, what we have explained so far will be summarized and put into practice by accurately transcribing some extended texts. Customarily, many phoneticians choose the Aesopian tale *The North Wind and the Sun* as a sort of 'universal specimen' for phonetic analysis. Actually, a tale is not always a good choice, since it usually contains a lot of descriptive passages, generally accompanied by a very moderate amount of *direct speech*.

In our view, and according to the natural approach itself, direct speech is *the* most representative and natural form of 'spoken language'; in a tale, however, direct speech –if any– is often reduced to very short sentences, offering little room for complex intonational patterns and paraphonic features. Hence the need for descriptive passages, where longer utterances are more common, provided they are… *said* by the speaker, not mechanically read aloud, like a press release.

In fact, reading aloud is nothing but the *phonic rendition of a written text*. Good writers –journalists above all– aim at being as convincing and understandable as possible, while (hopefully!) striving for conciseness, in order to prevent their readers from falling asleep.

11.0.2. Natural speech, instead, obeys to different dynamics, paying much more attention to rhythm and 'flow' rather than simply delivering information. When these two different ways of using language are forced to coexist, results are rarely satisfactory.

In reading aloud –for example, from a newspaper, or a textbook– everyone must have experienced the uncomfortable feeling of 'something missing', as if the text lacked strength and balance. Typically, passionate and eloquent speakers have a hard time coordinating the pauses perceived by them as spontaneous and necessary with those found in the written page. The main reason is that traditional punctuation works –almost exclusively– as a typographical aid to highlight the *syntax* of complex utterances, and only secondarily to mark expressive pauses and emotional features.

As such, punctuation evidently fails to reproduce the colorful richness of real speech, with all its changes in pitch, speed, and paraphonic nuances. That is why 'verbatim' transcriptions –like parliamentary and judiciary records– look so redundant in some parts, and desperately elliptical in others.

Omitting altogether what the readers could not reconstruct by themselves is exactly the price to pay, in order to make written language understandable.

11.0.3. There are certain tendencies, which are generally shared by many native speakers, but their actual use is not at all systematic. In fact, it also depends on rhythm, and possible pauses and emphasis, especially for contrast, among other things, such as hesitation pauses and false starts.

Of course, also semantics has its role in all of that, since speakers may have different ways of thinking about the meaning of certain words, at least in certain contexts. In addition, many stress shifts seem to have a kind of special function: that of differentiating plain and trivial words from more specific words, at least in the very context of a particular topic, which may even reveal personal feelings.

In conclusion, any language admits a certain degree of –mostly random– divergence from what is 'normal', *ie* statistically more frequent, for the simple reason that the very act of speech, though extremely effective, yet is not a mathematically flawless mechanism. All this, in spite of ever possible slips into some mediatic traits.

What matters is to pronounce correctly all that is crucial to mutual understanding: our brain, meanwhile, will naturally reconstruct what the speaker may have neglected.

However, just to be on the safer side, and as a form of courtesy to their listeners, foreign speakers should avoid 'tricks', and decidedly stick to the normalized scheme proposed so far (a courtesy that native speakers should better reciprocate, when talking to foreigners).

The North Wind and the Sun (Arabic text)

11.3. This passage highlights the fact that the 'modern classical' Arabic language (which means *modern written Arabic*, certainly not 'old Arabic') is rather an artificial concept. In fact, the currently unwritten short vowels have very fluctuating realizations, due to both their presence or absence and to their timbres (themselves), /i, a, u/. As the number of recordings (of different speakers) increases, the number of variations also increases (even for stressing and orthology, *ie* the use of tunes and pauses).

Kānat rīħu š-šamāl tataẓādalu wa-š-šams fī ʔayyin min-humā kānat ʔaqwā mina l-ʔuḳrā, wa-ʔiđan bi-musāfirin yaṭlaʕu mutalaffiʕun bi-ʕabāʔatin samīkah. Fa-ttafaqatā ʕalā iʕtibāri s-sābiqi fī ʔiẓbāri l-musāfir ʕalā ḳalʕi ʕabāʔati-hi ʔal-ʔaqwā.

ʔaṣafat rīħu š-šamāl bi-ʔaqṣā mā ʔistaṭāʔat min qūwah. Wa-lākin kullamā ʔizdāda l-ʕaṣf, ʔizdāda l-musāfiru tadaⱦⱦuran bi-ʕabāʔati-hi, ʔilā ʔan ʔusqiṭa fī yadi r-rīħ, fa-takallat ʕan muħāwalati-hā. Baʕda ʔiđin saṭaʕati š-šamsu bi-difʔi-hā, fa-mā kāna mina l-musāfiri ʔillā ʔan ḳalaʕa ʕabāʔata-hu ʕalā t-taww. Wa-hākađā ʔuḍṭurrat rīħu š-šamāl ʔilā l-ʔiʕtirāf bi-ʔanna š-šamsa kānat hiya l-ʔaqwā.

Hal kānati l-qiṣṣatu ẓamīlah? Hal turīdu ʔan nuraddida-hā?

['ƙɑːnat· ꞇiːħʊʃ ʃaˈmaːl·¦ ˌtataˈʒaːdaˌlu waʃˈʃams··| fiˈʔaijɪm ˈmɪnħuˌma·| ƙaːnat ʔɑq-wa· ˌmɪnalˈʔʊӄꞇa·| waʔɪðam bimuˈsaːfɪꞇɪn·| ˌjaꞇɭaʕʊ ˌmutaˈlaffɪˌʕʊm· ˌbɪʕabaˈʔa-tɪn saˈmiːkaħ·ˌ|| ˌꞇattaˈꞇaqaˌta·· | ʕala ʕɪtiˈbaːꞇɪs ˈsaːbɪqꞇ·| ˌꞇiʔɪʒˈbaːꞇɪl muˈsaːfɪꞇ·| ʕala ˈƙalʕɪ ʕabaˈʔatiħi·¦ ʔalˈʔɑq-wa·.||

ˈʕasafat·¦ ꞇiːħʊʃ ʃaˈmaːl·|| biˈʔɑq-ꞇa ˈmaː·| ʔɪstaˈꞇɑːʔat mꞇɴˈquːwa·.|| waˈlaːkɪŋ· ˌƙʊl-laˌma ʔɪzˈdaːdal ʕasꞇ··ˌ|| ʔɪzˈdaːdal muˈsaːfɪꞇu taˈdaθθuˌꞇam· ˌbɪʕabaˈʔatiˌħi··| ˌʔila ʔanˈʔʊsqꞇˌta· fiˈjadɪꞇ ꞇiːħ·ˌ|| ˌꞇataˈӄallat ʕam muˌħawaˈlatiˌħa·.|| baʕˈdaʔɪˌðɪn·| saˈꞇaʕatɪʃ ˈʃamsu biˈdɪꞇʔɪˌħa·| ˌꞇamaˈkaːna mɪˌnalmuˈsaːfɪꞇi·| ʔɪlla ʔanˈӄalaˌʕa ʕabaˈʔataˌħu··. ˌʕa-lat ˈtauw·ˌ|| ˈwa ˈħaːkaˌða ʔʊꞇˈtuꞇꞇat· ꞇiːħʊʃ ʃaˈmaːl·| ʔilal ˌʔɪʕtiˈꞇaːꞇ· biˈʔannaʃ ˈʃamsɑ·| ˈƙaːnat· ˈhial ʔɑq-wa·.||

¿ˈhal ˈƙaˌnaˌtɪɬ ˈqꞇꞇsatu· ¿ʒaˈmiːlaħ·ˌ|| ¿ˈhal tuˈꞇiːdu· ʔan nuꞇadˈdidaˌħa·ˌ|||].

Three conversations

11.5.0. There follows a set of three conversations, which will illustrate examples of more colloquial Arabic, using neutral pronunciation and intonation.

11.5.1.
Fī l-maṣrif
[fɪlˈmaꞇꞇɪf·.]
'In the-bank'
(At the bank)

Ɂanā sāɁiħ, hal yumkin Ɂan tusāçida-nī? Lam Ɂažid ṣarrāf fī l-maṭār.
[ˈʔana ˈsaːʔɪħ·| ¿ˈhaʎ ˈjʊmkɪn ʔantusaˈʕɪdaˌniˑ| lamˈʔaˈʒɪd· saꞇꞇaːf fɪlmaˈtaːꞇ·.]
'I tourist, *interrog.* he is possible that you help-me? Have-not I-find bureau-de--change in the-airport'
(I am a tourist, could you please help me? I have not found any bureau de change at the airport)

Ɂalā r-raɁsi wa-l-çayn, yā sayyid-ī! Māđā turīd?
[ˈʕalaꞇ ꞇaʔsi walˈʕaɪn jaˈsajjidi·| ¿ˈmaːða tuˈꞇiːd·.]
'On the-head and-the-eye, *vocat.* lord-me! What you-want?'
(Sure, sir! What do you need?)

Bi-wudd-ī l-ḥuṣūl çalā mablagi hāđā š-šīk, Ɂalladī qīmatu-hu kamsumiɁati dūlār, naq-dan. Wa-ka-đālik Ɂahtāžu Ɂilā tagyīri hāđihi l-yūrū Ɂilā çumlatin maḥalliyyah.
[biˈwʊddɪl ħʊˈsuːl·| ʕala ˈmab-laӄɪ· ˈħaːðaʃ ˈʃiːӄ·| ʔalˈlaðɪ qꞇˈmatuˌħu··| ˌӄamsuˈmiʔati duˈlaːꞇ·¦ ˈnɑɢdan·.|| ˌwakaˈðaːlɪӄ· ʔaħˈtaːʒu·¦ ʔila taӄˈjiːꞇi ˈħaːðiħiʎ ˈjuːꞇu··| ʔila ˈʕʊmlatɪm ˌmaħalˈlɪjja·.]
'At-desire-me the-attainment on amount this check, which value-it 500 dollar, in cash, and-as-so I need towards exchange this the-euro towards currency local'
(I would like to cash this check, whose value amounts to 500 dollars. And I also need to change these euros to the local currency)

Kam waraqah ʕinda-ka min-hā fī yadi-k?
[¿ˈkam ˈwaɾaqɑ ˈʕɪndaˌka ˈmɪnɦaˑ¦ ¿fiˈ(j)adɪ̀k·]
'How͜ many banknote by-you from-her in-hand-you'
(How many banknotes do you have?)

ʕišrūn, ʔay mā yuʕādilu ʔalfay yūrū.
[ʕɪʃˈɾuːn·| ʔaiˑ¦ ˈmɑː jʊˈʕaːdiˌluˑ¦ ʔalfai ˈjuːɾuˑ||]
'Twenty, *ie* what he͜ equates͜ to 2,000 euro'
(Twenty, that is to say, 2,000 euros)

Žayyid! Wa-lākin hāḏā mablag kabīr, mā ʕind-ī nuqūdun kāfiyah… Wa-yugliqu
    l-banku ʔabwāba-hu l-ʔān.
[ˈʒajjɪd·| waˈlaːkɪn·¦ ˈɦaːða ˈmab-laχ kaˈbiːɾ·|| maˈʕɪndi nʊˈquːdʊŋ ˈkaːfija·¦ waˈjʊɤlɪ-
    qʊl ˈbaŋku ʔabˈwaːɦʊl ʔaːn·]
'Good! And-however this amount big, not by-me money sufficient… And
    he͜ closes the-bank doors-him the-moment'
(Good! But this is a large sum, and I have not enough money with me. Plus,
    the bank is closing right now)

Wa-ʔaḍāfa l-muwaẓẓafu qāʔilan bi-šayʔin mina l-ʔinfiṣāl:
[ˌwaʔɑˈdɑːfal muˈwazzafʊ ˈqaːʔiˌlan·| biˈʃaiʔɪm ˈminal ʔɪɱfɪˈʕaːl·¦
'And-he͜ added the͜ employee saying with-thing from the-humor'
(And the employee added with a bit of humor)

"Tafaḍḍal gadan ṣabāḥan!"
[ˈˌʌtaˈfɑdɖɑl ˈɤadan ˈsɑˈˈbaːħan·ˈ||]
'Please tomorrow morning!'
(Please, come tomorrow morning!)

ʔal-muškilah ʔanna-nī fī ḥāǧatin māssah ʔilā hāḏihi n-nuqūd, li-ʔann-ī ʕaṯartu ʕalā
    bisāṭin ʔistiṯnāʔiyy wa-bi-siʕrin mugrin, wa-lākin ʕalay-ya ʔan ʔaštariya-hu
    fawran.
[ʔalˈmʊʃkila·¦ ʔannaˌni fiˈħaːʒatɪm ˈmaːssaˑˑ| ʔila ˈɦaːðiˌɦɪn nʊˈquːd·|| liˈʔanni ʕa-
    ˈθaɾtʊ ˈʕaːla biˈsaːtɪn·¦ ʔɪsˌtɪðnaˈʔɪjj·| ˌwabiˈsɪʕɾɪm ˈmʊɤɾɪn·| waˈlaːkɪn· ʕaˈlajjaˑˑ|
    ˌʔanʔaʃtaˈɾijaɦu ˈfauɾan·||]
'The problem that-me in need urgent towards this the-money, in-that- me
    I͜ have͜ met͜ with on carpet exceptional and-with- price stimulating, and-how-
    ever upon-me that I͜ buy-him immediately.'
(The problem is that I urgently need this money, because I have found an ex-
    ceptional carpet at an interesting price, but I have to buy it right now)

ʕind-ī la-k naṣīḥah wuddiyyah: «Daʕi l-bāʔiʕ yantaẓir qalīlan ḥattā tastafīda
    gadan min siʕrin ʔaktara ʔigrāʔan!»
[ˈʕɪndi ˈlaːk naˈsˑħa wʊdˈdɪjja·| ˈˈdaʕɪl ˈbaːʔɪʕ ˈjantaˌʐɪɾ qaˈliːlan·ˑ| ˈħatta ˌtastaˈfiːda
    ˈɤadan·| mɪnˈsɪʕɾɪn ʔakθaˌɾa ʔɪɤˈɾaːʔan·|ˈ]
'By-me to-you suggestion friendly: do-let the-seller he͜ waits a͜ bit up-to you͜ ben-
    efit tomorrow from price he͜ increases temptation!'

(I have a friendly suggestion for you: let the seller wait for a while, and tomor-
row you will get an even more interesting price!)

⚜

11.5.2.
Ɂal-musāwamah
[ˌɁalmuˈsaːwaˌmaˑ]
'The-negotiation'
(The negotiation)

1. Bi-kam hāđā l-bisāṭ?
[¿biˈkam ˈɦaːðal biˈsaːɫˑ]
'At-how‿many this the-carpet?'
(How much for this carpet?)

2. Ɂal-ɂaħmar ɂami l-ɂabyaḍ?
[¿ɁalˈɁaħmaʁˑ| ˌɁamɪlˈɁab-jaɖˑ]
'The-red or the-white?'
(The red one or the white one?)

1. Hāđā l-ɂahmaru, ɂalladī fī-hi ɂaškālun munsaǧimah wa-rusūmun mulawwanah.
[ˈɦaːðal ˈɁaħmaʁˑ| Ɂalˈlaði ˈfiːɦi Ɂaʃˈkaːlʊm mʊnˈsaʒiˌmaˑ| ˌwaʁuˈsuːmum muˈlauwaˌnaˑ‖]
'This the-red, which in-her decorations harmonious and-drawings colored'
(The red one here, which features harmonious decorations and colorful drawings)

2. Hāđā rakīṣ... Ṭamanu-hu sittatu ɂālāfi dirham.
[ˈɦaːða ʁaˈқɪːѕˑ| θaˈmanuɦu ˈsɪttaˌtu Ɂaˈlaːfi ˈdɪʁɦamˑ]
'This cheap... price-him six few‿thousands dirham'
(This is cheap... It's 6,000 dirhams only)

1. Hāđā lā šayɂ bi-n-nisbah la-k, yā ɂayyuhā t-tāǧiru l-ganiyy!
[ˈɦaːða ˈlaː ˈʃaiɁa bɪnˈnɪzba ˈlaːkˑ| ˈja: Ɂaijuɦatˑ ˌˈtaːʒiˌʁʊl ʁaˈnɪjˑˌ]
'This not thing at-the-relation to-you, *vocat.* the-merchant the-rich'
(That may be nothing for you, oh rich merchant!)

1. Wa-lākin bi-n-nisbah l-ī yumaṭṭilu hāđā l-mablag ɂašrata ɂašhur min l- çamal.
[waˈlaːkɪm bɪnˈnɪzbaˌliˑ| juˈmaθθilu ˈɦaːðal ˈmab-laʁˑ| ˈҫaʃʁaˌta Ɂaʃˈhʊʁ mɪnɁalˈҫamalˑ]
'And-however at-the-relation to-me he‿equates‿to this the-sum ten months from
the-work'
(But for me, that amount of money means working for ten months)

1. Ɂāsif, lā ɂastaṭīçu ɂan ɂaštariya-hu. Maça s-salāmah!
[ˈɁaːsɪfˑ| ˈlaː Ɂastaˈʈɪːҫʊ ɁanɁaʃtaˈʁijaɦuˑ| ˈmaҫas saˈlaːmaˑ]
'Being‿sorry, not I‿am‿capable that I‿buy-him. With the-safety!'
(I'm sorry, I can't buy it. Good bye!)

2. ʔintaẓir! Sa-ʔaʕmalu la-k takfīḍ wa-hāḏihi taḍḥiyah… ʔatruku-hu la-k bi-
-kamsati ʔālāf!

[ˌʔɪntaˌʒɪɾ·| saʔaʕmalu ˈlak· taʁˈfiːɖ··| waˈɦaːðiɦi ˈtaɬɦɪjaˑ| ʔatˈɾukuɦu ˈlak··| ˌbɪ-
ˈʁamsaˌti ʔaˈlaːf·]

'You‿wait! [*future*]-I‿do to-you discount and-this sacrifice… I‿leave-him to-you
at-five few‿thousands!'

(Wait! I'll grant you a discount, which is a sacrifice for me… You can have it
for 5,000)

1. Lā, lā ʔurīdu min-ka taḍḥiyah! ʔinn-ī waffartu ŧalāŧata ʔālāfi dirham faqaṭ li-ši-
rāʔi bisāṭ li-ʔibnat-ī llatī tatazawwaǰu qarīban. Maʕa s-salāmah!

[ˈlaː·| ˈla· ʔuˈɾiːdu ˈmɪŋka ˈtaɬˈɦɪjaˑ| ʔɪnni wafˈfaɾtu θaˈlaːθata ʔaˈlaːfi ˈdɪɾɦamˑ| ˈfa-
qɑɬ·| ˌliʃiˈɾaːʔi biˈsaːɬ··| liʔɪbnatil ˈlati ˌtataˈzawwaˌʒʊ qaˈɾiːban·| ˈmaʕas saˈlaːmaˑ]

'Not. Not I‿want from-you sacrifice! Surely-me I‿saved three few‿thousands dir-
ham and‿that's‿it for-purchase carpet for-daughter-me who she‿gets‿married
soon. With safety!'

(No, I expect no sacrifice from you! I have saved nothing more than 3,000 dir-
hams to buy a carpet for my daughter, who is going to get married soon.
Goodbye!)

2. Lā tanṣarif! Lammā kānat hāḏihi hadiyyah li-binti-k, yā ʔayyuhā l-ʔabu
l-karīm, fa-kuḏ-hu bi-ŧalāŧati ʔālāfi dirham… Dūna ʔayyi ribḥin l-ī!

[ˌˈlaː ˈˈtanṣɑˌɾɪf·| ˈlamma ˈkaːnat ˈhaːðiɦiˑ ɦaˈdɪjja liˈˈbɪntɪk··| ˈˈjaː· ʔaijuɦal ʔabʊl
kaˈˈɾiːmˑˈ| faˈˈʁuðɦuˑˌ| ˌbiθaˈlaːθaˌti ʔaˈˈlaːfi ˈˈdɪɾɦamˑ| ˈduːnaˑ ˌˈʔaiji ˈˈɾɪpɦɪl ˈliː·]

'No go‿away! Since she‿is this gift to-daughter-you, *vocat.* the-father the-gener-
ous, then-take-him at-three few‿thousands… Without any profit to-me!'

(Do not go away! Since it is a gift for your daughter, oh generous father, please
take it for 3,000 dirhams… Without any profit for me!)

1. Bāraka Llāhu fī-k li-karami-ka gayri l-maḥdūd, yā ḥāǰǰ!

[ˌˈbaːɾakaɬ ˈˈɬaːɦu ˈfiːk·| ˌlikaˈɾamika ˈɣaiɾɪl mafiˈduːd·| ˌjaˈɦaːʒːˌ]

'May‿he‿bless Allah in-you to-generosity-you lacking the-limited, *vocat.* pilgrim'

(May Allah bless you for your unlimited generosity, pious man!)

❧

11.5.3.
Taẓāhurāt ŧaqāfiyyah
[taˌẓaˈɦuˈɾaˑt· θaqaˈˈfɪjjaˑ]
'Demonstrations cultural'
(Cultural events)

ʔaqtariḥu ʕalay-ki mušāhadata fīlm nasītu ʔisma-hu yataʕallaqu bi-tarbiyati l-ku-
yūli l-ʕarabiyyah. Wa-huwa mušawwiqun ǰiddan ḥasaba mā samiʕtu. Yuʕraḍu
hāḏā š-šarīṭ fī sīnamā l-Ḥurriyyah. Hal yuʕǰibu-ki ʔan naḏhaba li-mušāhadati-
-hi?

[ʔaqˈtaɻɪħʊ ʕaˈlaɪki· ˌmuʃaˈħadata ˈfiˑlm·| naˈsiːtu ʔɪsmaˌɦiʊ··| ˌjataˈʕallaqʊ ˌbitaɻˈbi-jatɪl ҡʊˈjuːlɪl ˌʕaɻaˈbɪjja·| ˈwaɦua muʃauwɪqʊɲ ˈʒɪddan··| ħasaba ˌmaˈsaˈmɪʕtu·| ˈjʊʕɻaɖʊ ˈɦaːða ˌʔaʃʃaˈɻɪːɬ· fiˈsiːnaˌmal ħʊɻˈɻɪjja·|| ¿ˈɦaʎ jʊʕˈʒibuˌki·| ¿ʔanˈnaðɦa-ˌba liˌmuʃaˈħadaˌtiɦi·]

'I‿propose unto-you vision film I‿forgot name-him he‿concerns at-breeding the--equines the-Arabian‿ And-she exciting very based‿on what I‿heard. It‿is‿shown this the-film in cinema the-Liberty‿ *interr.* be‿liked–you that we‿go to-vision-her?'

(I am proposing you to watch a movie, the title whereof I have forgotten, which describes how Arabian horses are bred. Based on what I have heard, this movie is very interesting. It is being shown at the Liberty Movie Theater. Would you like to go and watch it?)

Naʕam! Matā?
[¿"naʕam·┊ ¿"mɑta·]
'Yes! When?'
(Yes! When?)

Baʕda gad masāʔan, baʕda d-durūs, wa-qad naltaqī fī maqhā l-Qubbah đ-Đaha-biyyah. Hal yurđī-ki đālik?
[ˈbaʕda ˈҡad· maˈsaːʔan·| ˈbaʕdad duˈɻuːs·|| ˈwaqad ˈnaltaˌqɻ··| fiˈmaqhaɬ ˈqubbað ˌðaɦaˈbɪjja·| ¿ˈɦaʎ jʊɻˈɖɪːki ˈðaːlɪk·]

'After tomorrow evening, after the-lessons, and-probably we‿meet in-cafeteria the-Cupola the-Golden. *interr.* he‿statisfies-you that?'

(In the evening of the day after tomorrow, after our classes. What about meeting at the Golden Cupola Café!)

Tamāman! Ḳāṣṣatan wa-ʔinn-ī ʔataṭallaʕu ʔilā baʕdi l-ʔistirāħah l-ān baʕda l-ʔin-tihāʔ mina l-ʔimtiħānāt…
[¿ta"maːman·| ˈҡassaˌtaŋ waʔɪnni· ʔataˈtallaˌʕu·| ʔila ˈbaʕɖɪl ˌʔɪstiˈɻaːħal ˈʔaːn·| ˈbaʕdal ʔɪntiˈɦaːʔ| ˈmɪnʔal ˌɪmtɪˈħaːnɑˈt·]

'Well! Particularly andsurely-me I‿aspire towards bit the-rest the-moment after the-end from the-exams…'

(That's nice, particularly since I need to rest a while now that exams are over…)

ʔāh! Hal taʕrif ʔanna hunāka ħaflatan mūsīqiyyah muḳaṣṣaṣah li-ṭ-ṭarabi l-ʔanda-lusiyy fī l-Masraħi l-Baladiyy?
[¡ˈʔaːh·┊ ¿ˈɦal ˈtaʕɻɪf·| ¿ˈʔanna ɦuˈnaːka ħaflatam ˌmusɻˈqɪjja··| ¿mʊˈҡassaˌsa lɪɬˈta-ɻabɪl ʔandaluˈsɪjji· ¿fɪlˈmasɻaħɪl ˌbalaˈdɪjˑ·]

'Ah! *interr.* you‿know that there performance musical dedicated to-the-music the-Andalusian in the-theater the-municipal?'

(Oh, do you know there is a concert dedicated to Andalusian music at the Municipal Theater?)

Yažib ʔan lā tafūta-nā hāđihi l-furṣah li-ʔanna l-fannānīn yaqūmūna bi-žawlah duwaliyyah qarīban. Wa-lan yaʕūdū ʔilay-nā ʔillā baʕda ʕāmayn ʔaw ŧalāŧati ʔaʕwām!

[ˈjaʒɪb· ʔanˈlaː taˈfuːtana ˈɦaːðifɪl ˈfʊɾsɑ·| liʔannal ˌfannaˈniːn·| ˌjaqʊˈmuːna biˈʒau-
la ˌduwaˈlɪjjaˑ¦ qaˈɾiːban·.|| waˈlan jaˈʕuːdu· ʔiˈlaina(ˑ)·| ˌʔɪlla ˈbaʕda ʕaˈmaɪn|
ˌʔauθaˈlaːθaˌti ʔaʕˈwaːm·.]

'It is needed that not she escapes from-us this the-opportunity in-thet the-artist
them being undertaking at-tour international soon and-not they return to-
wards-us if not after two years or three years!'

(We shouldn't miss this opportunity since the artists are about to embark on an
international tour and won't return before two or three years!)

Ṭayyib! Sawfa ʔaḥžizu t-tađākir li-ḥuđūri l-ḥaflah.
[ˌˈtɑijɪb··| ˈsaʊfa ʔaɦʒiˌzʊt taˈðaːkɪɾ·¦ ˌlɪɦʊˈđuːɾɪl ˈɦaf-laˑ|]]
'Good! *future* I book the-tickets to-participation the-concert'
(Good! I'll book the tickets to attend the concert)

ʔiđan fa-ʔilā l-liqāʔ! Lā tansa mawçida-nā!
[ˈʔiðan··| ˌfaʔilal ˈlɪqɑˑʔ·.|| ˌˈlaː ˈtansa maʊˈʕɪdaˌnaˑ·.]
'Therefore then-towards the-meeting! Not you forget rendezvous-us!'
(See you soon! And don't forget our meeting!)

*ʔabadan! Kayfa ʔansā-hu, yā ṣāḥibata çuyūni l-gazāl, wa-yā rafīçata đ-đawq wa-t-ta-
qāfah!*
[ˌˈʔabaˌdan·.| ˈkaɪfa ʔanˈsaːɦu·.|| ˌˈjaː· sɑˈħibaˌta ʕʊˈjuːnɪl ʁaˈzaːl·.|| waˈjaː ɾaˈfɪːʕatað
ˈðaʊqɟ ˌwaθθaˈqɑːfaˑ.]
'Not-at-all! how I forget, *vocat.* owner eyes the-gazelle and-*vocat.* refined the-taste
and-the-culture!'
(Never! How could I possibly forget it, oh gazelle-eyed damsel who art refined
and cultured!).

12.
Mediatic Arabic
pronunciation

12.0.1. This chapter is dedicated to a kind of Arabic pronunciation that is neither exactly neutral nor completely regional, though it partly originates from local accents, which in turn are heavily influenced by the so-called 'dialects'.

When attempting to speak 'Classical Arabic', or *fuṣḥā* [ˈfʊsħa] (ie *modern written Arabic*, or neutral Arabic, indeed) 'normal' speakers who are not professional elocutors will inevitably transfer their dialect-based speech habits to their supposedly non-regional utterances. This may also certainly happen to 'professional speakers', too

There are also speakers who will try and make a conscious effort to 'improve' their pronunciation by imitating certain traits that are perceived as more prestigious, even though such a 'phonetic transfer' may sometimes be incomplete ⁒or incoherent.

For example, several rural Lebanese dialects show a stronger propensity for truly diphthongal realizations of /ai, au/, while nearly or genuinely monophthongal realizations are more typical of urban areas, and primarily of the capital, Beirut.

The latter realizations will certainly sound more 'up to date' and prestigious when speaking *modern Lebanese*, that is to say, the local 'national dialect'; but for neutral Arabic, the same traits would be hardly appropriate, and paradoxically, less prestigious than their rural counterparts.

At the same time, prone imitation of other people's pronunciation without any real understanding of neutral Arabic phonology and phonetics easily leads to hypercorrect ⁒or erratic usage of certain phonemes, most typically /z ~ ð; đ ~ ð̣; ʔ ~ q/.

12.0.2. Finally, proper pronunciation should be supported by a systematical knowledge of grammar, particularly in the light of the highly literary, non-colloquial nature of neutral Arabic.

Surely, one can ignore *ʔiʿrāb* [ʔɪʕˈɾaːb] terminations (expressly vocalized suffixes) and somehow 'get by', but failing to articulate –say– a declension vowel that cannot be avoided and replacing it with some sort of passepartout vocoid from the '[ə] & Sons' group will immediately result in a pronunciation kind which does not really sound neutral, though not regional either.

Let us take *ʔal-malikatu l-karīmatu* [ˌʔalmaˈli̥katʊl kaˈɾiːmaˌtu] 'the noble queen' as an example: assuming this phrase is immediately followed by a pause, a learned speaker will reduce it to *ʔal-malikatu l-karīmah* [ˌʔalmaˈli̥katʊl kaˈɾiːma]; less formally, *ʔal--malikah l-karīmah* [ʔalˈmali̥kal kaˈɾiːma] would be fine, too, sparing the speaker the

extra effort of choosing the right case ending after the *tāʔ marbūṭah* (an almost poetic-
-like term for a pure modification of a written letter, indicating a 'tied *t*').

However, in the case of *malikatu l-baladi* [maˈliḵatʊl ˈbalaˌdi] 'the queen of the
country' –a genitive construction– *malikatu* can neither be reduced to a handy but
grammatically incorrect *malikah*, nor case-neutralized to *malikat* [ˈmaliˌḵat], or [ma-
ˈliḵatə, maˈlɪktə], as in modern 'dialects'.

Consequently, with stress shift, giving: *malikat l-balad* [maˈliḵatəl ˈbalad] or [ma-
ˈlɪktəl ˈbalad] *vs malikat al-balad* [ˈmaliḵa talˈbalad], 'resurrecting' the vocalic nucle-
us *a-* of the definite article, but not the *ʔ-* onset—and obviously, assuming that *a-* pre-
serves its default value [a] and is not itself turned into more regional/dialectal real-
izations, such as [ɪ, ɩ, ɘ, e, ɛ] (as could easily happen in this case).

12.0.3. So… what is this *mediatic* pronunciation we are talking about here? An im-
perfect, lower-end, semi-neutral pronunciation that has been unofficially sanctioned
by the very inability of most people to articulate neutral Arabic the proper way? Or
rather, a less marked, almost 'dignified' improvement on certain dialect-influenced
pronunciations, that have gained a certain degree of cross-regional respectability?

The only possible answer is: neither or both, depending on the interlocutor's ex-
pectations, the very message being conveyed, the context in which that message is con-
veyed, and –last but not least– the actual degree of proximity to the neutral pronun-
ciation model.

12.0.4. In the light of the above and the enormous variability encountered in lo-
cal accents from Morocco to Iraq, there exists no unique mediatic pronunciation, but
many possibilities deriving from different combinations of several usages and habits.

Certain journalists from giant networks like *Al Jazeera* or *BBC Arabic* may *inten-
tionally* manage to sound as regionally unlocalizable as those using genuine neutral
pronunciation –if the situation requires it– though everybody will still perceive that
they are speaking with some sort of accent.

Or, the same individuals may feel comfortable letting more recognizable traits slip
into their utterances. In fact, for example, when commenting on sport events, or inter-
viewing a comedian, insisting on more scrupulous articulations could be interpreted
as pompous and out of place.

In the following paragraphs, we will try and present what is more typical of all me-
diatic pronunciations at large. As we will see, there are many more possibilities for the
consonants than for the vowels, and intonation shows a good deal of variation, too.

Vowels

12.1. In this section, we present the vocograms of the *vowels* and *diphthongs* of this many-sided *mediatic* accent. The vocoids shown (in fig 12.1.1-2) are rather different from the neutral ones (cf Ch 6). Those in fig 12.1.1 are normalized; those in fig 12.1.3 are lighter variants; while, those in fig 12.1.3 add some broader and lighter variants, which can be heard quite frequently.

However, the oscillating peculiarity of this kind of frequent accents, as already said, often also resorts to *neutral* phones, as well as to broader *dialectal* ones, as can be seen in fig 12.1.3. In fact, the mediatic accents tend to use [ɑ; ı, ɨ] less frequently than neutral pronunciation does.

They consist in the following changes: /i/ [i→ɪ, ɪ→ə, ɨ→ə, ˌɪ→ˌɐ], /i:/ [i:→ɪ:, ɪ:→ə:, ɨ:→ə:, ˌi→ˌɪ], /a/ [a/a→ɐ, ɑ→ʌ, ɑ→ʌ, ˌa→ˌɜ/↓ˌə, ˌCa(ɦ)#], /a:/ [a:/a:→ɐ:, ɑ:→ʌ:, ɑ:→ʌ:, ˌɐ, ˌa#], /u/ [u→µ, ʊ→o, ˌʊ→ˌo/↓ˌə], /u:/ [u:→µ:, ʊ:→o:, ˌu→ˌµ]; /ai/→/ei/ [ɛe], /au/→/ou/ [ɤo].

Some examples will be given in § 12.10. Let us notice that fig 12.1.1 shows the more typical mediatic realizations in order to highlight their differences in comparison with neutral pronunciation (cf fig 6.1).

fig 12.1.1. Arabic vowels: *mediatic* variants, including the frequent 'monophthongization' of /ai, au/.

/i:/ [ɪ(:), ə(:), ˌɪ, ↓Cə(:), ˌə(:)C, ↓Cə(:)C]
/i/ [ɪ, ə, ˌɐ, ↓ˌə, ↓Cə, ˌəC, ↓Cə C]
(/ai/→) /ei/ [ɛe]
/a/ [ɐ] [a, ˌɜ, ↓ˌə, ˌCa(ɦ)#, Cʌ, ʌC, Cʌ, ʌC, Cʌ C]

/u:/ [µ(:), Co(:), o(:)C, Co(:)C, ˌµ]
/u/ [µ, Co, oC, CoC, ˌo, ↓ˌə]
(/au/→) /ou/ [ɤo]
/a:/ [ɐ(:)] [a(:), Cʌ(:), ʌ(:)C, Cʌ(:), Cʌ(:), Cʌ(:)C, ˌɐ, ˌa#]

/i:/ [i(:), ɪ(:), ι(:), ə(:), Cə(:), ə(:)C, Cə(:)C, ˌi, ˌɪ, ˌι, ˌə]
/i/ [i, ɪ, ι, ə, Cə, əC, CəC, ˌɐ, ↓ˌə]

/u:/ [u(:), ʊ(:), Co(:), o(:)C, Co(:)C, ˌu]
/u/ [u, ʊ, ɵ, Co, oC, CoC, ˌo, ↓ˌə]

/a/ [ɜ, a, ʌ, ɐ, Cʌ, ʌC, Cʌ, ʌC, Cʌ C, ˌɜ, ↓ˌə, ˌCa(ɦ)#]
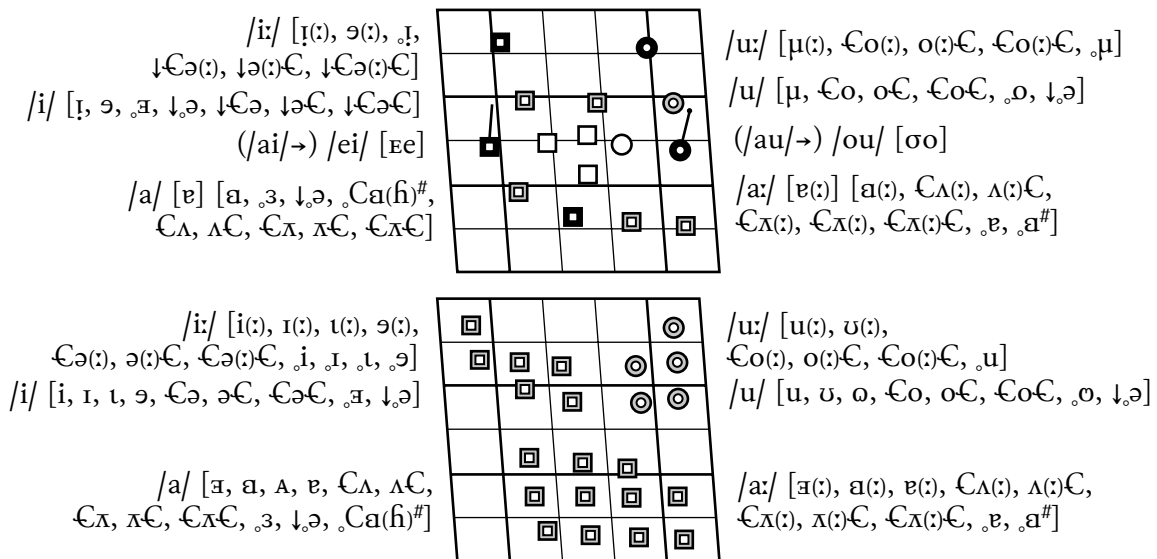/a:/ [ɜ(:), a(:), ɐ(:), Cʌ(:), ʌ(:)C, Cʌ(:), ʌ(:)C, Cʌ(:)C, ˌɐ, ˌa#]

fig 12.1.2. Arabic diphthongs: *mediatic* further variants of /ai, au/→/ei, ou/, wider than [ɛe, ɤo], though not yet as those given in fig 12.1.3. Here, we only show the beginning elements (grey larger markers) and terminal points (white smaller markers). It is rather easy to collect any of these points, to obtain actual possible diphthongs.

(/ai/→) /ei/ [e-, ə-, ɛ-, ɜ-, Cə-]
+[-i, -ɪ, -ι, -ə, -əC]

(/au/→) /ou/ [o-, ɤ-, ɔ-, ɵ-, Cɤ-]
+[-u, -ʊ, -ɵ, -o, -oC]
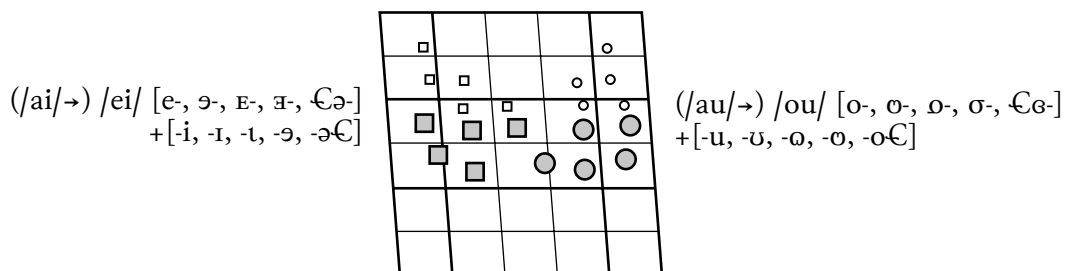
In addition, *fig* 12.1.2 shows further variants, both broader and lighter. Moreover, *fig* 12.2 shows further variants of the diphthongs /ai, au/, used when the speakers want to produce utterances belonging to a (real or supposed) higher style.

fig 12.1.3. Arabic vowels & diphthongs: some broader (↓) or lighter (↑) variants.
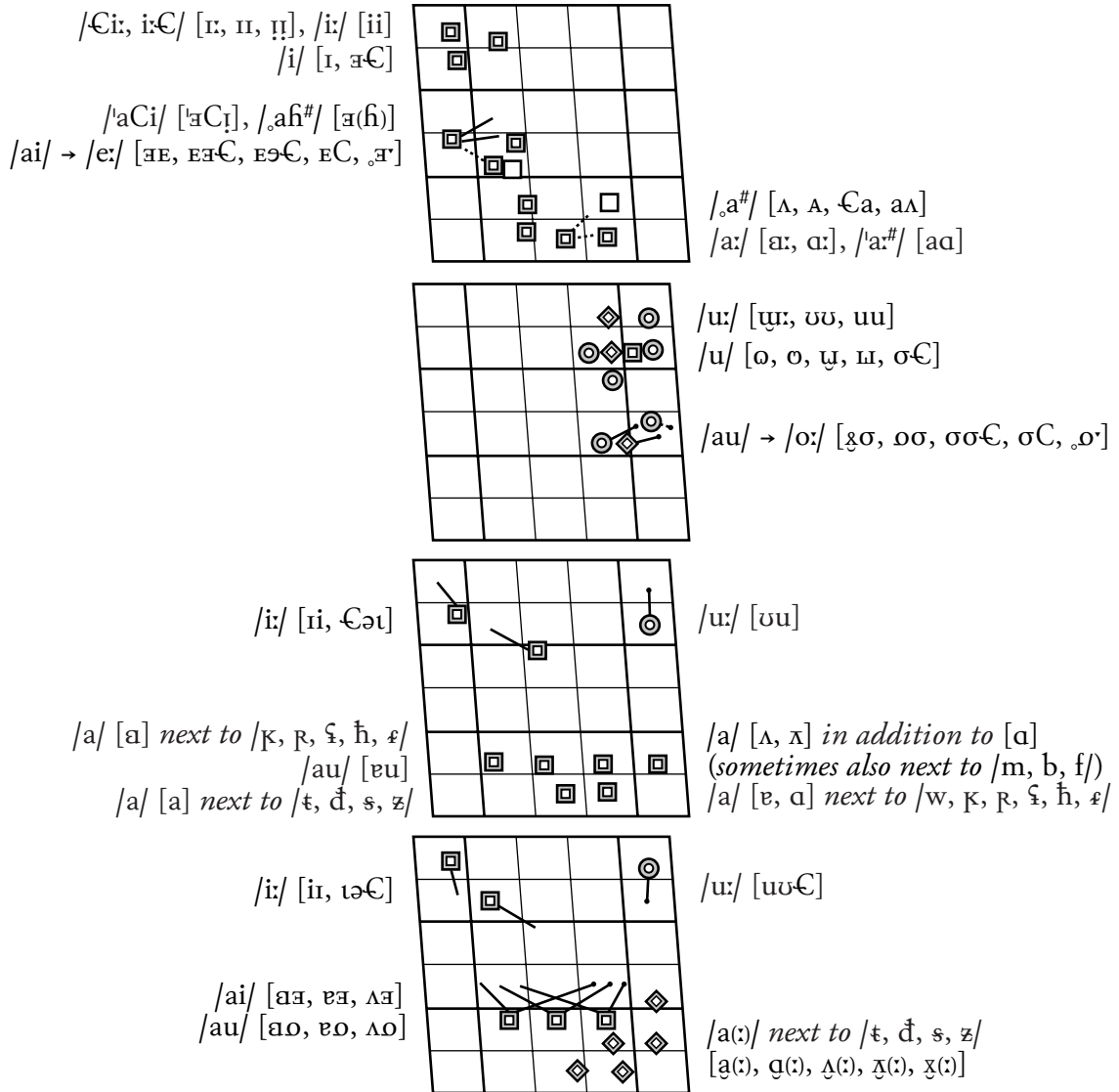

/Ꞓiː, iːꞒ/ [ɪː, ɪɪ, i̥ɪ], /iː/ [ii]
/i/ [ɪ, ꞫꞒ]

/ˈaCi/ [ˈꞪCᵢ], /ˌaɦ#/ [Ɦ(ɦ)]
/ai/ → /eː/ [ꞪE, EꞪꞒ, EɘꞒ, EC, ̥Ɦ·]

/ˌa#/ [ʌ, ᴀ, Ꞓa, aʌ]
/aː/ [ɐː, ɑː], /ˈaː#/ [aɑ]

/uː/ [ɯː, ʊʊ, uu]
/u/ [ɵ, o, ʉ, ɯ, σꞒ]

/au/ → /oː/ [ɤσ, ɔσ, σσꞒ, σC, ̥o·]

/iː/ [ɪi, Ꞓɘɪ]

/uː/ [ʊu]

/a/ [ɑ] *next to* /ꞯ, ʀ, ʕ, ħ, ꭓ/
/au/ [ɐu]
/a/ [a] *next to* /ꞇ, ɗ, ʂ, ʐ/

/a/ [ʌ, ʌ] *in addition to* [ɑ]
(*sometimes also next to* /m, b, f/)
/a/ [ɐ, ɑ] *next to* /w, ꞯ, ʀ, ʕ, ħ, ꭓ/

/iː/ [ɪi, ɪɘꞒ]

/uː/ [uʊꞒ]

/ai/ [ɑꞪ, ɐꞪ, ʌꞫ]
/au/ [ɑσ, ɐσ, ʌσ]

/a(ː)/ *next to* /ꞇ, ɗ, ʂ, ʐ/
[ꞧ(ː), ꞡ(ː), ꞩ(ː), Ʇ(ː), ꭓ(ː)]

fig 12.2.1. Arabic diphthongs: refined *mediatic* variants for /ai/.

/ai/ [Ɦi#, ꞪɪC#, Ɦɘ(ɦ)Ꞓ]   [ɐi#, ɐɪC#, ɐɘ(ɦ)Ꞓ]   [ʌi#, ʌɪC#, ʌɘ(ɦ)Ꞓ]   [Ꞓʌi#, ꞒʌɪC#, Ꞓʌɘ(ɦ)Ꞓ]
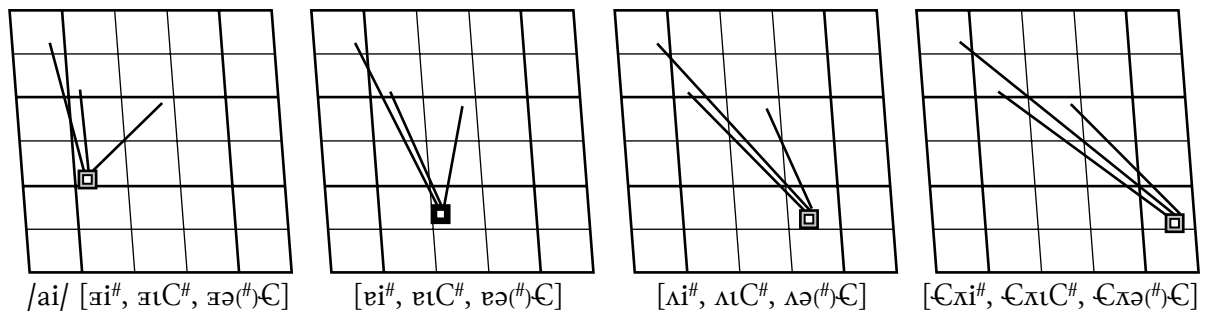
fig 12.2.2. Arabic diphthongs: refined *mediatic* variants for /au/.

/au/ [ɐu#, ɐoC, ɐo(#)C]   [ɐu#, ɐoC, ɐo(#)C]   [ʌu#, ʌoC, ʌo(#)C]   [Ꞇʌu#, ꞆʌoC, Ꞇʌo(#)C]
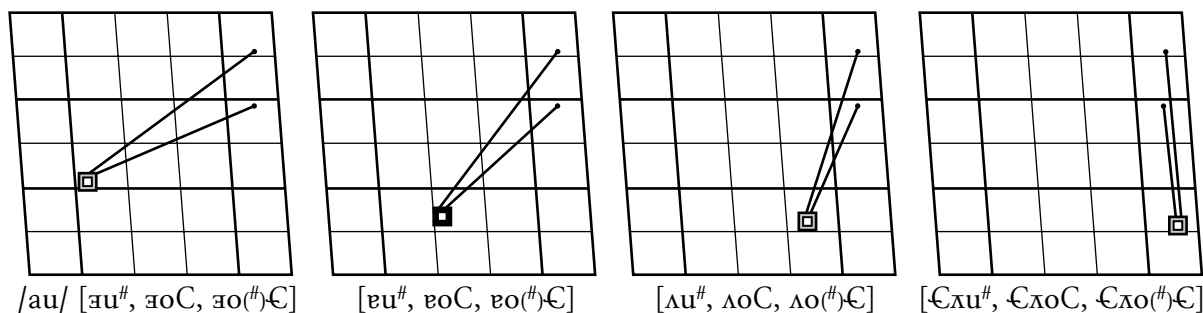
Consonants

12.2.1. Here we will introduce the *mediatic* peculiarities of the *consonants* of Arabic. In keeping with our Natural Phonetics approach, we regard it important to show all the different sets of contoids and compare them to those of really neutral pronunciation, in order to visually highlight their articulatory peculiarities.
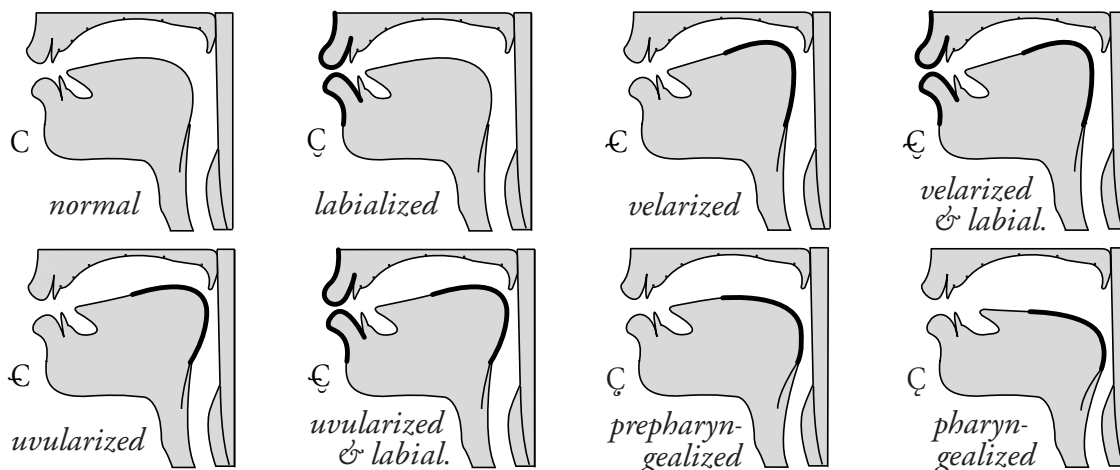
Sometimes, the difference between two articulations is so small that even some native speakers will hardly notice it – and, possibly, believe that there is no difference at all. However, careful listening to good recordings proves the opposite.

Someone might say there is no real need to go into so much detail, and that may well be true for purely theoretical phonology and computer-aided acoustic phonetics.

Let us, first, have a careful look at fig 12.3.0, comparing it with fig 12.4.2, where different coarticulations are combined with the laryngeal stop, [ʔ]. Well, fig 12.3.0 simply highlights the essential places of those coarticulations. In fact, it is very important to familiarize with them, from the start.

12.2.2. In the following paragraphs, we will introduce each group of contoids –as said– together with their 'normal' counterparts. Make no mistake: Arabic is difficult to pronounce for most foreigners, so it is understandable that so many seemingly identical variants may discourage even the most tenacious learners.

fig 12.3.0. Arabic consonants. *Mediatic* variants: some frequently added *coarticulations*.

C
normal

Ç
labialized

ꞔ
velarized

ꞔ
velarized & labial.

ꞔ
uvularized

ꞔ
uvularized & labial.

Ç
prepharyngealized

Ç
pharyngealized

Yet, nuances are what Natural Phonetics is all about. The unexciting alternative is –in the best possible scenario– little more than accurate phonology, even if supported by a wealth of acoustic data and computer-aided analyses.

12.2.3. So, let us begin with the different possibilities offered by the *nasals*. In comparison with the nasal contoids of the neutral accent, *fig* 12.3-9 (multiple) give a number of

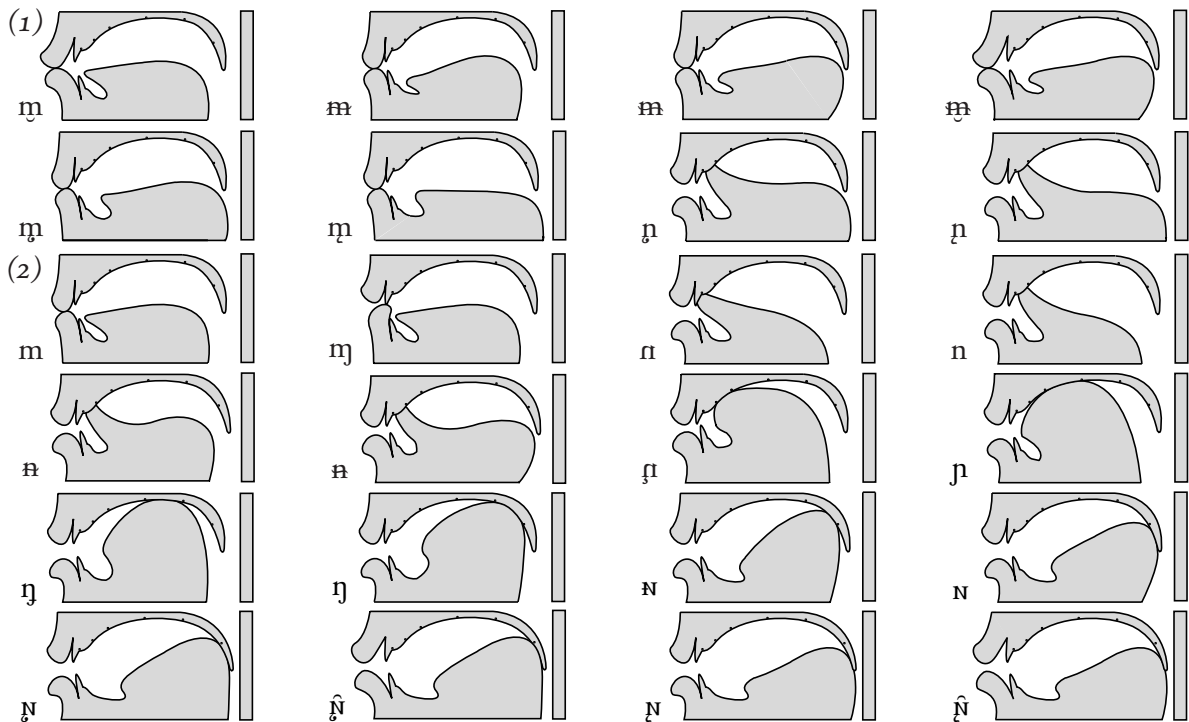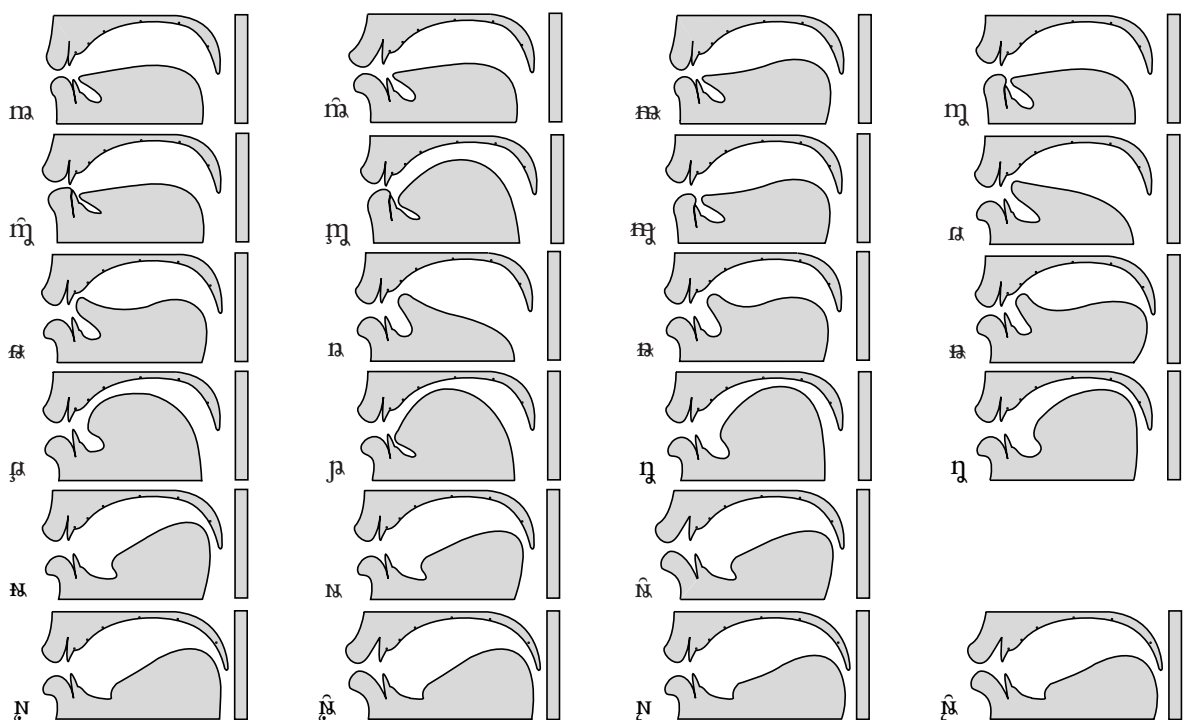*fig* 12.3.1. Arabic consonants: *nasals*. *Mediatic* variants.

*fig* 12.3.2. Arabic consonants: *nasals*. *Mediatic seminasal* variants.

orograms (which include those already shown in Ch 8, for easier and useful comparisons).

For /m/, in addition to plain [m], we find *lip protrusion* [m̹], *velarization* [m̴], and *uvularization* [m̙], and even [m̙̹] (*ie* uvularization *and* lip protrusion). These phones frequently occur in contact with /a, u/, or in words already containing some /Ç/ – or, sometimes, even /C/.

The first two rows show eight marked variants of /m, n/ [m̹, m̴, m̴, m̙̹, m̙, m̩; n̪, ṇ]. The other orograms show the normal assimilatory taxophones of /n/ [n]: [m, m̩, ɱ, ɲ̟, ɲ, ŋ̟, ŋ, ɴ, n̺, ɳ]. *fig* 12.3.2 gives the seminasal and nasalized taxophones, occurring before continuants. Let us particularly notice: [ɲ̟, j̃]+[j], [ŋ̟, ŋ̩, ũ̯, ɰ̃, w̃,w̃]+[w], [f̃, ɸ̃]+[ɸ, f], [l̩, l]+[l] (shown in *fig* 12.3.3). Of course, all other taxophones for /j, w, f, l/, given in *fig* 12.6.1(1) & *fig* 12.6.7-8 can occur nasalized, although we only give eight of them here, just to show the mechanism of nasalization of contoids.

fig 12.3.3. Arabic consonants: *nasals. Mediatic nasalized* variants.
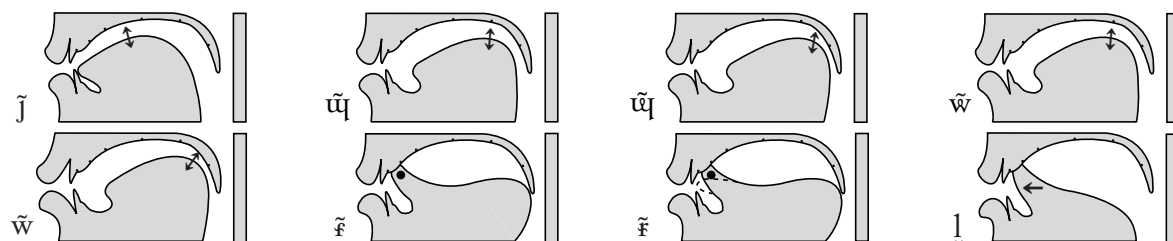
12.2.4. Passing to the *stops*, *fig* 12.4.1-2 give the contoids which we can find as the realizations of /b/ (in the first set of orograms, including its voiceless taxophones occurring, by assimilation, in clusters with voiceless consonants).

The second orogram set is mostly for /ŧ, đ/ (with /t, d/, for comparisons). The third set is for /k/ (including its possible voiced taxophones in voicing clusters).

The fourth set shows several taxophones of /q/, that are articulatorily similar to neutral [q], *ie* voiceless and basically uvular stops. More different geo-social realiza-

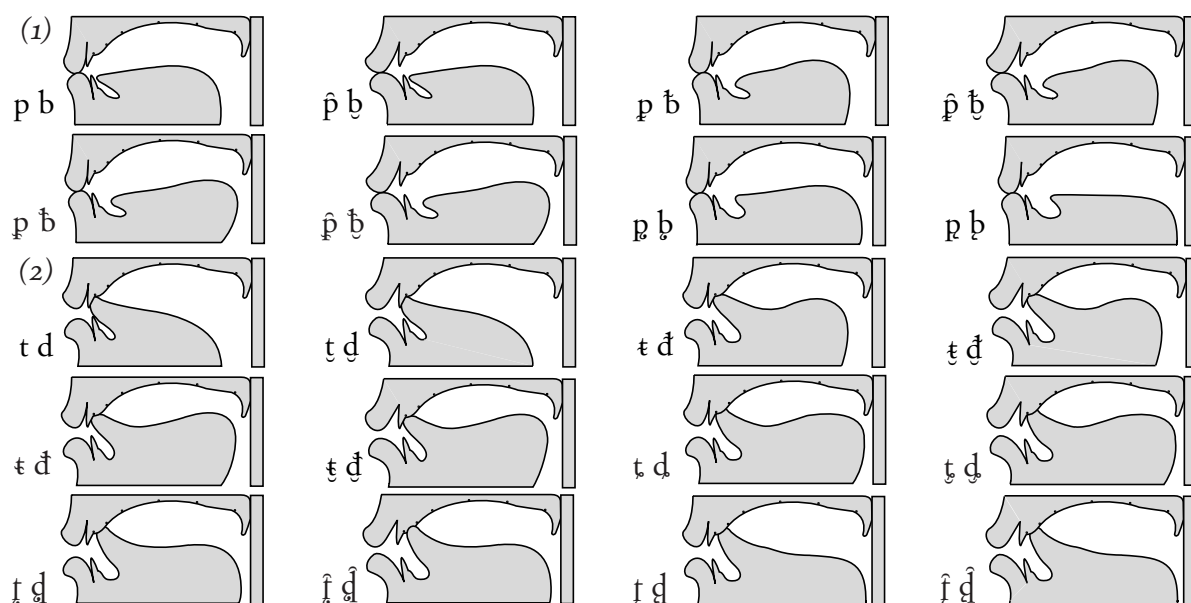*fig* 12.4.1.1. Arabic consonants: *stops. Mediatic* variants: first two sets.
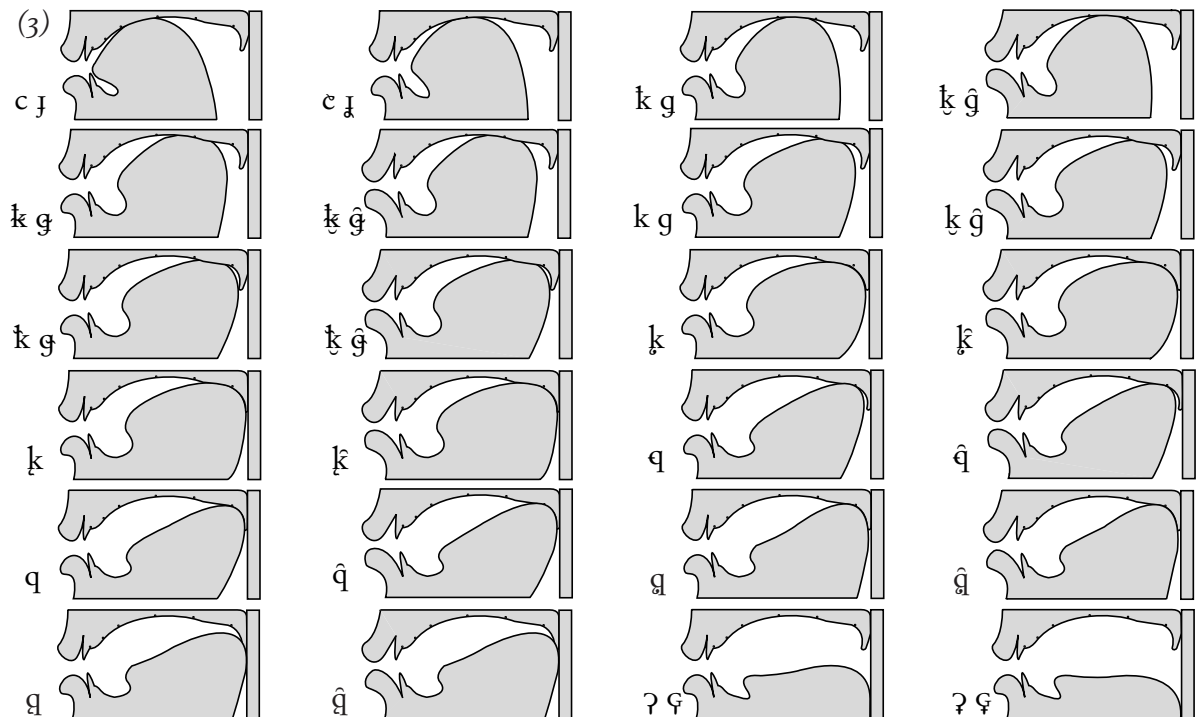
fig 12.4.1.2. Arabic consonants: *stops. Mediatic* variants: third set.

tions can be found in other sets (where they belong, by nature).

Likewise, *fig* 12.4.2 shows the possible variants of /ʔ/, which retain a laryngeal nature, similar to neutral [ʔ]. Some speakers, instead of the true stops shown in *fig* 12.4.2, can actually use creaky voice on the voiced neighboring segment(s), which may be either contoids, [Ç], or vocoids, [Y]. The latter are shown as superscript symbols in the last two examples that follow, since they do not form a full syllable): *badʔ* [ˈbɐdd̰], *saʔala* [ˈsɐ̰ɐla], *kaʔs* [ˈkɐ̰ɐs], *butʔ* [ˈboʈ̰].

fig 12.4.2. Arabic consonants: *laryngeal stop. Mediatic* variants.
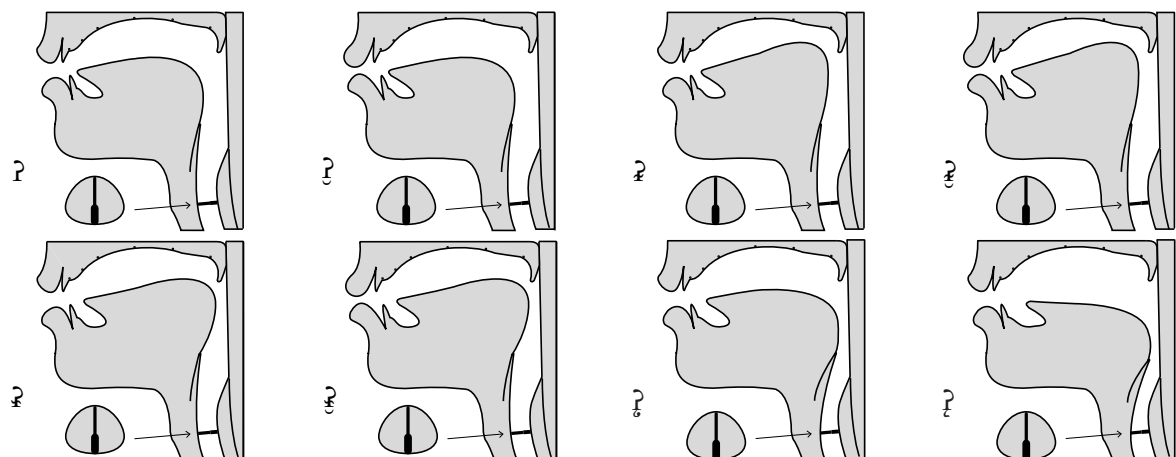
12.5.1. *fig* 12.5.1 features three sets of *constrictives*. The first one shows the different possibilities of /f/, including its voiced taxophones occurring in voicing clusters.

The second set, in addition to plain /θ, ð/, which are given for comparisons, shows

fig 12.5.1. Arabic consonants: *constrictives*. *Mediatic* variants.
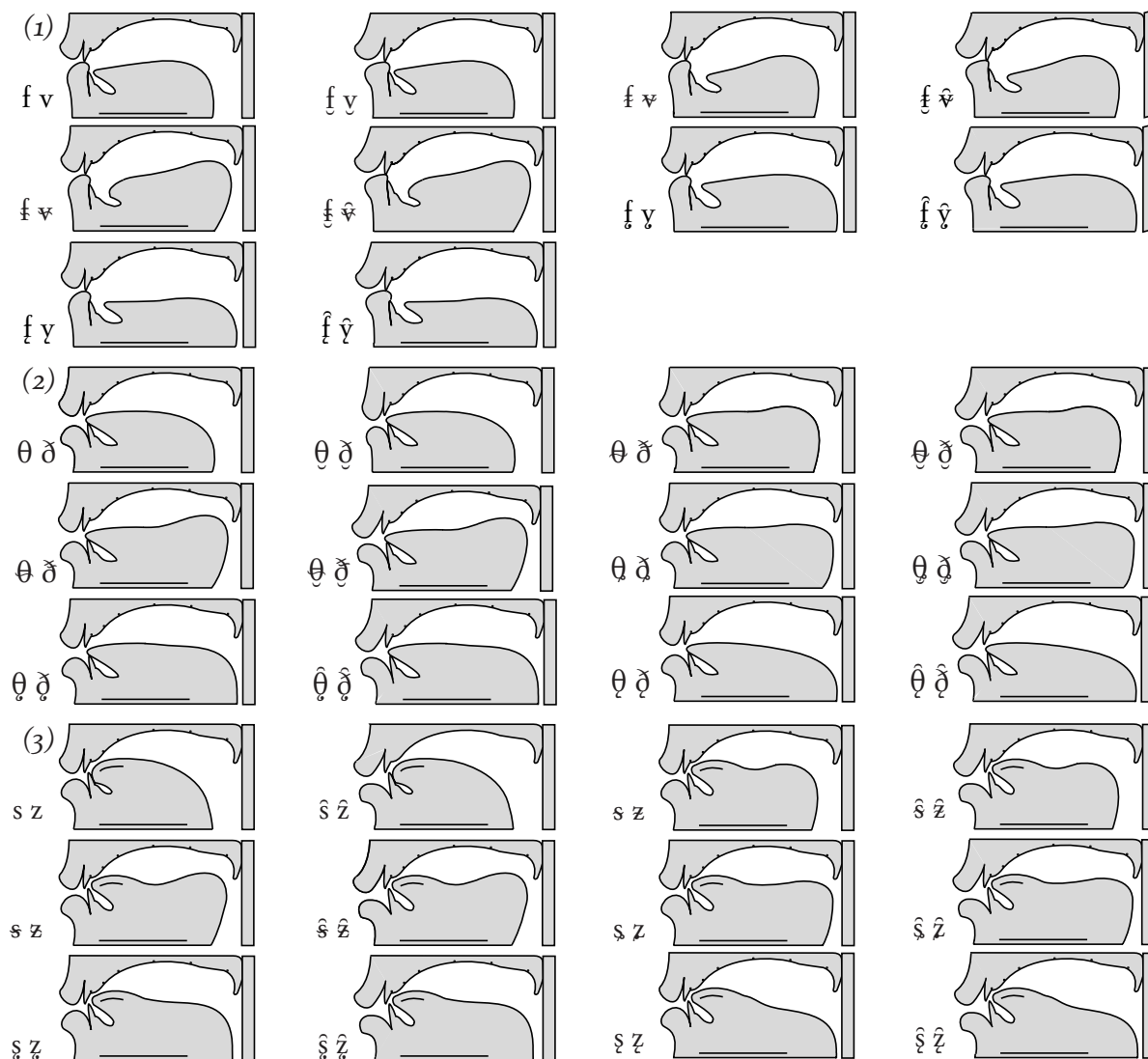
the several realizations that can be heard for /ẓ/ (or, in case, '/ð̌/', again, including its possible voicing-cluster taxophones).

The third set in fig 12.5.1 gives /s, z/, but especially /s̱, ẓ/ for their several possible taxophones, with a partial overlap between actual /ẓ/ and its more 'neutral' variant /ð̌/.

12.5.2. fig 12.5.2.1 shows /ʃ, ʒ/ and their possible variants. These variants essentially change their lip positions: *protruded*, [ʃ, ʒ], as in neutral Arabic pronunciation (and in

fig 12.5.2.1. Arabic consonants: further *constrictives* and [ʤ, ʤ, ʤ]. *Mediatic* variants.
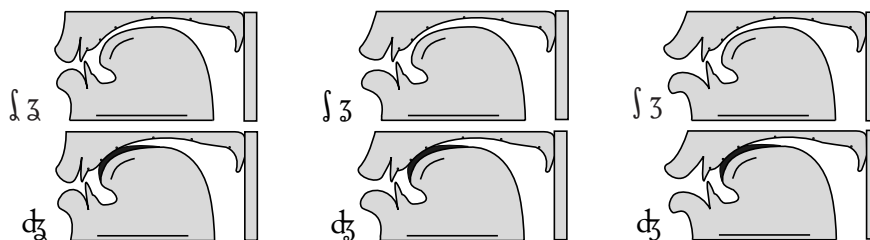
many other languages), or *non-protruded*, [ʃ, ʒ], including an intermediate lip position, *semi-protruded*, [ʃ, ʒ], as can be seen in their orograms.

The more traditional realization of /ʒ/ [dʒ], is also used in mediatic pronunciation, together with its other possible mediatic variants [dʒ, dʒ], with the same lip positions as above.

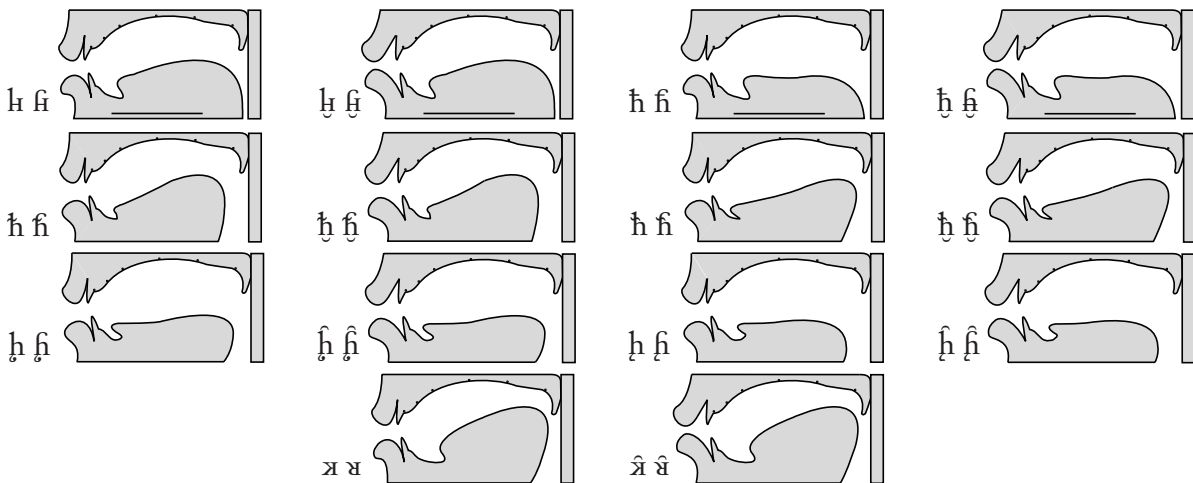*fig* 12.5.2.2. Arabic consonants: /ħ/. *Mediatic* variants.

fig 12.5.2.2 gives /ħ/ [ħ, ɦ] and its possible variants, including their voiced taxophones, which may occur for voicing-cluster assimilation. In addition, *fig* 12.5.2.3 also shows a number of constrictive and semi-constrictive laryngeal contoids (which can also feature lip rounding and voicing). All these may occur as 'milder' variants of /ħ/.

*fig* 12.5.2.3. Arabic consonants: /ħ/. *Mediatic* further variants.
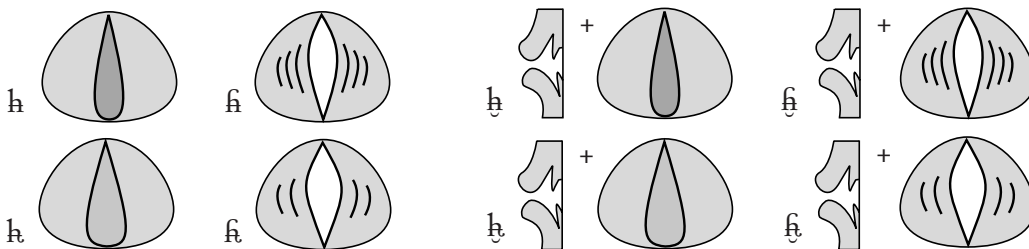
12.6.1. Passing to the *approximants*, *fig* 12.6.1 shows three sets of orograms. The first is about /j/ and its possible variants, due to the influence of neighboring contoids and vocoids, including the frequent effect of [ꞔ, ꞔ] contoids (respectively, uvularized or velarized, but [q, ʁ, ʁ], as well), and [ꞔ] (ie [ħ, ʕ], but also [ʁ, ʁ], depending on geo-social factors).

The second set is about /w/ and its possible variants, again depending on geo-social factors. The third set shows [ʕ] and its possible variants, which include *rounding* [ʕ], *nasalization* [ʕ̃], *laryngealization* [ʕ̰] (fairly easy to detect by its lower intrinsic tonality of creaky voice) and a *prepharyngeal* articulation [ʕ] (and [ʕ, ʕ, ʕ]).

Its devoicing, [ʕ̥], is possible in prepausal position, as well. Some speakers can even employ a true voiced prepharyngeal *constrictive*, [ɦ] (*cf fig* 12.6.1, last orogram, the voiced counterpart of [ʜ], *cf fig* 12.5.2), or else (pre-)pharyngealized laryngeal *stops*, [ʔ, ʔ] (which other speakers may use as variants of /ʔ/, given in *fig* 12.4.2).

fig 12.6.1. Arabic consonants: *approximants*. *Mediatic* variants.

(1)

j   i̥   j̪   J

i̥   i̯   j̊   j̊

j̣   j̣

(2)

w   w̥   ẘ   w̥

w̨   ɣ̂

(3)

ʕ   ʕ̃   ʕ̰

ʕ̣   ʕ̣   ʕ̰
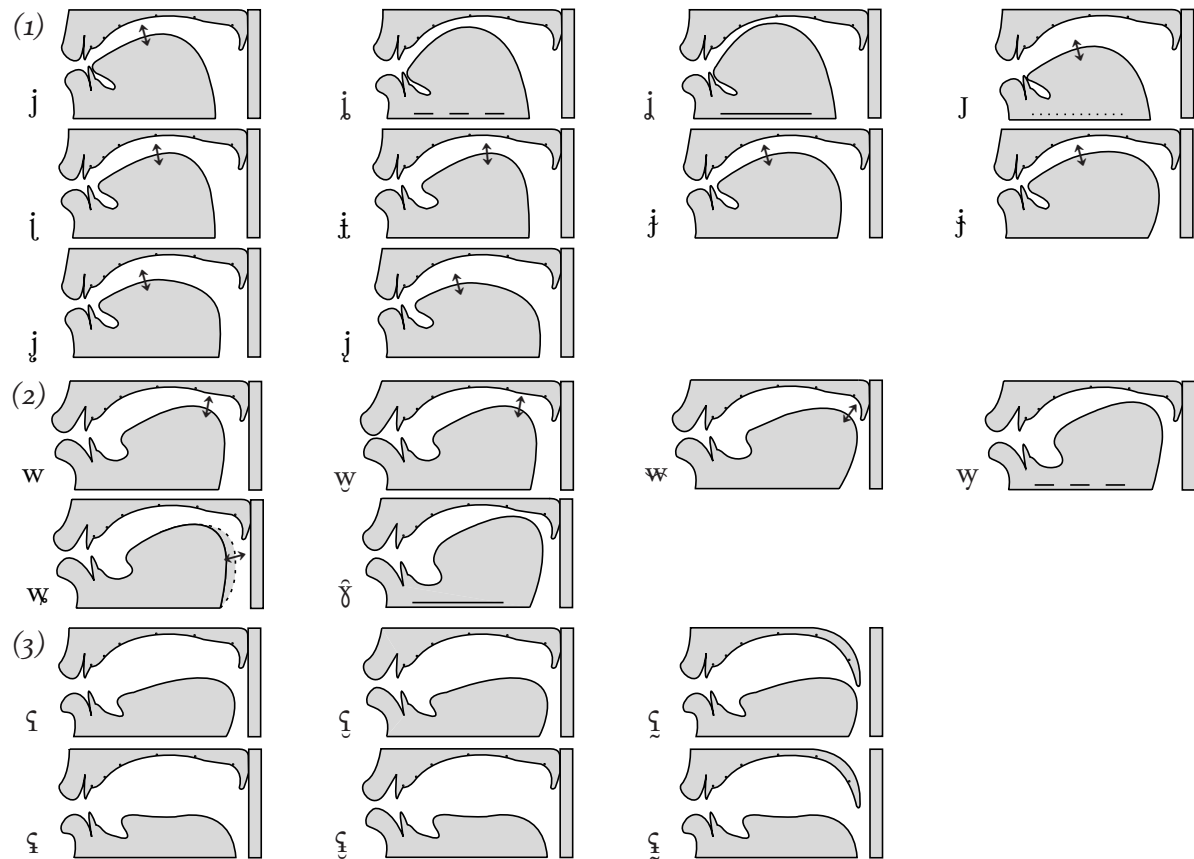
12.6.2. In addition, let us consider the laryngeal *approximants*, shown in fig 12.6.2. Beside normal /ɦ/ [ɦ], and its voiceless taxophone, [h], we can see a number of variants, including attenuated semi-approximant [ɦ, h], and several coarticulations, which involve lip rounding, velarization, uvularization, *pre*pharyngealization, and pharyngealization (as well as combinations thereof).

fig 12.6.2. Arabic consonants: *laryngeal approximants* (& coarticulations). *Mediatic* variants.

h   ɦ   h̡ +   ɦ̡ +

h̬   ɦ̬   h̡̬ +   ɦ̡̬ +
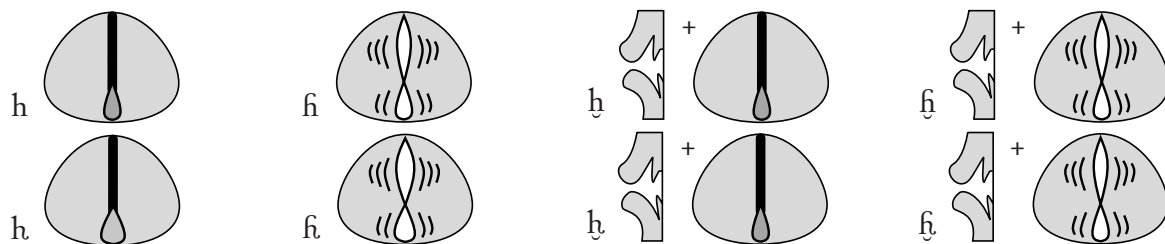
12.7.1. All these coarticulation effects can also be found in the *trills*, shown in fig 12.7, together with 'normal' /ɾ/ [ɾ, ɾ̥], and plain [ɾ, r], which can occur, too (and all the other variants shown).

For the *constrictive trills*, /ʀ, ʁ/ [ʀ, ʁ], fig 12.8 shows two possible coarticulations, as well: lip rounding and pharyngealization.

fig 12.7. Arabic consonants: *trills*. *Mediatic* variants.
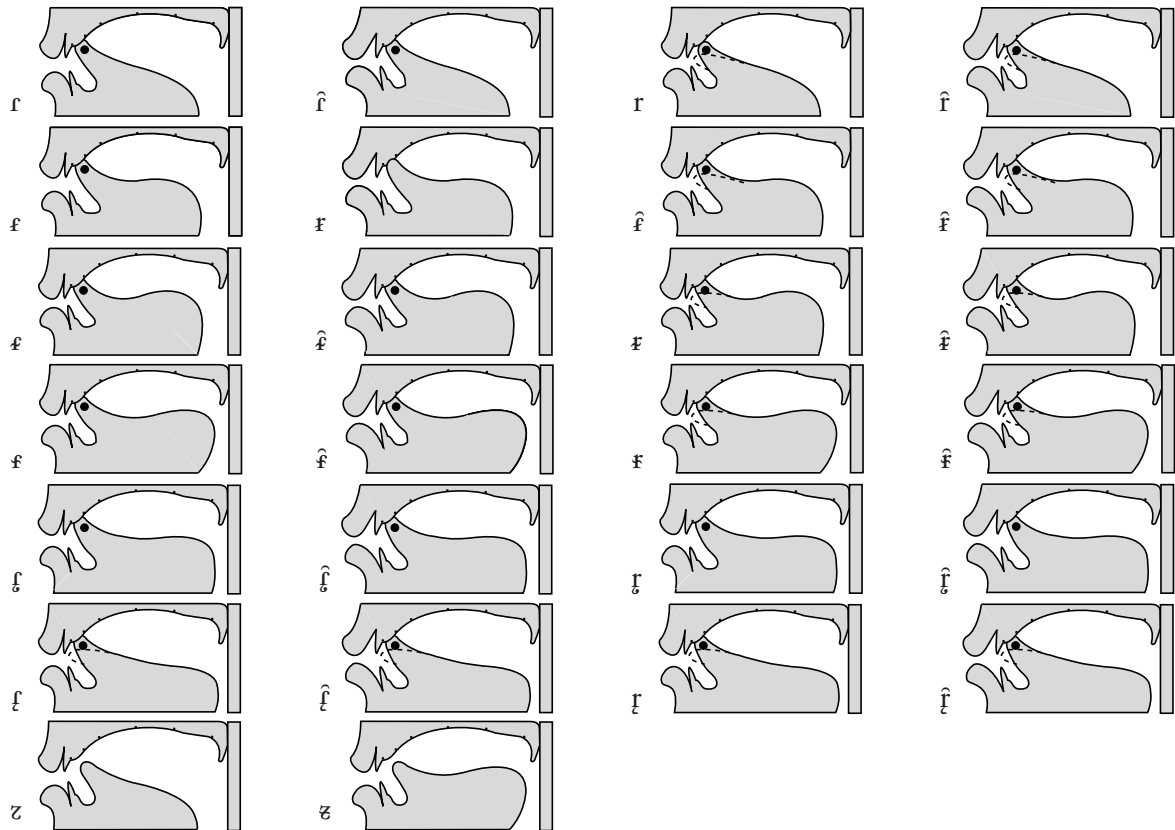
fig 12.8. Arabic consonants: *constrictive trills*. *Mediatic* variants.
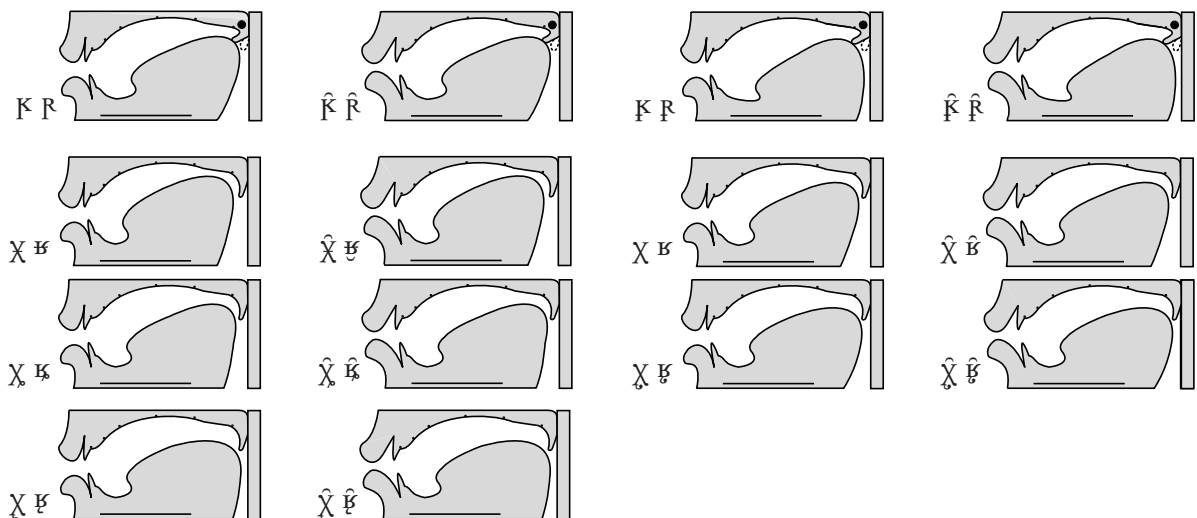
12.7.2. Lastly, *fig* 12.9 gives the *lateral* /l/ with its neutral taxophones, [l, ɪ, ʝ, ʎ], in-cluding [ɫ, ɬ] (and prepalatal [ʎ], occurring in other languages, for comparison). It al-so gives the preuvular and uvular laterals (depending on the succeeding vowels), also with possible lip rounding, which can be heard in substitution for [ɫ]. The bottom two orograms show the preuvular and uvular semi-laterals, rarely used for /dˤ/ in south--western Arabia.

fig 12.9. Arabic consonants: *laterals*. *Mediatic* variants.
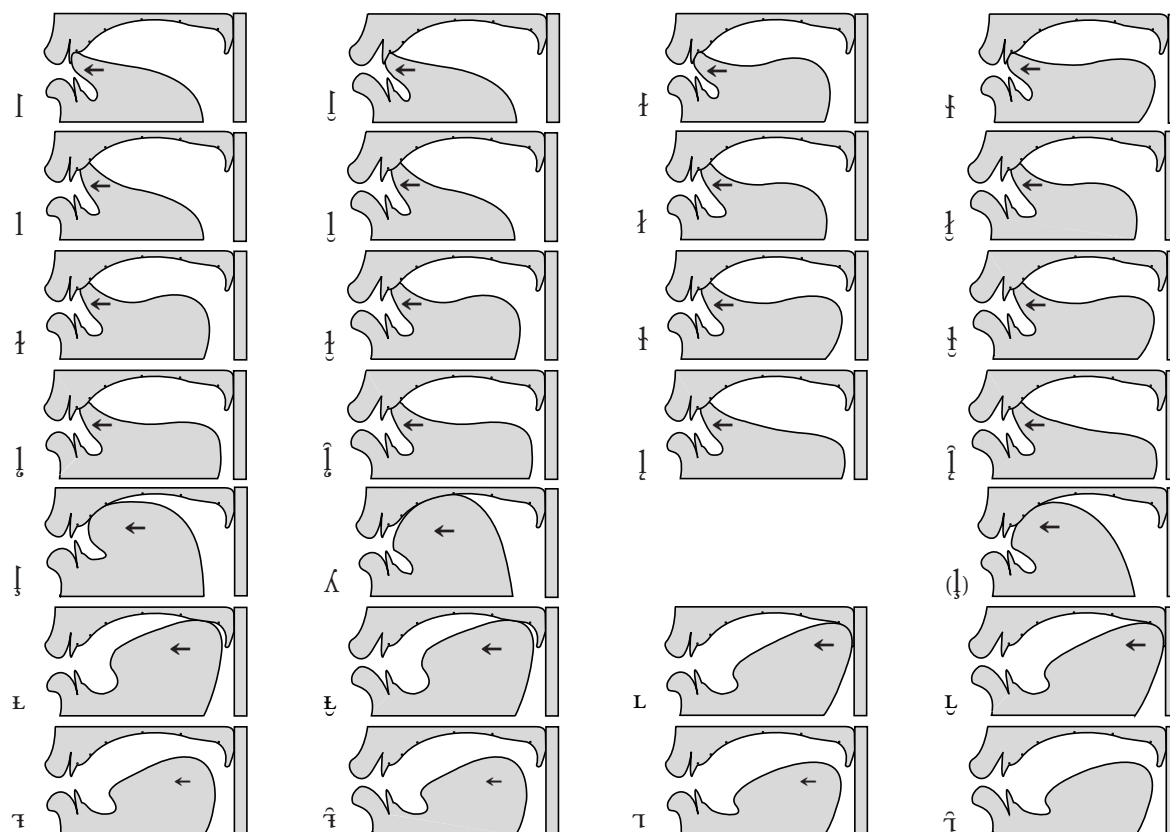
Stress

12.8. By comparison with what is said and shown under § 9.4.3, let us now show the differences between the neutral stress patterns and the mediatic ones.

There is nothing to say for 2- syllable words, while, for more syllables, we have to indicate these differences (saying nothing about words ending in /-ˈ$$, -$ˈ$/, which are treated the same in both accents). It is clear that /ˈ$$/ predominates (although a few less favorite patterns are shown as ↓, such as those with /-$ᵗ/ corresponding to [↓ˈVVᵗ], too.

Of course, even oscillations between mediatic and neutral patterns may be rather usual, too, as we will see in ₲ 12-13.

3 syllables: /ˈ$$$/ → /$ˈ$$; ↓$$ˈ$/, /ˈ$$$/ → /↓$ˈ$$; ↓$$ˈ$/,
4 syllables: /$ˈ$$$/ → /$$ˈ$$; ↓$$$$/, /$ˈ$$$/ → /$$ˈ$$/, /$ˈ$$$/ → /$$ˈ$$/,
5 syllables: /$$ˈ$$$, $$ˈ$$$, $$ˈ$$$, $$ˈ$$$/ → /-ˈ$$/,
6 syllables: /$$$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$$, $$$ˈ$$$/ → /-ˈ$$/.

Intonation

12.9. No doubt, when speaking (or reading) 'official Arabic', all speakers will inevitably maintain their own intonation patterns, which are the most difficult to change: fig 12.10 shows the most frequent intonation patterns occurring in a number

fig 12.10. Arabic intonation. *Mediatic* & more local variants (including –for comparison– *neutral* and *international*, which often alternates with the mediatic one shown).
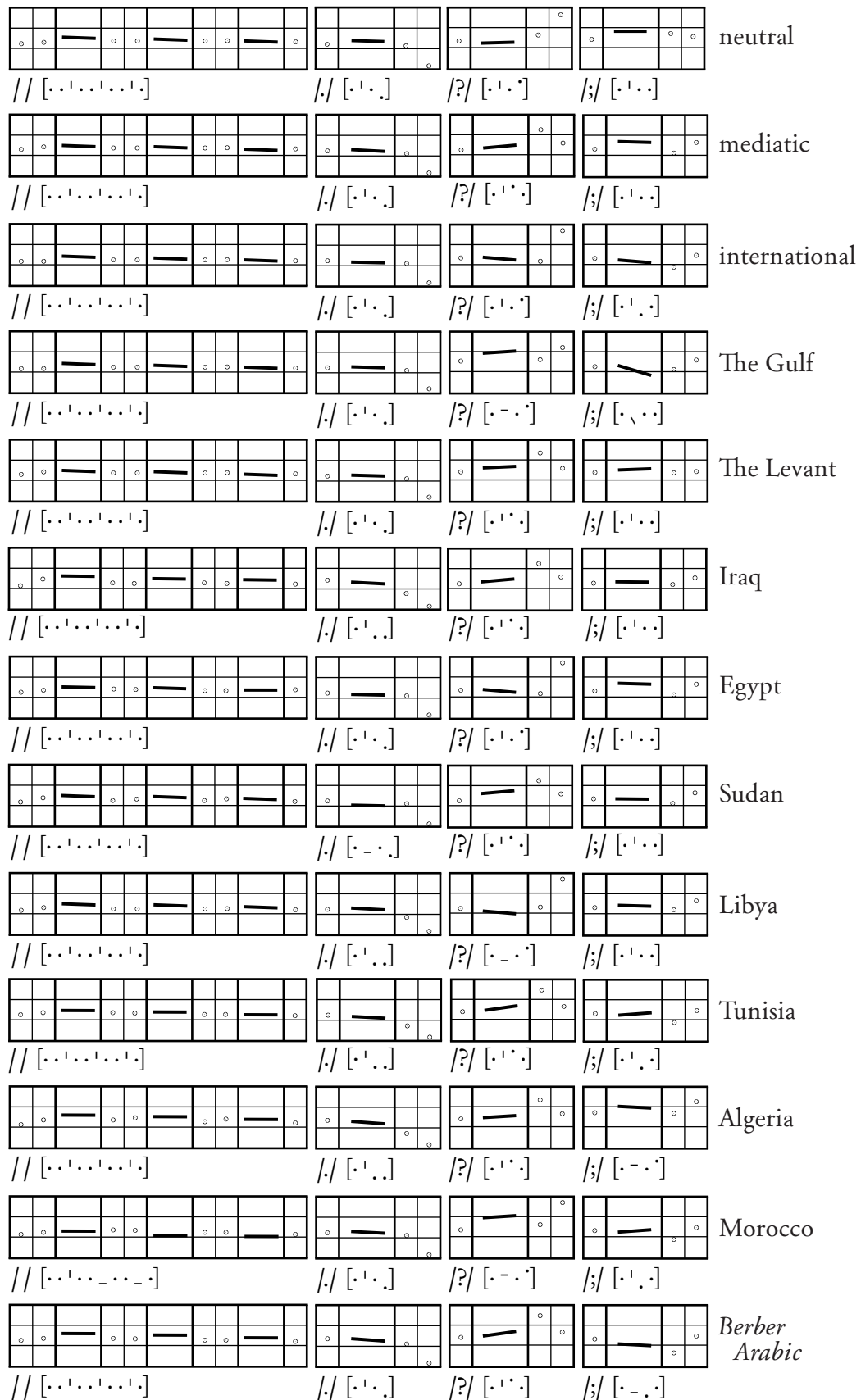
of linguistic areas. It also shows the fundamental intonation patterns of *neutral* (*general* or *normalized*) *mediatic*, and *international* accents. Ten more localizable patterns are added, which can further help to identify, by themselves, ten general areas within mediatic accents. In Ch 13-14, further variants will be shown.

Of course, when actually speaking their local 'dialect', people exhibit further subvarieties, even for intonation, not only for vowels, consonants and stress.

It goes without saying that interested readers should carefully compare all the patterns given in *fig* 12.10. In Ch 13 more intonation patterns will be provided, for further different accents.

Thus, besides the *neutral*, *mediatic* and *international* intonation patterns of Arabic, we show the following other patterns (and further more will be provided in Ch 13, see the charts at the beginning of that chapter).

Let us strart with: the *Levant* (*ie* Lebanon, Palestine, western Syria, and western Jordan), often with falsetto in either total or partial questions. *Arabia* (*ie* central Saudi Arabia, eastern Jordan, and southern Iraq). *Mesopotamia* (*ie* central Iraq, eastern Syria, and mid-western Iran). *North Mesopotamia* (*ie* northern Iraq, northern Syria, and south-eastern Turkey). The *Gulf* (*ie* eastern Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, coastal Iran).

In addition, these other areas: *Oman. Yemen* (with Djibouti and northern Somalia). *Red Sea* (*ie* western Saudi Arabia, eastern Sudan, and north-eastern Eritrea). *Israel* (*ie* Muslim Israel, with the Sinai, and eastern coastal Egypt). *Egypt* (*ie* upper and lower Egypt). '*Nubia*' (*ie* northern Sudan and part of southern Egypt).

Besides: *Libya. Tunisia. Algeria* (*ie* upper and lower Algeria, and Kabyle-Berber Arabic, in north-eastern Algeria). *Morocco. Mauritania* (and West Sahara). *Mali. Chad. South Sudan* (and south-western Sudan proper). *Somalia* (excluding northern Somalia, included in Yemen). *The Comoros* (near Mozambique).

Some examples

12.10. For these examples, it should also be always kept in mind that, more or less frequently, mediatic accents can certainly use a sort of 'emphatic vowel coloring' not only next to the consonants that actually cause such differences: the co-articules /ƭ, đ, ʂ, ʐ/ (*cf* § 1.3.5) and /q/. This phenomenon more often concerns /a/.

As a matter of fact, such colorings can extend to whole words which happen to contain even only one of those consonants, including /ɾ/ and even /m, b, f, w/. Also /a(ː), u(ː)/ can influence words in such a way.

As a result, [a] is less common than in neutral pronunciation. For instance, we can even find *qalb* /ˈqalb/ [ˈqɑlb] & [ˈqɑɫƀ̥, ˈɋɒɫƀ̥], *marrah* /ˈmaɾɾa(ɦ)/ [ˈmaɾɾa(ɦ)] & [ˈɱaɾɾɑ(ɦ)].

Or else, on the contrary, [a] can occur in cases where it is not expected, perhaps for a sort of 'compensatory' hypercorrection: *marḥaban!* /ˈmaɾħaban/ [ˈmaɾħaˌban] & [ˈmaɾħaˌban] & [ˈmaɾħaˌban], *māddah* /ˈmaːdda(ɦ)/ [ˈmaˑdda(ɦ)] & [ˈmaˑdda(ɦ)], *saʕah* /ˈsaʕa(ɦ)/ [ˈsaʕa(ɦ)] & [ˈsaʕa(ɦ)].

Currently, the realizations of vowels and consonants are very numerous. So, we will show them devided by groups, specifically when providing examples of vowels or consonants. The variants chosen are among the most typical and different from those of neutral pronunciation, although their real possibilities are surprising.

It would be too cumbersome to always transcribe all possible variants, especially for most consonants, which can be seen in the preceding figures of this chapter, and should be carefully compared. All possible variants are shown in those figures, both for vowels and consonants. Arguably, they should also be compared with those of neutral pronunciation, given in Ⴚ 6 & Ⴚ 8.

Vowels: *qif* [ˈqɨf] ᵐ[ˈqəf], *qīqān* [qɨˈqɑːn] ᵐ[qəˈqʌːɳ̊], *sīdī* [ˈsɪːdi] ᵐ[ˈsəːdɪ], *sadīq* [saˈdɪːq] ᵐ[sʌˈdəːq], *bint* [ˈbɪnt] ᵐ[ˈbənt], *fīl* [ˈfiːl] ᵐ[ˈfɪːl] ; *saqīʕ* [sɑˈqɪːʕ] ᵐ[sʌˈqəːʕ], *saff* [ˈsafː] ᵐ[ˈsʌfː], *ṭāḥa* [ˈʈɑːħa] ᵐ[ˈʈʌːħa], *baʕda* [ˈbaʕda] ᵐ[ˈbɐʕda], *rāhin* [ˈʁɑːɦɪn] ᵐ[ˈʁʌːɦəɳ̊], *hādā* [ˈɦɑːða] ᵐ[ˈɦɛːða], *walad* [ˈwalad] ᵐ[ˈwɛlɜd̥], *bāb* [ˈbaːb] ᵐ[ˈbɛːb̥] ; *sūq* [ˈsʊːq] ᵐ[ˈsoːq], *hunā* [ˈɦuna] ᵐ[ˈɦɨna], *sūf* [ˈsuːf] ᵐ[ˈsoːf], *kusūm* [ʁʊˈsuːm] ᵐ[ʁoˈsɨːɳ̊], *funduq* [ˈfʊnduq] ᵐ[ˈfondoq].

And: *bayt* [ˈbaɪt] ᵐ[ˈbɛet], *ʕayn* [ˈʕaɪn] ᵐ[ˈʕɛeɳ̊], *qayl* [ˈqaɪl] ᵐ[ˈqɛel], *fawz* [ˈfauz] ᵐ[ˈfʊoz], *lawn* [ˈlaʊn] ᵐ[ˈlʊoɳ̊] ; *baytun* [ˈbaɪtʊn] ᵐ[ˈbɛetoɳ̊], *ʕayn-ī* [ˈʕaini] ᵐ[ˈʕɛenɪ], *qaylin* [ˈqailɪn] ᵐ[ˈqɛelən̥], *fawzan* [ˈfauzan] ᵐ[ˈfʊoz3ɳ̊], *lawnu-hu* [ˈlaunuˌɦu] ᵐ[ˈlʊonɥˌɦɥ], *ʔawlādu-kunna* [ʔauˌlaːduˈkʊnna] ᵐ[ʔʊoˌlɛdɥˈkhoɳ̊na].

Further examples: *ʔayna* [ˈʔaina] ᵐ[ˈʕɛena], *ʕawdah* [ˈʕauda; -aɦ] ᵐ[ˈʕooda(ɦ)], *muqawwam* [mʊˈqauwam] ᵐ[moˈqoowɜɳ̊], *maydān* [maiˈdaːn, mɜə-] ᵐ[mɛeˈdɛːɳ̊, m3ɛ-], *ʔawlād* [ʔauˈlaːd, ʔɜo-] ᵐ[ʔʊoˈlɛːd̥, -3o-], *siyāž* [siˈjaːʒ, sə-, sə-] ᵐ[sɪˈjɛːʤ, sɛ-, sə-], *timtāl* [tɪmˈθaːl, təm-, təm-] ᵐ[təɳ̊ˈθɛːl, təm-], *salāmah* [saˈlaːma, -aɦ; s3-, sə-] ᵐ[s3ˈlɛːma, sə-], *sahwān* [saɦˈwaːn, s3ɦ-, səɦ-] ᵐ[s3ɦˈwɛːɳ̊], *suhūlah* [suˈɦuːla, -aɦ; so-, sə-] ᵐ[sɥˈɦɥːla], *muštaqq* [mʊʃˈtaqː, moʃ-, məʃ-] ᵐ[moʃˈtʌq(ː), moʃ-, məʃ-].

The last example shows that, in mediatic pronunciation, neutral /Cː#/ can be shortened, as in *ʕarabiyy* [ˌʕaʁaˈbɪj:] ᵐ[ˌʕɐʁ3ˈbəj(ː), -ˈbɪ̥] (and other cases shown below).

More: *mahrab* [ˈmaɦ-ʁab, ˈmaɦ-] ᵐ[ˈmɛɦ-ʁɜb̥], *ṭalab* [ˈʈalab, -lab] ᵐ[ˈʈʌlɜb̥], *tamdī* [ˈtamdɪ, ˈtam-] ᵐ[ˈthɛmdə], *mansūb* [manˈsuːb, man-] ᵐ[mɛɳ̊ˈsɥːb̥, m3ɳ̊-], *katabna* [kaˈtabna] ᵐ[k3ˈthɛbna] vs *katabnā* [kaˈtabna(ˑ)] ᵐ[k3ˈthɛbna(ˑ)].

Some more examples: *bayt* [ˈbaɪt] ᵐ[ˈbɛet], *lawn* [ˈlaʊn] ᵐ[ˈlʊoɳ̊], *ʕayn* [ˈʕaɪn] ᵐ[ˈʕɛeɳ̊] ; *sayyid* [ˈsaijɪd] ᵐ[ˈsɛejəd̥], *mušawwiq* [muˈʃauwɨq] ᵐ[moˈʃoowəq]. Let us also consider cases like *ḥurriyyah* [ɦʊʁˈʁɪjja -aɦ] currently becoming ᵐ[ɦəʁˈʁɪ̥ja].

Especially in the Maghreb, besides (unstressed) /ˌi, ˌu/, even /ˌa/ may be dropped (with possible consequent stress shifts). Colloquially, we can certainly find: *ʔanta* [ˈʔanta, n̩ˈta, n̩ˈta] ᵐ[ˈʔɛnta, n̩ˈtɛ, n̩ˈtɛ], *qalam* [ˈqalam, ˈqalm] ᵐ[ˈqʌl3ɳ̊, ˈqʌlɳ̊], *lisān* [liˈsaːn, l̩ˈsaːn] ᵐ[lɪˈsɛːɳ̊, l̩ˈsɛːɳ̊], *salām* [saˈlaːm, sˈlaːm] ᵐ[s3ˈlɛːɳ̊, sˈlɛːɳ̊].

Nasals: fig 12.3 shows the various nasal taxophones we can find in mediatic accents, including more complex realizations of /m/ (as [ɱ̊, ɱ, ɰ̃, ɳ̊], for harmonization with 'dark' vowels or consonants, cf § 12.3.1; but we will not use them here: it is sufficient to

know this). Also seminasal taxophones are included (*fig* 12.3.2), which can occur in final position or in front of continuous contoids.

Examples: *mumaṯṯal* [muˈmaθθal] ᵐ[moˈmɐθθɜl̩], *tamžīd* [tamˈʒiːd] ᵐ[tɜmɐˈʒiːd̥, tɜm-ˈdʒɪːd̥], *šams* [ˈʃams] ᵐ[ˈʃɐms], *Maryam* [ˈmaɹˌjam] ᵐ[ˈmɐɹˌjɜm̩], *Muḥammad* [muˈħam-mad] ᵐ[moˈħɐmmɜd̥], *nimnim* [ˈnɪmnɪm] ᵐ[ˈnɜmɐnɜm̩], *žanb* [ˈʒamb] ᵐ[ˈdʒɐmb̥], *min bāb* [mɪmˈbaːb] ᵐ[mɜmˈbɐːb̥], *anf* [ˈʔamɱf] ᵐ[ˈʔɐmɱf], *bint* [ˈbɪnt] ᵐ[ˈbɜnt], *winš* [ˈwɪɲʃ] ᵐ[ˈwɜɲʃ].

And: *min maktab-ī* [mɪmˈmaktaˌbi] ᵐ[mɜmɐˈmɐktɜˌbɪ], *min yawm* [mɪɲˈjaʊm] ᵐ[mɜɲˈjoʊm̩, mɜj-], *min Rūmā* [mɪɹˈɾuːma] ᵐ[mɜnˈɾμːma], *min Līmā* [mɪlˈliːma] ᵐ[mɜnˈlɾːma], *ḍank* [ˈðaŋk] ᵐ[ˈðɐŋk], *ʿanwah* [ˈʕaŋ-wa, -aɦ] ᵐ[ˈʕɐŋ-wa(ɦ)], *kanq* [ˈκaɴq] ᵐ[ˈκʌɴq], *min qūwa* [mɪɴˈquːwa] ᵐ[mɜɴˈqμːwa], *ʾinqiḍāʾ* [ʔɪɴqɾˈdaːʔ] ᵐ[ˈʔɜɴqɜˈdʌːʔ].

Stops: *fig* 12.4.1 gives the mediatic variants of the stop consonants. As can easily be seen, instead of (or, in addition to) the typical uvularization of neutral accents is, in mediatic accents, realized in several different 'darkening' ways, including *uvularization* itself, which sounds better.

Thus (here illustrated only with dental [t, d], and alveolar [ʈ, ɖ], also combined), we find: *labialization* [ṭ, ḍ], and *velarization* [ŧ, đ], and [ꞇ, đ̣; ꞇ, đ̣]; *uvulo-paryngealization* [ṭ, ḍ; ꞇ, ḍ], *prepaharyngealization* [ꞇ, ḍ; ꞇ, ḍ̣], and *paharyngealization* [ꞇ, ḍ; ꞇ, ḍ̣].

They have tiny differences, which, if used systematically, can constitute the typical characteristics of single speakers or accents. But they often alternate randomly. It is very important to succeed in connecting auditory and articulatory nuances.

Some examples: *bāb* [ˈbaːb] ᵐ[ˈbɐːb̥], *laban* [ˈlaban] ᵐ[ˈlɐbɜn̩], *ḥabs* [ˈħaps] ᵐ[ˈħɐbs], *kuskus* [ˈkuskus] ᵐ[ˈkhoskəs], *miktār* [mɪkˈθaːɹ] ᵐ[məkˈθɐːɹ], *malik* [ˈmalɪk] ᵐ[ˈmɛlək], *qadīm* [qaˈdiːm] ᵐ[qʌˈdɾːm̩], *ʾaqdām* [ʔaqˈdaːm] ᵐ[ʔʌqˈdɐːm̩], *sūq* [ˈsuːq] ᵐ[ˈsoːq], *ʾal-Qurʾān* [ʔaɫqʊɹˈʔaːn] ᵐ[ʔʌɫqoɹˈʔɐːn̩], *saqqāṭah* [saqˈqɑːꞇa(ɦ)] ᵐ[sʌqˈqɑːꞇʌ(ɦ)], *qiṭṭ* [ˈqɾꞇ] ᵐ[ˈqəꞇ(ː)], *qīmah* [ˈqɾːma -aɦ] ᵐ[ˈqəːma].

In addition to 'normal' [q], all other variants shown may certainly occur, still within acceptable mediatic accents, which common hearer might not even distinguish from neutral [q]: [q̂, ꞯ, ĝ, ꞯ, ĝ̣].

However, oftener, /q/ has other different places and manners of articulation: [ʔ, ʕ, k, ꞣ, g, ꞡ]. Let us also consider *qalb* [ˈqalb] ᵐ[ˈqʌlb̥, ʔɐlb̥, ʕɐlb̥, ˈkɛlb̥, ˈgɛlb̥] and further variants, which —in very broad accents, or 'dialects', indeed— still remains different from *kalb* [ˈkalb] ᵐ[ˈkhɛlb̥, ˈcɦ-, ˈcç-, ˈkç-] & [ˈtʃ-, ˈtʃ-]. Of course, the last phones do not fall within what we can call an 'accent', but rather a 'dialect' in its own, with different lexemes and grammemes, as well.

Other examples: *tadāwul* [taˈdaːwʊl] ᵐ[tɜˈdɐːwol], *šitāʾ* [ʃiˈtaːʔ] ᵐ[ʃɾˈthɐːʔ], *ḥadd* [ˈħadː] ᵐ[ˈħɐd̥(ː)], *baṭāṭis* [baˈtɑːꞇɪs] ᵐ[bʌˈꞇɑːꞇəs], *ḍarṭ* [ˈdaɹꞇ] ᵐ[ˈdʌɹꞇ], *ḍažir* [ˈdaʒɪɹ] ᵐ[ˈdʌ-ʒəɹ, -dʒəɹ, -gəɹ].

fig 12.4.2 shows 8 possible variants of /ʔ/ (with different coarticulations) [ʔ, ʔ̣, ʔ̌, ʔ̣, ʔ̣, ʔ̣, ʔ, ʔ]: they can all be used, more or less systematically, although we do not add them here.

Some examples: *ʔamīn* [ʔaˈmiːn] *ᵐ*[ʔɜˈmɪːn̪], *sāʔiħ* [ˈsaːʔɪħ] *ᵐ*[ˈseːʔəħ], *māʔ* [ˈmaːʔ] *ᵐ*[ˈmeːʔ], *ẓannaʔ* [ˈzannaʔ] *ᵐ*[ˈzɛnnɜʔ], *ruʔasāʔ* [ˌɾuʔaˈsaːʔ] *ᵐ*[ˌɾμʔɜˈseːʔ], *ʔal-ʔān* [ʔalˈʔaːn] *ᵐ*[ʔɜlˈʔeːn̪], *raʔs* [ˈɾaʔs] *ᵐ*[ˈɾeʔs], *badʔ* [ˈbadʔ] *ᵐ*[ˈbed̪ʔ], *saʔʔāl* [saʔˈʔaːl] *ᵐ*[sɜʔˈʔeːl̩].

More examples: *ʔab* [ˈʔab] *ᵐ*[ˈʔeb̪], *ʔidānah* [ʔiˈdaːna, -aħ] *ᵐ*[ʔɪ̩ˈdeːnɑ(ɦ)], *umm* [ˈʔʊmː] *ᵐ*[ˈʔʊm̩(ː)], *ʔibn* [ˈʔɪbn, -bn̩, -bɪn] *ᵐ*[ˈʔəbn, -bn̩, -bən], *ʔimruʔ* [ˈʔɪmɾʊʔ] *ᵐ*[ˈʔəmɾoʔ], *ʔism* [ˈʔɪsm, -sm̩, -sɪm] *ᵐ*[ˈʔəsm̩, -sm̩, -səm̩], *ʔiṯnāni* [ʔɪθˈnaːni] *ᵐ*[ʔəθˈnɛːnɪ], *raʔay-tu bn-ī* [ɾaˈʔaitʊb ˈniː] *ᵐ*[ɾɐˈʔɛetob ˈnɪ̩ː], *bābu l-bayt* [ˈbaːbʊl ˈbaɪt] *ᵐ*[ˈbɛːbol ˈbɛet].

Constrictives: fig 12.5.1 shows the possible variants of the main constrictive phonemes with all their coarticulations, including general 'dark' ones, which are possible in words with 'darkening' consonants (especially /m, b, w, ɾ; ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ; q/) or vowels (/a(ː), u(ː)/).

Examples: *farīd* [faˈɾiːd] *ᵐ*[fɐˈɾɪ̩ːd̪], *ifsād* [ʔɪfˈsaːd] *ᵐ*[ʔəfˈseːd̪], *lafẓ* [ˈlavẓ] *ᵐ*[ˈlɐvɣ̟, -ð̟], *ṭa-lāṯ* [θaˈlaːθ] *ᵐ*[θɐˈleːθ], *maḏir* [ˈmaðɪɾ] *ᵐ*[ˈmeðəɾ̟], *ḍamm* [ˈðamː] *ᵐ*[ˈðem̩(ː)], *dars* [ˈdaɾs] *ᵐ*[ˈdɛɾs], *ẓār* [ˈzaːɾ] *ᵐ*[ˈzeːɾ̟], *kanz* [ˈkanz] *ᵐ*[ˈkʰɛnẓ].

The upper part of fig 12.5.2 gives the variants of other constrictive phonemes, /z/ [z, ð] and /ʒ/ [ʒ, dʒ; ɡ, g], with all their possible habitual coarticulations. We do not indicate all of them in the following transcriptions.

In fact, it is sufficient to carefully look at their orograms and symbols, comparing them with the neutral ones, and with the other figures given in this chapter. All their nuances will be immediately clear (and logical).

Examples: *maḥẓūẓ* [maħˈzuːz] *ᵗ*[-ðʊːð̟] *ᵐ*[meħˈzoːẓ, -ðoːð̟], *ẓāmiʔ* [ˈzaːmɪʔ] *ᵗ*[ˈðɑː-] *ᵐ*[ˈzʌ-məʔ, ˈð̟-], *ṣurṣur, -ūr* [ˈsʊɾsʊɾ, sʊɾˈsuːɾ] *ᵐ*[ˈsoɾsoɾ, soɾˈsoːɾ̟], *rakīṣ* [ɾaˈkɪːs] *ᵐ*[ɾɐˈkɔːs].

And: *ʔišhād* [ʔɪʃˈhaːd] *ᵐ*[ʔəʃˈheːd̪], *ʔašyāʔ* [ʔaʃˈjaːʔ] *ᵐ*[ʔɜʃˈjeːʔ], *mušawwaš* [muˈʃauwaʃ] *ᵐ*[mμˈʃoowɜʃ], *ʔašadd* [ʔaˈʃad:] *ᵐ*[ʔɜˈʃed̪(ː)], *raššāš* [ɾaʃˈʃaːʃ] *ᵐ*[ɾɜʃˈʃeːʃ], *ʔaššarw* [ʔaʃˈʃaɾw, -ɾɣ̊, -ɾu] *ᵐ*[ʔɜʃˈʃɛɾw, -ɾɣ̊, -ɾμ], *žamīl* [ʒaˈmiːl] *ᵗ*[dʒa-] *ᵐ*[ʒɜˈmɪ̩ːl, dʒɜ-; gɜ-], *ʔažmaʕ* [ʔaʒmaʕ] *ᵗ*[ʔadʒ-] *ᵐ*[ʔeʒmeʕ, ʔedʒ-, ʔeg-], *tāž* [ˈtaːʒ] *ᵗ*[-dʒ] *ᵐ*[ˈtʰeːʒ̊, -dʒ̊; -g̊].

The rest of fig 12.5.2 (the greater part of it) shows the voiceless constrictive /ħ/ [ħ, ɦ], with many possible variants, due to the usuual coarticulation types, that we already know well, although we do not give here. The corresponding voiced counterparts are also shown. They are used for voice assimilations.

Also further phones are added, for milder articulations, more suitable for lighter accents, either mediatic or international. These include a pair of prepharyngeal constrictives, [ʜ, ʢ], and two pairs of uvular approximants, [ɤ, ʁ; ɤ̞, ʁ̞]. The last ones can certainly be sufficiently different from /ɦ/ [ɦ, h] (and less 'extreme' than more usuual phones), and different from /ꭓ, ʁ/ [ꭓ, ʁ], as well.

Some examples: *ħubb-ī* [ˈħʊbbi] *ᵐ*[ˈħobbɪ̩, ˈhob-, ˈʜ-], *maħtūm* [maħˈtuːm] *ᵐ*[meħˈtʰμːm̩], *muħaḏḏir* [mʊˈħaддɪɾ] *ᵐ*[moˈħʌддəɾ, -ꭓ-, -h-], *fariħ* [ˈfaɾɪħ] *ᵐ*[ˈfɐɾəħ, -ꭓ, -h], *faħħāš* [faħˈħaːʃ] *ᵐ*[fɐħˈħeːʃ, -ꭓˈꭓ-, fɜ-].

Approximants: fig 12.6.1 shows the variants of the main approximant phonemes, /j, w, ʕ/, have a number of possible coarticulations, including stronger (constrictive and semiconstrictive) or weaker (semiapproximant) phones, that we show only in the figure.

Section 3 in *fig* 12.6.1 gives a number of mediatic variants for /ʕ/ [ʕ] (*cf* § 12.6), including [ʕ] (voiced prepharyngeal constrictive). In § 12.6, we also introduced a laryngealized (or, creaky-voiced) version, [ʕ̰].

This can frequently be replaced by laryngealizing some voiced segment (either vocalic or consonantal) occurring around /ʕ/. *fig* 12.6.2 shows the variants of the principal approximant phonemes, /j, w, ʕ/.

Some examples: *yāwir* [ˈjaːwɪɾ] *ᵐ*[ˈjɛːwəɾ], *waṣiyyah* [waˈsɪjja; -aɦ] *ᵐ*[wʌˈsəːjɑ(ɦ)], *wuṣūl* [wʊˈsuːl] *ᵐ*[woˈsɱːl̩], *sayyid* [ˈsaɪjɪd] *ᵗ*[ˈsajjɪd] *ᵐ*[ˈsɛejəd̪], *nawwām* [nauˈwaːm] *ᵗ*[nawˈw-] *ᵐ*[nɔoˈwɛːm̩], *nayy* [ˈnaj, ˈnaj̰, ˈnaj̰, ˈnaɪj] *ᵐ*[ˈnɐj(ː), ˈnɐj̰(ː), ˈnɐj̰], *manhiyy* [manˈɦɪj̰, -ɦɪj̰, -ɦɪj̰, -ɦɪi] *ᵐ*[mɐnˈɦəj(ː), -ɦəj̰(ː), -ɦəj̰], *ʔabw* [ʔabw, -bw, -b̰ʊ̯, -bu] *ᵐ*[ˈʔɐbw̩, -b̰ʊ̯, -bu̯] (even though these might seem to be rather phono-equestrian).

More: *kay* [ˈkaɪ] *ᵐ*[ˈkhɛe], *layyan* [ˈlaɪjan] *ᵗ*[ˈlajjan, ˈlaj̰jan, ˈlajjan] *ᵐ*[ˈlɛejɜn̩], *yawmiyyah* [jauˈmɪjja; -aɦ] *ᵗ*[jaw-, jaw̰-, -ˈmiːj̰-, -ˈmiːj̰-] *ᵐ*[jɔoˈmɪːja(ɦ)], *ʕummī* [ˈʕʊmmi] *ᵗ*[ˈʕʊmmjᵊ, ˈʕʊmmj̰, ˈʕʊmmjᵊ] *ᵐ*[ˈʕommɪ̰].

And: *law* [ˈlau] *ᵗ*[ˈlawᵊ, ˈlaw̰ᵊ, ˈlaɣ̰ᵊ] *ᵐ*[ˈlɔo], *dawwar* [ˈdauwaɾ] *ᵗ*[ˈdauw̰-, ˈdaww-] *ᵐ*[ˈdɔowɐɾ], *ʕadūwah* [ʕaˈduːwa; -aɦ] *ᵗ*[-uːw̰-, -uːɣ̰-] *ᵐ*[ʕɐˈdɱːwa(ɦ)], *sahw* [ˈsaɦu] *ᵗ*[ˈsaɦwᵊ, ˈsaɦw̰ᵊ, ˈsaɦɣ̰ᵊ] *ᵐ*[ˈsɐɦu̯], *ʕafw* [ˈʕafu] *ᵗ*[ˈʕafw, ˈʕafw̰, ˈʕaf̰ʊ̯, ˈʕafu] *ᵐ*[ˈʕɐfu̯].

Further examples: *ʕayn* [ˈʕaɪn] *ᵐ*[ˈʕɛen̩, ˈʕ̰ẹn̩], *ʕalā* [ˈʕala] *ᵐ*[ˈʕɛla, ˈʕ̰ḷa], *maʕi* [ˈmaʕi] *ᵐ*[ˈmɛʕi, ˈmʕ̰ị], *maʕa* [ˈmaʕa] *ᵐ*[ˈmɛʕa, ˈmʕ̰ạ], *baʕda* [ˈbaʕda] *ᵐ*[ˈbɛʕda, ˈbʕ̰ḍa], *biʕtu* [ˈbɪʕtu] *ᵐ*[ˈbəʕtu, ˈbʕ̰tu], *naʕnaʕ, -nāʕ* [ˈnaʕnaʕ, naʕˈnaːʕ] *ᵐ*[ˈnɛʕnɜʕ, nɜʕˈnɛːʕ̰, ˈnɐ̰nɜ, nʒˈnɐ̰ː], *faʕʕāliyyah* [ˌfaʕʕaˈlɪjja; -aɦ] *ᵐ*[ˌfɐʕʕɜˈlɪ̰ːja(ɦ), ˌfɐ̰ʕ̰ɜ-, fɐ̰ˈʒ-], *salʕ* [ˈsalʕ] *ᵐ*[ˈsɛlʕ̰, ˈsẹ̰l̰], *maʕ* [ˈmaʕ] *ᵐ*[ˈmɛ̰ʕ, ˈmʕ̰·], *rabīʕ* [ɾaˈbiːʕ] *ᵐ*[ɾɐˈbɪːʕ̰, ɾɐˈbɪ̰ː], *rubʕ* [ˈɾʊbʕ] *ᵐ*[ˈɾobʕ̰, ˈɾʊ̰b̰].

More: *ʔittiẓāh* [ˌʔɪttɪˈʒaːɦ] *ᵐ*[ˌʔəttɪˈʒeːɦ, -dʒ-, -g-], *muhtar* [ˈmʊhtaɾ] *ᵐ*[ˈmohtɜɾ], *hāḏihi* [ˈɦaːðɪɦi] *ᵐ*[ˈɦeːðɪ̰ɦɪ̰], *maḥbūl* [maɦˈbuːl] *ᵐ*[mɜɦˈbɱːl̩], *ʔinhizām* [ˌʔɪnɦiˈzaːm] *ᵐ*[ˌʔənɦɪˈzeːm̩], *hafnāf* [ɦafˈnaːf] *ᵐ*[ɦɜfˈnɛːf], *hiya* [ˈɦia] *ᵗ*[-ij-] *ᵐ*[ˈɦɪ̰a], *karh* [ˈkaɾɦ] *ᵐ*[ˈkeɾɦ̰], *bih* [ˈbɪɦ] *ᵐ*[ˈbəɦ̰], *qahwah* [ˈqaɦwa; -aɦ] *ᵐ*[ˈqʌɦwa(ɦ)], *wahhāẓ* [waɦˈɦaːʒ, -hˈh-] *ᵐ*[wɜhˈɦɛːdʒ, -ɦˈɦ-, -ʒ̰, -g̰]. Also see: *hazzah* [ˈɦazza; -aɦ] *ᵐ*[ˈɦezza(ɦ)], but: *hazza* [ˈɦezza] *ᵐ*[ˈɦezza].

Trills: *fig* 12.7 shows the mediatic variants of the phoneme /ɾ/, as usual, with all its coarticulations, including [ʐ, ʑ], which may occur in prepausal position.

Examples: *ribq* [ˈɾɪpq] *ᵐ*[ˈɾəbq], *marbūʕ* [maɾˈbuːʕ] *ᵐ*[mɐɾˈbɱːʕ], *mariḥ* [ˈmaɾɪɦ] *ᵐ*[ˈmɐ-ɾəɦ], *mirrīḥ* [mɪɾˈɾiːɦ] *ᵐ*[mɜɾˈɾɪːɦ], *mirāḥ* [miˈɾaːɦ] *ᵐ*[mɪ̰ˈɾɛːɦ], *furfur, -ūr* [ˈfʊɾfʊɾ, fʊɾˈfuːɾ] *ᵐ*[ˈfoɾfoɾ, foɾˈfɱːɽ, -ʐ, -ʑ].

fig 12.8 gives the possible mediatic variants of the phonemes /ʀ, ʁ/. Here are some examples: *bakšīš* [baʀˈʃiːʃ] *ᵐ*[bɐʀˈʃɪːʃ], *kawk* [ˈkauʀ] *ᵐ*[ˈʀɔoʀ], *fakkāriyy* [ˌfaʀʀaˈɾɪj̰ː] *ᵐ*[fɐʀˈʀɛːɾɪ̰], *makzan* [ˈmaʀzan] *ᵐ*[ˈmɐʀzɜn̩], *gadan* [ˈʁadan] *ᵐ*[ˈʁɛdɜn̩], *ṣagīr* [saˈʁiːɾ] *ᵐ*[sʌˈʁɪːɾ], *bālig* [ˈbaːlɪʁ] *ᵐ*[ˈbɛːləʁ̰], *mašgūl* [maʒˈʁuːl] *ᵐ*[mɐʒˈʁɱːl̩], *tawaggul* [taˈwaʁʁʊl] *ᵐ*[tɜˈweʁʁʊl̩], *mablag* [ˈmab-laʁ] *ᵐ*[ˈmɐb-lɜʁ̰], *ḍagṯ* [ˈðaʀθ] *ᵐ*[ˈðɐʀθ].

Laterals: *fig* 12.9 shows the mediatic variants of the phoneme /l/. Except for [ɪ, l, ɭ, ʎ] (and [ɫ], shown for comparison with languages that have it), all the others can replace neutral [ɫ].

Examples: *mutalaʔliʔ* [ˌmutaˈlaʔlɪʔ] ᵐ[ˌmʉtɜˈleʔlə], *talbīs* [talˈbiːs] ᵐ[telˈbɪːs], *layl* [ˈlaɪl] ᵐ[ˈlɛel̥], *talž* [ˈθalʒ̊] ᵐ[ˈθɐl̥d̥ʒ, -l̥ʒ̊, -lg], *malyān* [maʎˈjaːn] ᵐ[mɜʎˈjeːn̩], *xallāqah* [zal-ˈlɑːqa(ɦ)] ᵐ[zɜlˈlʌːqʌ(ɦ)], *talqīħ* [taɬˈqɨːħ] ᵐ[tʌɬˈqəːħ], *bi-smi Llāh* [ˌbɪsmɪlˈlɑː(ɦ)] ᵐ[ˌbəs-məlˈleː(ɦ)], *ʔallāh* [ʔaɬˈɬɑː(ɦ)] ᵐ[ʔʌɬˈɬʌː(ɦ)].

Stress: In the story that follows, a number of variant examples can be found to illustrate what has also been said in § 12.8.

The North Wind and the Sun

12.11. To complete this chapter, here is a (normalized) mediatic version of the text given in § 11.2.2.

The main *consonant* changes (in comparison with the neutral version) are:
[ʔ]→[ʔ] (less strong), [q]→[ʔ] (normal), [ʕ]→[ʕ] (less strong), [ʒ]→[d̥ʒ], [ʐ]→[ð̥] (though not occurring in this text), and seminasals in front of pauses or continuant contoids. For the *vowel* changes, see *fig* 12.1.

As for *stress*, the so widespread 'Egyptian' type is also given, in addition to the more normal pattern, and some other less frequent ones. However, as we know, stress is not distinctive, in Arabic; and native speakers can oscillate very much.

Although it might seem to be more complicated, alternative stress patterns are given in brackets, immediately after, in order to make comparisons easier. On the contrary, in fact, putting them as numbered footnotes would have complicated reading more than so.

Kānat rīħu š-šamāl tatažādalu wa-š-šams fī ʔayyin min-humā kānat ʔaqwā mina l-ʔukrā, wa-ʔiđan bi-musāfirin yaṭlaʕu mutalaffiʕun bi-ʕabāʔatin samīkah. Fa-ttafaqatā ʕalā iʕtibāri s-sābiqi fī ʔižbāri l-musāfir ʕalā kalʕi ʕabāʔati-hi ʔal-ʔaqwā.

ʔaṣafat rīħu š-šamāl bi-ʔaqṣā mā ʔistaṭāʔat min qūwah. Wa-lākin kullamā ʔizdāda l-ʕaṣf, ʔizdāda l-musāfiru tadaŧŧuran bi-ʕabāʔati-hi, ʔilā ʔan ʔusqiṭa fī yadi r-rīħ, fa-takallat ʕan muħāwalati-hā. Baʕda ʔiđin saṭaʕati š-šamsu bi-difʔi-hā, fa-mā kāna mina l-musāfiri ʔillā ʔan kalaʕa ʕabāʔata-hu ʕalā t-taww. Wa-hākađā ʔuḍṭurrat rīħu š-šamāl ʔilā l-ʔiʕtirāf bi-ʔanna š-šamsa kānat hiya l-ʔaqwā.

Hal kānati l-qiṣṣatu žamīlah? Hal turīdu ʔan nuraddida-hā?

[ˈkhɛːnɜt· ˈɾɨːħoʃ ʃɜ̃ˈmeːl̩·| ˌtetɜˈd̥ʒɛːdɜlμ {tɜˌted̥ʒeˈdelμ} wɜʃˈʃemɐ··| fɾˈʔʔɛejənɐ ˈmənɦμˌme·· {mənˈɦμme}| ˈkhɐnɜt ʔeʔ-we· ˌmənʔelˈʔʊ̥ʁɾɐ· {ʔeʔˈwe· mən-}| wɜʔəð bɪmμˈseːfɾɐn·· {bɪˌmμseˈfɾɐn}| ˌˈjʌɬɬʌʕo mμtɜˈleffəʕom· {jʌɬɬʌʕo ˌmμtɜlefˈfəʕom} ˌbəʕeʔbeːʔɜtɐɐ {ˌbəʕebɜ-ʔetɐɐ} sɜˈmɾːkeɦ··| ˌfettɜˈfeʔeˌte·· {fettɜfeˈʔete··} {tɜˌfeʔeˈthɛː··} {ˈthɐfeˌʔete··}| ʕele {ʕeˈle} ʕɜtɾ̥ˈbeːɾɐs ˈseːbɾ̥ə· {seˈbɾ̥ɪ̥·}| fɾˈʔd̥ʒˈbeːɾɐl mμˈseːfɐɾ·| ʕele {ʕeˈleː} ˈʁelʕɨ ʕɐbɜʔetɪ̥ɦɪ̥· {ʕeˌbe-ʔɜˈthɪ̥ɦɪ̥·} {ʕeˈbeːʔɜˌtɪɦɪ̥·}| ʔelˈʔʔ-we· {ˌʔelʔeʔˈweː·}||

ˈʕʌsʌfet· {ʕʌˈsʌfɜt·}| ˈɾɨːħoʃ ʃɜ̃ˈmeːl̩·|| bɪˈʔeʔ-sʌ ˈmɐː·| ʔəstʌˈɬʌːʔt mənˈʔμːweˑ·|| wɜˈleːkɜŋ· ˌˈkhollɜˌme {kolˈlemɜ} ʔɜzˈdeːdɜl ˈʕʌsf··|| ʔɜzˈdeːdɜl mμˈseːfɪɾμ {mμseˈfɪɾμ} tɜˌdeθˈθμɾɐm· {ˌtedɜθˈθμɾɐm·} bəˈʕebɜʔetɪ̥ɦɪ̥·· {ˌbɪˌʕeˌbeʔɜˈtɪɦɪ̥·}| ˌˈʔɪle ʔɜnˈʔosʔəˌɬʌ {ˈʔɪˈleː ʔɐnʔosʔəɬʌ} fɾˈjeˌdɐɾ ˈɾɾ̥ːħ··||| ˌfeteˈʁellɜt ˈʕemɐ moˌħewɜˈletɪ̥ɦɐ· {moˌħewɜlɜˈthɪ̥ɦɐ·} {moˌħewɜˌletɪ̥ɦɐː·}||| beˈʕde-

ʾɪ̞ðɐ· {ˌbeʕdʒʾɪ̞ðɐ·}‖ sʌˈɬʌʕetəʃ {ˌsʌɬʌˈʕetəʃ} ˈʃemsɐ bɪ̞ˈdəfʾɪ̞ɦe· {ˌbɪ̞dəfʾɪ̞ɦe·} {bɪ̞ˈdəfʾɪ̞ɦe:·}‖ ˌʃemʒˈkheːɐɐ mɪ̞ˌnelmɐˈseːfɪ̞ɾɪ̞· {mɪ̞ˌnelmɐseˈfɪ̞ɾɪ̞·}‖ ʾəlle ʾʌɴˈʞeleˌʕɐ {ʾəlˈleː· ʾʌɴʞeˈleʕɐ} ˌʕebeʾetʒˌɦɐ· {ˌʕeˌbeʾʒˈtheɦɐ·} ˌ̩ʕelɜt ˈtheɐw·ˌ‖·ˈwe ˈɦeːkʒˌðe {ɦʒˈkheðe} ʾotˈtoɐɐet· ˈɾɜːɦoʃ ʃɜ-ˈmeːl̥·| ʾɪ̞lɜl ʾəʕtɪ̞ˈɾeːf· {ʾɪ̞ˈleːl ʾəʕ-} bɪ̞ʾeɐnʒ ˈʃemɐse·| ˈkheːnɜt· ˈhɪ̞ɜl ʾeʾ-we·. {ʾeʾˈweː·}‖

¿ˈhel ˈkheːnɜtəɬ {kʒˈnetəɬ} ʾəsˈsʌtɐ {ʾəssʌtɐ}· ¿dʒʒˈmɪ̞ːleɦi·‖ ¿ˈhel tɐˈɾɪ̞dɐ· ʾeɐ nɐɾedˈdɪ̞dʒˌɦe· {nɐˌɾeddɪ̞ˈdeɦe·} {nɐɾedˌdɪ̞dʒˈɦeː·}‖‖‖].