

THE "BROKEN" PLURAL PROBLEM IN ARABIC AND COMPARATIVE SEMITIC

ALLOMORPHY AND ANALOGY IN
NON-CONCATENATIVE MORPHOLOGY

ROBERT R. RATCLIFFE

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
AMSTERDAM/PHILADELPHIA

CONTENTS

Foreword	ix
Note on transcription/transliteration	x
Chapter I: Methodological Preliminaries	
1 General aims of diachronic linguistics	1
2 Diachronic investigation in morphology	4
3 Notes on reconstructive method I: Establishing the data	5
3.1 Distributional analysis and internal reconstruction	5
3.1.1 Contrasts and rules	9
3.1.2 Data, theory, and comparative Semitics	11
3.2 Establishing correspondences among languages	13
4 Notes on reconstructive method II: Evaluating hypotheses	17
4.1 Evaluating allomorphic variation	20
Chapter II: Morphological Analysis of Arabic	
1 Basic issues	22
2 Morphological rules and relationships in Arabic	24
2.1 Autosegmental morphology	25
2.1.1 Autosegmental morphology and the problem of derivation	26
2.1.2 Prosodic templates and triconsonantal roots	27
2.2 Problems with templates	29
2.2.1 Representation of the timing tier	31
2.3 Morphological rule types	32
2.3.1 Affixation on the timing tier and affixation on the segment tier	32
2.3.1.1 Prosodic circumscription	32
2.3.1.2 Affixation to a stem	36
2.3.2 Mapping rules	37
2.3.2.1 Vowel mapping and polarity	37
2.3.2.2 Consonant mapping	41
2.4 Templatic and affixational morphology revisited: Templates as constraints	42
2.4.1 Two-consonant stems and default association	44
2.4.2 Strict and loose template satisfaction	48
2.4.3 Templates and prosodic feet	49
3 Organization of the lexicon	50
3.1 The form of lexical entries	50

3.2	Levels	53
3.2.1	Implications of the level-ordering model	55
3.2.2	Syntax level morphology	58
4	Low-level phonological effects on morphology	59
4.1	Syllable structure constraints	59
4.2	Epenthesis and glide formation	61
4.2.1	Epenthesis	62
4.2.2	Glide formation	63
4.3	Syncope and glide deletion	65
4.3.1	Glide deletion	66
4.3.2	Syncope	66

Chapter III: The Arabic Noun Plural System

1	General aims	68
2	Observations on productivity and regularity	72
2.1	Classification of singular-plural groups	74
3	Analysis by singular-plural groups	77
3.1	Group (1): undervived masculine nouns of three or fewer consonants	77
3.1.1	Plurals of masculine biconsonantal stem nouns	81
3.1.2	Plurals of geminate stem nouns	83
3.1.3	Plurals of 'weak' stem triconsonantal nouns	83
3.1.3.1	Triconsonantals with stem-final glide	83
3.1.3.2	Nouns with medial long vowel or diphthong	84
3.1.3.3	Other 'weak' stem anomalies: over-expansion	87
3.2	Group (2): triconsonantal and shorter feminine nouns	88
3.2.1	Feminine biconsonantals	91
3.2.2	Geminate and 'weak' stem feminines	93
3.2.3	Collective-singulative pairs	94
3.3	Group (3): quadriconsonantal nouns	95
3.3.1	Four-consonant stems with stem-final 'weak' consonant	96
3.4	Group (4): three-consonant stems with long vowel treated as four-consonant stems	97
3.5	Group (5): the problem of derivation of derived forms I: the active participle CaaCiC	99
3.5.1	Glide final CaaCiG >> CuCa(G)at	100
3.5.2	Minor plurals of CaaCiC: CuCuuC, etc.	101
3.6	Group (6): the problem of derivation of derived forms II: verbal adjectives and nouns (CaCiiC, CVCaaC, etc.)	103
3.6.1	CvCaaC >> ?aCCiCat	104
3.6.2	CVCVVC >> CuCuC	105
3.6.3	Special plurals of rational CaCiiCun: CuCaCaa?u, ?aCCiCaa?u	106
3.6.4	Plurals of adjective CaCiiC >> CiCaaC	107
3.7	A general account of groups (4), (5), and (6)	107

3.8	Group (7) special adjectival types	111
3.8.1	Relational adjectives (nisba)	112
3.8.2	Adjectives of color and defect	112
3.8.3	The plural CuCCaan	113
3.8.4	Comparative/superlative adjectives	113
3.8.5	The plural CaCCa(y)a	114
3.9	Form and distribution of the 'sound' external plural	114
3.10	Synopsis of the Arabic level I plural system	115

apter IV: Survey of Previous Scholarship

1	Overview	117
2	The major theories	120
2.1	Brockelmann (1913)	120
2.2	Barth (1894)	122
2.3	Kurylowicz (1962, 1973)	125
2.4	Murtonen (1964)	128
2.5	Corriente (1971)	130
3	The major theories considered against the Arabic data	134
3.1	Plurals of underived masculines (Group 1)	135
3.1.1	Non-productive plurals of underived nouns	139
3.2	Plurals of underived feminines (Group 2)	140
3.3	Group (3) and Group (4) plurals	141
3.4	Group (5) plurals	142
3.5	Group (6) plurals	144
3.6	Group (7): Special adjective types	146
4	Conclusion from study of previous scholarship	147

apter V: The Comparative Semitic Evidence

1	Diachronic problems presented by the plural systems of Semitic languages	150
1.1	The broken plural and the sub-classification of Semitic languages	150
2	Noun pluralization in East Semitic	152
3	Noun pluralization in Northwest Semitic	153
3.1	Pluralization of the underived base noun (= Arabic groups 1 and 2)	154
3.1.1	Residual CvCuuC and CvCiiC plurals in Hebrew(?)	156
3.2	Remnants of the collective-singulative opposition	157
3.3	Pluralization of uni- and biconsonantal nouns in NW Semitic	158
3.3.1	Reduplication in the late Aramaic dialects	160
3.4	Quadrilaterals and derived nouns	161
3.5	Irregular adjective plurals in Aramaic	162
3.6	Uses of the extended stem in non-plural sense in NW Semitic	162

4	Noun pluralization in Southwest Semitic	164
4.1	Gəʕez	166
4.2	Old South Arabian	172
4.3	Tigre	177
4.4	Tigrinya (partial)	186
4.5	Harsusi (dialect of Mehri)	189
4.6	Jibbali (Sheri)	196

Chapter VI: Subclassification and Reconstruction

1	Noun plural isoglosses and subclassification	204
1.1	Isoglosses defining SW Semitic against NW Semitic	206
1.2	Isoglosses linking Southern Arabian and Ethiopian Semitic against Arabic	209
1.3	Features peculiar to Arabic	210
1.4	Innovations shared by the MSA languages	210
1.5	Innovations shared by Ethiopian Semitic	211
1.6	Noun plural isoglosses and subclassification: conclusion	211
2	Reconstruction	213
2.1	The morphological system of Proto-Semitic	213
2.1.1	Ambiguity and syncretism in Semitic morphology	214
2.1.2	Internal vs. external morphology: redundancy as a consequence of level-ordering	215
2.1.3	Internal nominal morphology in Proto-Semitic	217
2.2	Relative distribution of internal and external plurals in Proto-Semitic	219
2.3	Form of the internal plural of the underived noun	221
2.3.1	The three-consonant masculine noun	221
2.3.1.1	/a/ vs. /u/ plurals	222
2.3.1.2	?aCC... vs. CVC...	224
2.3.1.3	Long vs. short vowels	229
2.3.1.4	Plurals of the three-consonant masculine noun: summary	230
2.3.2	Plurals of biconsonantal nouns	232
2.3.3	Plural of the feminine base noun	233
2.4	Spread of the internal plural in SW Semitic	234
2.5	Form of the external plural in Proto-Semitic	241
2.6	Conclusion	242

References	245
-------------------	-----

General Index	255
----------------------	-----