Khartoum Arabic

1. General

1.1 Area, range

The dialect referred to in this article as Khartoum Arabic is spoken in Greater Khartoum (Khartoum, Khartoum North, and Omdurman), and in other urban areas of central Sudan, roughly to the towns of Atbara in the north, Sennar on the Blue Nile, and Kosti on the White Nile.

1.2 Speakers

Sudan is a multilingual country, Arabs making up around 40% of the population. Khartoum Arabic is the prestige Arabic dialect, and has several million native speakers. Most of these are descendants of migrants into the cities of central Sudan during the twentieth century.

1.3 Position

Sudan has a well developed tradition of writing and performing in colloquial Arabic. The University of Khartoum Centre for Afro-Asian Studies has published collections of folk literature and oral histories in various Arabic dialects, a number of well-known literary figures have published collections of poetry in Sudanese Arabic, literary figures such as aṭ-Ṭayyib Sāliḥ have made use of colloquial Arabic in their writing, and there is a well-established tradition of colloquial Arabic broadcasting – plays, soap-operas, and folkloric material in particular.

1.4 Linguistic type

Khartoum Arabic is an eastern-type Arabic dialect, and seems to be more closely related to the dialects of Upper Egypt than to any other non-Sudanese dialect, although there are also Peninsular and North African influences. Historically, this reflects the major penetration route of Arabic speakers, from Upper Egypt and through Nubia (via the Islamization of the Nubian kingdoms) into central Sudan.

Within Sudan, Khartoum Arabic is closely related to the dialects of the Ja'aliyyin tribal grouping, who are found to the north of Khartoum. The history of Khartoum Arabic is reflected in its lexicon. This includes old borrowings from Aramaic (including Syriac), Ancient Egyptian (via Nubian) and Coptic, and Persian (sometimes via Ottoman Turkish), more recent borrowings from Ottoman Turkish, English, French, Italian, Greek, Ethiopian languages and Egyptian Arabic, as well as words from other Sudanese languages, particularly Nubian, Beja and Fur.

1.5 State of research

Research into Sudanese Arabic began fairly early in the twentieth century, impelled by the requirements of the British colonial administration, and the personal interests of members of the British Sudan Service. Early works include Worsely (1925), Hillelson (1930), Trimingham (1945).

More recent works include Kaye (1976), and Persson and Persson (1980). Collections of texts have been produced by Hillelson (1935), Yagi (1981), and Bergman (2002), which includes an account of the grammar (pp. 1-63). Particularly important is the Sudanese Arabic-Standard Arabic dictionary of Qāsim (2002).

Phonology is the only linguistic sub-discipline to have received detailed attention. There have been studies by Mustapha (1982) (particularly recommended), Blair (1983), and Hamid (1984).

2. Phonology

2.1. Phonemics

PHONEME-TABLE TO BE ADDED HERE

Figure 1 Consonants of Khartoum Arabic

/č/ and /ñ/ occur in only a small number of words and are not in the inventory of all speakers. Speakers who do not have /č/ and /ñ/, use /š/ and /n/ respectively instead: thus *čarra* / *šarra* 'to gurgle [of water]', *ñarra* / *narra* 'to growl [of a dog]'.

Minimal /r/ vs. /ṛ/, and /l/ vs. /ḷ/ pairs include *jabar* 'to set [of a broken bone]' vs. *jabaṛ* 'to force', and *galam* 'to prune' vs. *gaḷam* 'pen'. However, /ḷ/ never appears word-initially (cf. Mustapha 1982: 61), and /ṛ/ is particularly subject to internal root allomorphy with /r/; thus *jaṛṛāḥ* 'surgeon' and *jariḥ* 'wound' belong to the same root.

/'/ is positionally restricted, occurring only syllable-initially. Both /ᶜ/ and /'/ are more reasonably analysed as fricatives than plosives, /'/ typically being realised as creaky voice.

There are virtually no occurrences of the apico-alveolar emphatics /ḍ/, /ṭ/, /ẓ/, /ṣ/, /ṛ/, /ḷ/ in the environment of /ġ/ and /x/ (exceptions are *ṣāġ*, a rank in the Ottoman

army, and some words borrowed from Standard Arabic). In the current state of the language, this is phonetically unmotivated since /ġ/ and /x/ do not themselves have emphatic-type realisations. At an earlier stage, however, /ġ/ and /x/ seem to have been emphatics, and to have yielded de-emphasisation of other emphatics in their environment.

Khartoum Arabic has developed a 4-way (2x2) emphatic/plain, voiced/unvoiced opposition out of the original Arabic 3-way emphatic, voiced (or unaspirated), unvoiced (or aspirated) opposition. The 2x2 opposition is apparent in its full form in the apico-dental and apico-alveolar series: /ḍ/, /ṭ/, /d/, /t/ and /ẓ/, /ṣ/, /z/, /s/, and in the guttural series: /ˤ/, /ḥ/, /'/ and /h/, where /ˤ/ and /ḥ/ are the emphatic counterparts of /'/ and /h/, one phonetic interpretation of this being that /ˤ/ and /ḥ/ are primarily glottals with secondary pharyngealisation (cf. Jakobson 1957: 112). The major phonetic correlate of emphasis in Khartoum Arabic is pharyngealisation. In the case of /ḷ/ and /ṛ/, however, the phonetic correlate may be velarisation.

Khartoum Arabic has three short vowels: /u/, /a/, /i/; and five long vowels: /ū/, /ā/, and /ī/, /ō/ and /ē/. It has four diphthongs. By far the most common are /aw/ and /ay/. However, /iw/ and /uy/ also occur, e.g. *siwsīw* 'chicken', *buyḍ*‿ 'white (pl.)' in liaison before a following vowel (citation form *buyuḍ*).

2.2 Syllable structure
Khartoum Arabic has the following syllable types:

Type 1.	CV̲	e.g.	*da̲*	'this (m.)'
Type 2.	CV̲C	e.g.	*bu̲n*	'coffee beans'
Type 3.	CV̲VC	e.g.	*bēt*	'house'
Type 4.	CV̲CC	e.g.	*ba̲nk*	'bank' (financial institution)
Type 5.	CV̲VCC	e.g.	*tā̲ks*	'taxi'

Khartoum Arabic also has a high tone, represented here as ↑, and occurring most commonly in running text on 1st person singular pronoun suffixes, e.g. *ummi*↑ 'my mother' *lēy*↑ 'to me'.

2.3 Consonant clusters
Syllable-final consonant clusters are of two types:

(i) Sonorant /m/, /n/, or /l/ followed by a fricative /f/, /s/, /z/, /š/, or by a stop, normally at an adjacent, but less commonly at the same point of articulation. Sonorant-stop cluster-forms include: *jamb* 'beside', *asmant* 'cement' (but also *asmantiy*

among non-educated speakers). Sonorant-fricative cluster-forms include: *hals* 'bad, corrupt'.

(ii) Fricative /f/ or trill /r/; followed by a stop or, in the case of /r/ only, also a fricative, typically at an adjacent (but not identical) place of articulation. Fricative/trill-stop cluster forms include: *zift* 'pitch, tar' (but also *zifti* among non-educated speakers), while fricative/trill-fricative cluster forms include: *kurs* 'course [educational]'.

3. Morphology

Feminine plural pronouns and verbs are considered a rural feature (and are placed in square brackets throughout this article). Where a sound plural is used, there seems to be an increasing tendency for feminine plural human nouns to take masculine plural adjectives.

3.1 Independent pronouns

The independent personal pronouns are as follows:

3rd sg.masc.	*hu*	2nd sg.masc.	*inta*	1st sg.	*ana*
3rd sg.fem.	*hi*	2nd sg.fem.	*inti*		
3rd masc.pl.	*hum*	2nd masc.pl.	*intu*	1st pl.	*niḥna*
[3rd pl.fem.	*hin*]	[2nd pl.fem.	*intan*]		

3.2 Possessive/object suffixes

The possessive/object suffixes are:

3rd sg.masc.	*-hu/-u*	2nd sg.	*-ak/-k*	1st sg.	*-y↑/-i↑/-ni↑*
3rd sg.fem.	*-ha/-a/-a↑/-i↑*	2nd sg.fem.	*-ik/-ki*		
3rd pl.masc.	*-hum/-um*	2nd pl.masc.	*-kum*	1st pl.	*-na*
[3rd pl.fem.	*-hin/-in*]	[2nd (pl.fem.)	*-kan*]		

Where the possessive/object suffix has two forms (allomorphs), the vowel-initial form is post-consonantal and the consonant-initial form post-vocalic. The only exception is the 1st sg. suffix form *-ni↑*, which occurs as the object suffix on verbs and participles, and also in *fīni↑* 'in me'

Where the suffixes -*a* 3rd. sg.fem., -*um* 3rd pl.masc., and [-*in* 3rd pl.fem.] are preceded by a short vowel, the main stress falls on the syllable immediately preceding the pronoun suffixes (thus *gaḷam* 'pen', but *gaḷáma* 'her pen'). This is a relic of a previous stage of the language, where these pronoun suffixes were here, as elsewhere, -*ha* 3rd sg.fem., -*hum* 3rd pl.masc., and -*hin* 3rd pl.fem., a CvC suffix of this type yielding a syllable structure in which Sudanese standardly has stress on the penultimate syllable.

3.3 Demonstratives
The demonstratives are as follows:

Near: 'this', 'that', 'it [of inanimate objects]'

sg.masc.	*da*
sg.fem.	*di*
pl.com.	*dēl*

Far: 'that over there', 'that which is conceptually/discoursally distant'

sg.masc.	*dāk*
sg.fem.	*dīk*
pl.com.	*dēlak*; also *dēk*

2.2.1.4 Interrogatives
The main interrogatives are:

mitēn 'when'
šinu 'what'
minu[↑] 'who'

kēf 'how'
wēn 'where'

yātu[↑] 'which'

kēf 'who', and *wēn* optionally take pronoun suffixes; *kēfak*, *kēfik*, etc. are fairly common ways of saying 'how are you?'

yātu↑ 'which' occurs pre-nominally and post-nominally. Pre-nominally, *yātu*↑ is invariable. *yātu*↑ rājil 'which man?', *yātu*↑ mara 'which woman?', *yātu*↑ awlād 'which children?'. Post-nominally, *yātu*↑ takes different suffixes in agreement with the preceding noun (which occurs with the definite): *arrājil yātu*↑ 'which man?', *almara yāti*↑ 'which woman?', *alawlād yātum*↑ 'which children?'. Where interrogative pronouns take pronoun suffixes, the sg.fem. suffix form is normally *-i*↑ rather than *-a.*

Interrogatives may occur in the same place as do corresponding non-interrogative elements: e.g. *māši wēn* 'where are you (etc. sg.masc.) going' (cf. *māši ssūg* 'I (etc. sg.masc.) am going to the market'). *jīt maʿa minu*↑ 'who did you come with' (cf. *jīt maʿa ḥmad* 'I came with Aḥmad).

Interrogatives may also occur sentence-initially, if they are they are a major sentence element, e.g. main predicand, main predicate, or directly dependent on the verb. (The term 'predicand' is used in this paper (as in Bohas, Guillaume and Kouloghli 1990, and Watson 1993) to cover both the subject of a verb, and the 'initial element' (Arabic *mubtada' bi-hi*) of a verbless senstence.) Thus, *wēn māši* 'where are you (etc. sg.masc.) going'. A post-prepositional interrogative can only occur sentence initially as a complete prepositional phrase: e.g. *maʿa mnu*↑ *jīt* 'who did you come with'. Sentence-initial interrogatives are somewhat emphatic.

3.4 Verbs

3.4.1 Form I

There are two Form I patterns: CaCaC and, less commonly, CiCiC.

3.4.1.1 Form 1 perfects

3.4.1.1.1 CaCaC perfects

Example: *daras* 'to study'

3rd sg.masc.	*daras*	2nd sg.masc.	*darasta*	1st sg.	*darasta*
3rd sg.fem.	*darasat*	2nd sg.fem.	*darasti*		
3rd m.pl	*darasu*	2nd pl.masc.	*darastu*	1st pl.	*darasna*
[3rd pl.fem.	*darasan*]	[2nd pl.fem.	*darastan*]		

Prototypically, CaCaC verbs have agentive subjects:

katab   'he wrote'
daras   'he studied'

However, the subject may also be the patient:

waga‘   'it fell'
barad   'it [objectively] got cold' (cf. birid below)

3.4.1.1.2 CiCiC perfects

The final /i/ of the CiCiC perfect pattern drops out before vowel-initial subject suffixes.

Example: *simi‘* 'to hear'

3rd sg.masc.	*simi‘*	2nd sg.masc.	*simi‘ta*	1st sg.		*simi‘ta*
3rd sg.fem.	*sim‘at*	2nd sg.fem.	*simi‘ti*			
3rd m.pl	*sim‘u*	2nd pl.masc.	*simi‘tu*	1st pl.		*simi‘na*
[3rd pl.fem.	*sim‘an*]	[2nd pl.fem.	*simi‘tan*]			

CiCiC verbs typically express the following notions:

becoming/getting into a state:	*biga* 'become'; *kibir* 'grow big, old'
involuntary activities:	*‘irig* 'sweat, perspire'; *wildat* 'she gave birth'
(loss of) senses:	*simi‘* 'hear'; *xiris* 'go dumb'
subjective experience:	*girif* 'get fed up'; *zi‘il* 'get angry'; *birid* 'he [subjectively] got/felt cold' (cf. *barad*, above)

3.4.1.1.3 Perfect of weak verbs

II gem. verbs

Example: *ḥabba* 'to love'

3rd sg.masc.	*ḥabba*	2nd sg.masc.	*ḥabbēt*	1st sg.		*ḥabbēt*
3rd sg.fem.	*ḥabbat*	2nd sg.fem.	*ḥabbēti*			
3rd m.pl	*ḥabbu*	2nd pl.masc.	*ḥabbētu*	1st pl. *ḥabbēna*		
[3rd pl.fem.	*ḥabban*]	[2nd pl.fem.	*ḥabbētan*]			

III y CaCaC verbs have the same basic pattern as II gem. verbs. Thus, *jarēt* 'I ran' (etc.), *jara* 'he ran', *jarat* 'she ran', *jaru* 'they ran'.

III y CiCiC verbs take the ending /ī/ before consonant-initial suffixes. Thus from *biga* 'to become': *bigīt* 'I became'. Elsewhere, they take the same pre-suffix endings as final weak CaCaC verbs: *biga* 'he became', *bigat* 'she became', *bigu* 'they (pl.masc.) became'.

The great majority of II w/y verbs belong to one of two closely related perfect unsound (hollow) patterns: *ā-u* alternation, or *ā-i* alternation.

Example (*ā-u* alternation): *ṣām* 'to fast'

3rd sg.masc.	*ṣām*	2nd sg.masc.	*ṣumta*	1st sg.	*ṣumta*
3rd sg.fem.	*ṣāmat*	2nd sg.fem.	*ṣumti*		
3rd m.pl	*ṣāmu*	2nd pl.masc.	*ṣumtu*	1st pl.	*ṣumna*
[3rd pl.fem.	*ṣāman*]	[2nd pl.fem.	*ṣumtan*]		

Most II w/y verbs follow the same *ā-u* alternation pattern as *ṣām*: CāC before vowel-initial suffixes, and CuC before consonant-initial suffixes. A somewhat smaller proportion have an the *ā-i* alternation pattern. Thus: *ṭār* 'he flew', *ṭirna* 'we flew'.

The verb *ja* 'to come' (root: j-y-y) is irregular, having the form *jī-* before most consonant-initial suffixes (*jīt* 'I came') *ja-* before almost all vowel-initial suffixes *jāt* (= /*ja-at*/) 'she came', and the monothongised form *jō* 'they [pl.masc.] came' (= **jaw*).

3.4.1.2 Form 1 imperfects

The initial vowel of Form I imperfects is /a/ and there are three imperfect patterns: yaCCuC, yaCCiC and yaCCaC.

Example: *yadrus* 'he studies'

3rd sg.masc.	*yadrus*	2nd sg.masc.	*tadrus*	1st sg.	*adrus*
3rd sg.fem.	*tadrus*	2nd sg.fem.	*tadrusi*		
3rd m.pl	*yadrusu*	2nd pl.masc.	*tadrusu*	1st pl.	*nadrus*
[3rd pl.fem.	*yadrusan*]	[2nd pl.fem.	*tadrusan*]		

The *a*-imperfect is illustrated by *yasmaʿ* 'he hears', and the *i*-imperfect by *yaktib* 'he writes'. Apart from the vowel-difference, both conjugate exactly like the *u*-imperfect.

All CaCCuC imperfects have *a*-perfects. Almost all *i*-imperfects have *a*-perfects. However, a small number have aCCaC (i.e. Form IV) perfects. Examples are: *yasriʿ*

'he hurries' (perfect *asraʿ*)*,* borrowings from Standard Arabic such as *yasbit* 'he demonstrates' (perfect *asbat*), and the very common verb *yaddi* 'he gives' (perfect adda; root: *d-d-y*).

II gem. verbs have either *u-* or *i-*imperfect: *yaḥibb* 'he loves', *yaġušš* 'he deceives' (perfect *ġašša*). The affixes are, in both cases, the same as for sound verbs.

II w/y verbs have either: (i) medial /ū/, in almost all cases corresponding to perfect *ā-u* alternation: e.g. *yaṣūm* 'he fasts' (perfect *ṣām*), *yadūr* 'he goes round' (perfect *dār*); (ii) medial /ī/ *yaṭīr* 'he flies' (perfect *ṭār*), *yadīr* 'he administers' (derived from Standard Arabic Form IV); or (iii) very rarely, medial /ā/, e.g. *yaxāf* 'he fears (perfect with *ā-u* alternation; *xāf* 'he feared', *xufta* 'I feared'). Subject affixes are the same as for sound verbs.

III y verbs have either final /i/, e.g. *yajri* 'he runs' (from *jara*), /a/, e.g. *yabda* 'he begins' (from *bada*). The final /i/ or /a/ disappears before vowel-initial subject-suffixes: e.g. *yajru* 'they [pl.masc.] run', *tabdi* 'you [sg.fem.] begin'.

Verbs with medial and final weak radicals are medially sound but finally as for other weak final verbs: *yašwi* 'he grills' (perfect *šawa*), *yaʿya* 'he becomes ill' (perfect *ʿiya*).

I /w/ verbs take various imperfect patterns. Some lose the /w/ of the perfect, e.g. *yagaʿ* 'he falls' (perfect *wagaʿ*); some have /ō/ as a reflex of root /w/, e.g. *yōjaʿ* 'it hurts' (perfect *wajaʿ*); and some retain the /w/, e.g. *yawzin* (but for some speakers *yōzin*) 'it weighs' (perfect *wazan*). The verb *wagaf* 'to stop, stand' is reinterpreted as a hollow verb in the imperfect: *yagiif* 'he stops, stands'.

3.4.2 Form II
Form II is produced by doubling of C^2. It is extremely common, and has a very wide range of meaning correlates, the most important of which are the following:

Same meaning as Form I
kammal   'to finish (intr.)' (= *kimil*; nb. *kammal* is also used causatively)

Causative of Form I
The notion of causative covers a range of meanings from genuine causation to permission and enabling.

bagga   'to cause to become' (*biga* 'to become')

rabba   'to grow [e.g. a beard]' (*riba* 'to grow (intr.)')

Causative of other forms
saffar   'to cause to travel' (*sāfar* 'to travel' – Form III)
šaġġal   'to cause to work' (*ištaġal* 'to work (intr.) – Form VIII)

Intensive
gaffal   'to close up [completely] (intr. and tr.)'

Distributive
ḍabbaḥ   'to slaughter (lots of animals)' (*ḍabaḥ* 'to slaughter')

Accusational
sarrag   'to accuse of stealing, accuse of being a thief'
jahhal   'to consider ignorant, accuse of ignorance'

Having a disease/defect
nammal   'to get pins and needles'
ṣaddaʿ   'to get a headache'
ḥawwaṣ   'to go cross-eyed'

Becoming a colour
zarrag   'to turn black; make black' (root *z-r-g*; *azrag* 'black')
xaddar   'to turn brown/green; make brown/green' (root *x-d-r*; *axdar* 'brown/green')

The imperfect of Form II is on the yiCaCCiC pattern: *darras* 'he taught', *yidarris* 'he teaches'.

3.4.3 Form III
Form III is produced by lengthening the initial /a/ vowel of the verb. Form III verbs typically express the following:

Action involving two people with subject as agent and object as patient
ġāmaz   'to wink at'
ʿālaj   'to treat, cure'
šāwar 'to consult'

Reciprocal relationship with discoursally foregrounded entity as subject
sāwa   'to be equial to'
bādal   'to exchange'

ḍārab   'to hit (someone who is hitting you)'

Othe*r*
ḥāwal   'to try'
sāfar   'to travel'
ᶜāyan lē   'to look (at)'
bārak lē   'to congratulate'

The imperfect of Form III is on the yiCāCiC pattern: *šāfar* 'he travelled', *yisāfir* 'he travels'.

3.4.4 Form IV
Form IV is produced by adding an *a*-prefix in the perfect. Form IV verbs are rare, and most are recent borrowings from Standard Arabic. They include:

asraᶜ   'to hurry'
adda   'to give' (root: d-d-y)
aḍrab   'to go on strike' (from Standard Arabic)

The imperfect of Form IV is on the yaCCiC pattern: *yasriᶜ* 'he hurries'.

3.4.5 Form V
Form V is produced by adding an *it*-prefix to Form II. The main meanings of Form V are:

Passive of Form II
itkassar   'to be smashed up' (Form II *kassar* 'to smash up')

Reflexive of Form II
itġaṭṭa   'to cover oneself (root: *ġ-ṭ-y*)
itgaṭṭaᶜ   'to become split up into' (root: *g-ṭ-ᶜ*)

Reciprocal of Form II
itwannas   'to chat (with one another)' (cf. *wannas* 'to chat to')

Reciprocality in this article is defined as subsuming both the notions of activity directed at one another (e.g. *itšākal* 'to quarrel with one another') and that of doing things together (e.g. *itnōna* 'to buzz together'; not necessarily 'to buzz at one another').

Acting or pretence
itkabbar   'to act arrogantly, be arrogant'

The imperfect of Form V is on the yitCaCCaC pattern: *itkallam* 'he talked', *yitkallam* 'he talks'.

3.4.6 Form VI
Form V is produced by adding an *it*-prefix to Form III. The main meanings of Form VI are:

Reflexive
itgāwal   'to contract [oneself] to do' (root: *g-w-l*)
itᶜāhad   'to undertake [= get oneself to undertake] to do'

Reciprocal (esp. of Form III)
itšākal   'to quarrel with one another' (Form III: *šākal* 'to quarrel with')
itgābal   'to meet one another' (Form III: *gābal* 'to meet')

Acting as/pretence
itnāsa   'to pretend to forget'
itġāba   'to pretend to be an idiot'
itẓāhar (bē)   'to pretend to'

The imperfect of Form VI is on the yitCāCaC pattern: *itkāsal* 'he was (too) lazy (to do st.), *yitkāsal* 'he is (too) lazy (to do st.).

3.4.7 Form VII
Form VII is produced by adding an *in*-prefix to the root. Form VII gives a middle sense. It is unproductive in Khartoum Arabic and confined to a small number of words, although in many Sudanese dialects it is standardly used to make the passive, where Khartoum Arabic uses the root prefix *it-*. Examples are:

inbasaṭ   'to become happy' (also *itbasaṭ*)
indahaš   'to become surprised, astonished'
inṭalag   'to become loose, dissolute'

That Form VII is older than the use of the root prefix *it-* is suggested by the frequent use of Form VII in proverbs, e.g. *šōkat ḫūt la tanbaliᶜ la tafūt* 'caught on the horns of a dilemma' (lit: 'a fish-bone; it can't be swallowed and it won't go away').

The imperfect of Form VII is on the yanCaCiC pattern: *yanbasiṭ* 'he becomes pleased'. Some speakers use the yinCaCiC pattern (*yinbasiṭ*).

3.4.8 Form VIII

Form VIII is produced by adding a -*t*- post- C¹ infix. Form VIII often gives a residual reflexive sense (e.g. *ištaġal* 'to work') or reciprocal sense (e.g. *ijtamaʿ* 'to meet [together]').

The imperfect of Form VIII is on the yatCaCiC pattern: *yaštaġil* 'he works'. Some speakers use the yitCaCiC pattern (*yištaġil*).

3.4.9 Form IX

Form IX does not occur in Khartoum Arabic. Its functions –(getting a disease/defect and becoming a colour – are sometimes expressed by Form II verbs in Khartoum Arabic (see Section 3.4.2 above).

3.4.10 Form X

Form X is produced by adding an *ista-* prefix to the root. Form X gives the following main senses:

estimative
istaġrab   'to find strange/unusual, be surprised at'
istahwan   'treat [someone] as unimportant, look down upon'

reflexive
istaʿadda   'to get (o.s.) ready for'
istaḥamma   'to take/give o.s. a shower'

The imperfect of Form X is on the *yistaCCaC* pattern: *istafraġ* 'he vomited', *yistafraġ* 'he vomits'. Where a verb is a recent borrowing from Standard Arabic, the *yastaCCiC* form is sometimes found: *istawrad* 'he imported', *yastawrid* 'he imports'.

3.4.11 Quadriliteral verbs

Example: *hadrab* 'he talked delirously'

3rd sg.masc.	*hadrab*	2nd sg.masc.	*hadrabta*	1st sg.	*hadrabta*
3rd sg.fem.	*hadrabat*	2nd sg.fem.	*hadrabti*		
3rd m.pl	*hadrabu*	2nd pl.masc.	*hadrabtu*	1st pl.	*hadrabna*
[3rd pl.fem.	*hadraban*]	[2nd pl.fem.	*hadrabtan*]		

Quadriliteral forms may be formed in Khartoum Arabic in a number of ways.

Quadriradicals
A few verbs are constructed from four root letters. Examples are:

hadrab   'to talk deliriously'
šalwaṭ   'to scald'

Twin-radical reduplicatives
The twin-radical reduplicative morpheme results in a quadriliteral stem on the form C^1-C^2-C^1-C^2, and occurs in the following contexts:

With bi-radicals (roots not attested in non-reduplicated form)
katkat   'to tremble, shiver'
maḍmaḍ   'to rinse out the mouth'

With doubled roots
jaṛjaṛ   'to pull backwards and forwards' (root: *j-ṛ-ṛ*)
laflaf   'to wrap round and round, go round [and round]' (root: *l-f-f*)

With final-weak roots
daldal   'to let hang down' (root: d-l-y 'let down')
lawlaw   'to twist round and round [of a rope]' (root: *l-w-y* 'twist')

With medial-weak roots
gargar   'to hollow out' (root: *g-w-r* 'hollow')

With sound tri-radicals having identical C^1 and C^3
galgal   'to disturb, not to let rest' (root: *g-l-g* 'disturb')

Twin-radical reduplication typically gives a sense of intensiveness, repetition of the action, and/or distributed action.

Single-radical reduplicatives
Single-radical reduplicatives occur only with sound and medial weak verbs, and involve repetition of the initial root letter in post-C^2 position.

gargaš   'to eat bread (or similar) without broth (hence to make a crunching sound' (root: *g-r-š* 'crush, crunch (up)')
karkaʕ   'to drink with a gulping sound' (root: *k-r-ʕ*)

lōlaḥ	'to wag (tail), move (of leaves, and similar)' (root: *l-w-ḥ*)
ṭōṭaḥ	'to swing, sway' (root: *ṭ-w-ḥ*)

Single-radical root reduplicatives share with twin-radical root reduplicatives the sense of repeated action, but not so strongly the sense of intensive or distributed action.

Pre-C^2 /ō/ infix

The pre- C^2 /ō/ infix is derived from the coalescence of an original infixed /w/ and the preceding /a/ of the perfect tense. Pre- C^2 /ō/ infix forms most commonly denote:

Noises (especially repeated noises)

kōrak	'to shout'
nōna	'to hum, buzz'
lōla	'to lull to sleep, sing a lullaby'

Other repeated action

gōlab	'turn [liquidy food] over (in pan)'
hōzaz	'to move slowly to and fro (tr.)'

Other

ṣōban	'wash with soap' *(ṣābūn* 'soap')

Pre-C^2 /r/, /n/ and /l/ infixes

These typically add an intensive or repetitive sense to that of the root.

šarbak	'to complicate, ensnare, tangle' (root: *š-b-k*)
ḥankal	'to trip (s.o.) up' (root: *ḥ-k-l*; *ḥakal* – same meaning)
falṭaḥ	'to broaden' (root: *f-ṭ-ḥ*)

Post-C2 /b/, /m/, /w/ infix

This typically gives a repetitive or intensive sense:

xarbaš	'to scratch (skin)' (also Form I: *xaraš*)
ṭarbag	'to knock' (root: *ṭ-r-g*)
šarmaṭ	'to become a prostitute; to give (s.o.) over to prostitution; make dry meat [*šarmūṭ*]' (root: *š-r-ṭ* 'slit')
kajwal	'to cause (s.o.) to walk so that his legs obstruct one another (of paralysing disease, etc.)' (also *kajal*)

Forms derived from more basic nouns:

With initial *m-*:

maġrab   'to get to sunset' (cf. *muġrib* 'sunset')
maglab   'to play a trick on' (cf. *maglab* 'trick (n.)')

With final *-n*:
galban   'to change (subtly or deviously)' (*galban almawḍū‘* 'to shift the subject')

Quadriiliteral verbs take a-i internal imperfect forms with an initial /i/-vowel:

Example: *yihadrib* 'he talks delirously'

3rd sg.masc. *yihadrib*	2nd sg.masc. *tihadrib*	1st sg. *ahadrib*
3rd sg.fem. *tihadrib*	2nd sg.fem. *tihadribi*	
3rd m.pl *yihadribu*	2nd pl.masc. *tihadribu*	1st pl. *nihadrib*
[3rd pl.fem. *yihadriban*]	[2nd pl.fem. *tihadriban*]	

3.4.12 Form II quadriliteral verbs
Form II quadriliteral verbs, i.e. quadriliteral verbs with an *it*-prefix are used for to express passive, reflexive, reciprocal, and acting as/pretence.

Passive
The *it*-prefix can be used to passivise virtually all transitive verbs with an active (non-relational) meaning.

itṣōban   'to be washed' (root: *ṣ-b-n*; cf. *ṣābūn* 'soap') (imperfect *yitṣōban*)

Reflexive
Reflexive uses of the *it*-prefix are also common. They shade into passive uses and also into uses where the translation suggests a notion of pure becoming.

it‘arban (min)   'to get an advance payment (from)' (root: *‘-r-b-n*)
itḫalḫal (min)   'to get free of' (root: *ḫ-l-(l)*)

Reciprocal
itnōna   'to buzz around/together [of flies, etc.]'

Acting as/pretence

itfalham   'to pretend to knowledge' (+ tri-radical *f-h-m* + pre-R2 /l/)
itšaxsan   'to show off (pretend to be a big personality)'

Form II quadriliteral verbs take a-a internal imperfect forms with an initial /i/ vowel:

Example: *yitlaflaf* 'he goes (round and round)'

3rd sg.masc.	*yitlaflaf*	2nd sg.masc.	*titlaflaf*	1st sg.	*atlaflaf*
3rd sg.fem.	*titlaflaf*	2nd sg.fem.	*titlaflafi*		
3rd m.pl	*yitlaflafu*	2nd pl.masc.	*titlaflafu*	1st pl.	*nitlaflaf*
[3rd pl.fem.	*yitlaflafan*]	[2nd pl.fem.	*titlaflafan*]		

3.4.13 The *t*-prefix with Form I and Form IV verbs

The *t*-prefix also occurs in derivations from Form I, giving the following senses:

Passive
From Form I
itla'ab   'to be played'
itfaham   'to be understood'

From Form IV
it'adda 'to be given' (*alkitāb da (i)t'adda lēy*↑ 'That book was given to me')

Reflexive
From Form I
itzagga   'to slip into (e.g. a queue)' (root: *z-g-g*; *zagga* 'to slip something in
                 (e.g. a paper/name)'
itgaṭa' (min) 'to stop (coming to see)' (*gaṭa'* 'to stop (s.o. else)')

Form I verbs with *t*-prefix take a-i internal imperfect forms: *itla'ab* 'it was played', *yatla'ib* 'it is played'. Some speakers have an initial /i/ instead of /a/ (*yitla'ib*).

Form IV verbs with *t*-prefix take a-a internal imperfect forms: *it'adda* 'it was given', *yit'adda* 'it is given'.

3.5 Tense markers

The imperfect occurs in the following tense forms:

i.   bare imperfect
ii.   *bi*+imperfect
iii. *gāʿid*+imperfect
iv.   *ḥa*+imperfect

i. bare imperfect
The bare imperfect is used:

to express commands in the 1st and 3rd persons, and tentative commands in the 2nd person:

mā fi zōl yamši maʿāy↑   'nobody is to go with me'
tadfaʿ baʿdēn   'you must/should pay later'

to express purpose in subordinate structures:
ana jīt ašūf šuġul   'I came to find work'

in other subordinate structures, most obviously after modals:
ana ʿāwiz naštaġil   'I want us to work'
ma btagdar tašūf   'she isn't able to see'

In many contexts, the bare imperfect has the same sense as the *bi*+imperfect or *gāʿid*+imperfect.

ii. *bi*+imperfect
bi+imperfect expresses:

continuous present
bitsawwi šinu   'what are you doing'

general present
bagūm assāʿa sitta   'I get up at six-o-clock'
aš-šuġul mā bintahi   'work never finishes'

future
bajīkum bukra   'I'll come to [see] you (pl.masc.) tomorrow'

iii. *gāʿid*+imperfect
gāʿid is the active participle form of *gaʿad* 'to sit; remain, last', and has the forms *gāʿda* (sg.fem.), *gāʿdīn* (pl.masc.), and *gāʿdāt* (pl.fem.).

gāʿid expresses most basically:

continuous present
gāʿid tasawwi šinu   'what are you doing'

general present
gāʿid agūm assāʿa sitta   'I get up at six-o-clock'

gāʿid+imperfect is more emphatic than *bi*+imperfect, giving greater focus and a greater sense of voluntariness to the action.

iv. *ḥa*+imperfect
ḥa+imperfect seems to be a twentieth-century borrowing from Egyptian, but is now well established in Khartoum Arabic. It basically expresses future:

ḥa'ajīkum bukra   'I'll come to [see] you tomorrow'

4. Syntax

4.1 Word order
The interaction between subject and predicate, and theme and rheme provides insights into the word order of most clauses which contain a verb phrase.

S-V(-O)
Subject-Verb(-Object) is the most common word order for clauses involving a verb., and is understood as follows. Subjects are typically definite, and therefore thematic. Verb-phrases are indefinite, and therefore rhematic. Subjects thus come first in the clause and verb-phrases last, since themes typically precede rhemes. Objects come after verbs in line with the general tendency in Khartoum Arabic for the head (here the verb) to precede the modifier (here the object).

V(-O)-S
Verb(-Object)-Subject word order occurs either (i) where the subject is indefinite, and therefore rhematic (as in *gāmat nār* 'fire broke out'), or (ii) where the verb-phrase is an initial rheme (as in *fihm almuškila arrājil da* 'that man understood the problem'). As noted above, the V-O word order embodies the general tendency towards head-modifier sequencing.

Other word orders are also possible. Relatively infrequently one finds V-S-O word order, and somewhat more commonly the essentially syntactically identical V-S-C(omplement) word order with verbs such as *kān* 'to be', and *biga* 'to become':

šuft(a) inta azzaul da?	'have you seen that man?'
biga zzōl da diktōr	'that man became a doctor'

4.2 The definite particle

The definite article – or better, given its wide range of usage, the *definite particle* – has the canonical form *al-*. The /l/ assimilates to the following letter when this is apico-dental, apico-alveolar, or dorso-prepalatal (cf. Figure 1), and lacks initial /a/ following a preceding vowel.

The definite particle occurs before various elements, e.g. pre-nominally, *arrājil* 'the man', pre-adjectivally *azzaʿlān* 'the angry one', pre-verbally *azziʿil* 'the one who got angry' [i.e. the-(he-)got-angry (one)'], pre-adverbially *alhassi* 'the one/ones who is/was [here] now', and before subject-predicate structures, e.g. *alana ziʿilta minnu* 'the [thing/person] I got angry with'.

Pre-nominally, the definite particle is co-referential with its following noun. Thus, *arrājil* 'the man' is both 'man' and definite (in respect of being [a] man). Pre-adjectivally, the definite particle is normally co-referential with the following adjective. However, if the adjective is modified by a subsequent prepositional phrase, the definite particle may be co-referential with some other element of the phrase. Thus, *[arrājil] azzaʿlān minnu* may mean either '[the man] who is angry with him' or '[the man] with whom he is angry'. The definite particle may be co-referential with a following verb (i.e. verb-subject), or with a verb-dependent element: *aššāfáta* can mean either 'the one (sg.fem.) whom she saw' or 'the one (sg.fem.) who saw her' (in the latter interpretation *aš-* [= *al-*] is co-referential with the verb-object 'her'). Correspondingly, with prepositions: *algiddāma* may mean either 'the one who is/the ones who are in front of her' or 'the one (f.) whom he (etc.) is in front of'.

*Al-*phrases (except those with a following noun) typically function as attributive adjectivals to preceding head nouns (e.g. *arrājil azziʿilta minnu* 'the man whom I got angry with'). However, they quite frequently occur without a head noun, and in this case may, like nouns, function as predicands, predicates, verb-objects, and preposition-objects; thus, *algāl kida mnu*↑ 'who said that' (literally: '[the one who] said thus [was] who').

4.3 Construct state: types

Khartoum Arabic has both the construct (synthetic genitive), and an analytical genitive with *bitāʿ* or *ḥagg*. These agree with the preceding noun in number and gender:

	masculine	feminine
singular	*bitāʿ, ḥagg*	*bitāʿ(a)t, ḥaggat*
plural	*bitāʿīn, ḥaggīn*	*bitāʿāt, ḥaggāt*

zōl bitāʿ/ḥagg mašākil	'a man of problems/a problematic person'
alkutub bitāʿt/ḥaggat almadrasa	the books of the school' (sg.fem. agreement with inanimate pl. noun)

nās bitāʿīn/ḥaggīn kalām katīr	'talkative people [people of much talking]'
attazaakir ḥaggaatu	'his tickets'

The internal structure of *bitāʿ/ḥagg*-phrases is itself a construct, as suggested by the /t/ of the feminine singular *bitāʿ(a)t/ḥaggat*. Accordingly, *bitāʿ/ḥagg*-phrases in which the following noun is definite are standardly definite (e.g. *biṭāʿt/ḥaggat almadrasa*), while those in which the following noun is indefinite are indefinite (e.g. *bitāʿ/ḥagg mašākil*). *Bitāʿ/ḥagg*-phrases are adjectival in nature; following a definite noun, the *bitāʿ/ḥagg*-phrase is normally definite, and following an indefinite noun, the *bitāʿ/ḥagg*-phrase is indefinite. Like indefinite adjectives, indefinite *bitāʿ/ḥagg*-phrases cannot occur as objects of verbs or prepositions:

bitaʿrif bitāʿ/ḥagg mašākil	'do you know one who is problematic'
ja maʿa bitāʿ/ḥagg kalām katīr	'he came with a talkative one/person'

Like definite adjectives definite *ḥagg/bitāʿ*-phrases can occur as objects of verbs or prepositions, typically with a following demonstrative:

bitaʿrif bitāʿ/ḥagg almašākil da	'do you know the problematic person'
ja maʿa bitāʿ/ḥagg alkalām alkatīr da	'he came with a talkative one/person'

In most cases, the synthetic genitive and *bitāʿ/ḥagg*-phrases are grammatically interchangeable. Inalienable possession, however, is expressed only through the synthetic genitive:

rijli[↑]   'my foot/let' (not **arrijil bitā^ʕti*[↑]/*ḥaggati*[↑])

4.4 Negation

The normal negator is *ma*. This standardly occurs before predicates, e.g.

inta ma rājil   / kwēyis / fi lbēt   'you're not a man' (pre-nominal) / nice (pre-adjectival) / in the house (pre-prepositional)

[inta] ma btafham ʕarabi   'you don't understand Arabic' (pre-verbal)

The distribution of *ma*-phrases is fairly similar to that of (indefinite) adjectives (e.g. both can occur as predicates, but not as objects of verbs or prepositions). The only common phrase involving *ma* with a suffixed negative *-š* is the adjectival *ma fīš* (sg.fem. *ma fīša*, pl.masc. *ma fīšīn*, pl.fem. *ma fīšāt* 'not there, absent').

5. Adverbs

5.1 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs include:

hassa^ʕ	'now'; also 'just now [past or future]'
hassi	'now'; also 'just now [past or future]'
yā dōb	'just now' (past)
gibēl	'recently'
garīb	'recently, soon'
ba^ʕdēn	'soon, afterwards'
ba^ʕad dāk	'afterwards, after that'
al-lēla	'today'
amis	'yesterday'
bākir	'tomorrow'
bukra	'tomorrow' (possibly originally a borrowing from Egyptian, but extensively used)
yōm dāk	'a long time ago'
wakit dāk	'at that time [in the past]'
yōmát-a	'at that time [in the past]' – with impersonal use of the feminine singular '-a' pronoun suffix

badri	'a long time ago' (also 'early')
zamān	'a long time ago'

Forms with the demonstrative are also common to emphasise immediacy: hassaᶜ da 'right now' (hassaᶜ is masc.), hassi di 'right now' (hassi is fem.), al-lēla di 'this very day'.

5.2 Local adverbs
Local adverbs include:

hina	'here': also hina da 'right here'
hināk	'there'
fōg	'up, upwards'
tiḥit	'down, below'
šamaal/šimaal	'left' (also 'north')
yamīn	'right'

5.3 Other adverbs
These include:

kida (also kadē)	'so, thus'
xālis	'very'
jiddān	'very'
jadd	'very' (esp. with adjectives such as ṣaᶜab 'difficult' and zaᶜlaan 'angry')
šiwēya	'a little'
ḥabba	'a little' (also noun with meanings 'bead; spot; grain; single one': e.g. of fruit; ḥabbat mōz 'a single banana')

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