Khuzestani Arabic

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Khuzestani Arabic (ISO 639-3) is a minority language spoken in the southern west of Iran, in Khuzestan province (see Figure 1). The majority of its speakers live in Ahwaz, Howeyzeh, Bostan, Susangerd, Shush, Abadan, Khorramshahr, Shadegan, Hamidiyeh (Balawi & Khezri 2014: 107), Karun, and Bawi. According to Blanc (1964: 6), this variety of Arabic is closely related to the Gelet subgroup of Mesopotamian dialects.[1] This dialect is in contact with Bakhtiyari Lori and Persian (Iranian languages of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European language family), as well as Iraqi Arabic. The lexis of the dialect predominantly contains Arabic words, but it also has several Persian, English, French, and Turkish loanwords.

There are idiosyncratic sociolinguistic differences among speakers from different cities and tribes (examples are provided in the consonants and vowels sections). Almost all Khuzestani Arabic speakers are bilingual in Arabic and Persian; the latter is the official language of the country. However, in the northern and eastern cities of Khuzestan, Lori is also spoken besides Persian, and in this region the Arabic of Kamari[2] Arabs, is remarkably influenced by Lori. At the center of cities such as Abadan, some of the younger generations, especially females, tend to speak mainly Persian. Furthermore, a number of parents speak only Persian with their children at home.

Nowadays, Khuzestani Arabic has a significant number of speakers in Iran. Based on a survey conducted by the Ministry of Culture in 2010, 33.6% of the population of Khuzestan (i.e. around 1.6 million people) are Arabs. Nevertheless, if the existing shift from Khuzestani Arabic to Persian continues to the next generations, it will be on the edge of extinction in the near future.

Contrary to many Arabic dialects, Khuzestani Arabic has received little scholarly attention. Ingham (1997, 2007) gives a preliminary description of the dialect. Also there are two almost totally identical M.A. theses on this dialect; Abiyyat (2005) and Balawi (2008)

[1] The term Mesopotamian Arabic was first used by Blanc (1964), as a generic term for all Arabic varieties spoken in Mesopotamia. He distinguished two major Arabic dialect groups in this region: Gelet and Qeltu (different pronunciations of the sentence 'I said' in the respective dialects; Talay 2011: 909). The Gelet dialects are mostly spoken by Muslims, especially in the southern areas, and the main speakers of Qeltu dialects are non-Muslims (i.e. Jewish and Christians). These two dialect groups have many features in common, however there are a number of differences which lend substance to the proposal of a Gelet–Qeltu split. For example, unlike Qeltu, in Gelet dialects the affrication of Old Arabic (OA) (the variety illustrated in the earliest existing examples of Arabic language and from which, it is assumed, the later varieties have derived (Macdonald 2008: 464)) /k/ and the palatalization of OA /q/ occurred (Blanc 1964: 6–7).

[2] *Kamari* is a Persian word meaning 'from the foothill'. In the past, Kamari Arabs lived at the foot of the Zagros Mountains in Khuzestan province. Today the majority of them have moved to cities like Ramhormoz, Bagh Malek, Behbahan, and Masjed Soleyman, in search of work and better living conditions. Kamari Arabs consider themselves to be a sub-branch of Bani Ṭorfi tribe.

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Figure 1 (Colour online) Map of Khuzestan province (Iran).

present a traditional letter-based description of the phonological system of Khuzestani Arabic. Shabibi (2006) discusses the influences of Persian on this dialect. Alifar's (2015) sociolinguistic study indicates that Khuzestani Arabic spoken in Abadan, Khorramshahr, and Shadegan is the prestigious one among young speakers in Ahwaz.

The purpose of the present paper is to describe the principal features of the phonological system of Khuzestani Arabic.[3] The participants of this study included 10 female and 20 male adult native speakers from Abadan, aged between 25 and 55 years. They held a diploma or a BA degree and spoke Arabic at home. The phonemic value of the sounds was determined via minimal pairs/ sets, selected from among 800 collected words. Vowels and certain consonants were also studied acoustically. The data were recorded in a quiet room and analyzed by Praat software (version 5.3.56). The acoustic vowel data and other recordings in this article, including the narrative, are based on samples recorded from a 54-year-old male speaker, a school principal and poet from Abadan. Hence the information given in the subsequent parts is based on Abadani variety. However, in referring to a number of sociolinguistic differences, there are three samples from a 30-year-old Susangerdi female speaker of Sawāri tribe and one sample from a Khorramshahri male speaker aged 27. At the end of the paper, the transcription of The North Wind and the Sun story based on the pronunciation of the mentioned Abadani male speaker is provided.

Consonants

Khuzestani Arabic has a rich consonantal inventory, with 33 consonants, five of which have pharyngealization as secondary articulation (traditionally known as emphatics).

[3] This paper is based on Bahrani 2017 – the first author's MA thesis supervised by the second author.

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	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Labio velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	(p) b		t d tˤ			c ɟ		q		ʔ
Affricate					ʧ ʤ					
Nasal	m			n						
Tap				ɾ ɾˤ						
Fricative		f (v)	θ ð ðˤ	s z sˤ	ʃ (ʒ)			χ	ħ	h
Lateral				l lˤ						
Approximant						j	w		ʕ	

CONSONANT	TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
p	/patu/	پتو	blanket
b	/baːt/	بات	(he) slept over/sleep over (IMP, M, S)
t	/tiːn/	تین	fig
tˤ	/tˤiːn/	طین	mud
d	/diːn/	دین	religion
c	/calam/	کلم	cabbage
ɟ	/ɟaːl/	گال	(he) said
q	/qalam/	قلم	pen
ʔ	/ʔamal/	أمل	hope
ʧ	/ʧaːn/	چان	(he/it) was
ʤ	/ʤaːs/	جاس	(he) touched
m	/maːl/	مال	property
n	/naːm/	نام	(he) slept/sleep (IMP, M, S)
ɾ	/ɾiːl/	ریل	foot
ɾˤ	/ɾˤaːd/ [ɾˤɑːd]	راد	(he) wanted
f	/faːl/	فال	divination
v	/van/	ون	van
θ	/θaːl/	ثال	(he) became mentally unstable

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ð	/ðaːn/	ذان	ear
ðˤ	/ðˤall/ [ðˤɑl]	ضل	(he) strayed
s	/sall/	سل	(he) became weak
sˤ	/sˤall/ [sˤɑl]	صل	(he) connected
z	/zaːd/	زاد	food
ʃ	/ʃaːl/	شال	(he) picked up
ʒ	/ʒaːcet/	ژاکت	jacket
χ	/χaːn/ [χɑːn]	خان	(he) betrayed
ħ	/ħaːs/	حاس	(he) moved slightly
h	/haːmm/	هام	important
l	/laːm/	لام	(he) blamed
lˤ	/χaːlˤ/ [χɑːlˤ]	خال	a brother of one's mother
j	/jaːb/	یاب	(he) brought
w	/waːm/ [wɑːm]	وام	loan
ʕ	/ʕaːm/ [ʢaːm]	عام	year

The consonants of Khuzestani Arabic are seen in 10 places and seven manners of articulation. Stops include /(p) b t tˤ d c ɟ q ʔ/. The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ appears in loanwords only (e.g. /patu/ 'blanket', from Persian). Phonologically, the two front dorsal consonants have a palatal place of articulation under the influence of Persian and are hence represented as /c ɟ/. These two consonants have a post-palatal (velar) allophone before central/back vowels and a palatal allophone elsewhere (before front vowels as well as after all vowels).[4] The Old Arabic (OA) /q/ and /ɣ/ have merged into /q/ (e.g. OA /qaːlib/ > /qaːleb/ 'template', OA /ɣaːlib/ > /qaːleb/ 'dominant'). This voiceless uvular stop has a voiced uvular fricative allophone between two vocoids as in /melʕaqa/ [melʕaʁa] 'spatula' and /aqwa/ [ʔaʁwɑ] 'stronger'. The OA glottal voiceless sound /ʔ/ is generally deleted medially, resulting in compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel when it occurs syllable-finally. This glottal sound is sometimes replaced by /j/ (e.g. OA /maːʔ/ > /maːj/ 'water', OA /miʔa/ > /mijja/ [mijje] 'hundred').

There are two post-alveolar affricates in Khuzestani Arabic, namely /ʧ/ and /ʤ/. The voiceless affricate /ʧ/ comes from OA /k/ in the context of front vowels (e.g. OA /baːkir/ 'early' > /baːʧer/ 'tomorrow'). In Abadan and other cities like Ahwaz, the OA /ʤ/ has shifted to /j/ in some words (e.g. OA /ʤalaba/ > /jaːb/ '(he) brought'), while it has remained unchanged in others (e.g. OA /ʤaːsa/ > /ʤaːs/ '(he) touched'). As a sociolinguistic variation, the same consonant is replaced by /ʒ/ for Sawāri, Ḥeydari, and Sāʿedi tribes from

[4] This observation is confirmed by acoustic measurements of F2 onset in the spectrogram of these consonants in pre- and post-vocalic positions, where a high-burst peak is seen. It should nevertheless be mentioned that the post-palatal place of articulation is heard in the pronunciation of some speakers.

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Susangerd and Hamidiyeh (/ʒaːb/ '(he) brought'). Meanwhile, this OA consonant is preserved in Khorramshahr (/ʤaːb/ '(he) brought').[5]

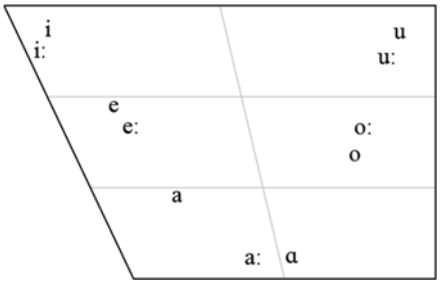
Fricatives include /f (v) θ ð ðˤ s sˤ z ʃ (ʒ) χ ħ h/. Like /p/, /v/ and /ʒ/ only appear in loanwords (e.g. /van/ 'van', /ʒaːcet/ 'jacket'). All three phonemes appear as /b/, /w/, and /ʤ/, respectively, in the pronunciation of older generations. The OA /dˤ/ has merged with /ðˤ/ to result in /ðˤ/ (e.g. OA /ðˤall/ > /ðˤall/ [ðˤɑl]'(he) stayed', OA /dˤall/ > /ðˤall/ [ðˤɑl] '(he) strayed'). In addition to the original form, the reflexes of OA /q/ are /c/ (e.g. OA /waqt/ > /wact/ [wɑcet] 'time'), /ɟ/ (OA /qaːla/ > /ɟaːl/ '(he) said'), and /ʤ/ (e.g. OA /qariːb/ > /ʤeriːb/ 'near', OA /ʃarqiː/ 'eastern' > /ʃarʤi/ 'very hot and humid weather'). This is similar to many other Arabic varieties such as the dialects of Muslims in Baghdad (Erwin 1969 [2004]), Southern Iraq, Gulf coast, and central Palestinian villages (Holes 2004: 74). The voiced pharyngeal consonant /ʕ/ appears mainly as an approximant in the pronunciation of the speakers of this dialect, although a more closed allophone (fricative) may appear word-initially and word-finally in the pronunciation of some speakers.

Sonorant consonants include /m n ɾ ɾˤ l lˤ j w ʕ/. In OA, the emphatic /lˤ/ exists only in the word /alˤlˤaːh/ [ʔɑlˤlˤɑːh] 'God' and its derived forms except when it is preceded by /i/ (Fischer 2002: 18). Similar to Iraqi Arabic (Erwin 1969 [2004]), other examples containing this sound can be found in Khuzestani Arabic (e.g. /χaːlˤ/ [χɑːlˤ] 'a brother of one's mother').

Finally, /l/ of the definite article completely assimilates to all the following coronal consonants.

Vowels

Khuzestani Arabic has 11 vowels: /i iː e eː a aː u uː o oː ɑ/. The traditional quadrilateral vowel plot of Khuzestani Arabic monophthongs is as follows:



There are five phonetic diphthongs in this dialect: [ie ai ou ei au]. In a number of words, [ei] and [ie] correspond to OA /aj/. Figure 2 contains the acoustic vowel plot of Khuzestani Arabic monophthongs and diphthongs.

This vowel plot is based on F1 and F2 formant measurements of one repetition of words by the 54-year-old Abadani male speaker mentioned above. Formant measurements were done by hand at vowel midpoint. Due to contextual restrictions on some vowels, all 11 vowels could not be placed in one minimal set. The words utilized for drawing the vowel plot are as follows:

Monophthongs

Vowel	Transcription	Orthography	Gloss
i	/iːdi/	إيدى	my hand
iː	/ʕiːʃ/	عيش	live (IMP, M, S)

[5] Because of long-term contact with Abadani and Ahwazi speakers, the same change of /ʤ/ > /j/ is observed in the present-day speech of some Khorramshahri speakers.

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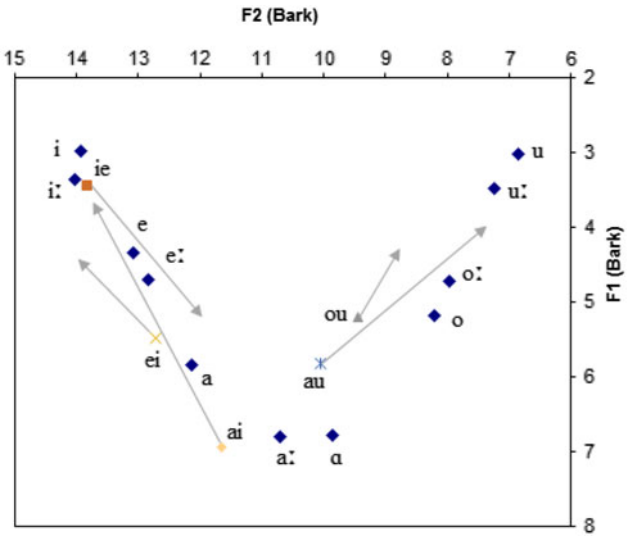


Figure 2 Vowel plot of Khuzestani Arabic Monophthongs and diphthongs (male speaker).

e	/ʃeɟɟ/	شِگ	tear up (IMP, M, S)
eː	/ʕeːʃ/	عیش	bread
a	/ʃaɟɟ/	شَگ	tore up (M, 3, S)
aː	/ʃaːf/	شاف	saw (M, 3, S)
u	/maːcu/ [mɑːcu]	ماکو	(it) doesn't exist
uː	/ʃuːf/	شوف	see (IMP, M, S)
o	/ħobb/	حب	love
oː	/ʃoːf/	شوف	seeing (N)
ɑ	/hɑl/	هال	saloon

Diphthongs

DIPHTHONG	TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
[ie]	[biet]	بیت	home
[ai]	[ħai]	حی	alive (M)
[ou]	[soude]	سوده	baking soda
[ei]	[neime]	نیمه	star (F)
[au]	[celau]	کلو	(they M) ate

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The phoneme /ɑ/ only exists in loanwords from Persian (e.g. /ɑʃ/ 'a thick Iranian soup', /ɑbpɑʃ/ 'watering can') and other languages (e.g. /motcɑr/ 'motorcar', /ɑncɑl/ 'on call'). This low back vowel is sometimes fronted (e.g. Persian /jaxʧɑl/ > Khuzestani Arabic /jaχʧaːl/ 'refrigerator'). For the remaining 10 vowels, vowel length is contrastive and each short vowel has a long counterpart. Speakers tend to use /e/ and /o/ in place of the OA short high vowels /i/ and /u/ (e.g. OA /min/ > /men/ 'from', OA /dubb/ > /dobb/ 'bear (M)'). In word-medial position, the two OA diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/ are generally monophthongized to the long vowels /eː/ and /oː/ (e.g. OA /ʕajʃ/ 'life' > /ʕeːʃ/ 'bread', OA /lawn/ > /loːn/ 'color', OA /jawm/ > /joːm/ 'day'). However, in some cases OA /aj/ has changed to /je/ (e.g. OA /lajl/ > /ljel/ 'night', OA /bajt/ > /bjet/ 'home'). Except in some monosyllabic words, the OA long vowels /iː uː aː/ have lost their [+long] feature word-finally (e.g. OA /ʃarqiː/ > /ʃarqi/ 'eastern').

The vowels /a aː/ generally change into a back low vowel ([ɑ ɑː]) in the context of emphatics and sometimes when they are adjacent to /ɣ w χ q ħ ʕ h ʔ/ (e.g. /χaːn/ [χɑːn] '(he) betrayed', /ðˤall/ [ðˤɑl] '(he) strayed'). In a few examples, the same change is observed in the context of labial consonants (e.g. /jumma/ [jummɑ] 'mother (VOC)'). Erwin (1969 [2004]: 48) explains that in Iraqi Arabic labial consonants can be pharyngealized (e.g. /bˤ mˤ fˤ/). In Khuzestani Arabic, the vowel change in the environment of labial consonants suggests that they can be pharyngealized as well, although the phonemic status of these consonants has not been confirmed in our study. The application of this phonological process is related to sociolinguistic differences; for example, unlike speakers from Abadan, Ahwaz, and Khorramshahr, the three Sawāri, Ḥeydari, and Sā'edi tribes from Susangerd and Hamidiyeh, utter the OA words /anaː/ 'I' and /maːʔ/ 'water' with changing the first vowel into a low back vowel, namely [ʔaːne] 'I' and [maːj] vs. [ʔɑːne] 'I' and [mɑːj] 'water'.

The raising of final /a/ (traditionally known as *imāla* 'inclination'), which has been recognized in many Arabic varieties, such as the dialects of Amman (Al-Wer 2007: 68–69), Beirut (Naïm 2006: 276), Damascus (Lentin 2006: 547), and Muslims of Baghdad (Jastrow 2007: 418), also exists in Khuzestani Arabic. The level of raising and the extent to which this process occurs is different from one dialect to another. In Khuzestani Arabic, final /a/ raises to become a mid front vowel [e]. This process occurs in the feminine gender marker and the 3rd person singular masculine and feminine oblique morphemes /-a/ and /-ha/.

Raising of final /a/ of the feminine gender marker

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/χiːs-a/ [χiːse]	خیسه	small leaf of the palm tree, smelly
/cuːʃ-a/ [cuːʃe]	کوشه	messy hair
/faːtˤm-a/ [faːtˤme]	فاطمه	proper name (F)
/χetˤb-a/ [χetˤbe]	خطبه	engagement
/tˤaːs-a/ [tˤɑːse]	طاسه	bowl
/warɑd-a/ [wɑrde]	ورده	flower
/ðˤaːlm-a/ [ðˤɑːlme]	ظالمه	cruel (F)
/ħabb-a/ [ħabbe]	حبّه	seed

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Raising of final /a/ of the 3rd person singular masculine oblique morpheme

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/loːn-a/ [loːne]	لونه	his/its color
/ðˤedd-a/ [ðˤedde]	ضده	against him/it
/tˤeːf-a/ [tˤeːfe]	طيفه	his/its spirit
/ħaːl-a/ [ħaːle]	حاله	his/its condition

Raising of final /a/ of the 3rd person singular feminine oblique morpheme

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/loːn-ha/ [loːnhe]	لونهه	her/its color
/ðˤedd-ha/ [ðˤedhe]	ضدهه	against her/it
/tˤeːf-ha/ [tˤeːfhe]	طيفهه	her/its spirit
/ħaːl-ha/ [ħaːlhe]	حالهه	her/its condition

It is also seen in other examples and seems to have spread considerably to the instances of /a/ in final position.

Raising of final /a/ in other origins of this sound

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/aːna/ [ʔaːne]	انه	I
/haːja/ [haːje]	هايه	this (F)
/χuːja/ [χuːje]	خويه	brother (VOC)
/buːja/ [buːje]	بويه	father (VOC)
/enta/ [ʔente]	انت	you (M)
/cila/ [cile]	كله	(he) ate
/henna/ [henne]	هنّه	they (F)
/eħna/ [ʔeħne]	احنه	we
/jamta/ [jamte]	يمته	when
/daːɾ-na/ [daːɾne]	دارنه	our room
/ɾeħ-na/ [ɾeħne]	رحنه	(we) went

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Despite the widespread application of the raising process in Khuzestani Arabic, examples can still be found in which this final sound remains unchanged or is backed, mainly in the vicinity of consonants with posterior place of articulation.

Absence of final /a/ raising process in the feminine gender marker

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/mantˤaq-a/ [mantˤɑqɑ]	منطقه	area
/rotˤuːb-a/ [rotˤuːbɑ]	رطوبه	humidity
/saːʕ-a/ [saːʕa]	ساعه	hour
/batˤtˤ-a/ [bɑtˤtˤɑ]	بطه	duck (F)
/carw-a/ [carwɑ]	کروه	carfare
/ħelw-a/ [ħelwɑ]	حلوه	beautiful (F)
/ɟusˤsˤ-a/ [ɟusˤsˤɑ]	گصّه	forehead
/ɟahw-a/ [ɟahwɑ]	گهوه	coffee

Absence of final /a/ raising in the 3rd person masculine and feminine oblique morphemes /-a/ and /-ha/

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/sˤaff-a/ [sˤɑffɑ]	صفّه	his class
/sˤaff-ha/ [sˤɑfhɑ]	صفهه	her class
/tˤuːl-a/ [tˤuːlɑ]	طوله	his height
/tˤuːl-ha/ [tˤuːlhɑ]	طولهه	her height

Absence of final /a/ raising in other origins of this sound

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/jumma/ [jummɑ]	یما	mother (VOC)
/jalˤlˤa/ [jalˤlˤɑ]	یلا	hurry up
/towwa/ [towwɑ]	توا	very recently
/tiswa/ [tiswɑ]	تسوا	it (F) is worth it.
/huwa/ [huwɑ]	هوا	he
/ohma/ [ʔohmɑ]	اهما	they (DU)

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Syllable structure

The following six syllable types are observed in Khuzestani Arabic:

SYLLABLE	TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
(C)V	/bi/	بـ	in
(C)Vː	/laː/	لا	no
(C)VC	/men/	من	from
(C)VːC	/χoːʃ/	خوش	okay
(C)VːCC	/χaːsˤsˤ/ [χɑːsˤ]	خاص	special
(C)VCC	/ʧebb/	چب	pour (IMP, M, S)/shut up (IMP, M, S)

Empty onsets are filled by a glottal stop at the phonetic level. Only vowels fill the nucleus position. Generally, consonant clusters are not allowed. However, there are a few loanwords (e.g. /ʒest/ [ʒest] 'gesture') with a CC cluster in coda position. Phonologically, in Arabic words, CVCC and CVːCC are also allowed, provided that the final consonants are identical. Identical and adjacent second and third radical consonants do not appear word-finally and only appear when followed by a vowel, e.g.:

Arabic words with identical 2nd and 3rd radical consonants

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
[ʧeb]	چب	pour (IMP, M, S)/shut up (IMP, M, S)
[ʧeb.bi]	چبّی	pour (IMP, F, S)/shut up (IMP, F, S)
[χɑːsˤ]	خاص	special
[χɑːsˤ.sˤi]	خاصّی	my special

Thus, /ʧebb/ 'pour!' appears as [ʧeb] when followed by silence or a consonant-initial morpheme. The same morpheme appears as [ʧebb] when followed by a vowel, as in [ʧebbi].

The prohibition of final clusters in Khuzestani Arabic has resulted in the insertion of an auxiliary vowel between the two consonants where OA or a loanword contains such clusters. This is illustrated in the following two lists:

Vowel insertion in word-final consonant clusters in Khuzestani Arabic

OA	PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION	PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/ħulm/	/ħelm/ (CVCC)	[ħe.lem] (CV.CVC)	حلم	dream
/sabt/	/sabt/ (CVCC)	[sa.bet] (CV.CVC)	سبت	Saturday
/ʃakl/	/ʃecl/ (CVCC)	[ʃe.cel] (CV.CVC)	شكل	shape
/dars/	/dɑrs/ (CVCC)	[da.ɾes] (CV.CVC)	درس	study

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Loanword adaptation in Khuzestani Arabic

PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION	PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/felm/ (CVCC)	[fe.lem] (CV.CVC)	فلم	film
/maʃq/ (CVCC)	[ma.ʃeq] (CV.CVC)	مشق	homework

If a morpheme with an empty onset occurs after words ending in a consonant cluster, no auxiliary vowel is added. Instead, as seen in the examples in (1) below, the second element of the consonant cluster fills the empty onset position.

(1) a. /ħelm/ + /-i/ (my) → [ħel.mi] (CV.CV) 'my dream'

b. /daɾs/ + /-i/ (my) → [daɾ.si] (CV.CV) 'my study'

c. /felm/ + /-i/ (my) → [fel.mi] (CV.CV) 'my film'

d. /maʃq/ + /-i/ (my) → [maʃ.qi] (CV.CV) 'my homework'

Stress

It appears that the stress rules of Khuzestani Arabic are similar to those in Iraqi Arabic described by Erwin (1969 [2004]: 13–74). If the last syllable of a word is heavy (CVː(C)(C), CVCC), it carries primary stress, e.g.:

Word-final stress in Khuzestani Arabic

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/jaːˈmuːs/	یاموس	buffalo
/muˈðˤaːdd/ [muˈðˤɑːd]	مضاد	contrary
/ʃuːfi-a/ [ʃuːˈfiː]	شوفیه	look at (IMP, F, S) him
/ʃuːfu-a/ [ʃuːˈfuː]	شوفوه	look at (IMP, M, PL) him
/joːˈʕaːn/	یوعان	hungry
/moːˈdʒuːd/	موجود	existent
/diˈjaːj/	دیای	chicken
/jiˈbaːl/	یبال	mountains
/decˈcaːn/	دگّان	store
/naːˈɾenʤ/	نارنج	bitter orange
/ʃatˤˈɾanʤ/	شطرنج	chess

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/jiˈħebb/	يحب	(he) loves
/moˈmell/	ممل	boring
/jiˈħess/	يحس	(he) feels

This statement holds true regardless of the number of syllables in a word and regardless of the presence or absence of other long vowels in the preceding syllables.

If the final syllable is not heavy, stress falls on the heavy syllable nearest to the end of the word. If there are no heavy syllables among the last three syllables of the word, stress falls on the penultimate syllable in two-syllable words and on antepenultimate syllable in all others.

Non-final word stress in Khuzestani Arabic

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/ˈjaːb-a/ [ˈjaːbe]	يابه	(he) brought him/it
/ˈwaːjed/ [ˈwɑːjed]	وايد	many
/ˈjeru/	يرو	puppy
/ˈnabi/	نبى	prophet
/ˈsaħaɾ/	سحر	proper name (F)
/ˈχaːli/	خالى	empty
/ˈɾesam/	رسم	(he) drew
/ˈmadɾasa/ [ˈmadɾase]	مدرسه	school
/tˤaˈmaːtˤa/ [tˤɑˈmɑːtˤɑ]	طماطه	tomato
/ˈqendaɾa/	قندره	shoe
/ˈmelʕaqa/	ملعقه	spatula
/dacˈtuːɾa/	دكتوره	doctor (F)
/ˈwiːdijo/	ويديو	video

There are some grammatical features which affect the stress pattern of the word. For example, in words ending in the suffix /-a/ 'him/it (M)', stress falls on the syllable preceding that suffix. For the feminine object pronoun /-ha/, stress also falls on the preceding syllable. If that syllable is an open syllable, its vowel is lengthened:

TRANSCRIPTION	ORTHOGRAPHY	GLOSS
/ˈχaːbeɾ/	خابر	call up (IMP, M, S)
/χaːˈbeɾ-ha/ [χaːˈbeɾhe]	خابرهه	call her up (IMP, M, S)

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/ɾeˈsam-a/ [ɾeˈseme]	رسمه	(he) drew him/it
/ˈjaːχez/	یاخذ	(he) takes/(he) marries
/jaːˈχeð-ha/ [jaːˈχeðhe]	یاخذهه	(he) takes her/(he) marries her

Transcription of the recorded passage 'The North Wind and the Sun'

The story's orthographic transcription is in the Khuzestani Arabic orthography. The speaker on whose recording the transcription is based was a 54-year-old adult male native speaker from Abadan.

English version

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveler came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveler take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveler fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shined out warmly, and immediately the traveler took off his cloak. And so the North Wind obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

Transcription

hɑwɑ ʃʃimaːl ‖ wu ʃʃames ‖ ʧaːnu jitʃaːdʒɾuːn ‖ biʔan jaːhu minhum ʔɑʁwɑ ‖ ʔebħiːnethe wɑsʕal musaːfeɾ min iddaɾo(b) ‖ ʔu ʧaːn laːf ʕala ɾuːħa ʕabaːje daːfije ‖ ʕohmɑ twɑːfqɑu ‖ cilman minhum ‖ ɟidaɾ ʔasɾaʕ ‖ ʔinezzeʕ ilmusaːfeɾ ʕabaːjte ‖ ʔohwɑ ʔɑʁwɑ ‖ baʕdien ‖ hɑwɑ ʃʃimaːl ‖ habb ebcil quːte ‖ laːcen ‖ cilma ʧaːn jiheb ʔacθaɾ ‖ ʔelmusaːfeɾ jilif ilʕabaːje ʕala ɾuːħa ‖ ʔacθaɾ ‖ ʔu binnahaːje ‖ hawa lʃimaːl ‖ jaːz min muħaːwɑle ‖ baʕadhe ʃʃames ‖ bidat tisʕhɑɾ ebħaɾɑːɾathe ‖ wu lmusaːfeɾ foːɾan ‖ nizaʕ elʕabaːje ‖ ʔu bennatiːdʒe ‖ hawa ʃʃimaːl ‖ ʔendʒubaɾ jeʕteɾef ʔebquwwat iʃʃames ‖ ʔacθaɾ minne ‖

Orthographic version

هوا الشمال و الشمس چانو يتشاجرون بأن ياهو منهم اقوى. ابحينتهه وصل مسافر من الدرب او چان لاف على روحه عبايه دافيه. اهما اتوافقوا كلمن منهم گدر اسرع اينزع المسافر عبايته اهوه اقوى. بعدين هوا الشمال هب ابكل قوته. لكن كلما چان ايهب اكثر، المسافر ايلف العبايه على روحه اكثر او بالنهايه هوا الشمال ياز من محاوله. بعدهه الشمس بدت تصهر ابحرارتهه و المسافر فورا نزع العبايه. او بالنتيجه هوا الشمال انجبر يعترف ابقوت الشمس اكثر منّه.

Abbreviations

3	third person
DU	double
F	feminine
F1	1st formant
F2	2nd formant
IMP	imperative

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M	masculine
N	noun
OA	Old Arabic
PL	plural
S	singular
VOC	vocative

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Supplementary material

To view supplementary material for this article, please visit https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025100319000203.

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