

**Holes, Clive:** *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia. Volume Three: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style.* Leiden/Boston: Brill 2016. XXX, 490 S. 8° = Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1. The Near and Middle East 3. Hartbd. € 149,00. ISBN 978-90-04-30263-1.

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The presented volume is the third and the last in the series of books entitled *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia*, written by Clive Holes. In the first volume, the author gathered vocabulary listed by roots,<sup>1</sup> while in the second volume consists of ethnographic texts recorded during his fieldwork in Bahrain.<sup>2</sup> The crowning achievement of his efforts is the volume discussed here, which contains a grammatical description based on his long-term research. What seems crucial, the term Eastern Arabia—used in the title of the series—should not be interpreted from a historical perspective. It is a description of the Arabic dialects spoken in the state of Bahrain of the pre-oil era, by uneducated Bahrainis belonging to two indigenous communities: ṠArab (Sunnis) and Baḥārna (Shi'is).

The volume consists of seven chapters: *Communities, Histories, and Dialects in Bahrain and the Wider Gulf* (pp. 1–49), *Phonology* (pp. 50–80), *Morphology (I)* (pp. 81–137), *Morphology (II)* (pp. 138–212), *Syntax* (pp. 213–433), *Style in Spoken Discourse* (pp. 434–466), and *Some Trends in Dialectal Change Since the Mid-1970s* (pp. 467–478). It is worth noting that the volume includes a short supplement to the first volume—*Further Addenda and Corrigenda to Volume 1* (pp. 479–490). The addenda are the entries that were missing in his glossary.<sup>3</sup> The book's table of contents is limited to chapters and subchapters, which makes finding some grammar information rather difficult (e. g. conjunctions and prepositions are not listed). It also has no index, which is a big omission when the table of contents is so general.

Chapters are preceded by two maps: the first shows ṠArab and Baḥārna communities in Bahrain, the second

districts of central Al-Manāma (pp. XIV–XV), *Abbreviations and Conventions* (pp. XVI–XVII), and *References* (pp. XVII–XXX). In the bibliography a system of abbreviations was used to put in order individual titles of the sources used. This practice is increasingly common, especially in such extensive publications. Unfortunately, it requires returning constantly to the references, because remembering so many abbreviations is almost impossible. Giving the full names in citations enables readers to find easily which publication is referred to.

In the first chapter, the author shortly depicts the communities inhabiting Bahrain—ṠArab, Baḥārna, Ḥwala, ṠAḡam—and provides other communal names used in the mid-1970s (Banyān and ṠAngrēz). This part of the book is not limited to a brief characteristic of Bahrain's social landscape. The author also mentions other interesting issues such as historical memory (pp. 6–9). In parts on language and history (*1.3 Language History*, pp. 10–32; *1.4 Core and Periphery*, pp. 32–41; *1.5 Eastern Arabia and Central Asia*, pp. 41–48), he leads us through the complex linguistic situation in Bahrain, starting with ancient substrates and influences. Furthermore, he discusses features of dialects of Eastern Arabia and Central Asia, and the influence of other languages on the dialects of Bahrain.

In subsequent chapters (2–6), Holes describes the Arabic dialects of the pre-oil era that had been used by uneducated people. The last chapter (7) presents succinctly how the situation has changed since the 1970s.

Now I will discuss briefly each chapter.

The second chapter, devoted to the phonology of the Arabic dialects of Bahrain, begins with a description of consonantal and vocalic phonemes. It should be noted that the phonological system presented by the author has a historical character, because it has changed over the past 40 years (see Chapter 7). When describing the phonology of Arabic dialects, researchers usually refer to Old Arabic, and this case is no different. Old Arabic phonemes are the starting point for describing phonology, namely their development in Bahraini dialects. This is a very valuable description from the point of view of historical dialectology. However, the method used to describe the phonological system leads to omissions. Minimal pairs are not always given, and among them there are also those that do not differ by only one phoneme. As for the vowel system, in Bahraini dialects there are three short vowels (*a, i, u*) and five long vowels (*ā, ē, ī, ō, ū*). Their realisation depends on the environment. It is not entirely clear why additional symbol *ə* is used to denote a mid-vowel, which according to the author does not occur in the vowel system. Shouldn't it be noted as *u* or *i*? The remainder of the description of the phonology relates to syllables, which are listed along

<sup>1</sup> Holes, Clive: *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia. Volume One: Glossary.* Leiden/Boston: Brill 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Holes, Clive: *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia. Volume Two: Ethnographic Texts.* Leiden/Boston: Brill 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Holes 2001.

with examples of basic syllable types and syllable types derived from elision or borrowing from other languages. More thoroughly discussed are consonant clusters of two (in certain positions in a word) and three consonants. This part of the description closes with an information on the stress that falls on the last long syllable (CVC, CVCC) of a word or—in other cases—on the penultimate syllable, and issues of phonotactics: assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, the *ghawa*-syndrome, spread of emphatization, elision, shortening and lengthening of vowels. The author did not record pausal forms in the Arabic dialects of Bahrain.

Morphology is described in two chapters (*I* and *II*). I do not understand the reason for this division, perhaps it was made to distinguish verbs or for the sake of transparency. The first part of morphology opens with a description of pronouns. Different forms of pronouns are given, divided into ʿArab and Baḥārna dialects (urban and village). In addition, individual pronouns are accompanied by a commentary and examples. This section includes: personal independent pronouns, possessive/object suffixes, demonstratives, presentatives, relative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, collectives and distributives, and reflexive pronouns. Further discussed are particles and adverbs, which are classified by function (temporal, local, manner). In addition to particles, following are discussed: the definite article, *wāḥid*, *šī/šay* (which play the function of an indefinite article), two genitive markers (here: genitive particles)—*māl(at)* ‘property’ and *ḥagg* ‘right’, negative particles, question particles, existential particles, vocative particles and exclamations. This section also includes prepositions and conjunctions, examples of which are in the section on syntax. Names are divided into nouns and adjectives. The author discusses mainly grammatical categories (gender and number) and gives patterns—productive noun patterns, foreign borrowings of nominal patterns, adjectival patterns. He also mentions diminutives, colour and bodily deficiency adjectives and elatives. The construct state, discussed in the next section, is rarely used in Bahraini dialects, because the genitive markers I mentioned earlier are more commonly used. Holes draws attention to the interesting phenomenon of the insertion of *-t* in a construct state with masculine nouns and pronoun forms (e.g. *ḡnātah* ‘his riches’) and head nouns that do not have a feminine ending *-t* (e.g. *sōdat il-wēh* ‘black faced’).<sup>4</sup> Another interesting phenomenon is the preservation of nunation in Bahraini dialects,

which is one of the features that characterise the dialects of Eastern and Central Arabia. The last issue addressed in *Morphology (I)* is numerals.

*Morphology (II)* is entirely devoted to verbs and derivative forms of verbs. The author begins this chapter with a description of creating individual verb patterns and stems (active voice), and then proceeds to the next phenomenon characteristic to the Arabic dialects of Arabia and the Gulf region—the internal passive. In the next section, a lot of space is devoted to quadrilateral verbs, especially the processes by which they had developed. The description of conjugation concentrates essentially on strong verbs (I stem). Holes first mentions verbal forms with suffixes (which are called s-stem) and then verbal forms with prefixes (which are called p-stem). Note, however, that these are not the only verbal forms with prefixes, because in the 2nd person f.sg., 2nd person pl. and 3rd person pl. circumfixes also appear. In this section we will also find information on the imperative form of strong verbs (I stem only), participles (I stem only) and verbal nouns. At the end of the chapter, the author briefly discusses geminate verbs and weak verbs, and in the section entitled *Irregular Verbs* provides the conjugation of the verb ‘to come’.

The most extensive part of the work is the chapter devoted to the syntax of the Arabic dialects of Bahrain, in which individual issues are illustrated by many examples from his earlier texts.<sup>5</sup> The author begins his syntax description from a noun phrase (definiteness, indefiniteness, gender and number, annexation structures) and a verb phrase. In this section he discusses the use of s-stem and p-stem verbs, active and passive participles, the verb *kān*, the narrative imperative, the passive voice, aspectual and modal particles and verbs, and complementation of certain verbs. The issues of agreement and word order are addressed in the next two sections, followed by a part devoted to conjunctions (e.g. conjunctions expressing an additive or sequential relationship, conjunctions expressing an alternative relationship, conjunctions expressing an adversative relationship) and types of clauses (subordinate noun clauses, relative clauses, clauses of reason, clauses of purpose and result, clauses of comparison and degree, conditional and time clauses) in the Bahraini dialects.

The sixth chapter—devoted to linguistic features of oral texts—is an interesting addition to the grammatical description of the Arabic dialects of Bahrain. The author describes, for example, how the speaker involves the listener or listeners in a story/stories he tells. There is also a

<sup>4</sup> Holes, Clive: *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia. Volume Three: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style*. Leiden/Boston: Brill 2016, 131.

<sup>5</sup> Holes 2005.

large section on a phenomenon known as address inversion (German *umgekehrte Anrede*), defined by Holes as bipolar address forms.<sup>6</sup> Address inversion occurs in many dialects of Arabic, although it has been described more thoroughly only in a few of them.

The last chapter, as I have already mentioned, is the author's reflections on the trends and changes that have been observed in the Arabic dialects of Bahrain after the pre-oil era (the mid-1970s).

The reviewed work is the culmination of Holes's years-long research on the communal dialects of Bahrain. The grammatical description, which together with the earlier two volumes makes up the series *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia*, is probably the only such extensive description of dialects in terms of historical significance. I can only hope that in the coming years researchers will begin new studies on dialects currently used in Bahrain. The last chapter is an excellent contribution, and Holes's complete work will be an unparalleled source for comparative studies. I also hope that the (preserved?) recordings from Holes's fieldwork will be available to Arabic dialectologists in the near future.

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<sup>6</sup> Braun, Friederike: *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter 1988.