

AT THE CROSSROADS: A COMPARATIVE SKETCH OF STRESS PATTERNS IN ENGLISH AND KHASIBI ARABIC

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ABSTRACT

Stress is a debatable concept in phonetic literature. Different accounts have been adopted to define and identify its nature and function. Stress has attracted phoneticians' attention simply because it is required to tackle certain aspects of connected speech such as elision, assimilation and the like. The present study is a fully comparative exploration of how stress is patterned in both English and Khasibi Arabic. It presents a systemic investigation of stress placement mapping in these two dialects with the intention that comparative sides are highly activated.

Keywords: stress patterns, stress levels, prominence, syllable, English, Khasibi Arabic.

INTRODUCTION:

Stress, as a linguistic concept, has undergone much debate in phonetic literature. Divergent approaches and descriptions have been adopted to define and identify its nature and function. Stress has attracted phoneticians' attention simply because it is required to tackle certain aspects of connected speech such as elision, assimilation and the like.

Stress commonly refers to the most prominent part of a syllable or a word. This prominence is resulted from additional breath force, and this paves the way to state that a syllable may be stressed or unstressed based on whether it is prominent or not. Moreover, stress is associated with the syllable nucleus and it is used to denote different degrees of prominence in words containing more than one syllable. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the property of stress since it is related to the different vowels, the grammatical word classes and types of sentences.

More importantly, phoneticians are in a partial agreement with the fact that though all vowels usually occur in syllables carrying a strong stress, they may occur in unstressed ones – a partial agreement because there are some who go far maintaining a view, or say, a theory that a syllable is not really unstressed unless it contains weak vowels. They believe that when vowels other than weak ones occur in weak positions, they are uttered with the second degree of stress.

The current paper is a fully comparative exploration of how stress is patterned in both English and Khasibi Arabic. It presents a systemic investigation of stress placement mapping in these two dialects with the intention that comparative sides are highly activated. The model of English used is British English that is most commonly taught to students learning English as a second language, and that is easily understood not only all over Britain but also elsewhere in the world. On the other hand, Khasibi Arabic is a sub-dialect of Arabic which is spoken in the town of Abu-Al-Khasib in the south of Iraq. This variety shows a considerable similarity to the speech of Najdi Arabic, and seems to fall within Eastern Arabian group of dialects. In addition, the study is based on two informants' recording speech which is phonemically transcribed and translated systematically (Appendices (3) and (4)).

STRESS: ITS NATURE AND REALM:

In phonetic terminology, stress is viewed as a supra-segmental feature of utterance. It is noted that stress is not applied to individual segments but to whole syllables whatever they may be (Ladefoged, 2006: 249). It may be thought of as the force of utterance subtracted from other attributes of speech sounds. In this sense, stress is essentially conceived as a subjective activity of the speaker, and a strong stressed syllable is the one which the speaker consciously utters with greater force in comparison with adjacent syllables in the word or the sentence (Jones, 1967: 134). It is presumed that the application of stress is not confined to the speech mechanism, but rather it involves a special effort of the whole body of the speaker such as the movement of the head, arms and hands. This view is confirmed by Cruttenden (2007: 260) who mentions that the speaker is aware of the occurrence of a number of strong stresses corresponding to those parts of the utterance to which he wishes to attach particular accentual meaning and on which he expends relatively great articulatory energy. The remaining words or syllables are weakly and rapidly articulated.

A decision should be made as to how certain syllables are more prominent than others; it is subsumed that stress must be viewed from two angles, i. e. stress production and stress perception. In other words, studying how some syllables are rendered as stressed while others are not, one has to know what the speaker does when he produces stressed syllables and what makes a syllable seem to the listener as stressed.

It is generally believed that the production of stress depends on the muscular energy used by the speaker when producing stressed syllables rather than unstressed ones. According to experimental studies, it seems possible that when speakers produce stressed syllables, they use more active muscles to expel air from the lungs: producing stressed syllables entails higher sub-glottal pressure (Roach, 2009: 73).

Perceptually speaking, it is asserted that all stressed syllables share one property known as prominence. Stressed syllables are recognized as stressed because they are more prominent than unstressed ones. Prominence is created as a result of four major factors: loudness, length, pitch and sound quality. It is maintained that these factors operate together in combination, though syllables may sometimes be prominent by virtue of only one or two of them. Experimental work has revealed that prominence factors are not equally important, since the strongest effect on the production of stressed syllables is attributed to pitch, whereas loudness and sound quality are of less effect (Roach, 2009).

Ladefoged (2006) upholds similar views concerned with the distinction between stressed and unstressed

syllables remarking that a stressed syllable is produced by greater respiratory energy than the neighboring unstressed one. Moreover, a stressed syllable may be characterized by an increase in the laryngeal activity; i. e. stress can be identified in terms of what the speaker always does in one part of an utterance relative to another. Adopting the same line of argument, Ladefoged adds that it is difficult to define stress from the listener's point of view, simply because a stressed syllable is often, but not always, louder than the unstressed one, and is on a higher pitch. The most reliable thing for a listener to detect is that a stressed syllable frequently has a longer vowel than the unstressed syllable. However, this does not mean that all long vowels are necessarily stressed. Since stress can always be correlated with something a speaker does rather than with some particular acoustic attribute of the sound, it is proposed that the best way to decide whether a syllable is stressed or not is to try to tap out the beat as a word is spoken. This is attributed to the fact that it is always easier to produce one increase in muscular activity (i. e. a tap), exactly in time with an existing increase in activity. When perceiving the stresses produced by other speakers, listeners probably put together all the cues available in a particular utterance in order to deduce the motor activity (the articulations) they use to utter the same stresses. In a word, when we listen to speech we are concerned with what we would have to do in order to make similar sounds. This concept is termed as "the motor theory of speech perception".

As for experimental phonetics, there are a number of variables which function together to render certain syllables as stressed and other syllables as unstressed. It has been certified that there is no single variable which is always present in stressed syllables and is not present in unstressed syllables (Brown, 1993: 45). Some syllables which are perceived as stressed, for example, are louder than adjacent unstressed syllables, but sometimes, there is no measurable difference of loudness. Moreover, it is noticed that some stressed syllables are spoken on a higher pitch than the surrounding unstressed ones but an abrupt dramatic drop in pitch may have the effect of making a stressed syllable. Any syllable on which the pitch of the voice moves perceptibly (rising or falling) will be perceived as stressed. The other variable which makes some syllables stressed is length: any syllable that is markedly longer than the surrounding syllables is recognized as a stressed syllable. The degree of explicitness of the syllable articulation is taken for granted as the valuable criterion that can be utilized to differentiate between stressed and unstressed syllables. In a stressed syllable, the initial consonant(s) and the vowel would be comparatively articulated in a clear way, while in an unstressed syllable, the consonants may be very weakly articulated and the vowel is very obscure. The latter case is a feature that marks colloquial and informal forms of speech where a number of different segments are frequently lost.

In colloquial and informal forms of language, the consonants and vowels of unstressed syllables are less explicitly pronounced than those of stressed syllables. In fact, it is impossible to state that all unstressed syllables would lose certain properties that stressed syllables would not lose. The following observations are worth noting as to what happens to consonants and vowels in stressed syllables: First, initial plosives which occur in stressed syllables are uttered with a firm closure that totally obstructs the airstream. Next, syllable initial voiceless plosives are followed by aspiration when they occur in stressed syllables. Third, initial plosive in unstressed syllables are weakly articulated. Fourth, initial fricatives occurring in stressed syllables tend to have more friction and continue longer than those in unstressed syllables. Fifth, Vowels and diphthongs in stressed syllables have their own qualities such as rounding and diphthongization (Brown, 1993). In addition, it is not sufficient to describe unstressed syllables in terms of weak vowels as it is usually done, since not all unstressed vowel are reduced to weak vowels. The reduction in the explicitness of consonant articulation taking place in unstressed syllables is just as marked as the reduction of the vowel quality in the same type of syllables.

ENGLISH STRESS PATTERNS:

English and other Germanic languages make more use of stress difference than most of the languages of the world (Laver, 1994; Ladefoged, 2006). In particular, the difference in prominence between stressed and unstressed syllables is greater in English in comparison with other languages (Kingdon, 1958). However, the position of stress in English is not fixed in relation to word, and it is remarked that there is no evidence to indicate that the timing of English is completely determined by the stressed syllables. English may be considered a stressed-timed language as a result of the tendencies of stress to recur at regular intervals of time.

English stress is of two types: word stress and sentence stress. The latter is used more consistently in some languages to express the speaker's intention (Kingdon, 1958). English word stress is so difficult to identify and thus it is presumed that the best approach is to treat stress placement as a property of the individual word. It is suggested that word stress should be learned when the word itself is learned. This suggestion is firmly adopted by a number of phoneticians (O'Connor, 1980; Roach, 2009) who report that there is no simple way to determine which syllable or syllables in an English word must be stressed. Therefore, it is essential to learn the

appropriate place of stress of any word acquired by the learner. When the stress is allocated on the wrong syllable of a word, it spoils the shape of the word for an English speaker and he may have difficulty in recognizing the word. (O'Connor, 1980) proposes the following three criteria assuming that they may be helpful in deciding whether a syllable or a word is stressed or not in English. In one place, all words of more than one syllable are stressed. In some circumstances, English speakers do not stress such words, but it is always possible to stress them and everybody should do so. Next, words of one syllable are generally unstressed if they are purely grammatical words like pronouns, prepositions, and the like. Other words referred as "picture words", such as full verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs are stressed. Third, syllables which are not stressed often contain the schwa /ə/ instead of any clearer vowel. This vowel occurs only in unstressed syllables and it never occurs in stressed ones.

A work based on the theory of generative phonology has formulated a number of rules to account for word stress in English. From a practical point of view, it has been found that these rules are so complex that it would be easier for learners of English to deal with the stress for each word individually. When stress placement is specified in English, it is necessary to make use of the following information: whether the word is morphologically simple or complex as a result of affixation or compounding, the grammatical category to which the word belongs, the number of syllables in the word, and the phonological structure of the syllables of the word.

It is quite evident that each word has its own stress pattern which remains unchanged when the word is said in isolation. The placement of word stress in English depends to a great extent on the number of word syllables:

(i) Monosyllabic words usually receive a primary stress as in /fɪʃ/ "fish", /i:t/ "eat", /ded/ "dead".

(ii) Polysyllabic words usually have a primary stress according to the following sub-categories:

(a) Disyllabic words receive primary stress either on the first or on the second syllable like /i:kwəl/ "equal", /dɪfəɪn/ "define", /ɪgˈzæt/ "examine", /mɪsˈteɪk/ "mistake".

(b) Tri-syllabic words usually have primary stress on the first syllable as in /ˈestɪmeɪt/ "estimate", /ˈleksɪkəl/ "lexical", or on the second syllable as in /ɪmˈpɜːfɪkt/ "imperfect", /dɪfensɪv/ "defensive", or on the third syllable as in /ʌndəˈsteɪt/ "understate", /ʌndəˈweɪ/ "underway".

(c) Polysyllabic words have primary stress either on the penultimate syllable as in /nætʃrəˈlɪstɪk/ "naturalistic", or on the antepenultimate syllable as in /pɒsɪˈbɪlɪti/ "possibility". Some four-syllable words receive primary stress on the first syllable as in /ˈnætʃrəlɪzəm/ "naturalism", /ˈsepərəbl/ "separable".

English phoneticians show different views as to how degrees of stress are treated in English. Some phoneticians (e.g. Jones, 1967; O'Connor, 1980) recognize two levels of stress, namely, stressed and unstressed levels. Other phoneticians (e.g. Hyman, 1975) identify three degrees of stress using different terminologies. Other scholars differentiate four degrees of stress. Ladefoged (2006) introduces a "multilevel" stress system by adding a number of [+] marks on each syllable whereby the level of stress is indicated by means of the number of plus signs. Thus, three [+] marks are used for the first level of stress, two [+] marks for the second level, one [+] mark for the third level, and [-] mark for the fourth level of stress. On the other hand, Cruttenden (2007) adopts the term "accent" instead of "stress" specifying four degrees of accent: primary accent, secondary accent, a minor accent and non-accent. He explains that the first degree is marked by the last major pitch change in a word or longer utterance whereas the last degree contains no pitch change but a reduced vowel like /ɪ, ə, ʊ/.

Since stress is a relative phenomenon, it is better to investigate it in word context and in sentence context. So, the same syllable and even the same word may be stressed or unstressed depending on the context of a sentence and the degree of emphasis placed on a certain part of the sentence. Stresses which occur on words sometimes become modified when the words are part of a sentence and in some cases segments are elided in connected speech owing to the loss of stress. The tendency to avoid having stresses too close to each other may cause the stress of a polysyllabic word to be on one syllable in one sentence and on another syllable in another sentence (Roach, 2009).

The correlation between stress and the change in the vowel quality on the one hand, and between stress and elision on the other hand is very much obvious in English. It is pointed out that some sound changes which occur in a particular aspect of a language may be resulted from the influence of other alternations that take place in other aspects of the language. The change imposed on stress due to the change in vowel quality is a good case to be traced historically, because such a change in English is referred to as the "Great Vowel Shift". Vowels in most unstressed syllables, particularly those in word-final positions, have undergone an equally striking type of change with different colors. Owing to such alternations, Modern English is marked by the loss of many

endings as in /stəʊnz/ “stones” as compared with its realization in Old English as /stɑ:næs/, and in Middle English as /stɑ:nəs/. It is concluded that there is a greater tendency for all unstressed vowels in English to shorten, if they are long, and to gravitate towards the weak centralized vowels /ɪ/ or /ə/, or sometimes /ʊ/, if not to disappear altogether. This fact accounts for the high frequency of occurrence of /ɪ/ and /ə/ in present-day English, and for the elision of many vowels in stressed syllables in rapid colloquial speech (Cruttenden, 2007).

ARABIC STRESS PATTERNS: GENERAL REMARKS:

Although old Arab Grammarians were very serious about studying all the aspects of the Arabic language, they did not tackle supra-segmental features particularly stress and intonation. Moreover, such grammarians did not record any material concerned with these phenomena. The influence of stress is attributed to the fact that old Arab scholars did not accord any status of stress on the meaning of words in Arabic. Stress, as a linguistic notion, has been investigated more thoroughly by a number of modern Arab scholars (Al-Ani, 1970; Anis, 1971; Al-Antaki, 1972; Umar, 1976; Hassan, 1979) who scrutinize many areas related to stress in Arabic and different Arabic dialects proposing, in most cases, rules for identifying word-stress.

On the lexical item ground, stress is predictable in Arabic and hence it is not phonemic. That is to say, the location of stress on certain syllables of the word in Arabic is rule-governed. In addition, the change of stress placement from one syllable to another does not affect the word meanings. Potentially, every lexeme in Arabic, as it is the case in English, contains an inherently stressed syllable. This syllable usually receives primary stress which renders it more prominent than the neighboring ones. The location and distribution of stress in Arabic are affected by the number and types of word syllables. A monosyllabic word, in isolation, receives a primary stress. Disyllabic and polysyllabic words may take secondary and weak stresses in addition to the primary stress. The following rules are required to identify the position of stress in Arabic:

- (i) In a word containing a number of syllables of the /cv/ pattern, primary stress is allocated on the first syllable as in /tʰalaba/ “he demanded”, /baʕaθa/ “he sent”, /kabura/ “he became old”.
- (ii) When a word contains only one long syllable, the long syllable receives the primary stress and the remaining syllables receive weak stresses as in /ʕula^lmaaʔun/ “scientists”.
- (iii) When a lexeme has two long syllables or more, the long syllable nearest to the end of the word receives the primary stress, and in most cases, the one close to the beginning receives the secondary stress as in /munaʕa^ljaatuhum/ “their discussions”.

Besides word stress, there is sentence stress in Arabic, which is concerned with allocating primary stress on some words in the sentence. Arabic is characterized by primary stress at the end of the sentence in the pausal form, and such stress leads to the loss of the vowel of the last lexeme. In attempt to emphasize a particular meaning, Arabic speakers often allocate primary stress on the word or words in the sentence rather than others.

KHASIBI ARABIC STRESS PATTERNS: A PANORAMIC VIEW:

The facts and the rules stated in the previous section related to stress in Arabic can be generalized to be applied to all dialects of Arabic. This is so since the articulation of Arabic words differs from one dialect to another and this variation necessitate, among other things, different placement of word-stress. That is, stress in Arabic can be dialect-specific through which one can identify the geographical region to which the speaker belongs.

In Khasibi Arabic, two types of stress patterns can be recognized. The first pattern is determined by the syllabic structure of the word and the other by certain grammatical conditions. The first category is commoner than the second one in so far as other phonological phenomena like assimilation, elision, etc. are concerned. It has been stated that attempts are made to identify whether unstressed syllables are more apt to lose a number of their elements or vice versa.

The type of stress in question is marked by the presence of one primary stress as well as an optional secondary in longer polysyllabic words. The existence of the secondary stress is a feature that flavors a more careful style, while in a more rapid speech only the primary stress is clearly perceived. The allocation of primary stress in Khasibi Arabic, as it is the case in Arabic, relies on the syllabic patterning in final and pre-final positions of lexemes. The following rules are suggested to facilitate the identification of primary stress on the word-level:

- (i) Monosyllabic words irrespective of their syllabic structure always receive primary stress as in /xad/ “cheek”, /ʕeen/ “eye”, /ween/ “where”, /yam/ “close”
- (ii) In bi-syllabic words having the structure /cvvc/ as their final syllable, that syllable takes the primary stress as in /ʕad^ldaad/ “counter”, /maʕ^lmiil/ “customer”, /taʔ^lyiid/ “certificate”, /miq^lyaas/ “measure”, /taʔ^lxiir/ “delay”.

- (iii) In bi-syllabic words having the structure /cvcc/ as their final syllable, the primary stress is also placed on that syllable as in /mib¹yad¹d/ “it is whitened”, /mis¹farr/ “it becomes yellow”, /miθ¹wall/ “it is perplexed”.
- (iv) Bi-syllabic words having the structures /cv+cv/, /cvc+cv/ and /cvc+cvc/ receive primary stress on their first syllables as in /¹hiʃa/ “he talked”, /¹fatra/ “period”, /¹daxla/ “the wedding night”, /¹karwa/ “fare”, /¹maxfar/ “guard post”, /¹muyrib/ “sunset”.
- (v) Bi-syllabic words having the structure /cv/ or /cvc/ as their final syllables, and the structure /cvv/ as their pre-final syllable, usually take primary stress on their first syllable as in /¹daafi/ “warm”, /¹d¹aayiʃ/ “lost”, /¹xaarim/ “fool”.
- (vi) Tri-syllabic words having the structure /cv+cv/ or /cv+cvc/ as their last two syllables, very often receive a primary stress on the second syllable as in /di¹faʃa/ “he pushed him”, /qi¹bala/ “he accepted it”, /dam¹marit/ “he destroyed”, /wax¹xarit/ “I cleared the way”.
- (vii) Polysyllabic words comprising not less than three syllables may take a secondary stress in addition to the primary stress. The secondary stress often precedes the primary stress and it is normally perceived in a more careful speech style. Such words are usually of particular grammatical structure as in /waddeetilhiy¹yaa/ “I sent it to him”, /d¹ammeetilhiy¹yaa/ “I kept it for him”.
- Khasibi Arabic exhibits another type of stress known as sentence stress. Since this variety does not differentiate between pausal and on-pausal form, primary stress is usually placed at the end of the sentence. This can be illustrated by examples such as /haay madra¹sa/ “this is a school”, /minu gal¹lak/ “who told you?”, /maadri ʃasaw¹wi/ “I do not know what to do”.

CONCLUSION:

The current study lucidly reveals that the comparative parameters of stress patterns in these two varieties are universally oriented on the one hand, and dialect-specific oriented on the other hand. In the first place, there are certain points of similarity gathering these dialects in so far as stress is distributed within the nature and texture of words in questions, namely, monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic words. Moreover, the phonetic concept of stress is the same in both dialects and, so to speak, in all languages, since it represents a universal, standard and referent notion in which a degree of muscular force and energy is uttered with a syllable.

In addition to points of similarity, lines of demarcation can possibly be drawn between the two dialects in accordance with certain idiosyncrasies that make them at the crossroads: stress is predictable and then non-phonemic concept in Khasibi Arabic, while it is phonemic altering word meanings in most of cases. Besides, different levels of stress are created and then different names are given to these levels in English: primary, secondary, minor, accent and the like, whereas in Khasibi Arabic, primary and secondary degrees are only manipulated.

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Appendix (1) English Segmental Symbols

The vowels:

ɪ as in bit /bɪt/	ʊ as in put /pʊt/	ə as in ahead /əhed/	əʊ as in load /ləʊd/
i: as in beat /bi:t/	u: as in suit /sju:t/	ɜ: as in word /wɜ:d/	aʊ as in cow /kaʊ/
e as in bet /bet/	ɒ as in pot /pɒt/	eɪ as in face /feɪs/	ɪə as in ear /ɪə/
æ as in bat /bæt/	ɔ: as in more /mɔ:/	aɪ as in nice /naɪs/	eə as in fair /feə/
ɑ: as in arm /ɑ:m/	ʌ as in blood /blʌd/	ɔɪ as in coin /kɔɪn/	ʊə as in poor /pʊə/

The consonants:

p as in pray /preɪ/	ʃ as in she /ʃi:/
b as in bee /bi:/	ʒ as in measure /meʒə/
t as in tame /teɪm/	h as in heat /hi:t/
d as in door /dɔ:/	tʃ as in choice /tʃɔɪs/
k as in kid /kɪd/	dʒ as in jam /dʒæm/
g as in go /gəʊ/	m as in mood /mu:d/
f as in feed /fi:d/	n as in night /naɪt/
v as in view /vju:/	ŋ as in sing /sɪŋ/
θ as in theft /θeft/	l as in less /les/
Δ as in this /Δɪs/	r as in read /ri:d/
s as in sense /sens/	w as in we /wi:/
z as in zoo /zu:/	j as in yes /jes/

Appendix (2) Khasibi Arabic Segmental Symbols

The Vowels:

i as in ʔibin “son”	ii as in bziim “buckle”	ee as in ween “where”
a as in matʔbax “kitchen”	aa as in waasʔa “medium”	oo as in xoof “fear”
u as in duʔbul “marbles”	uu as in hduum “clothes”	

The Consonants:

b as in bhaam “thumb”	ʒ as in sʔalʔa “blad”	w as in wlaaya “city”
t as in taʔbaan “tired”	z as in zibid “butter”	y as in ynaam “he sleeps”
tʔ as in tʔiin “mud”	ʃ as in ʔaʔar “hair”	
d as in dmuuʔ “tears”	x as in xaadim “servant”	
dʔ as in dʔaabutʔ “officer”	ɣ as in ɣaali “expensive”	
k as in kital “he killed”	ħ as in ħilim “dream”	
g as in gwaani “sacks”	ʕ as in ʕgaal “headband”	
q as in qamiisʔ “shirt”	h as in hnaak “there”	
ʔ as in ʔamal “hope”	tʃ as in tʃaay “tea”	
f as in fazʔa “effort”	dʒ as in dʒibin “cheese”	
T as in Taani “second”	m as in moot “death”	
Δ as in Δeel “tail”	n as in nahar “river”	
ðʔ as in ðʔaruf “envelop”	l as in liga “he found”	

Appendix (3)

The text is a psychiatric nurse’s sample of recorded speech in which she explained her career experience in one of London hospitals.

Text

wen aɪ wəz ə saɪkɪætrɪk nɜ:s aɪ θɪŋk aɪ wəz əbaʊt eɪti:n ɔ: nati:n ɔ: sɪmθɪŋ laɪk ðæt ən aɪ kən rɪmembə ɡəʊɪŋ ɪn tə laɪk wɒt wəz ðə deɪru:m wə əvɪɪbɒdɪ sæt ənd əvɪɪbɒdɪ hæd ðeə mi:lz ənd stɒf laɪk ðæt ənd ju:zd tə traɪ ənd

sɔ:t əv fəsiliteit veəriəs pi:siz kɒnvəseɪʃn wɪð pi:pl juə traɪŋ faɪnd aʊt wɒt wəz gəʊɪŋ ɒn ənd aɪ rɪmembə wi: tok ðə dɪnə trɒli ɪn wʌn deɪ ənd ðə fu:d wəz dɪsgʌstɪŋ ðeə wəz æbsəlu:tli nəʊ daʊt əbaʊt ɪt ðə fu:d wəz æbsəlu:tli dɪsgʌstɪŋ ənd ðɪs gaɪ stɑ:tɪd gəʊɪŋ æbsəlu:tli bəna:nə əbaʊt ðə fu:d ju: kənɒt pɒsɪbly ɪkspekt mi: tə i:t ðɪs.

Translation

When I was a psychiatric nurse I think I was about eighteen or nineteen or something like that, and I can remember going in to like what was the dayroom where everybody sat. Everybody had their meals and stuff like that and used to try and sort of facilitate various pieces of conversation with people. You're trying find out what was going on and I remember we took the dinner trolley in one day; the food was disgusting. There was no doubt about it that the food was absolutely disgusting and this guy started going absolutely bananas about the food. You cannot possibly expect me to eat this.

Appendix (4)

The text is a Khasibi inhabitant's sample of recorded speech in which he talked about how field crops were prospered in that year.

Text

ismi yaʕguub ana min abulxasʕiib issina haay zaraʕna killif zeen u yaʕni ziraafatna ʕaaydha issina killif ʕaayid kaafi maʕsuulna huntʕa wʕiʕiir u ʕilib bass issina haay wadʕid ʕilmaay ʕaliina sʕaar ziraʕna ʕilib yaʕni timman min heeθ fayadʕaan ilmaay maa sʕaar huntʕa wʕiʕiir ʕidna bass timman sʕaar nzirʕa bilihweeza isimha naʕam ʕalal ʕtʕuutʕ ʕatʕtʕ u aku nahraan intaqasam minna ʕalal ʕaraadʕi hiyya tintʕi lʕaraadʕi may u baʕad iða qall ilmaay ysiddun haaða lʕʕatʕtʕ maa yxalluuna lmaay yruuh lilhoor.

Translation

My name is Ya'aqub, from Abu-Al-Khasib. In this year, our harvest was very good; I mean the crops this year were good and sufficient. Our crops were wheat, barley and rice. However, because there was too much water, our harvest became too much rice. Because of the floods, there was neither wheat nor barley only rice. We sow it at Al-huwaiza; this was so called. Yes, along the rivers, and there were irrigation channels by which we distribute water from it to the land plots. They brought water to the land. Then, if the water was not enough, we dammed up the river and did not let water go to the marsh.
