The Verb Transitivity of Muntafiq Arabic: A Morpho-syntactic Mapping

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Abstract

Transitivity refers to the linguistic system used to create experiential or ideational meaning, which is concerned with how entities and actions in a situation are coded in the language. It is a linguistic property of verbs that relates to whether a verb can take direct objects and how many such objects a verb can take. of southern Iraqi varieties, Muntafiq Arabic stands as a shining example of having such a syntactic behavior, i.e. transitivity. The present paper is a concerted effort to draw morpho-syntactic lines on the map of Muntafiq verbal system and transitivity seems to be, among others, the phenomenon which really deserves scrutiny and speculation. The paper is chiefly based on data collecting in the city of Nassiryya (South of Iraq), at Shaikh Abbass' guesthouse.

Key words - Muntafiq Arabic, Verbal transitivity, Verbal Measures, Reciprocity. Morphological Patterns.

I. INTRODUCTION

Transitivity refers to the linguistic system used to create experiential or ideational meaning, which is concerned with how entities and actions in a situation are coded in the language. It is a linguistic property of verbs that relates to whether a verb can take direct objects and how many such objects a verb can take. It is closely related to <u>valency</u>, which considers other verb arguments in addition to direct objects. The obligatory noun phrases and prepositional phrases determine how many arguments a predicate has. Obligatory elements are considered arguments while optional ones are never counted in the list of arguments Traditional grammar makes a binary distinction between intransitive verbs that cannot take a direct object (such as *fall* or *sit* in English) and transitive verbs that take one direct object (such as *throw, injure, kiss* in English). In practice, many languages (including English) interpret the category more flexibly, allowing: di-transitive verbs, verbs that have two objects; or even ambi-transitive verbs, verbs that can be used as both a transitive. This may be observed in the verb *walk* in the idiomatic expression "*To walk the dog*". To put in a rather simple way, verbs are classified according to the number of arguments: intransitive verbs that select one argument, transitive which select two arguments, di-transitive where three arguments are accepted and complex transitive which permit two arguments and a subject or object complement.

Like Standard Arabic, Southern Iraqi dialects are rich in divergent syntactic phenomena that mark the structural texture of their sentences. Of southern Iraqi varieties, Muntafiq Arabic stands as a shining example of having such a syntactic behavior, i.e. transitivity. Muntafiq Arabic is the dialect of Al-Muntafiq tribe which is a large tribal confederation of southern and central Iraq. Members of the Muntafiq tribal confederation are the largest and most influential Iraqi Shia community. The confederation's tribes predominantly settled in Baghdad and Iraq's southern provinces. The majority of Shia Iraqis' come from the Muntafiq tribal confederation is not homogeneous in terms of sect/religion. Centuries of intermarriage and intermingling created mixed Sunni-<u>Shia</u> tribes. Therefore, a minority of individual tribes within the confederation is Sunni. Overall, it is almost impossible to delineate who is, and who is not part of the Muntafiq triba, see [2]). The present paper is a concerted effort to draw morpho-syntactic lines on the map of Muntafiq verbal system and transitivity seems to be, among others, the phenomenon which really deserves scrutiny and speculation. The paper is chiefly based on data collecting in the city of Nassiryya (South of Iraq), at Shaikh Abbass' guesthouse. The data is transcribed phonemically and then translated into English as shown in Appendix (2).

II. THE NOTION OF TRANSITIVITY: PRELIMINARY INSIGHTS

Although events and situations could be categorized in an infinite number of ways, the transitivity system divides them into six process types: material, behavioral, mental, verbal, relational, and existential. Processes are represented in a clause by the verbal group. Each process is connected with various participants, and any process can be accompanied by one or more circumstantials. Participants are inherent in a process; it is difficult or impossible to conceive of the situation or event coded by the process as being complete without at least one participant. Circumstantials, on the other hand, almost always express optional information. Although processes are categorized semantically, their semantic differences are reflected in grammatical patterns.

Participants are coded as noun phrases, generally subjects, direct objects, or indirect objects, while circumstantials are usually expressed as prepositional phrases [1].

In functional grammar, transitivity is considered to be a continuum rather than a binary category as in traditional grammar. The "continuum" view takes a more semantic and, to some extent, stylistic approach. One way it does this is by taking into account the degree to which an action affects its object. In material processes, "things happen, and people or other actors do things, or make them happen" [3]. Examples of verbs that encode material processes include "build, break, rub, deliver, shrivel, flatten, and meet". The 'doers' in two-participant material processes are Agents and those in one-participant processes are Mediums. These roles are generally coded as subjects. Material processes often involve one or more other major participants, which differ in terms of the extent to which they are affected by the action. Goals, which are usually coded as direct objects, are the most affected. Recipients, usually coded as indirect objects, are generally less affected. Scopes are only marginally participants in the process; either they are not very affected, or they are not concrete entities at all, but are nominalizations of the process itself.

Mental processes are concerned with how we perceive the world or represent it to ourselves. Typical mental process verbs include believe, know, see, want, like, frighten, doubt, remember, or regret. These processes are prototypically states rather than actions. Mental processes involve two types of participants. The Senser is the conscious, usually human, entity that is in the state described. The Phenomenon is the entity, concrete or abstract, that is inducing the state.

Behavioral processes, represented by verbs like worry, ponder, plan, sneeze, cough, and crouch, fall into two subclasses, cognitive and physical. The cognitive ones are like mental processes, except that they are more event like; they usually refer to situations that are temporally bounded. The physical behavioral processes are similar to material processes, except that they don't affect anyone other than the entity doing them. Behavioral processes have one main participant, the Behaver, the one performing the activity. Sometimes the process itself is "dressed up as if it was a participant" [3].

Relational processes are concerned with how we identify and classify entities. As such, like mental processes, they are prototypically states. Examples of verbs encoding relational processes include be, remain, seem, exemplify, and have. Relational processes are used for many related but distinguishable functions, including identifying or specifying any of a wide range of circumstantial types of information such as spatial or temporal location, content, or origin. For stylistic purposes, the several participants in relational processes can be combined into two, Identified and Identifier. The Identified is the entity about which information is provided and the Identifier is the information itself.

Verbal processes are those involving symbolically coded information being transferred between people. While the most prototypical verbal processes are those in which a person is actually saying something, any activity in which information is coded into language by a human being to be conveyed to another human being is considered verbal. Examples of verbal process verbs are speak, announce, promise, and ask. The participants in verbal processes are the Sayer, the Receiver, the Verbiage, and the Target. The Sayer is the immediate conveyor of the message, which may be a person, but can also be the medium of the message itself, if a speaker is not present. On the other hand, Existential processes involve something existing. The most common verb representing existential processes is be, but others include exist, remain, and ensue. Existential processes have only one participant, the entity that exists, which is the Existent.

In all of the above, it is assumed that there is an obvious one-to-one correspondence between the process, which exists outside of language, and the way it is linguistically coded. That is, processes will be realized by verbs and participants by nouns, and any given process will always be realized with a verb whose default meaning matches it. Neither of these is always the case. It is certainly possible for the default meanings of the words and the grammatical structure to be completely congruent with the actual event. However, it is equally possible to have encodings that are quite incongruent with the event, as would be the case if the situation is encoded. There is a continuum of encodings, with a range of possibilities between very congruent and very incongruent [8].

III. THE NATURE OF MUNTAFIQ VERB TRANSITIVITY

Laid at the root of morpho-syntax of Munafiq Arabic, Standard Arabic verb shows a system of stem vowel alternation which gives rise to the active/passive distinction and transitive/intransitive/causative types. This system can be illustrated in the following tables:

Table I : Transitive Verb Type of Standard Arabic

Verb	Verb Tense	
voice	Past	Present
Active	∫arab "he drank"	ya∫rub "he drinks"
Passive	∫urib "it was drunk"	yu∫rab"it is drunk"

Table II: Intransitive Verb Type of Standard Arabic				
Verb	Verb Tense			
voice	Past	Present		
Active	Salim "he knew"	yaslam "he knows"		
Passive	Sulim "it was known"	yuSlam "it is known"		

Verb voice	Verb Tense		
	Past	Present	
Active	asmas "he caused someone to hear"	yusmis "he causes someone to hear"	
Passive	usmis "he was caused to hear"	yusma? "he is caused to hear"	

Table III: Causative Verb Type of Standard Arabic

The above-mentioned verbs elucidate that the pattern /a-a/ as in Salim "he knew" are fully transitive, whereas those showing the pattern /a-i/ or /a-u/ may either be intransitive like s^caSid "he ascended", <u>d^c</u>abu<u>t</u>^s "it became firm" or may express state or processes of sensory perception like samiS "he heard". Here, the subject is involved as the patient, or undergoer, of the action rather than as a strict performer.

Muntafiq Arabic preserves Standard Arabic to a great extent. The transitivity of Muntafiq verbal system permits for a large number of meaning modifications assigned to the basic verb stem and above all for marking particular meaning properties of the verb via internal patterning of the verb stem and the use of verbal affixes. This morphological network has the function of crystallizing the number and the nature of the arguments of the verb and adopts certain syntactic concepts such as transitive, intransitive and causative, active and passive. It also serves the purpose of pre-dominating certain aspectual features that distinguish dynamic verbs from static ones and that pinpoint intensive, repetitive and gradual types of verbal action. More importantly, passivity and causativity are possibly illustrated in this dialect by virtue of other morphological parameters connected with the "Measure" system of the verb (see below). The following is a tabulated data of how a Muntafiq verb behaves within the transitivity realm:

Verb	Verb Tense			
voice	Past	Present		
Active	ni∫ad "he asked" njīdat "she asked" ni∫adt "I asked" ni∫adna "we asked" ni∫adu "they asked"	yan∫īd "he asks" tan∫īd "she asks" an∫īd "I ask" nan∫īd "we ask" yan∫dūn "they ask"		
Passive	n∫id "he was asked" ni∫dat "she was asked" in∫adit "I was asked" ni∫idna "we were asked" in∫du "they were asked"	yin∫id "he is aked" tin∫ad "she is asked" in∫ad "I am asked" nin∫ad "we are asked" yin∫dūn "they are asked"		

Table IV : Transitive Verb Type of Muntafiq Arabic

Verb	Verb Ttense				
voice	Past	Present			
Active samsat "she heard" simist "I heard" simisna "we heard" simasu "they heard"		yasmiS "he hears" tasmiS "she hears" asmiS "I hear" nasmiS "we hear" yasmaSūn "they hear"			
Passive	smis "he was heard" simsat "she was heard" smist "I was heard" smisna "we were heard" yasmasu "they were heard"	yinsim ^s "he is heard" tinsim ^s "she is heard" insim ^s "I am heard" ninsim ^s "we are heard" yinsim ^s ūn "they are asked"			

Table V : Intransitive Verb Type of Muntafiq Arabic

Table VI : Causative Verb Type of Muntafiq Arabic

Verb Voice	Verb Tense	
	Past	Present
Active	abla∫ "he involved someone in something"	yabli∫ "he involves someone in something"
Active	ablisat "she involved someone in	tabli∫ "she involves someone in
	something" ablasat "I involved someone in	something" ablif "I involve someone in something"
	something"	
	ablasna "we involved someone in	
	something"	

A notable feature of this system is that a certain approximation can be obtainable between the passive and intransitive patterns in the perfective so that their semantic relationship is reflected as involving both a non-active subject. A point of similarity is possibly detected with the first and second persons in which they are segregated only by the presence of one unstressed /i/ as in simist "I heard" and smist "I was heard". It is worthnoting that the patterns /nʃidat/ and /niʃdat/ have entirely different functions: one being active, the other being passive. The imperative patterns /yafSil/, /yifSal/ and /yifSil/ mark active, passive and causative. In some cases, these internal vowel and syllabification contrasts are collapsed. Moreover, in the imperative, the vowel of the stem is always /i/ or /a/ depending on certain phonological factors, and this means that forms of the type /yifSal/ and /yifSil/ are both plain active with the vowel alternation being non-functional.

IV. MEASURE SYSTEMS OF MUNTAFIQ VERBS

An outstanding component of the verbal transitivity of Muntafiq Arabic involves what is termed in traditional Arabic grammatical theory as the "Measures of the Verb". They are a set of morphologically distinguished verbal oppositions which do not only serve the purpose of transitivity modification, but it is also true that the meaning of many items associated with some Measures cannot be retrieved via knowledge of the meaning of the root and the usual function of the Measure in question [7].

Generally speaking, the Verbal Measure System has been a matter of controversy among linguists and grammarians since it is not easy to describe functionally many exceptions to almost any generalization made and above all the Measures are not fully productive with all verbal items. Although its morphology is very straightforward and plain, its relationship to meaning is multifaceted. That is why some scholars have preferred to treat it as part of the lexicon [5]. There are two ways of forming the passive and two ways of forming the causative without any consistent reason being apparent for the choice: one way of forming the passive is by inserting internal vowel and by adopting syllabic change and the other by adding the prefix (in-) as seen below.

The intransitive/transitive nature of the verbal system in Muntafiq Arabic needs to have further clarifications whereby the morphology of the various Verb Measures can be possibly shown below with an example for each. The numbering of the Measures is not closely connected with the body of the description because it is nothing to do with any structural side and obscures the relationship of form to form. It is thus manipulated as a convenient and well-known labeling system. Table (7) below illustrates verbal Measures of Muntafiq Arabic:

No. of	Morphological Patterns		Examples		Translation
Measures	Past	Present	Past	Present	
1	/fiSal/	/yifSil/	gi <u>t</u> °aS	yi <u>gt^s</u> iS	"to cut"
2	/faSSal/	/yfaSSil/	dawwax	ydawwix	"to confuse"
3	/fā\$al/	/yfā\$il/	ħārab	yħārib	"to fight"
4	/afSal/	/yafSil/	a∫mal	ya∫mil	"to go north"
5	/tfaffal/	/yitfaSSal/	tfas ^ç s ^ç ax	yitfas ^s s ^s ax	"to undress"
6	/tfāʕal/	/yitfāʕal/	tbādal	yitbādal	"to exchange"
7	/infiSal/	/yinfiʕil/	inni∫ad	yinni∫id	"to be asked"
8	/ftaSal/	/yiftiSil/	nti∫al	yinti∫il	"to catch a cold"
9	/fSall/	/yifSall/	xraff	yixraff	"to dote"
10	/istafSal/	/yistafSil/	istankar	yistankir	"to think strange"

Table VII : Verbal Measures of Muntafiq Arabic

The meaning of Measure (7) is sometimes said to have reflexive even though it has clearly referred to passive connotations. More importantly, it is Measure (7) which is restricted to certain roots only resulting in specific verbal items with passive or intransitive forms such as in ingilab "to be turned over", inkisar "to be broken" and insihab "to retreat". In many cases, the prefix (in-) of Measure (7) can be combined with other Measures giving such a pattern as /yintifāsal/ as in yintixālat⁶ (wiyyāh) "it can be mixed with him". The semantic system is especially linked with the transitivity parameters of the Measures occurring for a particular stem. For instance, the verb gasad "to sit" is a change of state verb simply because its Measure (2) form gassad is causative meaning "to cause to sit", while gitsas "to cut" is a transitive physical action verb since its Measure (2) form is intensive meaning "to cut into pieces".

As stated above, there is an active-passive contrast which is operated by internal vowel and syllabification change. This contrast is coincided with the Measure system along semantic verb classes whereby certain forms of the verbs giteas "to cut, break" and wagf "to stop, stand" are illustrated as representative of the transitive physical action and the change of state groups respectively. In Muntafiq Arabic, Measures (5) and (7) are combined as being occurred in the Imperative pattern /yintifassal/ which a potential passive of Measure (5) and marked (5/7) below:

	Transitive Physical Action	
No. of	Active	Passive
Measure		
1	gi <u>t</u> fas "he cut"	gt ^c if "it was cut"
7	ingi <u>f</u> as "it was cut off"	
2	ga <u>t^ct^c</u> a ^c "he cut into pieces"	gi <u>t^st</u> sif "It was cut into pieces"
5	tigat ^s t ^s as "It was cut repeatedly" (Perfective)	
5/7	yintigatiffas "it is cut into pieces" (Imperative)	
	Change of State	
1	wagf "he stopped" (Intransitive)	
4	awgaf "he stopped" (Transitive)	?uwgif "he was stopped"
2	waggaf "he stopped" (Transitive)	wiggif "he was stopped"
5	tuwaggaf "he stopped" (Intransitive/Perfective)	
5/7	yintuwaggaf "one can stop" (Intransitive/Imperfective)	

Table VIII : Active-Passive Contrast and Measure System

In the table above, it is possible to see that the doubling of the medial consonants (i.e. geminate consonants) of Measure (2) produces an intensive form with a transitive physical action root $ga\underline{f^{t}}$ as "he cut into pieces", while with a change of state root it produces a causative as in waggaf "he caused him to stop". This is a consistent feature with these two types of root and can be seen a large number of items in other contexts. Examples in context are s follows: xasirt flūs wājid "I lost a lot of money" and xassarni flūs wājid "he caused me to lose a lot of money", daxalt albēt "I went into the house" and daxxalni albēt "he took me into the house". Many verbs of change of state also form a causative with Measure (4) and there seems to be no consistent rule as to which one occurs. It is not doubted that some verbs like adxal and daxxal have both meanings: "to cause a thing to enter" and "to give sanctuary to".

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So far a brief reference has been made to the role played by the prefix (in-) in certain Measures. In fact, its function is somewhat complex. When prefixed to plain stem in the perfective, it indicates pure passive as in inðibah "it was killed". When used in the imperfective, it may not only refer to pure passive, but it also indicates potentiality as in yinðibih "he is killed", "he is being killed" and "he may be killed". This potential manipulation of the prefix (in-) can also be elucidated in other Measures: when prefixed to Measure (5) in the same way as above, it yields yintuwaggaf "he can be stopped" resulting from tuwaggaf "he stopped" (Intransitive). It is of great significance to note that the form yintuwaggaf, when bearing the alternative meaning "one can stop" as given above in Table (8), looks like a combination of the prefix (in-) and Measure (5) whose pattern is /tifafsal/. Nevertheless, this is not completely true since this would lead to the wrong meaning in a way that tuwaggaf is intransitive and the addition of the prefix (in-) could not make it passive.

V. RECIPROCAL RELATIONS OF MUNTAFIQ VERBS

Reciprocity is a syntactic notion that refers to the participation of two actors against each other simultaneously so that each actor is, at the same time, a patient. In other words, the term, as far as some models of grammatical description, stands out those classes which reflect the meaning of mutual relationship such as reciprocal pronouns or reciprocal verbs [4] and [6]. The feature of reciprocity is associated with Measure (6) whose pattern is /tifāSal/ and which is characterized as being reciprocal bidirectional. When the verb has plural subject marking both actors, the actors are assumed in the subject of the verb as in tis⁶āfaħaw "they shook hands with each other", tisālamaw "they greeted each other", tihābabaw "they kissed each other" and tikāwanaw "they fight a battle with each other". However, they can also be found with a singular subject when one actor is taken as the focus of information. In this case, the second actor is represented by an object pronoun suffix following wiyyā- "with" as in tis⁶āfaħ hu wiyyāh "he mutually shook hands".

Verbs of the physical action type, both transitive and intransitive, can occur in this Measure and it is in fact very productive for these items. It may also occur for members of the change of state group particularly the mental process sub-group as in tifāhumaw "they understood each other", tisāmasaw "they listened to each other" and tasārufaw "they got to know each other". It is possible for a considerable number of items to occur when they do not show any cognate verbal items and would seem to be de-nominal in derivation as in tissaharaw "they formed marriage links with each other" and tanāhasaw "they fell out with each other".

On the same ground, items of Measure (3) whose morphological pattern is /faSal/seem to be back formations from the above such as hārab "to fight with", wājah "to meet with", sāsar "to whisper to", sāyar "to treat gently", and kāsar "to bargain with". These take one actor as a subject and treat the other as an object as in hārubih "he fought with him". They can be looked upon as reciprocal unidirectional in the sense that like Measure (6), which is bidirectional, they imply two actors, but one of them is only accepted as a subject. In such a verb as s^sāfaħih "he shook hands with him", both participants re equally shaking hands, but the action is viewed with only one as a focus of the action. As stated above, these verbs are considered back formations from Measure (6) rather than adopting the more obvious interpretation of deriving Measure (6) from Measure (3) by means of the process of deriving the morphologically complex items from the morphologically simple ones.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

No doubt, the paper elucidates that transitive and intransitive verbs of Muntafiq Arabic are considered a binary system whose landmarks are concentrated on preserving internal vocalization and using verbal affixation. The Verb Measures of this dialect do not only play a pivotal role in enriching the morphological scene with variant patterns, but they also reflect the possibility of their own overlap (in a form of combination) to a degree that the line of demarcation is, in some cases, is blurred as shown with Measures (7), (5), (6) and (3). Like Standard Arabic, Muntafiq Arabic has a group of verbs in which their meaning as well as their construction entail a kind of relationship based on the concept of mutuality, i.e. reciprocity. Moreover, it has been found that certain morphological phenomena should inevitably be accounted for via semantic parameters since it is the meaning, not morphology nor syntax that governs the interpretation of how some items are built up.

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Appendix	(1)).	Phonemic	Symbols
repending	(I		1 nonenne	b y moors

The Vowels:		
i as in ?ibin "son"	ī as in bzīm "buckle"	ē as in wēn "where"
a as in mat ^s bax "kitchen"	ā as in wās ^s t ^s a "medium"	ō as in xōf "fear"
u as in dusbul "marbles"	ū as in hdūm "clothes"	
The Consonants:		
b as in bhām "thumb"	s ^c as in s ^c al ^c a "blad"	w as in wlāya "city"
t as in tasbān "tired"	z as in zibid "butter"	y as in ynām "he sleeps"
t ^c as in t ^c īn "mud"	∫ as in ∫aʕar "hair"	
d as in dmūs "tears"	x as in xādim "servant"	
d ^c as in d ^c ābut ^c "officer"	γ as in γāli "expensive"	
k as in kital "he killed"	h as in hilim "dream"	
g as in gwāni "sacks"		
? as in ?amal "hope"	h as in hnāk "there"	
f as in fazsa "effort"	∬ as in ∬āy "tea"	
θ as in $\theta \bar{a} ni$ "second"	j as in jibin "cheese"	
ð as in ðēl "tail"	m as in mōt "death"	
ð ^ç as in ð ^ç aruf "envelop"	n as in nahar "river"	
	1 as in liga "he found"	

Appendix (2)

Text (in a phonemic transcription)

The following text is sheikh Abbass' speech recorded at his guesthouse in the city of Nassiriyya (South of Iraq):

iffisir hāða bēnna wbēn sadūna mas^sādim alsafayir bēnātna. gabul kān min hannōs hāða miðil gibīlah thādd gibīlah sind hidūdha. u hāða yōm aljahal gabul. walyōm s^sāram bhamdillāh killahum fasab wāhid u killahum nafis wihda. lākin hāða min ð^simin mā ygūl fasarā gibīlat almintafij wilbindig ilfitīl kānat gabul. gabul halafya hāði mnawwal bindig fitīl yhut^st^sūnbih ras^sas^s u bārūd, ras^sas^sa wihda u fayy īh bārūd, hāða huw. waddār yasni hi alli sikanna wat^sanna alli hinna fīh. mū kill alsafāyir yhamdūn halafya alsālim hu haffikil.

yasni lo jāna wāhid mað^skūka alli haddita subr assnīn nistsīn min halālna. hāða min nōs ma ygūl. falyōm ajjīsir muhūb ijjīsr ilawwal. gām ytasayyar alwatsis walsajāyir illi gabul ssāram killahum wāhid. kill dola bjasbha miθil ma taðkir fa hāða lli ntimanna min alla.

Translation (in orthography)

This poem is between us and our enemy in the battles of the tribes between us. Previously it was like this: when one tribe challenges another one on borders. This was in the old days of ignorance, and now they become one people group, thanks Allah, and as one soul. But this is something of what the poets of Al-Muntafiq have said. And the matchlock gun was used in the former times whereby we do not know these things now. Previously there was the matchlock gun in which they put powder and shot, one shot and something like this. Yes, powder! That is it. The homeland means the place in which we are living; our homeland is what we are in. So, in fact all of the tribes praise these things; the world is like that.

This means that if somebody who is in hardship comes to us, we will give him what we have. This is the kind of thing which the poets say. Today poetry is not like the early one. The situation has begun to change and the former tribes have all become one. Each nation is supported with its people and this is what we hope.