

PRESTIGIOUS ORAL ARABIC STRUCTURALLY CLASSIFIED*

Ladislav DROZDÍK

Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences
Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia

Prestigious Oral Arabic, the oral medium of the present-day Arab intellectual elite, is an unstable and highly variable linguistic entity. The following inquiry aims at providing a tentative clue to the identification and classification of its main varieties by means of formal criteria restricted to the category of case and verbal mood (*'iṛāb*).

*It seems that providing the word ends with vowels¹ was one of distinguishing marks of junction in the speech, both in poetry and in prose. Whenever a speaker makes a pause or concludes his sentence, he has no need of those vowels, he stops at the last word of his utterance with what is known as sukūn.² It may be inferred from this premise that the basic rule for all inflective words is to end in this sukūn and the speaker has to resort to the vowelizing of words³ but in (the case of) a phonetic necessity called forth by the (word) junction. Ibrāhīm Anīs: *The Vowel-Based 'iṛāb*⁴ *Reconsidered*. In: *Mağallat Mağma' al-luġa al-'arabiyya*, vol.10, Cairo 1958, 55.*

1. The introductory quotation (given also in Arabic at the end of this paper), has to demonstrate, at the very beginning, the Arab attitude towards fundamental synthetic indicators of Arabic, namely those related to the (vowel-based) case and verbal mood inflection, as formulated by Ibrāhīm Anīs (* 1906), a prominent Egyptian linguist and phonetician, closely associated with the Cairo Academy of the Arabic Language. Standard Arabic, irrespective of whether Modern Written or true Classical, is of a predominantly synthetic type, in contrast to the prevailingly analytic colloquial varieties, and the *'iṛāb* constitutes the structural basis of its

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¹ i.e., vocalic inflectional endings.

² i.e., vowelless state of a consonant or its formal mark.

³ i.e., providing them with vocalic inflectional endings.

⁴ i.e., the system of case and verbal mood inflections, the nucleus of the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic, no matter whether Modern Written or true Classical; for particulars see further on in the text.

synthetism. Moreover, from a methodological point of view, it represents one of the basic organizing elements of the native Arabic grammar and since about the 8th century A.D. has been and still remains the main point of interest of the Arab grammarians. The evolutionary process of analytic reconstruction of the synthetic structures of Arabic, which is thought to have started around the time of the Islamic conquest in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. (J. Fück, 1950, 2-3, 5-6; J. Blau, 1965, 8), led to the constitution of modern Arabic dialects. The process of analytic reconstruction affected first of all vocalic indicators of case and verbal mood owing to the relatively low degree of their functional load or, alternatively, to the high degree of their redundancy.⁵

The dichotomy of pausal and contextual forms, as well as the quite obvious possibility of dropping the word-final short-vowel markers (and, with no noticeable loss of grammatical information, also the word-final short-vowel constituents of consonantal markers) in pausal positions, made it possible to assume that these elided elements play only a marginal and easily dispensable role in the communication process. Furthermore, the latter assumption made it apparently possible to transfer this pausal phenomenon to the context, in tune with the general evolutionary trend of Arabic, and, with no acceptable argumentation, to interpret the bulk of the *'i'rāb*-related indicators in terms of mere cluster-preventing and word-connecting elements, as done by Ibrāhīm Anīs.

2. Despite a rather great variety of names, given to the elusive linguistic entity of what we call Prestigious Oral Arabic (POA in what follows),⁶ none of them, not even the present one, seems to cover all the vital attributes of what is now becoming the prestigious oral medium of the Arab cultural and intellectual elite. This promising linguistic medium - prestigious, though substandard; oral, though not colloquial - has so far no definitive name, nor exact place in the present-day Arabic diglossia. And yet, as it seems, it has a good chance to become a sort of a tacitly accepted analytic standard, if it is possible to say so.

Standard Arabic (often referred to as Modern Standard or Modern Written Arabic), knowledge of which is limited to a very limited group of Arab intellectuals, is almost exclusively used for writing and, less ordinarily, in culturally high-ranking acts of oral communication. In this sense, it is opposed to the regionally differentiated local colloquials, the true mother tongues of the Arabic-speaking population throughout the Arab world, that are almost exclusively used orally in covering the everyday needs of interlocutors of whatever cultural background.

3. POA, as an in-between linguistic element of the Arabic diglossia (T.F. Mitchell's Educated Spoken Arabic /ESA/, 1984: 8; 1986: 9 ff.), seems to be the most problematic and, so far, the most neglected part of this linguistic complex. Its place within this communicative system is reflected in terms, like *luġa wuṣṭā*, an intermediate form of the language (C.A. Ferguson 1959/1971: 10), or *mixed Arabic*, T.F. Mitchell's attribute for what he calls ESA (1986: 7-32). For some authors the

⁵ Cf., my paper: *Arabic Script as a Linguistic Factor*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, 4, 1995, 1, 15-23.

⁶ See note 5 above.

term *diglossia* seems to be too narrow to fit the Arab linguistic reality and they propose, so far tentatively, the term *triglossia*. For S.M. Suleiman (1986), the third element of the traditional diglossic space is, surprisingly enough, Modern Standard Arabic, as distinct from the true Classical language (cf., J.-M. Tarrrier 1991: 6).

Regardless of various, often controversial attempts to define the place of POA in the typological space of diglossia and to provide it with an appropriate label, its steadily growing importance cannot be denied. Neither can the crystallizing linguistic awareness of an *'i'rāb*-less Arabic and its tacit or even explicit acceptance by cultivated language users themselves be ignored. Ibrāhīm Anīs's attitude (see above), no doubt rejected by many of his learned colleagues, may bear witness of this growing awareness.

3.1. Structural variations of POA will be defined in terms of two structural maximum states that delimit, at the same time, the typological space of diglossia: (1) maximum of synthetism, represented by the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic, and (2) maximum of analytism, represented by the analytic structures of the local colloquials. From a structural point of view, any linguistic variety of Arabic may be defined in terms of its relation to these structural maxima. POA, as approached to in the present inquiry, will be treated as a linguistic continuum, consisting of a set of relatively diffuse and permeable structural states that oscillate between these structural maxima without being fully identifiable with any of them. The structural domain of POA, delimited this way, presents a rather chaotic alternation of synthetic and analytic structures. Since the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic is the unique stable point in the whole typological space of diglossia, all structural manifestations of POA will primarily be classified from the point of view of their deviations from this synthetic norm, formally represented by various types of synthetic indicators. The most powerful classificatory criterion of synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic and, in fact, the only one really relevant to the matter, is the degree of their structural stability. By the latter their capability to resist the ongoing process of an overall analytic restructuring of Arabic will be understood.

From this point of view, the synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic may be subdivided into two distinct classes:

(1) relatively stable indicators, represented by alphabetic symbols of the Arabic graphical system (shortly, *alphabetic indicators*, in what follows), and:

(2) relatively unstable indicators, graphically unrepresented (*nonalphabetic indicators*, henceforward).

The dividing line between the two will be called *the graphical limit*.

4. Alphabetic indicators of Standard Arabic:

4.1. Case:

(1) as a portmanteau of case: nominative, oblique; gender: masculine; number: (plural): *-ūn(a)*⁷ (nominative); *-īn(a)* (oblique); construct forms: *-ū*, *-ī*, respectively;⁸

⁷ Vocalic constituents of alphabetic indicators, elided in pausal positions, are enclosed in round brackets.

⁸ The alphabetic feminine-plural portmanteau *-āt* (viz., sound feminine plural) stands, strictly speaking, beyond the narrow structural domain of *'i'rāb*.

(2) as a portmanteau of case (nominative, oblique); gender (masculine); number (dual): *-ān(i)* (nominative); *-ayn(i)* (oblique); construct: *-ā*, *-ay*, respectively; the feminine is formed by an agglutinative link-up of the feminine morpheme *-at* with the dual indicators: *-atān(i)*, *-atayn(i)*; construct: *-atā*, *-atay*, respectively;

(3) indefinite accusative of triptotic masculine singular nouns and adjectives, as well as broken plural nouns without the feminine ending (*tā' marbūṭa*): *-an*;

4.2. Verbal mood:

Alphabetic indicators of verbal mood operate as portmanteaux of number and gender; the person and, in part, also the gender distinction is secured by prefixes, enclosed in slant lines. The structural domain of verbal mood will be limited to indicative, subjunctive and jussive paradigms. The paradigm of *modus energicus*, as atypical of POA, will not be taken into account.

4.2.1. Indicative: *-īn(a)*, *-ūn(a)*, *-na*, *-ān(i)* :

(1) singular: */ta-/ -īn(a)* : 2PF;⁹

(2) plural: */ya-/ -ūn(a)* : 3PM; */ta-/ -ūn(a)* : 2PM; */ya-/ -na* : 3PF; */ta-/ -na* : 2PF;

(3) dual : */ya-/ -ān(i)* : 3PM; */ta-/ -ān(i)* : 3PF; 2PMF;

4.2.2. Subjunctive and jussive: *-ī*, *-ū*, *-na*, *-ā* :¹⁰

(1) singular: */ta-/ -ī* : 2PF ;

(2) plural: */ya-/ -ū* : 3PM ; */ta-/ -ū* : 2PM ; */ya-/ -na* : 3PF ; */ta-/ -na* : 2PM ;

(3) dual: */ya-/ -ā* : 3PM ; */ta-/ -ā* : 3PF; 2PMF ;

4.2.2.1. Imperative (derived from the jussive paradigm with no recourse to prefixes, consonantal clusters, whenever emerging, are prevented by prothetic vowels): *-ī*, *-ū*, *-na*, *-ā*:

(1) singular: *-ī* : 2PF; (2) plural: *-ū* : 2PM; *-na* : 2PF; (3) dual: *-ā* : 2PMF.

5. Nonalphabetic indicators of Standard Arabic (in pausal positions elided):

5.1. Case:

5.1.1. with triptota (and triptotized diptota): (1) definite. *-u* (nominative); *-i* (genitive); *-a* (accusative); (2) indefinite: *-un*; *-in*; *-an* (the latter after the feminine suffix *-at*) resp.;

5.1.1.1. with feminine plurals in *-āt*:¹¹ (1) definite: *-u* (nominative); *-i* (oblique);

(2) indefinite: *-un*; *-in*, resp.;

5.1.2. with diptota: *-u* (nominative); *-a* (oblique).

5.2. Verbal mood (for paradigmatic restrictions see 4.2. above):

5.2.1. Indicative: *-u*:

(1) singular: */ya-/ -u* : 3PM; */ta-/ -u* : 3PF; 2PM; */'a-/ -u* : 1PMF; (2) plural: */na-/ -u* : 1PMF;

5.2.2. Subjunctive: *-a* (substituted for the indicative *-u*);

5.2.3. Jussive: *-0* (zero-marker, substituted for the indicative and subjunctive modal indicators);

5.2.3.1. Imperative: *-0* : 2PM of the singular.

⁹ For the sake of economy, the following symbols will be used: P (with the respective serial number): person; M: masculine; F: feminine; MF: both genders.

¹⁰ Long vowels are expressed by alphabetic symbols in the Arabic script.

¹¹ Cf., note 8 above.

6. Alphabetic indicators common to linguistic varieties of Arabic at both poles of the typological space of diglossia: maximum of synthetism (ms) and maximum of analytism (ma).¹²

In presenting a set of synthetic markers as common to the whole ms - ma diglossic space, the attribute of commonness has to be understood in a formal sense only and even here some restrictive conventions should be adopted. The ms-ma suffix *-m̄*, for instance, as a portmanteau of case, gender and number, in Standard Arabic (see 4.1. above), operates, at the ma-pole of the typological space, as a portmanteau of gender and number in the morphological domain of caseless nouns (see further on). Despite this evolutionally motivated functional discrepancy, both ms- and ma-indicators will be treated as belonging to the same formal class. Another convention refers to the formal side of alphabetic indicators. The ms-dual suffix *-ayn(i)* (see *ibid.*), that assumes the form *-ēn*, at the ma-pole of diglossia (see below), will be treated, all the same, as belonging to the same formal class as the latter, since the phonologically motivated formal divergencies will be tolerated. The same attitude will be adopted towards the ms-ma divergencies in the domain of vowel quantity. Modal divergences of the mutually corresponding paradigmatic units will also be classified as belonging to the same formal class.

The inventory of the ms-ma indicators, reflecting the loss of a number of synthetic categories in the process of analytic reconstruction of Arabic is deprived of the whole set of nonalphabetic indicators as well as of a part of alphabetic ones (case, verbal mood, dual in verbal paradigms, etc.).

6.1. Noun-related ms - ma indicators:

(1) *-m̄*,¹³ as a ms-indicator: portmanteau of case, number and gender (see above); as a ma-indicator: portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine with nouns, masculine or feminine with adjectives and related attributive modifiers, as in: *mu^callimīn maṣriyyīn*¹⁴ “Egyptian teachers” or *banāt ḥilwīn* “pretty girls”);

(2) *-ayn*, ms: portmanteau of case, number and gender (see above); ma: *-ēn* : portmanteau of number (dual) and gender (masculine); ms-feminine: *-atayn* (see above), ma-feminine: *-(i)tēn*, as in: *sa^ctēn* “two weeks” or *naḥlītēn* “two bees”.

6.2. Verb-related ms - ma indicators:

(1) */ta-/ -ī*, ms: portmanteau of number and gender¹⁵ in the subjunctive and jussive paradigms (see above); ma: */ti-, tu-/ -i*: portmanteau of number (singular) and gender (feminine) in a unique moodless verbal paradigm;

¹² All ma-related part of this study (structural units listed, examples, descriptive and analytic comments, etc.) will refer, without further notice, to the Cairo Arabic, as a colloquial variety sufficiently representative of the whole analytic domain of Arabic. A number of inter-regional divergencies that necessarily occur between particular colloquial varieties of Arabic, are of no relevance to the main issues of the present inquiry.

¹³ ms-indicators, in the ms-ma structural interval, will be quoted without their pausal (*viz.*, omissible) elements.

¹⁴ Cf., note 12 above; only a limited number of ma-data will be illustrated by examples.

¹⁵ For the participation of prefixes in marking the person and partly also the gender distinction, see § 4.2. above.

(2) /*ya-*/ -*ū*, ms: portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine) in the subjunctive and jussive paradigms (see above); ma: /*yi-*, *yu-*/ -*u*: portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine and feminine) in a unique verbal paradigm;

(3) /*ta-*/ -*ū*, ms: portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine) in the subjunctive and jussive paradigms (see above) ma: /*ti-*, *tu-*/ -*u*: portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine and feminine) in a unique verbal paradigm.

(4) -*ī*, -*ū*, imperative, ms: (see § 4.2.2.1); ma: -*i* (2PF, singular); -*u* (2PMF, plural).

7. Alphabetic indicators peculiar to the ms-Arabic (Standard Arabic: Classical and Modern Standard), as opposed to all other varieties of the diglossic space, may be obtained by removing the ms-ma units, listed in §6, from the inventory of the ms-indicators, given in §4. Accordingly, this class will include the following units (quoted in pausal forms): noun-related: -*an*; -*ūn* (for the -*ūn* / -*īn* distinction see § 10 (2.3) in what follows); -*ān* (*atān*), as well as the corresponding constructs; verb-related: /*ya-*/ -*na*, /*ta-*/ -*na*; /*ya-*/ -*ān*, /*ta-*/ -*ān*, as well as related subjunctive and jussive forms. Nevertheless, this abstraction will only be used for taxonomic purposes.

8. *'iṣrāb*-substituting elements in the ma-varieties of Arabic.

8.1. The general evolutionary trend toward structural analyticism is sometimes said to follow a *pulsatory* course, being counteracted by a newly reactivated synthesizing process (renovation of ancient and creating new forms) without thereby surpassing the predominant analytic trend (A. Czapkiewicz 1975: 211). Despite the fact that in the structural domain, restricted to the *'iṣrāb*-categories, no renovated synthetic counteraction may be detected, a number of newly created analytic and otherwise classifiable *'iṣrāb*-substituting operators do occur. From this set two conspicuous elements have been selected as representative of the ma-varieties of Arabic:

8.1.1. The verb-related prefix *bi-* operating as an *aktionsart*-marker (continuative or habitual action) and as an indicativizer of the imperfect (T.F. Mitchell 1960: 36). The latter tends to function, in the 2PM and 2PF (sing.) and 2PMF (plur.), as an imperative side by side with the etymological imperative (see 6.2.(4)) which did not cease to form part of the morphological system of the ma-varieties of Arabic, as in: *'inta tiktib ilgawaab dilwaqti*¹⁶ “you will write the letter now” (said emphatically to someone unwilling to do as he is told), in contrast to e.g. *biyiktib ilgawaab dilwaqti* “he is writing the letter now” (continuative or habitual) (see *ibid.*).¹⁷

8.1.2. The analytic exponent *bitā^c* (*bitā^cit*, *bitū^c*) is another *'iṣrāb*-substituting element which makes up for the loss of the synthetic genitive,¹⁸ as in the following

¹⁶ The original transcription of the source quoted is maintained.

¹⁷ The behaviour of the *bi-*prefix (H. GROTZFELD'S *b-Imperfekt* (1964: 58)) may display, in an inter-regional space, some peculiar features, such as its assimilation in Damascus Arabic: *byaṣṣrab – mnaṣṣrab* “he is (we are) drinking” (*ibid.*).

¹⁸ For a full-scale inter-regional statement, see K.E. HARNING (1980).

structural pairs: *beet ilmudiir* / *'ilbeet bita^c ilmudiir* “the manager’s house” (T.F. Mitchell 1960, 18) or *ginent ilbeet* / *'ilgineena-bta^t ilbeet* “the garden of the house” (ibid., 20), etc.

9. As already stated, the present analysis merely aims at creating frame of reference as simple and transparent as possible, based on a strongly limited set of structural phenomena. POA, as after all, any linguistic variety of Arabic, can be identified and classified on the ground of formal evidence provided by the representative sets of inflectional indicators involved. The exclusively inflectional nature of criterial elements results from the synthetic categories of *'i^crāb* adopted as the basis for the present structural classification of POA.

9.1. Symbolic representation of the criterial elements adopted:

9.1.1. *'i^crāb*-related inflectional indicators:

(1) A : alphabetic indicators: an alphabetic indicator involves, by definition, at least one phonemic constituent graphically represented by autonomous alphabetic symbols of the Arabic script (*scriptio defectiva*), i.e., consonant and/or long vowel;

(1.1) Ams : alphabetic indicators related to varieties of Arabic at the ms-pole of the Arabic diglossia (§ 4); as an alternative element, it also occurs in the structural domain of the ms-ma Arabic (see further on); for classificatory purposes, however, the set of Ams-indicators will be restricted to indicators peculiar to the ms-Arabic, as distinct from those belonging to the Ams-ma class (§ 6; cf. § 7; see also below);

(1.2) Ams-ma : alphabetic indicators common to varieties of Arabic at both poles of the diglossia (§ 6) or, in other words, alphabetic indicators common to all varieties of Arabic, irrespective of whether as stable or alternative elements (isolated structural features possibly occurring in some colloquial varieties, such as remnants of the gender distinction in the imperfect plural paradigm, in some Bedouin and Bedouin-type dialects, are here disregarded).

(2) N : nonalphabetic indicators, consisting of short vowels alone or in combination with graphically unexpressed consonantal constituents, as e.g. the indefiniteness markers (*tanwīn*) of the nominative and genitive, after the feminine suffix *-at* even accusative (triptotic singular and broken plural nouns and adjectives) (§ 5), are related to the structural domain of the ms-Arabic, as stable, and to the ms-ma Arabic, as alternative elements, here often in a pseudo-correct (PC) featuring (for the latter see the text analysed in Appendix (ii)). Since the ms/ma distinction has no corresponding non-*zero* counterpart,¹⁹ the whole set of the N-type indicators will be treated as a unique integral body.

9.1.2. IS : *'i^crāb*-substituting elements, illustrated on Cairo Arabic (§ 8), are related to the ma-Arabic and, as alternative elements, to some varieties of the ms-ma Arabic (see further on).

10. Varieties of Arabic classified in terms of the criterial elements listed in § 9:

(1) ms-Arabic : Standard Arabic (Classical and Modern Standard), the unique codified variety of Arabic in the typological space of the Arabic diglossia. Structural

¹⁹ All N-type indicators, except those related to the ms-Arabic (§5), are replaced by *zeroes* in result of the analytic restructuring of Arabic.

pattern (SP): (+) Ams & (+) Ams-ma & (+) N.²⁰ For the place, occupied by Standard Arabic in the typological space of diglossia, see W. Diem (1974).

(2) ms-ma Arabic:

(2.1) POA (i) : SP: (+) Ams & (+) Ams-ma & (+ -) N, possibly in a PC representation, especially in the N-domain (see the text analysed in Appendix (ii)), mainly used in an oral reproduction (reading) of a Standard Arabic text, less ordinarily, in culturally high-ranking acts of oral communication.

The best description of POA (i), so far available, is R.S. Harrell's ERA analysis (1960).

(2.2) POA (ii) : SP: (+-) Ams & (+-) Ams-ma & (+-) N & (+-) IS, the ms-featuring elements possibly in a PC representation; mainly used in spontaneous communication at various levels of cultural significance. In view of the alternative character of most of its structural constituents, the only meaningful study of this variety seems to be a separate analysis of individual acts of oral communication, typically embedded in dialogue situations (as against the typical monologue nature of oral manifestations of the ms-Arabic).²¹

(2.3) POA (iii): SP: (+) Ams-ma ; a pedagogically-minded, highly idealized structural abstraction of POA, sometimes differentiated between a culturally higher ms- and a culturally lower ma-featuring of the Ams-ma indicators. A rarely consistent Ams-ma presentation of POA, in a ma- (i.e., truly colloquial and yet prestigious) featuring, may be found in K.C. Ryding (1990). Most other practical manuals for the study of POA offer structurally hybrid forms typical of what we classify as POA (ii) (see Appendix (i) in what follows).

The ms-featuring of ms-ma POA structures almost invariably involves the *-ūn* / *-īn* case distinction in the masculine external plural, by adopting the nominative marker *-ūn* as a unique really living element of the cultivated POA Ams inventory. In view of its uniqueness and, in a sense, incidentalness, it is not included in the POA (iii) structural pattern. Some authors extend the list of POA Ams elements even further by including plural feminine forms in a unique verbal paradigm and the case distinction of the dual .

(3) ma-Arabic: (+) Ams-ma & (+) IS : the Ams-ma inventory typically in a ma-, less ordinarily, in a ms-featuring, the latter as an incidental phenomenon; frequent PC elements of very various types. The structural domain of the ma-Arabic lies beyond the scope of the present study.

²⁰ In the presentation of structural patterns (SP) the following operators are used:
(+) : occurrence; (+-) alternative occurrence or nonoccurrence; & : co-occurrence.

²¹ For a realistic and linguistically highly relevant presentation of monologue and dialogue situations in the diglossic space, see W. DIEM (1974: 55 ff.). For other studies relevant to the linguistic structure of POA, and quite particularly to that of POA (ii), see H. BLANC (1960); G. MEISELES (1980); T.F. MITCHELL (1984, 1986); etc.

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Appendix (i)

In view of the steadily growing importance of a prestigious form of oral Arabic, presented in a somewhat idealized classification in the preceding paragraphs, POA, in the most general sense, has found its place in a number of practical manuals. Taking into account their importance in propagating the knowledge of this oral medium of cultivated Arab interlocutors, rapidly gaining ground all over the Arab world, a short structural survey survey of three rather differently conceived practical devices will be given in what follows. The type and number of the alphabetic indicators included considerably vary from one author to another:

(1) J.R. Smart (1986): noun-related: indefinite accusative *-an* (88) ; plural: *-ūn, -īn* ; dual: *-ān, -ayn, (-atān, -atayn)*, with a passing hint at the use of *-ayn* ("pronounced as in *cane*": 108) in the whole dual paradigm; verb-related: */ta-/ -īn; /ya-/ -ūn; /ya-/ -na; /ta-/ -ūn; /ta-/ -na* (114) in a unique imperfect paradigm, with a hint at "variations of the present tense" (i.e., verbal moods); the unique modal inflection noted without being incorporated, however, in the grammatical system presented, is the subjunctive/jussive transformation of the indicative *-ūn* into *-ū* (118); the dual paradigm is omitted.

(2) M. Jumaili (1987: 30-31): noun-related: plural: *-ūn, -īn*; dual: *-ān, -ayn (-atān, -atayn)*; verb-related: */ta-/ -īn; /ya-/ -ūn; /ta-/ -ūn*; feminine plurals and the whole dual paradigm are omitted in a unique imperfect paradigm.

(3) Karin C. Ryding (1990), in strictly alphabetic Arabic writing; noun-related: plural: *-īn*, as a unique external marker in caseless masculine nouns and adjectives (54-55); verb-related: */ta-/ -ī; /ya-/ -ū; /ta-/ -ū* (184); feminine plural markers and the dual paradigm are omitted.

Appendix (ii)

X: professional BBC announcer, apparently of a Syrian or Palestinian origin;

Y: Palestinian student, Arabic high-school leaver, Slovak language university graduate, journalist: first reading of the rewritten broadcast text;

X: *fa-qaḍ māta 'aḥadu 'aṭibbā'i-l-'aṭfāli-l-bārīzīna bi-r-raṣāṣ | wa-min ḡānibihi saqaṭa-l-mudīru-l-'āmm | 'as-sābiq | li-t-telefīzyōn \ al-ḡazā'irī | qatīlan yawma-l-ḥamīsi-l-māḍī | 'ayḍan | bi-r-raṣāṣ | . . .*

Y: *fa-qaḍ māta 'aḥada 'aṭibbā'i-l-'aṭfāli-l-bārīzīna bi-r-raṣāṣī | wa min ḡānibihi saqaṭa-l-mudīru-l-'āmm \ as-sābiq | li-t-tilivīzyōni-l-ḡazā'irī | qatīlan yawma-l-ḥamīsi-l-māḍī | 'ayḍan bi-r-raṣāṣī | . . .*

One of the prominent pediatricists was shot to death and side by side with him was killed, the last Thursday, the late general director of the Algerian television, as a victim of shooting, as well . . .

X: *wa-qad talaqqā-l-kaṭīrūna ġayruhum taḥdīdātīn bi-l-qatl | wa-fi-l-'usbū^{ci}-l-māḍī saqāta ḥawālay talātata-^cašara šaḥṣan | ḥasaba-l-'iḥṣā'iyāti-r-rasmiyya \ faqat | wa-min bayni hā'ulā' | 'aḥadu-l-'a'imma |*
Y: *wa-qad talaqqā-l-kaṭīrūna ġayrahum | taḥdīdātun bi-l-qath | wa-fi-l-'usbū^{ci}-l-māḍī saqāta ḥawāli talātata-^cašara šaḥṣan | ḥasaba-l-'iḥṣā'iyāti-r-rasmiyyati faqat | wa-min bayna hā'ulā' | 'aḥadi-l-'a'imma |*

And many others were threatened with death. The last week about thirteen persons were killed, according to the official statistics only, and among them one imām.

X: 12 P: 9PF/P; 3NF/P; (2PF/C); A and N, unless pausalized, are correctly represented;

Y: 10 P: 4PF/P; 3NF/P; 3CF/P; (1PF/C); A: correctly represented; N: 6PC.

Symbols used:

A: alphabetic indicator (§ 4); feminine markers, unrepresented in the inflectional domain of *'iṣrāb*, are not taken into account;

C: context;

CF: contextual form; CF in P (CF/P) is marked by an unitalicized type;

N: nonalphabetic indicator (§ 5);

NF: neutral form, unaffected by the P-C distinction;

P: pause, marked by an upright stroke: | ; unless invalidated by symbols indicating deviations from the regular pausal process (viz., CF/P or PF/C), this symbol will simultaneously mark the regular PF/P situation;

PC: pseudo-classical or, simply, incorrectly applied ms-indicators, marked by bold types;

PF: pausal form; PF in C (PF/C) is marked by a reverted slant: \ .

Symbols used (thematically arranged):

Arabic diglossia: ms ————— gl ————— ma
 synthetic interval analytic interval

ms: maximum of synthetism (represented by the synthetic norm of ms-Arabic);
ma: maximum of analytism (represented by analytic structures of ma-Arabic);
gl: graphical limit: graphically marked limit of expressibility of synthetic indicators of ms-Arabic by alphabetic symbols of the Arabic graphical system (*scriptio defectiva*) that signalize, at the same time, a minimum rate of redundancy;
ms-ma: typological space of Arabic diglossia which is substantially coextensive with that of POA excluding, however, the full identifiability of the latter with any of the two structural maxima;

ms-gl: synthetic interval of the typological space; it tolerates deviations from the synthetic norm of ms-Arabic in the domain of N-type indicators only (all varieties of Arabic within this interval are invariably marked by a (+)Ams element in their structural patterns: Standard Arabic and POA(i)); the term reflects the typical predominance of synthetic structures;

ma-gl: analytic interval of the typological space; deviations from the synthetic norm of ms-Arabic possibly include A-type indicators as well (all varieties of Arabic within this interval, display a (+-)Ams element, or its absence, in their structural patterns: POA(ii) and POA(iii), as varieties of ms-ma-Arabic, and the whole structural domain of ma-Arabic; for a somewhat special status of what we classify as POA(iii) see § 10 (2.3); the term reflects typical predominance of analytic structures;

Arabic in the typological space of diglossia:

ms-Arabic: Standard Arabic (Classical and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), often referred to as Modern Written Arabic (MWA)). SP: (+)Ams & (+)Ams-ma & (+)N; (§ 10 (1));

ms-ma-Arabic: all varieties of Arabic summarily referred to as POA, marked by two different structural patterns: SP(i): (+)Ams (+)Ams-ma & (+-)N, for POA(i), and SP(ii): (+-)Ams & (+-) Ams-ma & (+-)N & (+-)IS, for POA (ii); (§ 10 (2.1) and § 10 (2.2) resp.); POA(iii), as an idealized structural abstraction, has to be classified apart (§ 10 (2.3));

ma-Arabic: all colloquial varieties of Arabic (beyond the scope of the present study); SP: (+)Ams-ma & (+)IS; (§ 10 (3));

POA: Prestigious Oral Arabic, linguistic continuum, the set of relatively diffuse structural states that oscillate between *ms* and *ma* without being fully identifiable with any of these structural maxima; classificatorily presented as ms-ma-Arabic;

SP: structural pattern;

Inflectional indicators of the *'iṣrāb* system:

A: alphabetic indicators (§ 4; § 9.1.1 (1));

Ams: alphabetic indicators of ms-Arabic (§ 4; §7; § 9.1.1 (1.1)); as alternative elements operating also in the domain of ms-ma-Arabic: POA (I) and POA (ii) (see ms-ma-Arabic above);

Ams-ma: alphabetic indicators common to all linguistic varieties of Arabic (§ 6; § 9.1.1 (1.2));

N: nonalphabetic indicators (§ 5; § 9.1.1 (2));

'iṣrāb : synthetic system of case and verbal-mood inflections in ms-Arabic, reflected, in variously reduced extent, in all linguistic varieties of Arabic;

IS: *'iṣrāb*-substituting elements in ms-ma- (POA(ii)) and ma-Arabic (§ 10 (2.2)) and (§ 10 (3)) resp.;

Operators : (+) : occurrence; (+-) : alternative occurrence or nonoccurrence; & : co-occurrence;

Textual analysis: P, C, PF, CF, PF/P, PF/C, CF/P, NF; PC (see Appendix (i)).

ARABIC IN THE TYPOLOGICAL SPACE OF DIGLOSSIA

ms ————— gl ————— ma

| ms-Arabic | ms-ma-Arabic | | | ma-Arabic |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-------------|----------------------|
| Standard Arabic | POA (i) | POA (ii) | [POA (iii)] | Colloquial Arabic |
| (+Ams & (+)Ams-ma & (+)N | (+Ams & (+)Ams-ma & (+-)N | (+-)Ams & (+-)Ams-ma & (+-)N & (+-) IS | (+Ams-ma | (+Ams-ma & (+) IS |

Ibrāhīm Anīs

يظهر أن تحريك أواخر الكلمات كان صفة من صفات الوصل في الكلام شعرا أو نثرا، فإذا وقف المتكلم أو اختتم جملة لم يحتج إلى تلك الحركات، بل يقف على الكلمة الأخيرة من قوله بما يسمى السكون. و يترتب على هذا الفرض أن الأصل في كل الكلمات المعربة أن تنتهي بهذا السكون، وأن المتكلم لا يلجأ إلى تحريك الكلمات إلا لضرورة صوتية يتطلبها الوصل

رأى فى الإعراب بالحركات للدكتور ابراهيم أنيس الخبير
بالمجمع.

Re: Appendix (ii):

فقد مات أحد أطباء الأطفال البارزين بالرصاص ومن جانبه سقط المدير العام السابق للتلفزيون الجزائري قتيلا يوم الخميس الماضي، أيضا بالرصاص . . .

وقد تلقى الكثيرون غيرهم تهديدات بالقتل وفي الأسبوع الماضي سقط حوالي ثلاثة عشر شخصا حسب الإحصائيات الرسمية فقط ومن بين هؤلاء أحد الأئمة.