ARTICLES

PRESTIGIOUS ORAL ARABIC AS A LINGUISTIC MODEL IN THE INSTRUCTION OF ARABIC

Ladislav Drozdík
Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences,
Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia
e-mail: kaorladi@savba.sk

Prestigious Oral Arabic (POA), the substandard but nevertheless non-colloquial oral medium of the present-day Arab intellectual elite, is an unstable and highly variable linguistic entity. In structural models of very various architecture, POA or what may equal it under various names, begins to appear in the form of teaching devices designed for the instruction of a vaguely defined noncolloquial Modern Arabic. The following inquiry aims at providing a tentative clue to the identification and classification of the main structural features of this unstable linguistic entity in terms of their deviation from the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic and their representation in three different, arbitrarily selected descriptive models designed for teaching purposes.

Key words: substandardness, noncolloquialness, diglossic continuum, alphabetic/nonalphabetic indicators, *'i'rāb*-less language, structural/graphical limit, cultural significance, synthetic norm of Standard Arabic.

1. The prominent unifying aspect of the emerging descriptions of the variously conceived and variously named (and even unnamed) prestigious substandard varieties of Arabic is precisely their quality of substandardness inseparably coupled with noncolloquialness. The two attributes, for all their generalness and lack of specificity, seem to offer the unique workable and reliable starting point for the identification of this prestigious substandard dealt with in the present paper. With respect to the whole system of recent Arabophone communication, frequently identified with the Fergusonian notion of diglossia (Ferguson 1959/1971), the linguistic and sociocultural status of the substandard non-colloquial Arabic, henceforward referred to as Prestigious Oral Arabic (POA), is not easy to define, neither is its position in the diglossic hierarchy quite clear. POA, a parallel of Mitchell´s Educated Spoken Arabic ((ESA) 1986: 7-32; also 1978, 1984); K. C. Ryding´s Formal Spoken Arabic ((FSA)

1990), etc.; and, in an extreme and regionally too explicitly marked sense, even of Harrell's Egyptian Radio Arabic ((ERA) 1960), is used as a generic term for *all* substandard but nevertheless noncolloquial, typically oral varieties of Arabic, irrespective of the names given to them by particular authors.

In the Arab cultural tradition, the notion of a prestigious oral substandard found its place in recent *izdiwāǧīya* debates. Anīs Frayḥa, in his article *al-ʿĀmmīya wa-l-fuṣḥā* 'Colloquial and standard language' (in: *al-Muqtataf* 93, 292-298, 1938), attempts to solve the problem of diglossia by adopting the spoken language of the educated. The idea is exposed with more details in Frayḥa's book *Naḥwa ʿarabīya muyassara* 'Toward a simplified Arabic'(1955) where he refers to this simplified variety as common spoken language (*al-lahǧa al-ʿarabīya al-maḥkīya al-muštaraka*). The latter is an '*iʿrāb*-less language, free from clear regionalisms, with Standard Arabic as a source of its lexical borrowings and a somewhat reduced inventory of personal pronouns due to the loss of gender distinction in the 2P and 3P of the plural (see also § 6.1: /22: GA, FSA; 42: GA, FSA/ and § 6.2 /11: GA, FSA; 12: GA, FSA/) and, finally, with a simplified syntax of numerals (Diem 1974: 141).

Nihād al-Mūsā (*Nadwa* 1988, 83-105) identifies this linguistic medium with an in-between language *luġa wusṭā*, whose characteristics appear more explicitly in the name, closely recalling Mitchell's ESA: *ʿarabīyat al-mutaʿallimīn al-maḥkīya,* Spoken Arabic of the Educated. This level (*al-mustawā*) is the result of interaction between an acquired knowledge of the colloquial (by a genetic pre-disposition), and Standard Arabic, acquired by study (*ṯamra li-tafāʿul al-ʿāmmīya al-muktasaba wa-l-fuṣḥā al-mutaʿallama*). It is said to stand closer to the colloquial despite its representing an important step forward in the direction of Standard Arabic (ibid. 89).

When retaining the notion of diglossia as a working framework, POA appears as an in-between medium, *luġa wusṭā*, oscillating between both poles of diglossia: Standard Arabic (Ferguson's H-variety), at the synthetic pole of the typological space, and any of the set of local colloquials, at the analytic pole thereof (Ferguson's L-variety, 1971:1-26).

The framework of diglossia, though endowed with a relatively great informative power, did not gain general acceptance with all those concerned with problems of communication in the Arabophone world. The binary model of diglossia is challenged by several more refined and more elaborate hierarchies.

The system proposed by H. Blanc (1960: 79-161) distinguishes five varieties or style levels as follows: 1. Standard Classical, without dialectal admixtures, substantially no matter whether true Classical of the Koran and pre-Islamic poetry or Modern Standard; 2. Modified Classical, i.e. Standard Classical, with dialectal admixtures; 3. Semiliterary or Elevated Colloquial, i.e. a slightly classicized colloquial; 4. Koineized Colloquial, i.e. any plain colloquial with inter-regional levelling devices; and 5. Plain Colloquial, i.e. vernacular of a given region.

The decision of what of the Blanc's system might be regarded as compatible with the substandard non-colloquial linguistic entity of POA and how the border-lines between the hierarchy members can be recognized, does not seem to go far enough beyond personal guesses and an intuitive feeling about the interplay between *ʿāmmīya* and *fuṣḥā,* as discussed for decades in literary clubs and Arab Academies.

Doubts about the utility of the latter type of finely graded systems are recognized by Blanc himself when admitting that it is rare ´to find any sustained segment of discourse in a single one of the style varieties alluded to´(Blanc 1960: 85).

Nevertheless, in formal classification, Blanc´s system made it possible to achieve a clear negative delimitation of what we call POA by marking points for subtracting both polar varieties, Standard Classical and Plain Colloquial, from the rest. The non-polar rest of the system, disregarding its subdivision into three separate units, might be taken for a POA-related segment of the Arabophone sociolinguistic continuum.

When defining the latter in terms of two polar values, coinciding with two structural maxima: maximum of synthetism (ms) and maximum of analytism (ma), with an in-between space of a socioculturally graded hybridization, the notion of diglossia or a diglossic continuum can be quite meaningfully used even here. A similar, though not overlapping and terminologically quite different, hierarchy of levels (*mustawayāt*) of the contemporary Arabic of Egypt has been developed somewhat later by as-Saʿīd Badawī (1973): 1. *fuṣḥā t-turāṭ*: Standard Arabic of the heritage, true Classical Arabic; 2. *fuṣḥā l-ʿaṣr*: Standard Arabic of the present, Modern Standard Arabic influenced by modern civilization; 3. *ʿāmmīyat al-muṭaqqafīn* : colloquial of the educated, used in formal communication without recourse to any written text; 4. *ʿāmmīyat al-mutanawwirīn* : colloquial of the enlightened, used in the everyday needs of educated interlocutors, and 5. *ʿāmmīyat al-ʾummīyīn* : colloquial of the illiterate. Disregarding Badawī´s too explicit colloqial labels, levels 3 and 4 seem to identify best with the substandard noncolloquial linguistic entity of POA.

Meiseles´ mixed spoken Arabic is presented in two parallel varieties: Oral Literary Arabic (OLA), standing closer to Modern Standard Arabic, and Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), closer to the vernacular (1980; cf. Mitchell 1986: 7-32). Several other attempts at hierarchizing elements of the Arabophone diglossic communication will be left out of consideration.

2. The evolutional process of analytic reconstruction of the synthetic structures of Classical Arabic which is assumed to have started around the time of the Islamic conquest in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. (Fück 1950: 2-3, 5-6; Blau 1965: 8; et al.), is responsible for the emergence of what is recently known as Arabic diglossia. The first manifestation of this process appears as a dichotomy of pausal and contextual forms, recorded and carefully analysed in the works of early Arab grammarians and in numerous *qirāʾāt* treatises. The very existence of the pausal-contextual dichotomy contributed to the assumption that dropping the word-final short-vowel markers does not produce any noticeable loss of grammatical information and that these elided elements can easily be dispensed with in the communication process.[1] The

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[1] The latter assumption, persisting up to recent times, made it apparently possible to interpet the vocalic part of the *ʾiʿrāb*-related inflections in terms of mere cluster-preventing and word-connecting elements, as recently presented by Ibrāhīm Anīs in the Cairo Academy of the Arabic Language: ´It seems that providing the word ends with vowels (i.e. vowel-bases inflectional markers) was one of the 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*. It may be

subsequent spread of pausal forms in contextual positions gradually led to the constitution of the structural basis for modern Arabic dialects.

POA, the promising *luġa wusṭā* of the present-day Arabic diglossia and the prestigious oral medium of the Arab intellectual elite, is itself the product of this evolutional trend. As a so-far normless linguistic entity, POA may best be approached as a linguistic continuum of relatively diffuse and permeable structural states alternating between both poles of the diglossic space, maximum of synthetism (ms), supported by the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic[2] and maximum of analytism (ma), represented by the analytic structures of modern Arabic colloquials (local dialects), without being fully identifiable with any of the two structural maxima.

ms	POA (socioculturally graded ms/ma hybridization) ma
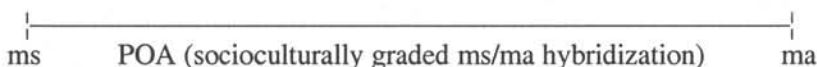
As the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic is the unique stable point in the whole typological space of diglossia, all structural manifestations of POA will be classified in terms of their identity with or their deviation from this synthetic norm, materialized in various sets of inflectional indicators. The following considerations will purposefully be restricted to the *'i'rāb*-related categories of case and verbal mood, the ones most immediately affected by the ongoing process of analytic restructuring of Arabic. Beyond this narrow *'i'rāb* space only the perfective paradigm will be taken into account and some rather marginal hints will refer to the demontstratives, relatives, and personal pronouns.

2.1. POA, defined in terms of two structural maxima, presents a rather involved picture reflecting steadily varying alternation of synthetic and analytic structures. As the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic is the unique stable point in the diglossic space, the whole set of alternating structures will be classified by their relation to this synthetic norm.

Structurally, synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic may be classified along with the degree of their structural stability. By the latter their capability to resist the process of analytic reconstruction will be understood. The classification of synthetic inflections in terms of structural stability cannot safely be explained by mere social and cultural factors in spite of the significant role they play in determining the respective levels of structural synthetism or analytism. The ultimate clue to the classification may apparently be derived from the functional characteristics of synthetic inflections. The latter provides a well-marked distinction between indicators that tend to signal several grammatical categories, hence

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inferred from this premise that the basic rule for all inflective words is to end in this *sukūn* except in the case of a phonetic necessity called forth by the word junction' (*Ra'y fī l-i'rāb*, in: *Maġallat Maġmaᶜ al-luġa al-ᶜarabīya,* vol. 10, Cairo 1958, 55).

[2] Unless otherwise specified, Standard Arabic (SA) indiscriminately refers to the whole domain of synthetic Arabic: true Classical Arabic of the Koran and pre-Islamic poetry, and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

multifunctional or multicategorial indicators, and those signalling, as a rule, one category only, hence monofunctional or monocategorial indicators. The former class may be illustrated on portmanteau morphemes, such as -ūn(a)/-ū marking case (nominative), gender (masculine) and number (plural), in a nonconstruct/ construct opposition (brackets indicate elements disappearing in pre-pausal positions), the latter class, on the inflectional indicator -u, for instance. The redundant nature of the latter results from its relatively limited marking power: it signals case (nominative, with singular nouns and broken plurals), and verbal mood (indicative, in the imperfective paradigm).

The dividing point between both structural classes will be referred to as structural limit (sl).

Typically, the distinction between functionally higher and functionally lower ranking inflectional indicators coincides with indicators that can be expressed by alphabetic symbols of the Arabic graphical system (alphabetic indicators) and those that cannot (nonalphabetic indicators). The dividing point between both classes, referred to as the graphical limit (gl), is a graphical parallel of the (sl).

The criterial point of sl/gl divides the diglossic space (ms-ma) into two parts, henceforward referred to as intervals: *synthetic interval* (ms-sl/gl), with a typical predominance of synthetic structures, and *analytic interval* (ma-sl/gl) where, typically, analytic structures prevail.

ms	synthetic interval	sl/gl	analytic interval	ma
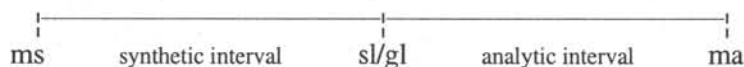
In the synthetic interval of the diglossic space functionally high-ranking (alphabetic) indicators tend to be maintained in contrast to the functionally low-ranking (nonalphabetic), typically monofunctional inflections that may display various deviations from the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic inclusive of their deletion.

In the analytic interval there is no substantial difference between the two types of inflections as to their responsiveness to the impact of analytic reconstruction though, even here, the frequence of deviated or deleted inflections is markedly higher on the nonalphabetic than on the alphabetic side.

3. The attractiveness of POA as a teaching model for the instruction of prestigious spoken Arabic resides in its relative simplicity and inter-regional usability and, not least, in the simple fact of being widely spoken by a constantly increasing number of educated language users. Nevertheless, the POA model, as far as conceived as a teaching program, also has a number of very serious drawbacks. The absence of a recognized unifying linguistic norm is apparently the most serious of all. The structural variability of POA, reflecting constant interaction of synthetic and analytic inflections (when not speaking about a host of other relevant features lying beyond this narrowly set structural domain) has to be stabilized at a point corresponding to one (and only one) cut-out of the socioculturally graded linguistic continuum. As Standard Arabic represents the unique norm in the whole diglossic space, the individually selected segment of

the POA continuum has to be supported by an equally individually tailored virtual norm to base the subsequent description thereon. This task is left to the personal decision of each author who has to create his own working standard in accordance with his idea about the social and cultural level best representing the substandard but nevertheless noncolloquial, typically oral variety of Arabic. The absence of a unique linguistic norm with a recognized prescriptive power motivates, then, the creation of sets of virtual norms with a highly varying range of deviation from the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic. Once such a norm is created, any descriptive statement in a POA manual adopts a prescriptive power with all unwanted consequences associated with it:

- no hint can be made to frequent hypocorrect[x] and hypercorrect[xx] constructions highly typical of POA;

[x] colloquial features substituted for standard ones;
[xx] erroneously applied standard features for correct ones that happen to formally coincide with colloquial ones;

- standard/colloquial competition in selecting lexical items is no more recorded either, etc., etc.

4. Three randomly selected manuals, sharing limitations common to all teaching devices designed for non-codified linguistic media, do not, as in fact, cannot provide a truly realistic picture of any act of POA communication. Designed for teaching purposes, they have to eliminate all features of ambiguity and errors, irrespective of how typical of the language usage in that given (so far uncodified) linguistic medium they are.

POA manuals randomly selected for the subsequent comparison:
- J. R. Smart: *Arabic*. Teach Yourself Books. Sevenoaks, Hodder and Stoughton 1986 (Teach Yourself Arabic, or TYA, in what follows).

"This is a self-teaching book, not an Arabic grammar in the traditional sense, and the aim throughout has been to bring the student up to the standard where he or she will be able to read a newspaper with the aid of a dictionary and converse with educated Arabs from different countries. — To make this task easier, some liberties have been taken with traditional Arabic grammar which may alarm the purists, both Arab and European. — As you will soon be learning, Arabic is written in a so-called ´defective script´. This means . . . that the short vowels are not written. Now many of the grammatical endings of the noun and the verb are, in fact, short vowels and consequently do not appear in print . . . being absent, they cannot contribute to the meaning. — Feeling that Arabic is difficult enough for the beginner without his being asked to learn unnecessary rules and facts, I have ruthlessly pruned all such grammatical paraphernalia from the text of this book and mentioned them only in passing in footnotes" (Smart 1986, 1).

- Monem Jumaili: *Gesprächsbuch Deutsch-Arabisch*. VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie Leipzig 1987 (Gesprächsbuch Arabic, or GA).

"Das arabische Sprachmaterial dieses Gesprächsbuches orientiert sich . . . an der modernen arabischen Hochsprache. Es vermittelt Alltagssprache in gesprächstypischen Sätzen und Wendungen und sachlich geordneten Wortlisten vorwiegend für den deutschsprachigen Benutzer. Berücksichtigt werden in begrenzten Umfang einige umgangssprachliche Formen, die in der Transkriptionsversion des arabischen Textes ihren Niederschlag finden . . . " (Jumaili 1987, 5).

- Karin C. Ryding: *Formal Spoken Arabic: Basic Course*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C. 1990 (Formal Spoken Arabic, or FSA).

"*Formal Spoken Arabic: Basic Course* . . . the first Arabic language text to use a non-grammar-based approach. That is, the rationale for its organization and presentation of language material

is functional and situational, rather than grammatically determined. Grammar is, of course, covered in each lesson, but it serves the ends of the situations or functions being taught, rather than motivating the structure of the course. — It differs drom other basic Arabic texts in that it teaches a form of spoken Arabic" (Ryding 1990, xi). — "This text is designed to serve as core material for the first six months of intensive spoken Arabic training at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), U.S. Department of State. — Experience has shown that the most practical language to teach foreign affairs personnel going to the Arab East (excluding Egypt, the Sudan, and North Africa) is a standardized variant of spoken Arabic, colloquial enough not to sound pedantic and flexible enough to be of use throughout the Arab East" (ibid., xv) — "The language described and taught in this text is not a spoken dialect of a specific Arab region. Within the continuum of spoken Arabic variants, registers, and styles it is an intermediate language which embodies characteristics of interdialectal communication, as well as aspects of the standard literary language . . . It is formal because it is a slightly higher, more ´educated´ register than everyday speech, and also because pronunciation of consonants and internal vowelization of words are done for the most part in accord with literary Arabic. Moreover, the overall structure and function of the language has been observed as the type of dialect-bridging language used among native Arabic speakers from different dialect regions on occasions when they interact" (ibid., xvi).

5. Conventions adopted for the classification of inflectional indicators (markers) are in accord with their expressibility by alphabetic symbols of the Arabic script and the degree of their functional relevance.

In spite of the well-known fact that Standard Arabic, in the recent system of diglossia, mostly operates as a medium of written communication, the Arabic graphical system plays an important role in drawing demarcation lines for culturally prestigious acts of oral communication. The impact of Arabic script on oral communication may be either direct, in the course of oral reproduction of a written Standard Arabic text, or indirect, by a graphically stimulated linguistic awareness and oral skills related to it. As already hinted at, the division of inflectional markers into alphabetic and nonalphabetic classes only map the degree of their functional relevance. The relation between the two reflects close approximation rather than perfect and straightforward correspondence. As the type of structural deviations examined occur exclusively in pre-pausal positions, prefixal-suffixal inflections will be treated in the same way as the suffixal ones, with no attention paid to their prefixal components.

The Standard Arabic verbal-mood distinction in the imperfect will be reduced to only three modal paradigms: indicative, subjunctive and jussive; the reduction has to bring closer the SA modal inventory to the oral characteristics of the moodless POA and make the structural comparison easier and more transparent.

The following data present the dichotomy of alphabetic, or functionally high-ranking, and nonalphabetic, functionally low-ranking, inflectional markers as understood in the present inquiry. Standard Arabic inflections are written in contextual forms, with unstable (pause-sensitive) vocalic components put in brackets. For the sake of simplicity and added transparency, nonalphabetic markers consisting of a single unstable vowel are left unbracketed.

(1) alphabetic indicators are morphemic structures consisting of:
    (11) a single alphabetic symbol:
        (111) long vowel, as in: *-ā → muslim-ā; katab-ā; ya-ktub-ā; muslim-ā*
        (for contextual: *muslim-an* [3]); *-ū → muslim-ū; katab-ū; ya-ktub-ū; -ī →*
        muslim-ī; ta-ktub-ī;

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(112) diphthong, e.g.: *-aw → ra'-aw; ya-bq-aw,* with integration of a weak radical in the inflectional marker; *-ay → ta-bq-ay,* the same as for *ya-bq-aw; muslim-ay;*

(113) an alphabetic symbol combined with a stable (pause-resistant)[4] vowel, as in: *-at → katab-at; -at,* in contextually represented *tā' marbūṭa → ġurf-at-/un/; -ti → katab-ti; -na → katab-na;*

(12) two alphabetic symbols combined with an unstable (pause-sensitive) vowel:

(121) one of the two symbols is a long vowel, as in: *-ūn(a) → muslim-ūn(a); ya-ktub-ūn(a); -īn(a) → muslim-īn(a); ta-ktub-īn(a); -ān(i) → muslim-ān(i); ya-ktub-ān(i);*

(122) one of the two symbols is a diphthong, as in: *-ayn(a) → ta-bq-ayn(a),* with integration of the weak radical /y/ in the inflectional marker; *-ayn(i) → muslim-ayn(i);*

(13) two alphabetic symbols combined with a stable vowel, as in: *-tum → katab-tum; -atā → katab-atā;*

(14) three alphabetic symbols combined with a stable vowel, as in: *-tumā → katab-tumā;*

(2) nonalphabetic indicators may consist of:

(21) a single unstable short vowel disappearing in pre-pausal positions, as in case paradigms: (triptotic): *-u/-i/-a → kitāb-u/-i/-a;* (diptotic): *-u/-a → manāzil-u/-a;* or a *zero* vowel (in imperative paradigm) → *ᶜallim-0, /u/ktub-0,*[5] etc.;

(22) a short vowel combined with the indefiniteness marker *-n* (*tanwīn*) in the triptotic case paradigm: *-un/-in → kitāb-un, -in* (for *-an* see note 3 above);

(23) an alphabetic symbol followed by an unstable, or a *zero* vowel, as in (perfective paradigm), e.g. *-t(a), -t(u) → katab-t(a), -t(u),* or in (imperfective paradigms): *ya-ktub-u, ta-ktub-a, a-ktub-0,* etc.

6. In listing features of divergence between the synthetic norm of SA and POA and mapping their representation in the three POA manuals the transcription has been somewaht unified. The unnoted word-initial glottal stop in the Romanized data quoted from TYA and GA has been also maintained in quoting FSA examples, given in an unvowelled Arabic script):

The representation of the features listed, in the manual indicated, will be expressed in terms of the following four symbols:

(+) = represented in the manual indicated;

(-+) = partially represented;

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[3] The special status of the *tanwīn -an,* as opposed to *-un* and *-in,* reflects a quite different behaviour of the latter in the pre-pausal position: *-an/-ā,* as against *-un/-zero* and *-in/-zero.* This exceptional status of *-an/-ā,* that cannot be satisfactorily explained by a higher functional rank, has a purely phonetic background (Birkeland 1940: 46).

[4] By 'pause-resistance' of a vowel the mere ability of the latter to persist in pre-pausal position will be understood; possible modifications of the pre-pausally located morphemes are not thereby excluded, as e.g. loss of vowel quantity: *-nā >-na → katab-nā > katab-na,* and the like.

[5] Bracketing of the connective, prothetic vowel signals its being subject to elision in contact with a preceding vowel, as in *qāla-ktub* 'he told /him/ to write'.

($\pm$) = marginalized, relegated to the sphere of passive knowledge (represented for the sake of recognition only, out of the main textual stream of the textbook);

(-) = unrepresented;

(*) = asterisk with an inflectional marker indicates its colloquial featuring (the Egyptian Arabic influence, observable in GA, is the most prominent).

6.1. Nominal and verbal paradigms:

(1) case, case-number inflection:

    (11) nonalphabetic paradigms:

        (111) SA: triptotic singular and broken plural: *-u, -i, -a /-un, -in,* (alphabetic *-an*);
feminine plural in *-āt: -u, -i* [6]*/-un, -in ;*
diptotic paradigms: *-u, -a ;*
TYA (-) ;
GA (-) ;
FSA (-) ;

    (12) alphabetic paradigms:

        (121) SA: sound masculine plural: *-ūn(a), -īn(a);*
TYA (+): *-ūn, -īn: muhandisūn, muhandisīn* (101);
GA (+): *-ūn, -īn: muᶜallimūn, muᶜallimīn* (31);
FSA (-+): reduced to a caseless *-īn: mašhūrīn, miṣrīyīn* (54);

        (122) SA: dual: *-ān(i), -ayn(i);*
TYA ($\pm$): *-ān, -ayn: ṣāḥibān, ṣāḥibayn,* for the sake of recognition (108);
GA (+): *-ān, - ayn: muᶜallimān, muᶜallimayn* (31);
FSA (-+): reduced to *-ayn: ṭā'iratayn, wazīrayn* (161);

        (123) nonconstruct/construct distinction in structurally divergent paradigms:
SA: sound masculin plural: *-ūn(a)/-ū, -īn(a)/-ī;* dual: *-ān(i)/-ā, -ayn(i)/-ay;*
feminine singular: *-a/-at;*
TYA (+) : *-ūn/-ū: muwaẓẓafūn → muwaẓẓafū š-šarika; -īn/-ī: muwaẓẓafīn → min muwaẓẓafīhā; -ān/-ā: yadān → yadā l-walad* (220);
GA (-+) : reduced to *-a/-at : madrasa → madrasati* * (possessive), *madrasatak,* etc. (36); *nuqṭa → nuqṭat ᶜubūr, nuqṭat il*-ᶜubūr* (35);
FSA (-+) : reduced to *-a/-at : ᶜāṣima→ ᶜāṣimat al-urdunn; madīna→ madīnat al-qāhira* (15 f);

(2) verbal-mood inflection (imperfective paradigms):[7]

    (21) nonalphabetic paradigms (singular, plural):
SA: *ya-/ta-/a-/na- ktub-u* (indicative), *-a* (subjunctive), *-0* (jussive);

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[6] In a sequence of two formally identical homographic markers only one is indicated: *-āt: -u,- i/-un, -in* instead of: *-āt: -u, -i, -i/ -un, -in, -in,* and the like.

[7] For the reduction of the SA verbal-mood paradigms see §5 above.

TYA (-+): presented as ´variations of the present tense´ (117 ff.; 238: Table 1; for variations of inflectional markers see alphabetic paradigms below), reduced to a unique moodless paradigm of the ´present tense´): *ya-/ta-/a-/na-ktub-0* (indicative/subjunctive/jussive);

GA (-+) : reduced to a unique moodless imperfective paradigm, derived from the SA indicative (see alphabetic paradigms below): *ya-/ta-/a-/na-ktub-0* (39);

FSA (-+): reduced to a unique moodless paradigm modelled on the SA jussive (see alphabetic paradigm below): *ya-/ta-/a-/na-drus-0* (184);

(22) alphabetic paradigms of the singular and plural:

SA: *ta-ktub-īn(a); ya-ktub-ūn(a)/-na, ta-ktub-ūn(a)/-na* (indicative); *ta-ktub-ī; ya-ktub-ū/-na, ta-ktub-ū/-na* (subjunctive, jussive);

TYA (+): *ta-ktub-īn; ya-ktub-ūn/-na, ta-ktub-ūn/-na* (indicative (114)); *ta-ktub-ī; ya-ktub-ū/-na, ta-ktub-ū/-na* (subjunctive/jussive (117 ff.; 238: Table 1));

GA (-+): reduced to a single moodless paradigm modelled on the SA indicative, with no gender distinction in the 2P and 3P of the plural: *ta-ktub-īn; ya-ktub-ūn, ta-ktub-ūn* (39);

FSA (-+): reduced to a single moodless paradigm modelled on the SA jussive, with no gender distinction in the 2P and 3P of the plural: *ta-drus-ī; ya-drus-ū, ta-drus-ū* (184);

(23) alphabetic paradigm (dual):

SA: *ya-ktub-ān(i), ta-ktub-ān(i)* (indic.); *yaktub-ā.ta-ktub-ā* (subj., juss.)

TYA (±) as in the SA paradigm above which is quoted only in the annotated Table 1 (238) whith no closer comments;

GA (-): unrepresented;

FSA (-): unrepresented;

(3) imperative paradigm:

(31) nonalphabetic (singular):

SA: *(u-)qtul-0, ꜥallim-0;*

TYA, GA, FSA (+):

(32) alphabetic (singular, plural):

SA: *(u-)qtul-ī; (u-)qtul-ū, -na;*

TYA: (+) as in SA above (193);

GA: (-) unrepresented[8];

FSA: (-+) *(u-)dḫul-ī; (u-)dḫul-ū* (284), with the loss of gender distinction in the 2P and the 3P of the plural;

(33) alphabetic (dual):

SA: *(u-)qtul-ā;*

TYA, GA, FSA (-): unrepresented;

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[8] Despite the fact that no mention of the imperative paradigm can be found in the extremely concise grammatical survey (Kurzer grammatischer Abriß, 27-42), the imperative forms (in a rather reduced paradigmatic interval) occur in the textual samples, e.g. *iftaḥ (iftaḥi*) famak (famik)!* (258). The lack of jussive paradigm (see § 6.1 (22) and (23)), from which the imperative forms are derived, makes it impossible to gain any further information of the GA imperatives.

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(4) perfective paradigm:
    (41) nonalphabetic (singular):
        SA: *katab-(a), -t(a), -t(u);*
        TYA (-+) : reduced to the pausal variant of the SA paradigm above: *katab, katab-t* (77), with a loss of distinction between the 2P masculine singular (*-ta*) and the 1P masculine/feminine singular (*-tu*);
        GA (-+): *katab, katab-t* (38), as above;
        FSA (-+): *waṣal, waṣal-t* (104), as above;
    (42) alphabetic (singular, plural):
        SA: *kata-at, -ti; katab-ū, -na, -tum, -tunna, -nā;*
        TYA (+): as in SA above (77);
        GA (-+): *katab-at, -ti; katab-u*, -tum, -na** (38), (Egyptianized, instead of *katab-ū, katab-nā*), with the loss of gender distinction in the 3P and 2P of the plural: *katab-u*, katab-tum* (masculine/feminine);
        FSA (-+): *waṣal-at, -ti; waṣal-ū, -tū, -nā* (104), with the loss of gender distinction in the 3P and 2P of the plural: *waṣal-ū, waṣal-tū* (masculine/feminine);
    (43) alphabetic (dual):
        SA: *katab-ā, -atā, -tumā;*
        TYA (±): ´for the sake of completeness´ (109), the same as the SA paradigm above;
        GA (-): unrepresented;
        FSA (-): unrepresented;
    6.2. Other inflected classes:
(1) personal pronouns:
    (11) free (subjective) pronouns (singular, plural):
        SA: *anā, anta, anti, huwa, hiya; naḥnu, antum, antunna, hum, hunna;*
        TYA (+): *ana, anta, anti, huwa, hiya* (39); *naḥnu, antum, antunna, hum, hunna* (106);
        GA (-+): *ana, anta, anti, huwa, hiya; naḥnu, antum, hum* (with the loss of gender distinction in the 2P of the plural (*antum* for both *antum*, masculine, and *antunna*, feminine), and the 3P of the plural (*hum* for both *hum*, masculine, and *hunna*, feminine) (35);
        FSA (-+): *anā, anta, anti, huwa, hiya; naḥnu, antū/antum), hum* (with the loss of gender distinction in the 2P and 3P of the plural, as in GA above (*antū/antum*, and *hum:* masculine/feminine) (127);
        (111) free pronouns (dual):
            SA: *antumā, humā;*
            TYA (+): as in SA (109);
            GA, FSA (-): unrepresented;
    (12) bound (objective/possessive) pronouns (singular, plural):
        SA: *-ī/-nī, -ka, -ki, -hu, -hā; -nā, -kum, - kunna, -hum, -hunna;*
        TYA (+), represented with the addition of colloquial variants: *-ī/-nī, -ka (-ak), -ki (-ik), -hu (-uh), -hā; -nā, -kum, -kunna, -hum, -hunna* (61);
        GA (-+), reduced and colloquialized (with an additional loss of vowel

quantity): *-i*/-nī*, -ak*, -ik*, -ah*, -ha*; -na*, -kum, -hum*, with the loss of gender distinction in the 2P and the 3P of the plural: *-kum* and *hum: masculine/feminine* (36);

FSA (-+), reduced and colloquialized: *-ī/-nī, -ak*, -ik*, -uh*, -hā; -nā, -kum, -hum*, with the loss of gender distinction in the 2P and the 3P of the plural (130);

(121) bound pronouns (dual):

SA: *-kumā, -humā;*

TYA (+): as in SA (109);

GA, FSA (-): unrepresented;

(2) demonstratives (singular, plural):

SA: (in a reduced listing) *hādā, hādihi; hā'ulā'i,* and *dālika, tilka; ūlā'ika;*

TYA (+): *hādā, hādihi; hā'ulā'i,* and *dālika, tilka; ūlā'ika* (51, 106);

GA: (-+): (singular) *hāda*, hādi*; dāk, tilk;* (plural) unrepresented (37: Auf die Angabe der Pluralformen wurde hier verzichtet);

FSA: *hādā, hādī, hādōl*; hādāk*, hādīk*, hādōlāk** (unguided transcription from the Arabic script) (96);

(21) demonstratives (dual):

SA: *hādāni, hādayni; hātāni, hātayni;* dual forms of the *dālika* series are rare in SA as well (Brockelmann 1965: 35);

TYA (±): no systematic presentation is available;[9]

GA, FSA (-): unrepresented;

(3) relatives (singular, plural):

SA: (reduced listing): *alladī, allatī; alladīna, allawātī / allātī;*

TYA (-+): *alladī, allatī; alladīna, allātī* (159);

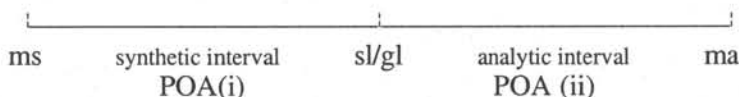GA (-+): *illadi*, illati*, illadīn** (38);

FSA (-+): *illi** (255 f);

(31) relatives (dual):

SA: *alladān(i), alladayn(i); allatān(i), allatayn(i);*

TYA (+): *alladān, alladayn; allatān, allatayn* (159);

GA , FSA (-): unrepresented;

7. The most important issues of the present inquiry may be summarized in the form of the following diagram:

ms	synthetic interval	sl/gl	analytic interval	ma
	POA(i)		POA (ii)	

ms — maximum of synthetism (represented by the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic, irrespective of whether true Classical or Modern Standard);

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[9] 'The demonstrative forms 'this' and 'that' also have dual forms, but these are comparatively rare and easily recognisable from the context. They will be pointed out as they occur'(109).

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ma   – maximum of analytism (represented by the analytic structures of modern colloquials);

sl/gl – structural/graphical limit: as structural limit, it indicates the limit of structural stability of synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic, i.e. the limit of their ability to resist the process of analytic reconstruction; as graphical limit, a graphical parallel of the latter, it marks the correlated limit of expressibility of synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic by alphabetic symbols of the Arabic graphical system (*scriptio defectiva*).

ms-ma– typological space of the Arabic diglossia, substantially coextensive with that of POA, excluding, however, the full identifiability of the latter with any of the two structural maxima;

ms-sl/gl – synthetic interval of the typological space tolerating deviations from the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic in the domain of nonalphabetic indicators only; the term reflects the typical predominance of synthetic structures associated with it;

ma-sl/gl – analytic interval of the typological space; deviations from the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic possibly include alphabetic indicators, as well; the term reflects the typical predominance of analytic structures;

POA– Prestigious Oral Arabic, linguistic continuum, the set of structural states that oscillate between *ms* and *ma*, without being fully identifiable with any of these structural maxima.

POA (i) – the variety located in the synthetic interval of the diglossic space, tolerates deviations from the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic only in the domain of nonalphabetic indicators.

POA (ii) – in the analytic interval, tolerates deviations from the synthetic norm in the domain of both nonalphabetic and alphabetic indicators.

7.1. As might be inferred from the §7 diagram, the critical point of SL/GL makes it possible to attempt a more refined structural classification of the socioculturally graded POA communication. The rough structural dichotomy of POA (i) and POA (ii),[10] disregarding any notion of interaction and interpenetration, presents two idealized and, in their categoric form, fairly unrealistic cutouts from the POA continuum. The dichotomy, however, closely matches two different pedagogically minded approaches which prevail in some recent textbooks designed for the instruction of the prestigious substandard-noncolloquial Arabic (the latter being mostly disguised by the generic term of Arabic).

7.2. With some liberality in rating the relevance of the symbol (±) ´marginalization´ and promoting it to the rank of (+) ´representation´ (see §6), the TYA-presented Arabic can safely be located in the synthetic interval as POA (i), as against that of GA and FSA, displaying numerous (-) and (-+) occurrences in the alphabetic domain, which have to be classified as POA (ii) in the analytic interval of the diglossic space:

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[10] Indexing POA varieties has been preferred to inventing new names for them, to avoid prolonging the list of tentative terms (cf. Blanc 1960, Badawī 1973, and others).

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ms	POA (i): TYA	sl/gl	POA (ii): GA, FSA	ma

While the varieties of Arabic compatible with POA (i) exhibit structural characteristics typical of graphically supported acts of communication (reading SA texts), those compatible with POA (ii) are typical of spontaneous acts of oral communication.

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Symbols:

ms, ma (§ 2; §7);

POA – Prestigious Oral Arabic;

SA – Standard Arabic;

sl/gl – structural / graphical limit (§ 2.1; § 7);

TYA, GA, FSA – Teach Yourself Arabic, Gesprächsbuch Arabic, Formal Spoken Arabic (§ 4);

(+), (-+), (±), (-), (*) → (§6).