

BASIC STEM OPPOSITIONS IN CAIRO ARABIC TRILITERAL VERBS

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The ability of the Cairo Arabic verbs to provide functionally active basic stem oppositions is examined. The study concentrates on the trichotomous system *faʿal*, *fiʿil* and *fuʿul*, and examines their ability to convey some general grammatical and derivational meanings, such as transitivity and intransitivity, as well as more specific functions related to them, such as causativity, as opposed to reflexivity, activeness as against passiveness, with or without unpredictable lexical connotations. Some introductory parallels with Standard Arabic are provided.

Key words: verbal stem derivation, basic stems, derived stems, basic stem pattern (BSP), transitivity, intransitivity (and related notions), intra-root vowels (pattern), trilateral / quadrilateral roots

1. The elaborate system of Standard Arabic triliteral verbal stem derivation and its considerably modified reflexes in various colloquial varieties are not the only ones to express some very general grammatical and derivational meanings. Besides the latter system, ranging from 1-10 or 11 to 1-15¹ verbal stems inclusively of the basic stem numbered 1, Standard Arabic has a three-element

¹ In the Arabic grammars ا and lexicons marked in Roman numerals. Derived verbal stems from the stem 11 upwards are rarely used and most modern manuals of Standard Arabic ignore them; the same holds for lexicons that include them, or some of them, as separate lexical units unrelated to the 1-10 numbered system; cf., e.g. WRIGHT, W. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Volume 1, pp. 59-60; SOCIN, A. *Arabische Grammatik*, p. 24 f. (as well as the whole series of the Porta Linguarum Orientalium editions of the latter); FISCHER, W. *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, p. 86 ff. and others.)

system of basic stems, represented by the perfective *faʿala*, *faʿila*, *faʿula*, that display the following form-function correlations:²

faʿala - type verbs may be either transitive or intransitive:

faʿala (*yafʿulu*) → *kataba* (*yaktubu*) 'to write'; *qatala* (*yaqtulu*) 'to kill';

(*yafʿilu*) → *ʿarafa* (*yaʿrifu*) 'to know'; *nazala* (*yanzilu*) 'to descend, get out';

(*yafʿalu*) → *baḥaṭa* (*yabḥaṭu*) 'to search'; *ḡamaʿa* (*yaḡmaʿu*) 'to gather';

faʿila-verbs are mostly intransitive, less commonly transitive:

faʿila (*yafʿalu*) → *ʿaliqa* (*yaʿlaqu*) 'to hang (intr.), be suspended'; *ḥazina* (*yaḥzanu*) 'to be sad, grieve'; *šariba* (*yašrabu*) 'to drink'; some verbs may admit both interpretations, like *ʿalima* (*yaʿlamu*) 'to know (s.o., s.th.)', 'to have knowledge, be aware' or *ʿamila* (*yaʿmalu*) 'to do (s.th.) as against 'to act, to work';

faʿula - type verbs are quite exclusively intransitive, as verbs of identification, they tend to denote inherent attributes and properties:

faʿula (*yafʿulu*) → *qaruba* (*yaqrubu*) 'to be near, get close';

ḥasuna (*yaḥsunu*) 'to be handsome, lovely'; *qabuḥa* 'to be ugly, repulsive'.

As might be inferred from the examples quoted, the notion of the basic or ground stem³ is defined here by the identity of the perfective stem in its citational form with the simplest thematic segment, mostly known as the simple stem.⁴ The attribute of the 'basic stem' further extends to all paradigmatic and derivational manifestations of the latter: perfective and imperfective paradigms with related sets of verbal nouns and participles. The citational form is the 3rd person masculine singular of the perfective tense/aspect, the simplest form of an Arabic verb. It is used in the Arabic grammars and lexicons as a substitute for the missing infinitive.

1.1. From the set of Standard Arabic derived verbal stems only *ʿafʿal* (stem IV in traditional numbering) will be taken into account for the double role it plays in the Cairo Arabic verbal morphology. Here, it takes the form of the basic stem owing to elision of the glottal stop and the subsequent coalescence of

² The examples are quoted in perfective - imperfective sequences with imperfects put in brackets. It should be noted that some of the perfective - imperfective pattern correlations are phonetically motivated.

³ BEESTON, A.F.L. prefers the term 'primary stem', see *The Arabic Language Today*, p. 72.

⁴ ERWIN, W.M. *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. 47 ff.: a simple stem, as far as it is analysable into its morphemic constituents, consists of a root and a pattern (the set of intra-root vowels).

^ʔ*afʕal* with the Cairo Arabic perfective stems *fāʕal*, *fīʕil*, as in Standard Arabic (SA) ^ʔ*atʕaba* (*yutʕibu*), tv 'to trouble; to bother, tire' → Cairo Arabic (CA) *taʕab* (*yitʕib*), tv 'to tire, wear out; to put to trouble', contrasting with SA *taʕiba* (*yatʕabu*), iv 'to toil, wear oneself out; to be or become tired' → CA *tiʕib* (*yitʕab*), iv 'to be or become tired, worn out; to put oneself to trouble'. The same for weak stems: SA ^ʔ*aqāma* (^{*}*aqwama*)⁵ (*yuqīmu*), tv 'to straighten; to set up, erect'; iv 'to stay, remain, reside' → CA ^ʔ*ām* (*yiʔīm*), tv 'to lift up; to set upright'; iv 'to stay, reside', contrasting with the basic stems, SA *qāma* (^{*}*qawama*) (*yaqūmu*) 'to stand (up), rise' → CA ^ʔ*ām* (*yiʔūm*), iv 'to stand, get up, arise'.

As is evident, despite the formal coalescence of the Standard Arabic ^ʔ*afʕal* with Cairo Arabic basic stem perfectives, its functional autonomy is thoroughly maintained and the formal distinction is reduced to imperfective stems. Furthermore, the ^ʔ*afʕal* stem also plays another role in the Cairo Arabic verbal system, as a direct lexical borrowing from Standard Arabic which may either retain its original meaning or modify it.

At any rate, its use in Cairo Arabic has an intrinsic value of stylistic marker which may be further emphasized by phonological means (using SA phonemes no longer existing in CA), as in the following ^ʔ*afʕal* - *fāʕal* opposition: ^ʔ*aqām* - ^ʔ*ām* (see above). In some cases, the phonological marking may also affect nominal derivatives of such verbal stems, like ^ʔ*iqāma* 'residence' (verbal noun) or *muqīm* 'residing; resident' (active participle).

1.2. The relationship between Cairo Arabic basic stems and the Standard Arabic ^ʔ*afʕal* (stem IV in Arabic grammars and lexicons) may summarily be presented in two distinct forms:

(1) ^ʔ*afʕal*, after the evolutionarily motivated loss of the glottal stop formally merged with basic stems of the Cairo Arabic verbal system as *fāʕal* (*i*) with transitive, less frequently intransitive orientation, as in *našaʔ* (*i*),⁶ tv, 'to establish', derivationally related to *našaʔ(a)*, iv, 'to grow up' (see § 2,2);

⁵ The asterisk (*) with Standard Arabic units indicates a hypothetical etymology, as in *qāma* < ^{*}*qawama* while, with Cairo Arabic stems, it points to a Standard Arabic origin, as in ^{*}*awqaf*, ^{*}*awʔaf* or ^{*}*aqām*.

⁶ In accordance with the usage followed in Arabic grammars and lexicons, instead of full imperfect stems only the variable part of their BSP, i.e. the *stem vowel*, will be noted. The full imperfect stem will be given only in cases where some irregularities occur, as in *wiʔiʕ* (*yuʔaʕ*, *yūʔaʕ*). Some authors prefer speaking of *stem vowels*, that is *a-a* for *katab*, *a-i* for *šarib* and *a-u* for *ḥasun* which corresponds to our concept of BSP, see BADAWI, Elsaid, CARTER, M. G. and GULLY, A. *Modern Written Arabic. A Comprehensive Grammar*, p. 60.

(2) *ʔafʕal* may further find a place in the Cairo Arabic lexicon as a lexical borrowing from Standard Arabic, either independently of its evolutionarily modified unit or in co-occurrence with it; as in the previous case, its grammatical orientation is typically transitive, less commonly intransitive, as in *ʔaʕam* (*i*), tv, 'to make tasty', *ʔaʕam* 'to feed' or *silim* (*a*), iv 'to stay safe' as against *ʔaslam* or *ʔislam* 'to be a Muslim' (see § 2.21).

While the bulk of the Cairo Arabic *faʕal* (*i*) stems have an etymological connection with the Standard Arabic causative *ʔafʕal*, the origin of the *fiʕil* stems has to be sought for in the Standard Arabic intransitive verbs and internal passives (*fuʕil*).⁷ Whether all *faʕal* (*i*) transitive verbal stems with no synchronically attested *ʔafʕal* counterpart either in Standard or Cairo Arabic, like *ħarab* (*i*), tv 'to destroy', may be etymologically related to **ʔafʕal*, is an open question.

1.3. Before embarking on details it should be noted that the methodology adopted for the analysis of Cairo Arabic verbs at the basic stem level cannot be generally applied to all regional varieties of colloquial Arabic. Besides dialects that reflect in a way the basic stem morphology of Standard Arabic (SA) in their verbal systems, like Egyptian, Syro-Palestinian and Iraqi Arabic, there are others that do not.

Moroccan Arabic verbs with their invariable basic stem pattern (BSP) *fʕel* in the whole trilateral inventory may illustrate the point:

kʕeb → SA *kataba* 'to write'; *ḍħek* → SA *ḍħāhika* 'to laugh';

The absence of the BSP multiformity is inevitably compensated with its multifunctionality that has to be individually specified from one verbal stem to another.

Paradigmatically motivated changes of basic stem patterns in weak verbs, trilateral only by etymology, occur in all varieties of Arabic and are of no relevance to the problem examined here:

baʕ 'to sell', actually 'he sold', *beʕt* 'I sold' or *baʕu* 'they sold' → SA *hāʕa* (**bayaʕa*), *biʕtu*, *bāʕū*, (* Arguments in positing the exact form of the hypothetical BSP are of no relevance to the matter.) or *qal* 'to say', actually 'he said', *qolt* 'I said', *qalu* 'they said' → SA *qāla* (**qawala*), *qultu qālū*, etc.⁸

⁷ WOJDICH, M. *Das Kairo, syrisch-Arabisches. Eine Grammatik*, p. 62, Anmerk. 2.

⁸ HARRELL, R.S. *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic*, pp. 29-56.

2. In Cairo Arabic three basic verbal stems can be distinguished: *fa^cal*: *katab* 'to write', *ḍarab* 'to beat'; *fi^cil*: *fihim* 'to understand', *nizil* 'to descend, get out' and *fu^cul*: *ḥuluṣ* 'to come to an end, be exhausted', *nudur* 'to be rare'. Since from this set only *fa^cal*- and *fi^cil*-stems are represented in the whole verbal domain, while the occurrence of *fu^cul*-stem is restricted to a limited number of sound verbs only, the Cairo Arabic basic stem verb system is mostly presented in dichotomous shape.⁹

Grammatical meanings associated with particular BSP types of the trilateral verbal system in all varieties of Arabic that maintain a certain BSP diversity may be described, at the most general level, in terms of transitivity and intransitivity. More subtle grammatical meanings involving various manifestations of lexically molded ditransitivity, causativity or factivity, are compatible with the general notion of transitivity, while those related to reflexivity, pseudo-reflexivity and passiveness belong to the general domain of intransitivity.

The presentation of the basic stem verb's power to express grammatical and lexical meanings directly or indirectly relatable to transitivity and intransitivity is not altogether easy. Apart from the pack of problems specific to etymological (primary) basic stem verbs, there is another one, still more intricate and more difficult to detect, associated with what we classify as non-etymological (secondary) class of the latter. The distinction between the two is the most fundamental classification cleavage in the present inquiry. As we will attempt to show in the following paragraphs, the number of multifunctional applications of the basic stem verbs substantially increases with the occurrence of non-etymological class units.

Since our aim is to examine the functional behaviour of the basic stem verbs, the verbs with functionless (optional) BSP alternation have to be kept apart from those representing the material basis of the present study.

2.1. Verbs with optional BSP alternation

(1) *ḥili^c*, *ḥala^c* (a)¹⁰ iv and tv: (iv) 'to proceed, come; go to, go out to climb, ascend' etc.: *ḥili^cna riḥla* 'we went off on a trip; *yalla niḥla^c* (*ala*) *il-haram* 'let's go to the Pyramids!; *ʔif-ḥayyāra ḥil^cit* 'the plane took off; the plane gained altitude; *ḥa-yiḥla^c mis-siḡn i ba^cdī sana* 'he'll get out of prison in a year's time'; (tv) *ḥili^c is-sillim* 'he climbed the stairs'; or:

⁹ Cf., WOJDICH, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 60-64; MITCHELL, T. F. *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*, p. 30 ff.; furthermore, the *fu^cul* and *fi^cil* patterns are, with some speakers, alternatively used as individual variants: *ḥuruṣ ḥiriṣ* 'to be struck dumb' (ibid.); ABDEL-MALIK, Zaki N. *The Closed List Classes of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic*, pp. 183-4.

¹⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, the examples quoted from BADAWI, El-Said and HINDS, M. *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic. Arabic-English*, no page indications.

(2) *wiʔiʕ*, *waʔaʕ* (*yuʔaʕ*, *yūʔaʕ*, *yiwʔaʕ*), iv: 'to fall, fall down; to occur, happen': *ʔiknis iz-zibāla lli wiʔiʕit min iṣ-ṣafiḥa* 'sweep up the garbage that fell out from the rubbish bin'; *ʔalbāḥa wiʔiʕ fi riḡlēḥa* 'she was scared stiff' (lit., figurative. 'her heart fell to her feet'); *mumkin il-ḥarb i tuʔaʕ fi-ʔayyi laḥza* 'war could break out at any moment; or:

(3) *wiṣil*, *waṣal* (*a*), tv and iv: 'to reach, come to; to arrive': (tv/iv) *lamma niwṣal (li-) makka ninzil fi bēt il-muṭawwif* 'when we arrive at Mecca we stay at the pilgrim guide's house'; (tv) *lāzim il-ʔiḡār yiwṣalni ʔawwil iṣ-ṣahr* 'I must get the rent on the first of the month'; (iv) *gozha wiṣil wi-tʕašša* 'her husband came (home) and had his supper'; **ʔawṣal* (with a meaning shift: 'to put in the position, to qualify for'), tv: *ʔēš ʔawṣalak ʔinta lihum* 'you don't reach their standards'.

2.1.1. The feature of optional BSP alternation is sometimes reduced to only one pole of the transitive-intransitive opposition while the BSP distinction between the two poles is maintained, as in *ḥirib*, *ḥurub* as again *ḥarab* (§ 2.2 below). Verbs of the latter type will be treated together with verbs displaying fully functional BSP alternation.

2.2. Verbs with functional BSP alternation.¹¹

fīʕil, *fuʕul* (*a*), iv / *faʕal* (*i*), tv:

(1) *ḥirib*, *ḥurub* (*a*), iv: 'to be destroyed, ruined; go out of order' *bahayimhum mātit wi-byuthum ḥirbit* 'they were hit by total disaster' (lit. 'their animals died and their houses fell to ruin'); *ʔil makana ḥirbit faḡʔa* 'the machine suddenly conked out'; *ḥarab* (*i*), tv: 'to destroy, ruin': (*ʔallāh*) *yihrib bētak* '(God) damn you!'; (**ʔafʕal* stem is missing).

fīʕil, *fuʕul* (*a*), iv / *faʕal* (*i*), tv / **afʕal*, tv:

(2) *ḍiʕif*, *ḍuʕuf* (*a*), iv 'to become weak, feeble'; *ḍaʕaf* (*i*), tv 'to weaken': *ḥilfit il-ʕiyāl ḍaʕafitni* 'giving birth to children wore me out'; **ʔaḍʕaf*, tv 'to weaken' with a standard verbal noun **ʔiḍʕāf* and an active participle **miḍʕif*, **muḍʕif*;

fīʕil (*a*), iv / *faʕal* (*i*), tv / **afʕal*, tv:

¹¹ Functional BSP distinction will be attested either in the perfective or in imperfective stem or in both of them.

(3) *ti^cib (a)*, iv 'to become tired, become worn out': *ʔana ti^cibtī w-lāzīm ʔanām* 'I'm exhausted and must sleep'; *ʔil-mawatīr bitā^cit it-taksiyāt bi-tit^cab bi-sur^ca* 'taxi engines wear out quickly';
ta^cab (i), tv 'to tire, wear out; to cause trouble or discomfort': *ʔiš-šuglī ta^cabni* 'the work tired me out'; *ʔamali makunšī ta^cabtak* 'I hope I haven't been any trouble to you';
**ʔat^cab*, tv 'to tire' with standard active participle **mut^cib* 'tiring, tiresome';
 or:

(4) *bi^cid (a)*, iv 'to be or become distant': *mašrī ma-tib^cadšī ʔala ḥabīb* 'Cairo is never inaccessible to those who love her';
ba^cad (i), tv 'to take away, remove; to keep away': *ʔib^cid il-laban ʔan in-nār* 'take the milk off the stove'; *rabb īna yib īd ʔannak wilād il-ḥarām* 'may God keep evil people from you!';
**ʔab^cad*, tv 'to remove, exclude': *ʔab^cadū ʔan iš-širka* 'they removed him from the company'; or:

(5) *wi^ʔif (yu^ʔaf, yiw^ʔaf, yū^ʔaf)*, iv 'to come to a stop, halt': *miš ʔādir ʔa^ʔaf-ma-ʔandīš farāmīl* 'I can't stop, I have no brakes'; *ʔid-dammī wi^ʔif* 'the bleeding stopped';
wa^ʔaf (yiw^ʔif), tv 'to suspend, put a stop to': *mīn ʔallak tiw^ʔif iš-šuglī* 'who told you to stop the work?'; *ga l-muhandis wa^ʔafni ʔan il-ʔamal* 'the engineer came and suspended me from work';
**ʔawqaf, *ʔaw^ʔaf → wa^ʔaf.*

fi^cil (a), tv / *fi^cil (a)*, iv / *fa^cal (i)*, tv / **ʔaf^cal*, tv:

(6) *ʔidim (a)*, tv 'to be deprived of, to lose': *ʔidim illi warā wi-lli ʔuddāmu* 'he lost everything'; *ʔinšalla ti^cdamīni la-tišrabī* 'I pray that I may die if you do not drink it' (lit. 'I pray that you may kill me if ...' / adjuration urging acceptance);
ʔidim (a), iv 'to become worn out and useless': *ʔig-gazma ʔidmit* 'the shoes are worn out'; *ʔadam (i)*, tv 'to deprive of, to wear out, exhaust': *ʔadamūha l-ʔafya* 'they drained her of her health'; *ḡarabūni lamma ʔadamūni* 'they beat me almost to death';
**ʔa^cdam (i)*, tv 'to execute, put to death; to destroy': *ʔa^cdam il-wasīqa* 'he destroyed the document'; inclusive of the verbal noun **ʔi^cdām* 'execution, destruction' and participles **mu^cdim, *mu^cdam.*

fa^cal (i, u), tv / *fa^cal (i, u)*, iv / **ʔaf^cal*, tv:

(7) *ḡala^ʔ (i, u)*, tv 'to release, set loose; to discharge, fire (a projectile)': *ʔiḡli^ʔ il-kalbā ʔalē* 'set the dog loose on him!';

ʔala^o (*i, u*), iv 'to have uterine contractions, have labour pains (of a woman)'¹²;

**ʔatla*^o, **ʔatlaq*, tv 'to release, set loose; to discharge, fire (a projectile):
waqfti ʔitlāq in-nār 'cease-fire'; 'to give a name': *ʔatlaʔu ʕalē ʔism i gdiḏ*
'they called him by a new name';
inclusive of a verbal noun **ʔitlāʔ* or **ʔitlāq* (see above), and participles
**miṭli*^o, **muṭliq* and *muṭla*^o, *muṭlaq*.¹³

faʕal (*a*), tv / *faʕal* (*i*), iv / **ʔafʕal*, iv:

(8) *naša*^o (*a*), iv 'to grow up': 'the country in which I grew up'; 'to arise, originate': *ʔil-ḥarāyiʔ bi-tinšaʔ min il-ʔihmāl* 'fires are caused by negligence';

naša, naša^o (*i*), tv 'to establish, start': *ʔinta lli našēt iẓẓulm i fil-balad-di*;
**ʔanša*^o → *naša, naša*^o (*i*), tv; with verbal noun **ʔinšāʔ*, participles **minšīʔ*,
**munšīʔ* and **munšaʔ*;

faʕal (*a*), tv / *faʕal* (*a*), iv / **ʔafʕal*, iv:

(9) *ḍarab* (*a*), tv 'to hit, strike, beat': *ḍarabtāha ʕalʔa* 'I gave her a hiding';
ḍarab (*a*), iv 'to beat': *ʔalbi b-yiḍrab* 'my heart is beating';
**ʔaḍrab*, iv 'to go on strike'; **ʔiḍrāb* 'strike', *ʕamalna ʔiḍrāb* 'we held a strike';

2.21. With some verbs the basic stem inventory is reduced to a minimum and the transitive-intransitive (T-I) opposition is represented by only one pole of the latter; in such cases, the adoption of the borrowed **ʔafʕal* tends to have an exclusive lexical motivation:

(i) Transitive pole of the T-I opposition: *faʕal* (*i*), tv / **ʔafʕal*, tv:

(1) *taʕam* (*i*), tv 'to make tasty or flavoursome': *ḥuṭṭi l-kammūn ʕal-ḥuḍār*
ʕašān yiṭʕimu 'put some cumin in the vegetables to give them taste';
**ʔaṭʕam*, tv 'to feed, give to eat': *ʔiṭʕām il-fuʔara f-ramadān ḥalāl* 'it's good
to feed the poor in Ramadan'; with verbal noun **ʔiṭʕām* (see above) and
active participle **miṭʕim*, **muṭʕim*;

(ii) Intransitive pole of the T-I opposition: *fiʕil* (*a*), iv / **ʔafʕal*, iv:

(1) *silim* (*a*), iv 'to stay safe': *min ḥāf silim* (proverb) 'he who fears is safe';
**ʔaslam*, **ʔislam*, iv 'to become a Muslim', with **ʔislām*, **muslim*, etc.; or:

¹² The tv/iv classification cannot safely exclude the subjective factor in interpreting the lexical meaning.

¹³ See *ʔaqām* - *ʔām* in § 1.1 or *ʔawqaf*, *ʔawʔaf* in § 2.2. For a more detailed presentation of **ʔafʕal* as a culturally marked stem in the Cairo Arabic verbal system see §4.

(2) *nizil* (i), iv 'to descend, move downward; to reside': *nizlit* 'alē nu'titēn mayya 'a couple of drops of water fell on it'; 'il-^carabiyya *nizlit fi-maṭabb* 'the car went into a pothole'; *niziltā* 'and aḥūya 'I stayed at my brother's'; **anzal*, tv 'to inspire, reveal (of God): *munzal* 'divinely bestowed (Koran); *kalāmu munzal* 'his word is law, no one dares to disobey him'; with derivatives **inzāl*, **munzil*, **munzal*,

2.3. Weak stems with functional BSP alternation

fāl (u), iv / *fāl* (i), tv / **afāl*, tv (<**af'al*):

(1) {s-w-r}:

sār (u), iv 'to become agitated': 'il-*baḥrī sār* 'the sea became rough'; 'to rebel, rise up': 'il-*wād da mutamarrid sāyir* 'ala *kullā ḥāga* 'that kid is insubordinate, rebelling against everything';

sār (i), tv 'to excite, stimulate': *bi-yi^czif bi-ṭar^a tsīr il-^asāb* 'he plays in a nerve-racking way'; *ḥāga bi-tsīr ihtimāmi* 'something which excites my interest';

**asār*, tv 'to excite stimulate': *riwāya musīra* 'a thrilling story'; **asart il-mawḍū^c min sinīn* 'I brought the matter up years ago'; derivatives: **isāra*; **musīr*, **musār*; or:

(2) {z w-l}:

zāl (u), it 'to cease': 'in-*ni^cma zālit min-wiṣṣu* 'God's grace has left him'; *zāl* (i), tv 'to remove';

**azāl* → *zāl* (i), tv; with derivatives: **izāla*, **muzīl*, as in *muzīl* (*liṣ-ṣada*) 'rust remover';

(3) {d-w-r}:

dār (u), it 'to circle, move in a circle, go around': **amar ṣinā^ci bi-ydūr ḥawalēn il-^aarḍ* 'a satellite orbits the earth; *ḥa-ndūr* 'ala *l-makātib kullāha* 'we'll go round to all the offices'; 'to revolve, rotate': *kullā^cagala bi-tdūr* 'ala *l-^aaks i bta^ha* 'each wheel revolves on its axle';

dār (i), tv 'to turn, change the position of: *dārit ḍaḥrāha liyya* 'she turned her back on me'; 'to manage, administer': *bi-tdīr ṣu^un betha* 'she manages her household affairs';

**adār*, tv 'to manage, administer': *sū^u il-ⁱdāra* ; *maglis il-ⁱdāra* ; *muftāḥ il-ⁱdāra* ; derivatives: **idāra*, **adāra*; **mudīr*, as in *idārit it-taḥⁱṣi^uṣāt* 'the Office of Investigation'; *mudīr* 'manager, director'; *mudīr* 'amm 'director general';

fāl (i), tv / fāl (i), iv / *²afāl, tv (<*²af^cal):

(4) {b-y-d}:

bād (i), tv 'to exterminate, eradicate';

bād (i), iv 'to become extinct';

²*abād* → *bād (i)*, tv; with derivatives: ²*ibāda*; *mubīd*, *mubād*;

(5) {z-y-ʔ}:

zā^c (i), tv 'to broadcast, send out, spread abroad': *ma-tzi^cš il-ḥabar* 'don't spread the news';

zā^c (i), iv 'to become known, be spread abroad': *šīfu zā^c* 'its fame spread'; 'broadcasting station';

*²*azā^c*, tv 'to broadcast (by radio)': *maḥaffit il-ʔizā^ca*; derivatives: *²*izā^ca*;

**muzī^c*, **muzā^c*;

fāl (u), iv / fāl (i), tv / *²afāl, tv / *²afāl, it (<*²af^cal):

(6) {²w-m}:

²*ām (u)*, iv 'to stand, get up, arise': *ām min ʕala l-maktab* 'he got up from the desk'; 'to recover': *ʔumt i min in-nōm* 'I woke up';

²*ām (i)*, tv 'to raise, lift up': *ām ik-kubbāya ʕala šafayfu* 'he raised the cup to his lips'; *ʔimt il-laḥma ʕan-nār* 'I put the meat on the fire'; 'to hold': *ḥa-nʔim farah kibīr* 'we're going to put on a big wedding celebration';

*²*aqām*, tv 'to erect, put up': *niqim-lu timsāl* 'we erect a statue to him';

*²*aqām*, iv 'to stay, reside': *taḥdīd ʔiqāma* (leg.) 'house arrest'; (*taʔšīrit ʔiqāma* 'residence visa'; with derivatives *²*iqāma*, **muqīm*;

fāl (u), tv / fāl (u), iv / fāl (i), tv / *²afāl, tv (<*²af^cal):

(7) {^cw-d}:

^c*ād (u)*, tv 'to cause (times, conditions) to be repeated (of God)': *rabbīna yʕud-ha ʕalēkum bi-ḥēr* 'may Our Lord bring back (these happy days) to you with bounty!;

^c*ād (u)*, iv 'to recur (of times, conditions)': *bi-ʕōda* 'may it be repeated! many happy returns! (felicitation);

^c*ād (i)*, tv 'to redo, do again': *ʔil-muhandis yiʕīd it-tasgīl* 'the engineer does the recording again'; *lāzim ʔaʕīd is-sana* 'I'll have to repeat the year (at school)';

*²*a^cād*, tv 'to cause (times, conditions) to be repeated (of God); 'to redo'; with derivatives *²*i^cāda* 'repetition', **mu^cīd* 'teaching assistant'.

2.31. The minimum basic stem representation with weak stems:

fā^ca, fi^ci (a), tv / *²af^ca (<*²af^cal):

(1) {l-q-y}:

la²a, *li²i* (*a*), tv 'to find, come upon': *la²ēt ik-kitāb id-dāyi^c* 'I found the book that was lost'; 'to realize, perceive': *la²ēt in-nās bi-tbuṣṣīli* 'I realized that people were looking at me';

**alqa*, tv 'to recite, make or deliver (a speech, recitation)': *alqa² aṣīda gamīla min² alfi lēla w-lēla* 'he recited a lovely poem from The Thousand and One Nights'; 'to throw down, drop': *il-²anābil illi ḥa-yilqīha l-^cadiww* 'the bombs which the enemy will drop'; with derivatives **ilqā²*, **mulqi*, **mulqa*.

fāl (*i*), tv / **afāl* (<**afal*):

(2) {*r-y-d*}:

rād (*i*), tv 'to want, will': *illi yrīdu llāh huwwa lli ykūn* 'what God wills is'; *illi yrīdak rīdu wi-lli ḥalab bu^cādak zīdu* (prov.) 'seek those who seek you and those who seek to avoid you avoid with yet greater fervour';

**arād* → *rād*; derivatives: **irāda*, **arāda* 'will'; participles **murīd*, **murād*; or:

(3) {*ṣ-w-b*}:

ṣāb (*i*), tv 'to hit, strike': *in-naṣangi ṣāb il-hadaḥ* 'the marksman struck the target'; *ēn wi-ṣabitni* 'someone gave me the evil eye';

**aṣāb* → *ṣāb* (*i*), tv: *il-mu²min muṣāb* 'the righteous always suffer'; derivatives: **iṣāba* 'injury', participles **muṣīb*, **muṣāb*;

2.32. Basic stems with deficient **afal* representation:

(1) **afal* represented by the imperfective form:

fa^ca (*a*), iv / *fi^ci* (*i*), iv / **yif^ci*, tv (the perfective *fa^ca* (*i*) < **afal* is missing):

{*b-q-y*}:

ba²a (*a*), iv 'to be': *da yib²a gōzik* 'is that your husband?'; *ma tib²aṣ magnūn* 'don't be crazy!';

bi²i (*a*), iv 'to stay, remain': *bi²yu andīna lhadd iṣṣubḥ* 'they stayed with us till morning'; **yib²i* (imperfective) 'to cause to remain, preserve (of God): *rabbīna yib²i ḥayātak* 'may our Lord preserve you!';

(2) **afal* represented by a nominal derivative:

{*t-f-y*}:

fafa (*i*), tv / *fa^ca* (*i*) iv / **if^cāl* (here verbal noun):

fafa (*i*), tv 'to extinguish, put out, turn off (fire, light, radio)': *ifī n-nūr* 'turn off the light';

fafa (*i*), iv 'to go out, become dead (fire, light, engine);

*ʔiḥfāʔ 'fire.fighting'; ʔidārit il-ʔiḥfāʔ 'fire department, fire-brigade';
ʕarabiyyit il-ʔiḥfāʔ 'fire-engine';

3. Basic-stem it/tv oppositions with verbs lacking the *ʔafʕal stem

From the number of very various it/tv relationships currently occurring in Cairo Arabic basic-stem verbal system two cases will be selected for closer attention. The always present distributional and lexical diversity is here somewhat repressed by the necessity to find a solution to the common problem and to make up for the missing stem. The basic-stem inventory of some verbs retains at least some traces of the missing *ʔafʕal while some other verbs seek solutions outside the basic-stem system.

3.1. As observed with verbs previously examined, the *ʔafʕal stem may co-occur with the rest of verbal stems (in the present inquiry, with the basic stem inventory) or may not. In case of its total absence, the need for the missing causativizer, currently represented by *ʔafʕal or its evolutionarily modified *faʕal* (*i*) is all the greater at the basic-stem level as well. The following example will typify derivational relationships in the basic-stem inventory of the latter category of verbs:

fiʕi (< *faʕil*) / *faʕa* (< *faʕal* < *ʔafʕal):

(1) {*h-y*}:

ḥiyi (*a*), iv 'to live': *yihya* (or *yaḥya*) *r-rayyis* 'long live the president!';

ḥaya (*i*), tv 'to give life, to revive, vitalize': *ʔihyīni n-nahar-da w-mawwitni bukra*

(proverb) 'sustain me today and you can do what you like with me tomorrow' (lit. 'give me life today and kill me tomorrow'); 'to perform, stage': *ʔil-firʔa ḥayit sahitēn* 'the group gave two evening performances'.

The *ʔafʕal origin of the Cairo Arabic *ḥaya* (*i*) (< *ʔaḥyā (*yuḥyī*)) seems to be attested by the lack of a transitive (causative) form in the Standard Arabic basic-stem inventory that could match the Cairo Arabic *ḥaya* (*i*), and by the simultaneous occurrence of the Standard Arabic *ʔaḥyā*.

3.2. Even more complicated is the creation of a substitute for the missing *ʔafʕal with certain verbs with pronounced classical colouring which are not currently used in Cairo Arabic in their Standard Arabic meaning and which have no causative stem either at a basic-stem or derived-stem levels. Such extreme cases may involve root reconstruction and transgression of basic-stem limits, as in the verb pair *raʔa* and *warra*:

(1) {*r-ʔ-y*}: *faʕa* (*yafa*), tv:

ra²a (yara) 'to see in a dream or vision': *ra^cēt² ʔabūya lābis ʔabyaḍ f-abyaḍ* 'I dreamt that I saw my father dressed all in white', as opposed to:

(2) {*w-r-y*}: *fā^{cc}a (yifā^{cc}i, yif^{cc}i)*, tv (causative):

warra (yiwarri, yiwri), tv 'to show': *ḥa-nwarrīku šuwar gawazna* 'we'll show you our wedding pictures'; *warrētū ʔinni mistaḡrab min ḡalabu* 'I let him see that I was astonished at his request'.

The Standard Arabic basic-stem inventory of the double-weak *ra^cā*, completed by the causative *ʔaf^cal* within the same root identity, radically differs:

(3) {*r-ʔ-y*}: *ra²ā (yarā)*, tv 'to see, look at; to consider'; *ʔarā*, tv (causative) 'to show, demonstrate'.

4. Formal attributes of the **ʔaf^cal* stem in the Cairo Arabic verbal system are determined by the dual role it plays therein. Owing to the elision of the glottal stop and the subsequent coalescence of **ʔaf^cal* with Cairo Arabic perfective stems *fā^cal*, *fi^cil*, the basic-stem inventory of this colloquial was enriched by a new competing element.

The weakening of the glottal stop in urban dialects may be traced back as early as the era of Middle Arabic in the centuries that followed the great Islamic conquest in the 7th and 8th centuries. Blau collected evidence of the elision of *hamza* in Judaeo-Arabic texts in various syllabic environments: *ḥā²īṭ* > *ḥāyīṭ* 'wall', *ka²s* > *kās* 'cup', and what directly touches our subject, in the word-initial position, like *yā ʔaṣḥābnā* > *yā ṣḥābnā* 'our friends'(vocative).¹⁴

As already hinted at in § 1.2, **ʔaf^cal* reappears in the Cairo Arabic verbal system as a culturally marked stem due to its Standard Arabic origin. This exceptional status, marked by an asterisk in our study, is signalled by several phonological and morphological features that have to mark distinction between it and its evolutionarily modified basic-stem variant *fā^cal*, such as *** (distinctive features may occur either with verbal stems or with their nominal derivatives or with both).

4.1. Ignoring the phonemic substitution *q>ʔ*, characteristic of Cairo Arabic¹⁵ and some other urban-type dialects is perhaps the most outstanding phonological feature, as in the following **ʔaf^cal*-*fā^cal* pairs:

¹⁴ BLAU, J. *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic, p. 75.

¹⁵ Unlike weakening of the glottal stop and its disappearance in certain positions which is part of the general evolutionary trend of Arabic, the transition *q>ʔ* and *ḡ>g* touches predominantly

*²aqām - ²ām (i) (see §2.3 (6)) while, in the perfect, the distinction between marked and unmarked causative stems is indicated in a twofold way, by the presence or absence of the word-initial glottal stop (that occurring with the unmarked stem is a qāf-substituting radical) and by the q / ² distinction, the imperfect has to rely on the latter only: *²iqīm - ²im (ibid.).

Identification of the stem's stylistic value is somewhat obscured by the frequent absence of indicators of markedness at the marked side of the marked-unmarked opposition.

(1) in verbal stems: *²awqaf / *²aw²af (§ 2.2 (5)) or *²aṭlaq / *²atla² (§ 2.2(7)); *²yib²i, in this case, the qāf-variant is missing both in perfective and imperfective stems (§ 2.32(1));

(2) in nominal stems: *²itlāq / *²itlā² (§ 2.2 (7));

4.2. Even more frequent and more diversified are alternative deviations from the norm in the domain of affixes, both in verbal stems and in their nominal derivatives:

(1) verbal stems: *²aslam / *²islam (§ 2.21);

(2) nominal derivatives: *²idāra / *²adāra (§ 2.3(3)); *²irāda / *²arāda (§ 2.31); *²muḏfi^c / *²miḏfi^c (§2.2(2)); *²munšī² / *²minšī² (§2.2(8)); *²muṭ^cim / *²miṭ^cim (§ 2.21).¹⁶

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Egypt.. For the q² substitution the regional frame has to further narrowed down to Cairo and Lower Egypt. The chronology of these changes is uncertain. Cf. BIRKELAND, H. *Growth and Structure of the Egyptian Arabic Dialect*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁶ In some cases twofold deviations may take place affecting both the radical and affix of the marked stem, as in *²muṭliq / miṭli² (§2.2(7)).

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Symbols and abbreviations used

- * – the asterisk with Standard Arabic units indicates hypothetical etymology, as in *qāma* < **qawama*, while with Cairo Arabic stems it points to the Standard Arabic origin, as in **²awqaf*, **²aw²af* or **²aqām*, **yiqīm*. For the sake of economy and transparency the asterisk is noted only in headlines of the descriptive parts of the texts; the unnoted marked stems in the examples quoted, are considered sufficiently singled out by this reduced notation.

- CA – Cairo Arabic;
 SA – Standard Arabic;
 iv – intransitive verb;
 tv – transitive verb;
 T-I – transitive-intransitive.

Transcription

The Romanized transcription used in BADAWI, El-Said and HINDS, M. *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic. Arabic-English* has been slightly modified in the present study. In view of its alphabetic arrangement, no page indications follow the data quoted.