

## REVIEW ARTICLES

### GRAMMAR OF CAIRO ARABIC

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MANFRED, Woidich. *Das Kairenisch-Arabische. Eine Grammatik*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium. Neue Serie. Herausgegeben von Werner Diem und Lutz Edzard. Bd. 22. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006. XXX + 444 p. ISBN 3-447- 05315-1.

Hinds-Badawi, the first really comprehensive and modern 20<sup>th</sup> century Egyptian Arabic-English lexicon, is followed by an excellent, unprecedentedly detailed Cairo Arabic grammar that cannot be compared to anything so far published.

The careful and well-thought out selection of sources helped to settle the intricate problem of identification that complicates dialectological work in areas with diglossic communication. The question of what is Cairo Arabic as distinct from registers standing closer to the codified Standard, irrespective of whether Classical or Modern Written Arabic, is not easy to answer. The overwhelming influence of the Standard Arabic (SA) grammar and lexicon is always present and not a single colloquial word or phrase, especially those orally uttered, can be safely protected from its impact. The cultural scale of the amazingly rich multi-thematic sources is strictly kept in the interval that a typical native Cairene can take for his own. Apart from providing the information needed, Woidich's sources can to a rarely observed degree, by mere sequential interaction, control and confirm their own Cairene identity.

Cairo Arabic really deserves a grammar of the size and inner quality of that just published in the respected series of Porta linguarum orientaliu. No colloquial variety of Arabic stands closer to the so far theoretical perspective of becoming the true national language of an Arab country than Egyptian, or better, Cairo Arabic. The

persistent conservative impact of Classical Arabic, the honoured and respected medium of the cultural heritage (*turāf taqāfi*) and that of the divine revelation, prevents the fulfilment of this natural, linguistic evolution over more than a millenium.

The book consists of nine fundamental parts: 1. Phonology (1.0. Phonologie, p. 7-38), 2. Morphology (2.0. Morphologie, p. 39-168), and seven parts dealing with syntax: 3. Syntax I: Simple sentence (Der einfache Satz, p.169-181), 4. Syntax II: Nominal phrase (Die Nominalphrase, p. 182-244), 5. Syntax III: Verbal phrase (Die Verbalphrase, p. 245-333), 6. Syntax IV: Negation (Die Negation, p. 334-349), 7. Syntax V: Towards the syntax of the personal pronoun (Zur Syntax des Personalpronomens, p. 350-357), Syntax VI: Sentence types (Satztypen, p. 358-371), and 9. Subordinate clauses (Untergeordnete Sätze, p. 372-402).

The introductory parts include an extraordinarily detailed Contents (Inhalt, p. V-XXVIII), which together with the Thematic index (Sachindex, p.425-436) and Word index (Wortindex, p. 437-444) largely help the reader to find the information needed. Abbreviations (Abkürzungen, p. XXV), Description of sources (Quellenangaben, p. XXVI), Transcription (p. XXVI-XXVII), and a Prologue (Vorwort, p. XXIX) complete the introductory items.

The inventory of segmental phonemes whose phonemic status is confirmed by minimal distinctive pairs opens the phonological description. The basic inventory is completed by individual variants, mostly missing in current phonological studies in spite of their special importance for dialectological research in areas with well developed diglossic communication.

With vowels, we are not convinced that introducing dependence between the speech tempo and phonemic status of *e*, *o* vs. *i*, *u* (< *ē*, *ō*) would add to the transparency of the description (p. 7). At any rate, we would certainly prefer to write either *gebna* 'our pocket', *betha* 'her house' or *gibna*, *bitha*, irrespective of the speech speed, the same for *yomha* or *yumha* 'her day', *'olna* or *'ulna* 'our speech', irrespective of the emergence of disturbing homonymous pairs like *gibna* 'cheese', *gibna* 'our pocket', and even *gibna* 'we brought s. th.'

The lucid and well-documented presentation of phonotactics (15-27), dealing with pause-related processes, distribution of segmental phonemes, phoneme clusters, syllabic structure, pharyngealization, are providing data of interest for the forthcoming treatment of morphonology.

Pharyngeal coarticulation (Emphase, p. 23-27), one of the essential part of phonotactics, is conceived as a suprasegmental phenomenon. Non-etymological, mainly *r*-centered pharyngealization (sekundäre Emphase), that plays an extremely important role in Cairo Arabic, is given prominent attention. Its phonemic status is attested by minimal pairs and the treatment of its emergence, spread and extent, as well as its loss in some phonetic environments, is one of the best ever written for Cairo Arabic.

Equally impressive are paragraphs dealing with Cairo Arabic morphonology and related phenomena (§ 1.3, p. 27-38) which provide all data needed for correctly understanding the living structure of the latter.

Elision of long vowels (Elision langer Vokale, 30-31), one of the very basic morphonological features, does not seem to be quite suitable heading for cases like *ma+tlgi+š* > *ma+tgī+š* or *ma+fīha+š* > *ma+fhā+š*. It is surely not the long vowel which

is immediately elided but the short one in the unrepresented medial stage of the explanatory sequence: *ma+ tigi+š* > *ma+tigi+š* > *ma+tgī+š* or *ma-fiha+š* > *ma + fiha+š* > *ma-fhā+š*.

Similarly, in constructions like *ramētu* > *ma-ramatūs* or *ḥabbētu* > *ma-ḥabbatūs* ( -a- aus -ē-, p.35) it might have been less ambiguous to speak about a substitution of -a- for -e-, as in *ramētu* > *ma-rametūs* > *ma-ramatūs* or *ḥabbētu* > *ma-ḥabbetūs* > *ma-ḥabbatūs*.

The following part of the monograph, Morphology, though much shorter than parts dealing with syntax, offers nonetheless a truly comprehensive, lavishly documented and well-organized morphological description of Cairo colloquial.

The description of pronominal suffixes and a great number of highly relevant related features, such as possessive suffixes linked to adverbs: *lissāya*, *lissāk*; variations of the type *ma-šuftikš* / *ma-šuftikīš*, the -ī- connector, as in *gambīna* (besides regular *gambina*) or *baʿdīhum* (besides regular *baʿduhum*), and many others (p. 43), are important details mostly missing in current descriptions.

Misprints in the enormous mass of data are surprisingly rare and their correction, suggested by the surrounding context, is mostly self-evident. Some of them: *ma-baʿatit-hā-lū-š* → *ma-baʿatit-ha-lū-š* (42), *ʾōdit ilmaktab bitāʿti* → *ʾōdit ilmaktab bitaʿti* (43).

In the verbal morphology two sets of pairwise organized derived stems are distinguished:

Stems I, II, III and stems t-I, t-II, t-III, the latter set being the reflexive-passive parallel of the former (p. 66 f.). This part of the derived stem system is substantially predictable. Nevertheless, the predictability of this dual arrangement cannot safely be extended to all members of the system. It might have been useful to hint at the two series of the t-II stems: (1) (*šallaḥ* 'to repair' >) *iṭšallaḥ* 'to be repaired', and (2) (*kallim* 'to address s.o., speak' >) *itkallim* 'to speak, talk'. While the (1) - type stems represent substantially predictable causative vs. passive-reflexive opposition and may serve as model for a great number of verbs, the (2) - type stems are lexically bound and their semantic and syntactic properties are unpredictable. The distinction between the two is a matter of lexicon.

Stems inKaKaK, iKtaKaK, iKKaKK and istaKKaK are reflexes of the Standard Arabic VII, VIII, IX and X stem forms, in the traditional number indexing, with more or less clearly perceptible Standard Arabic semantic impact.

A number of Standard Arabic IV - stem borrowings, such as *arsal* - *yirsil* 'to send', *azāʿ* - *yizīʿ* 'to broadcast', *aʿdam* - *yīʿdim* 'to execute', with the irreplaceable verbal nouns *izāʿa* 'radio broadcast' or *iʿdām* 'execution, capital punishment', etc. make wonder why this stem was not found worthy of at least a short mention in the derived stem paragraphs. Although unproductive and, by force of natural phonological evolution even deprived of its perfective stem formative, the word-initial glottal stop, its presence may be nevertheless attested in the vowelling of imperfect forms with some types of weak verbs, like *ʾām* - *yīʾūm* 'to stand (up), to rise' (SA I: *qām* - *yaqūm*), contrasting with *ʾām* - *yīʾūm* 'to raise, erect' (SA IV: *aqām* - *yuqīm*).

Of invaluable lexical interest are numerous hints at grammatically undecidable options between theoretically equivalent phenomena, such as deciding between the ground stem modelled internal passive of the pattern *maKKūk* and the respective *t*-stem passive. The choice between the passive-forming strategies in sets like \* *mitsili*, \*

*mitkitib*, \**mitgisil* → *maslū*, *maktūb*, *maḡsūl*, as against \**mabyū*<sup>c</sup>, \**mašyūl* → *mitbā*<sup>c</sup>, *mitšāl* cannot be settled in terms of grammar and is relegated to the domain of lexicon. The limits of the grammatical description, compensated by valuable lexical suggestions, are systematically presented in numerous additional notes (*Anmerkungen*) that follow basic descriptive paragraphs. Another grammatically untreatable option occurs with participial *mu-*, *mi-* prefixes, as in *mu-*: *mudarris*, *mubāšir*, *mustaḥīl*; and alternating *mu-/mi-*: *munāsib* / *mināsib*, *mulawwas* / *milawwis*, and the like (p. 85).

The notion of root (Wurzel) is first mentioned with the structure of verbal stems (p. 60). The root is said to consist (typically) of three or four radicals (Basiskonsonanten). Accordingly, Woidich's base (Basis) identifies with the simplest thematic unit made up of the set of root consonants and that of intra-root vowels (pattern morpheme). The latter definition, however, exclusively refers to the segmentable, non-sequential root morpheme. It might have been of interest to indicate here that four-consonantal roots represent the upper limit of roots compatible with internal (pattern-marked) procedures of inflection and derivation, and that roots surpassing the latter limit (including long vowels and diphthongs in atypical positions) have the status of morphemically non-segmentable, that is sequential root-words. In view of several paragraphs dealing with or quoting loanwords in various contexts, of equal interest would have been the information that the monomorphemic structures of root words frequently alternate with multimorphemic roots, as in

monomorphemic, sequential:	multimorphemic, nonsequential:
<i>duktūr</i> , <i>duktōr</i> , <i>daktūr</i> 'doctor'	<i>dakatra</i> , plural (i),
<i>faylasūf</i> , <i>filasūf</i> , <i>falyasūf</i> 'philosopher'	<i>falasfa</i> , plural (i),
	<i>falsafa</i> 'philosophy' (d), <i>itfalsif</i> (d), etc.,
<i>tilifōn</i> 'telephone (call)'	<i>talfana</i> , verbal noun (d),
	<i>talfīn</i> , 'to telephone' (d), etc. <sup>1</sup>

A remote parallel with the disability of roots exceeding the quadriliteral limit to make use of the intra-root procedures are periphrastic elatives from some types of derived participles with added consonantal stem formatives: (lexically marked elatives) *mit'allima aktar* 'more educated (fem.)', *mista'gil aktar* 'more hurried' as against (internal elatives): *munāsib* - *ansab* 'more suitable', *muhimm* - *ahamm* 'more important' (for the examples, p. 126).

As is mostly the case, the basic description is followed by additional notes some of them of really first-rate importance: note 1: substantive-related elatives: *zift* > *azfat*, *gada*<sup>c</sup> > *agda*<sup>c</sup>; note 2: *ma* + elative exclamative phrases: *ya maḥla layāli l'ūd* (p. 127).

The list of noun patterns (Nominal Schemata, 90-105) is the starting point of nominal morphology. The nominal forms are listed in groups introduced by symbolic patterns with basic morpho-semantic characteristics. The form *labbāna* 'milk bottle', for instance, listed under the pattern KaKKāKa, characterized as an instrumental, intensive and, for the example quoted, as a local pattern indicating the place where something

<sup>1</sup> For the last three examples see Badawi, El-Said and Hinds, M. A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic. Arabic-English. The transcription and translation is somewhat modified. Respectively, the (i), (d) symbols stand for 'inflection' and 'derivation'.

takes place (p. 99), reappears somewhat later, in the paragraph listing external plurals in *-a*, *labbāna* 'milkmen' (p. 116). The singular form of the latter, introduced by the pattern KaKKāK, i.e. *labbān* 'milkman', is described as a pattern indicating professions (p. 95). In spite of the fact, that everything is quoted in the right place, the mass of data combined with formal collisions sometimes even more involved than that just listed, might appear confusing to the average reader. The intelligent web of cross-references that effectively guide the reader throughout the book, might have been extended a bit further to reach, were it in part only, paragraphs dealing with functions signalled by formally fused inflectional and/or derivational markers.

The multifunctionality of suffixal markers, like that observed with the Cairo Arabic *-a* in *labbāna*, occur in all varieties of Arabic and may affect various other functions and their combinations (illustrated with the suffix *-a* in Standard Arabic noun patterns, with direct or indirect reflexes in Cairo Arabic):

*fallāḥ* 'peasant' - *fallāḥa* 'peasant woman': sex-gender (inflectional relationship (ir))  
 - *fallāḥa* / *fallāḥīn* 'peasants': plural (ir);

*ṭayyār* 'pilot, aviator' - *ṭayyāra* 'woman pilot': sex-gender (ir) - *ṭayyāra* 'airplane': instrumental (derivational relationship (dr));

in some cases it may be difficult to distinguish between inflectional and word-formational relationships: *xayyāl* 'horseman, rider' - *xayyāla* / *xayyālīn* 'riders': plural (ir) - *xayyāla* 'cavalry': collective (dr), etc.

Under the heading of derivational suffixes (Derivationssuffixe, p. 105-109) all functional classes of Cairo Arabic suffixes are listed together, namely inflectional markers (i) side by side with both types of derivational suffixes: derivational-and-inflectional (di) and derivational (d) suffixes:

i – class: *-a* in *malika* 'queen' (*malik*);

di – class: *-a* in *mōza* '(one) banana' (*mōz*), where:

d – function: the unit noun (UN) oneness, as opposed to the generic nature of collective nouns (CN);

i – function: feminine gender (UN) in contrast to the masculine (CN);

d – class: e.g. the adjectivizer *-ī*, such as *yōmī* 'daily' (*yōm*), *ḡagari* 'gypsy- (adj.) subst.: (one) gypsy' (CN: *ḡagar*); in the last case the suffix *-ī* operates as a oneness marker in relation to another type of collective nouns; the variants of *-ī* such as *-āwī*, *-ānī*, *-ātī*, *-gī*, etc., behave similarly.

In tune with the accepted inflectional classification of gender and sex-gender pairs, the female-feminine marker *-a* in *malika*, *tilmīza*, *uṭṭa*, etc. does not form part of the derivational suffixes.

Moreover, the inflectional category of gender (Genus der Substantive, § 2.4.8, p. 111) is classified apart from the following § 2.4.9., dealing with inflection (Flexion der Substantive, p. 112). As is evident, the grammatical category of gender is treated independently of the dual category of sex-gender in *malik-malika*, *tilmīz-tilmīza*, *uṭṭ-uṭṭa*, as commented above. Disregarding its atypical location out of the sphere of inflection, the treatment of gender is excellent, like most of the topics treated in Woidich's *Grammatik*.

The category dealt with under the heading *Flexion der Substantive* (p.111) is number (Numerus). Here, once again, together with the inflectional triad singular-dual-plural, all types of derivational relationships are examined (CN-UN: *naxl-naxla*, mass nouns-partitive nouns: *xašab-xašaba* (105), collective nouns: *i*-marked unit nouns: *rūs-rūsi*, etc.

It must be recognized, however, that transgressing the accepted dividing lines between inflectional and derivational phenomena has also some hidden advantages of its own. In the present case, it made possible to approach the notion of oneness from a broad perspective:

inflectional one (singular), related to two (dual), and more than two (plural),  
at the same level as:

derivational one (unitness), related to any number, one included, of the generically featured collectiveness or, with various shared connotations, such as partitively coloured oneness related to the generically modelled mass nouns, etc.

Even the exclusion of sex-gender from grammatical categories might have some justification because its biological component is more closely associated with word-formational and lexical phenomena than with those of the abstract grammar. A number of lexical units, exposed to various social and cultural constraints, dismantle the coherence of sex-gender pairs: the male-masculine *gallād* 'executioner' has, in all probability, no female-feminine opposite, as on the other hand, the female-feminine *naddāba* 'hired female mourner' does not seem to be paralleled on the male side.

In Syntax I three types of simple sentence are distinguished: nominal, verbal and prepositional sentences, the latter including sentences introduced by the existential particle *fī* 'there is', as in *fī šila bēn ilḥadsēn* 'there is a connection between the two accidents' (169 – 174). Special attention is paid to the indefinite subject in nominal sentences which is given a thorough analysis in Syntax II (p. 182-183). The compatibility of indefinite subject with particular sentence types was examined: desiderative sentences, like *lahwa tilhik* 'may a misfortune meet you!', exclamative sentences after *izzāy* and *yāma*: *izzāy insān yib'a 'addi kida biyhibb* 'how can a man love so much!', elliptical existential sentences followed by a relative clause *'utubusāt iṣṣa'la'it* '(there were) busses that were ensnared', and a number of other syntactic and lexical environments, such as jokes and anecdotes: *farēn miṣṣaḥbīn ba'ḍ...* 'two mice lived in mutual friendship', and much more. To my best knowledge, no other source in Arabic dialectology offers a better description of nominal sentences with indefinite subjects. The minute details and admirably selected true-to-life illustrative examples are really impressive (these features characterize, after all, the whole of Woidich's *Grammatik*).

The primary concern of Syntax II is nominal phrases (NPs) in a basic dichotomous classification: NPs with postposed and those with preposed modifiers. NPs with postposed modifiers (postmodifizierende NP) are: status constructus, annexing (Genitivverbindung /Annexion): *bāb (il)bēt*; attributive constructions (attributive Verbindungen): *bēt kibīr* (Adjektiv), *kīs balastik* (badal-NP), and *talāta rūs* (Numeralphrase) (p. 186).

The reference range of the term 'attributive', exclusively applied to the latter group, is certainly much wider, since it covers, in current terminology, all structural



manifestations of the head-modifier relationship. *Genitivverbindung* does not seem to be a suitable covering for noun + noun constructions in a *caseless* colloquial like Cairo Arabic. Fortunately, however, owing to the tradition imported from the classical grammar, the term is generally accepted (by the Arabists and Semitists, at the very least).

NPs with preposed modifiers include: quantifiers (Quantoren); a somewhat innovative collection of what the author calls status indicators (Statusanzeiger) exhibiting general meanings of identity, non-identity, equivalence, indifference and exclusivity; further, elatives and ordinal numbers and, finally, subordinative numeral phrases (186-188).

It seems somewhat strange that in this list of NPs no mention of the coordinative variants thereof may be found, either of a conjunctive (*walad wi bint* 'a boy and a girl') or a disjunctive type (*ilbinti walla lwalad* 'the girl or the boy'), even if these relationships are exhaustively treated in various other paragraphs of the *Grammatik*.

The treatment of *bitā*<sup>c</sup>-phrases (§ 4.3.5.2, p. 228-233, and related paragraphs) is one of the best ever written for Cairo Arabic. All particulars of the relatively involved syntax and phraseology are presented in reasonably organized paragraphs, detailed but still lucid and transparent descriptions. The selection and quality of illustrative examples and the way they are exploited in the pregnant system of descriptive statements is truly admirable.

The connotative oppositions in § 4.3.5.2.4, such as *sitti* 'my grandmother' - *issitti bta*<sup>c</sup>*ti* 'my wife' (232) or *fiṅṅān* 'ahwa 'a cup of coffee' - *fiṅṅān bitā*<sup>c</sup> 'ahwa 'a coffee cup' (233) reveal some differences between the two, first of all in the very nature of the opposition itself. While the latter, with *bitā*<sup>c</sup> in the role of a specifier, is a true binary opposition between the *zero/bitā*<sup>c</sup> structures where the lexical identity of the head (*fiṅṅān*) remains substantially intact, the former example, with *bitā*<sup>c</sup> (*bita*<sup>c</sup>*t*) as a possessivizer, shows a more involved picture. Here, apart from the *zero/bitā*<sup>c</sup> opposition, the head (*/is/sitti*) in any of the two members of the opposition (H1, H2) is semantically opposed to its own meaning as an autonomous lexical unit (H):

H: *sitt* 'lady, woman',

H1: *sitt* in *zero-bitā*<sup>c</sup> possessive phrase: 'grandmother',

H2: *sitt* in *bitā*<sup>c</sup> possessive phrase: 'wife (in marital relationship)', as against:

H: *fiṅṅān* 'cup',

H1: *fiṅṅān* 'ahwa 'a cup of coffee',

H2: *fiṅṅān bitā*<sup>c</sup> 'ahwa 'a coffee cup'.

Furthermore, *Grammatik* effectively contributes to the correction of a number of erroneous claims perpetuated in the literature. The definitional status of the head in *bitā*<sup>c</sup> phrases is one of them. The obligatory definiteness, postulated for the head by Wise<sup>2</sup>, is clearly countermanded by the material evidence gathered in Woidich's monograph (see e.g. *fiṅṅān bitā*<sup>c</sup> 'ahwa and many other occurrences of indefinite *bitā*<sup>c</sup> phrases).

On the other hand, however, Wise's translation of *iššāṇṭa bita*<sup>c</sup>*ti* 'the bag is mine'<sup>3</sup> reminded me of a casual discussion on the possibility of an alternative

<sup>2</sup> Wise, H., A transformational Grammar of Spoken Egyptian Arabic, 1975, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, correctly *iššāṇṭa bta*<sup>c</sup>*ti*.

attributive/predicative reading of *bitā<sup>c</sup>* phrases with the definite head I had, many years ago, with my students, mostly native Cairenes, in the Czech department of Madrast il'Alsun. Only some of them found both interpretations fully acceptable. As for *Grammatik*, I do not remember coming across a single essentially interpreted *bitā<sup>c</sup>* phrase, but I am ready to admit that I may have missed its occurrence.

The phrase syntax, in Syntax III, is completed with a highly valuable and truly substantial treatment of the verbal phrases, the most extensive single part of the *Grammatik* and the one equipped with the richest and most elaborate material documentation.

As the head of verbal phrases is the verb which has, in pro-drop languages like Arabic, an inflectionally based inherent subject, the related meta-language has to reflect this special status throughout the whole VP discussion. In paragraphs treating the syntax of verbal phrases with or without object complements, the intransitive verbs are said to be devoid of obligatory complements (*Ergänzung*) except their subjects (V+zero, p. 254). The Arabic verb, however, no matter whether transitive or intransitive, need not and cannot be obligatorily completed by the subject, as it already has it and, in the case of a non-inherent subject of any structural type, its addition cannot be qualified as obligatory, either.

The notion of intransitivity is subsequently confronted with the closely related feature of medio-passiveness (medio-passivische Verben, p. 255) in a hint at this aspect of intransitivity and a set of transitive verbs restated in this sense. Besides its theoretical import, the paragraph widens the insight into formally unattestable lexical and phraseological phenomena.

The syntax of object complements (V+Objekt, p.255-262) offers a semantically finely classified and well-attested syntax of ditransitive verbs confronted with various aspects of verbal transitivity. The inventory of VP complements is closed with non-object, mostly circumstantial extensions (262-269).

The reader will surely appreciate that the simple verbal phrase (einfache Verbalphrase, 270-310), consisting of the verb in the form of perfect, *bi*-imperfect, *'ammāl*-imperfect, *ḥa*-imperfect, *y*-imperfect, active participle (aktives Partizip) and imperative, is treated in fully autonomous paragraphs each of which provided with a complete syntactic documentation. The contrastive presentation of inchoativeness and non-inchoativeness, expressed by verbs and active participles, belongs to the highlights of Syntax III. More involved VP structures are examined as complex verbal phrases, some types of periphrasis and several verb pairs (p. 310-333).

The phenomenon of Verb pairs (Verbpaare, 332-333), their emergence, their lexical and syntactic properties and the types of VP in which they tend to occur, present topics not easily retrievable in current descriptions and their lexical entity is mostly ignored in related lexicons. The small list of verb pairs, included in *Grammatik*, shedding some light to the types of VP compatible with them, is highly instructive. Some of them: *ba<sup>c</sup>at gāb* (lit. 'to send + to bring) 'to let bring, to have s.th. brought' in *yib<sup>c</sup>atu ygību min maşrı fsix* 'they get salted fish brought from Cairo' or *bassı la'a* (lit.: 'to look at + to



meet, find') 'to get aware of, to notice, find' in: *kamān sana 'aw sanatēn ḥatbuṣṣi tlā'i 'ibnak kibir* 'one or two years more, and you will find that your son has grown up'.<sup>4</sup>

Syntactic aspects of the negation and those of the personal pronoun are treated in Syntax IV and V respectively.

The subject of the last two parts is sentential syntax. In Syntax VI interrogative (358-367), exclamative (367-368), and desiderative sentences (368-371) are examined. The indicative sentence, the most currently occurring sentence type in the *Grammatik* and, moreover, the one serving as a fundamental material basis for the analysis and demonstration of a variety of linguistic phenomena, is not included in the list of sentence types. The reason may only be guessed at.

In the long list of Syntax VII topics the relative clauses (RC) are surprisingly missing and their taxonomic identity has to be pasted together from paragraphs out of the stream of the actual discussion, scattered throughout the voluminous monograph. The hasty summary that follows has to make up for this gap.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The lexical feature of verb grouping, that has in Cairo Arabic a slightly idiomatic ring and seems to be limited to a small number of two-verb units, may be extremely productive in some other languages and pervade the whole lexicon in substantially free semantic associations. Some examples from Standard Korean (*kwuke, hankwuk mal*) verb groups, currently described as verb compounds, where besides two-verb units more complex structures may occur as well.

two-verb units:

*kwup-ta* 'toast, broil' + *mek-ta* 'eat' > *kwuk-e mek-ta* 'broil (and) eat', i.e. 'eat what had been previously broiled', as in *Chelswu-nun pam-ul kwuw-e mek-ess-ta* 'Ch. broiled and ate the chestnut' (-*ta* declarative mood marker, -*nun*: topic m., -*ul*: object m. -*e*: connector, -*ess*: past tense m., *pam*: chestnut);

*nal-ta* 'fly' + *ka-ta* 'go (out, away), travel' > *nal-a ka-ta* 'fly away', in *say-ka nal-a ka-ss-ta* 'the bird(s) flew away' (*say*: bird, -*ka*: nominative marker, -*a*: connector, -*ss* /\**a-ss*/: past tense m.) (Kang, S.-M., A comparative analysis of SVCs and Korean V-V compounds, p. 6-7; morpheme glossing simplified); three-verb unit:

*nal-ta* 'see above' + *ka-ta* 'see above' + *pe-li-ta* 'finish, get through, get /it/ done' > *nal-a ka-(\*)a pe-li-ta* 'fly away /completely, definitively, irreversibly/, as in: *heyllikhopte . . . nal-a ka-(\*)a pe-li-ess-ta* 'the helicopter . . . definitively flew away' (Korean version of Orwell's novel '1984', p. 30).

<sup>5</sup> To avoid problems resulting from an over-abundant and partly incongruous RC-related terminology, the following system of reference, derived from the type of coreferentiality, will be used:

A+R RCs: relative clauses where the head noun, antecedent (A), and relativizer, relative pronoun (R) operate as two autonomous coreferential terms, as in: *ikkitāb illi štarētū* (51); typically following a definite A;

(attributiver Relativsatz (Grammatik, p. 199); adjektivischer Relativsatz (Reckendorf, H. Arabische Syntax, p. 420, 435), Attributsatz (El-Ayoubi, Fischer, Langer. Syntax der Arabischen Schriftsprache der Gegenwart, Teil I, Band 1, p. 29 (→ Syntax 2001); Fischer, W. Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch, p. 187, 193));

The attributive RCs are subdivided into syndetic (A+R RCs), like *il'aṭṭāl illi rayḥa ṣṣubḥ ilmadāris* 'the children who are going to school in the morning' (ibid.) and asyndetic (A(R) RCs) relative clauses, such as *di ḥāga txuṣṣini 'ana* 'it is something that concerns (only) me'. The former typically follow a definite, the latter an indefinite A (p. 199).

The AR RCs, that have no autonomous taxonomic identity in *Grammatik*, are mostly referred to as RCs with *illi* operating as an independent relative pronoun (*illi* als selbständiges Relativpronomen, p. 51) in relative constructions, like • a. *illi fāt fāt* 'what happened, happened' (51) or • b. *inta 'amalt illi 'alēk* 'you made what was your duty' (248) or • c. *da miš sirir illi nāyim 'a l'aṣṣ* 'it is not the bed of who is sleeping on the ground' (191). The monofunctionality of the A+R and A(R) RCs (attributiveness), overtly contrasting with the multifunctionality typical of the AR RCs (a-RC in subject, b-RC in object, and c-RC in attribute position), would have deserved an unambiguous taxonomic and terminological distinction as a prerequisite for establishing the structural and functional hierarchy of RCs.

Nevertheless, the typical relationship between the definitional state of A and the occurrence or non-occurrence of A, as stated above, may be invalidated in a number of cases, e.g. in RC-featured explicative additions, such as: *t'ulṣi bniṣrab zarnix, illi nnās bitmūt bi* 'you mean we drink arsenic, the one, the people are dying of' (199).

Considerable attention is paid to constructions transformable, under certain circumstances, into RCs. Asyndetic prepositional phrases following a definite head noun belong to the type of phrases that may take the form of a syndetic relative clause (A+R RC) for purposes of emphasis or identity marking: *'askari 'a lbāb* 'a policeman at the doorway' → *il'askari illi 'a lbāb* 'the policeman at the doorway' or *'uzzāb zayyak* 'bachelors like you' → *il'uzzāb illi zayyak* 'the bachelors like you' (234). Another type of potential RCs are phrases or sentences with local adverbs, such as: (asyndetic phrase) *ilmahallāt hina fiha ḥagāt tigannin* 'the shops here offer things that drive you crazy' (syndetic A+R RC) *wi mīn ilmuwazzāfin illi hina?* 'who are the government employees here?' (ibid.).

Not quite sure, once again, that the following notice would not duplicate results of some of the unheaded paragraphs indirectly referring to the RC discussion, we would like to stress the importance of the definitional status of head nouns in attesting the identity of reduced RC constructions and in clearing up the ambiguities associated with them. The reduced RC with an indefinite head noun, like *ṣufti binti mašya fi ššāri* '1

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AR RCs:: relative clauses whose A and R operate as a single R-centered unit: *illi 'aḍḍu tti'bān yixāf min ilḥabl* (201) or *inta 'amalt illi 'alēk* (248);

(no separate RC typ specified, § 2.2.5 Relativpronomen: *illi* als selbständiges Relativpronomen (Grammatik, p. 51); substantivischer Relativsatz (Reckendorf, H., ibid.; Relativsatz (Syntax, ibid.); substantivierte Sätze oder Relativsätze (Fischer, W. p. 187, 191)).

A(R) RCs: asyndetic relative clauses where A simultaneously substitutes for the missing R in a single A-centered coreferential unit, as in: *di ḥāga txuṣṣini 'ana* (199); typically following an indefinite A (terminology and basic functional characteristics equal those of A+R RCs).

saw a girl walking in the street' offer a temporal-clause (or a *ḥāl*-clause) reading: *šuftu bintu w hiyya (kānit) mašya fi ššāri*<sup>6</sup> 'I saw a girl as she was walking in the street' and, at the same time, a RC interpretation: *šuftu bintu kānit mašya fi ššāri*<sup>6</sup> 'I saw a girl who was walking in the street' The constructions with definite head nouns do not admit a RC reading: *šuft ilbintu mašya fi ššāri*<sup>6</sup> 'I saw the girl walking in the street'.<sup>6</sup>

The linear orientation of RCs in the position of modifiers differs from that observed with phrasal attributes. While these are organized along with a bipartite division into pre-nominal (prämodifizierende NP: *kull mudarris, kull irriggāla, nafs ilwalad, mugarrad šudfa*) and post-nominal modifiers (postmodifizierende NP: *bāb (il)bēt, bēt kibīr*, p. 186-7), all structural RC types are post-nominally oriented, as their unique option: A+R RC: *ilmuṣība lli iḥna fiha di miš 'amalu* 'this trouble we have got into is not his work' (199); A(R) RC: *šāyif innik sittu 'andaha karāma* 'I think that you are a lady with dignity' (200), and AR RC: *illi 'aḍḍu tti'bān yixāf min ilḥabl* 'who was bitten by a snake, is afraid from a rope' (201).

The § 9.16 presents the description of *ḥāl*-type clauses (Zustandssätze, p. 394-400), divided into temporal and modal types. They are said to refer to the subject (S) or object (O), i.e. the antecedent (A), in the matrix clause in the position of *Prädikativum*,<sup>7</sup> as in *wā'if atfarrag w ana sākit* (S) or *ma-ḥaddiṣ yi'ati'ni w ana bakkallim* (O) (p. 394). In the verbal-phrase section (Syntax III, p. 264-5), covered by the term, *qualitative Prädikation*, *ḥāl* is presented as a sentence part displaying the same range of reference, namely to A, represented by S, with intransitive verbs: *w iḥna ništaḡalluhum xaddamīn*, or by O, with transitive verbs, as in *midaxxalāni širik fi kazā mašrū*<sup>6</sup> (264).

As is evident, the traditional *ḥāl* of Classical Arabic grammar received, in *Grammatik*, a predicatively coloured shape as a part of the predicative relationship itself, viz. *qualitative Prädikation*. The weak point of a similar interpretation consists in the reference of the latter type of predication to the antecedent (A) and not to the subject (S) alone. A substantially identical approach may be found in *Syntax 2001* (see note 5) where this modifier was promoted to the position of secondary predicate (*Nebenprädikat* or *Prädikament*, p. 24) with the same type of reference.

In describing the syntactic position of *ḥāl* it might be helpful to moderate in a way its too exclusive predicative representation by bringing it closer to attributive (A /S,O/ ← *ḥāl*) and/or circumstantial (V ← *ḥāl*) relationships. Unfortunately, however, neither of these relationships, displaying unique reference, satisfactorily defines its actual syntactic behaviour. The circumstantial model is reflected in the concept of *circumstantial qualifier*, used by Badawi, E. (et al.) both at the phrasal level (p. 156-159) and in the sentential syntax (p. 579-587).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Wise, H. op. cit., pp. 90-92; transcription adapted to that used in *Grammatik*

<sup>7</sup> The term *Zustandsakusativ*, used in grammars of Classical Arabic as an equivalent to *ḥāl*, can no longer be properly applied to the description of caseless colloquials. Notwithstanding the fact, the term reappears from time to time in Arabic dialectology.

<sup>8</sup> Badawi, E., Carter, M.G., Gully, A. Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar.

The dual reference of this sentence part can be attested in formal terms:  
*inta getni lmu'assasa māšī* 'you came to me in the agency on foot' (262).

A    V                      *ḥāl*

*ḥāl* → A (formal evidence: agreement in gender and number),

*ḥāl* → V (formal evidence: caseless Arabic: none; Standard Arabic: accusative).

In spite of the unquestionable closeness of the *ḥāl* to predication, misleading terms implying identity between the two concepts (*Nebenprädikat*, see above; *qualitative Prädikation*, Woidich, 264; etc.) should be avoided. The tentative coinage 'pseudopredicate' might point out the close affinity between the *ḥāl* and predication with a simultaneous annulment of any connotation of identity between them.

The material evidence collected in this and the rest of the Syntax VII paragraphs, as well as the innovative ideas guiding the descriptive work, will be helpful to students and inspiring to fellow researchers in the domain of sentential syntax.

Not intended to serve as a manual for the non-initiated readers, Woidich's *Grammatik* will be highly appreciated by Arabists, linguists and dialectologists interested in Cairo Arabic. It will be of quite special use to Arabists with serious scholarly ambitions in dialectology who had previously acquired some theoretical and practical knowledge of this colloquial. The descriptive grammar of the present size and quality is one of the most prominent achievements in modern Arabic dialectology and its authority and the never fading freshness of the truly remarkable material evidence will be felt for many years to come.

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## NOTE

The feature of pharyngealization in the Cairo Arabic /r/ is left unnoted. The epenthetic (i) is written as *ι*.