TERMINOLOGICAL MODELLING IN ṢABBĀĠ'S *RISĀLA* (1812)

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

The study examines the duality of verbal and iconic terminological strategies, the former exclusively based on lexical naming (verbal definition), the latter on the shared action of lexical naming and pattern imposing (visualizing). Terms resulting from the joint strategy of naming and visualizing operate as terminological models. Terminological units involving any type of iconic features, are referred to as iconic terms (IT), iconicity-free units solely based upon verbal definition are classified as non-iconic terrms (NT). The class of IT is assumed to consist of three types: iconic terms supported by (i) pattern-based, (ii) pattern-and-affix-based, and finally (iii) affix-based iconicity. The main attention is focused on the last type, typical of Ṣabbāġ's pioneering work.

Key words: pattern, lexical naming, pattern imposing, terminological model, affix-based iconicity (ABI), pattern-based iconicity (PBI), pattern-and-affix-based iconicity (PABI), iconic identity, iconic content, iconic terms (IT), non-iconic terms (NT), Standard Arabic (SA), colloquial Arabic (CA).

1. Ṣabbāġ's *Risāla,*[1] the first systematic description of colloquial Arabic to be written by a native scholar, is in many respects a pioneering work of prime importance. Apart from providing first-hand documentary evidence of the linguistic development of Arabic at the turn of eighteenth and nineteenth

---

[1] ṢABBĀĠ , Mīḫāʾīl ibn Nīqūlā ibn Ibrāhīm, *ar-Risāla at-tāmma fī kalām al-ʿāmma wa-l-manāhiǧ fī aḥwāl al-kalām ad-dāriǧ.* Edited by H. THORBECKE: *Mīḫāʾīl Ṣabbāġ's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten.* Straßburg: Verlag von K.J. Trübner 1886. The edition is based on the manuscript Cod. Arab. No 889, dated 1812, deposited in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, formerly Münchener Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.

centuries, it may be used as a reliable tool for testing the limits of applicability of the traditional *iʿrāb* terminology to the description of linguistic varieties of Arabic that differ from the synthetic norm of Classical and Modern Written Arabic (summarily Standard Arabic /SA/).

The documentary value of the *Risāla* is somewhat lowered by the author's belief that it is possible to give a joint account of both Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian vernaculars by means of a limited number of differentiating hints. The linguistic evolution of Arabic towards modern colloquials in the form of the progressive analytic restructuring of the underlying synthetic norm continues to be perceived, in tune with the wording of Arab grammarians, as a process of corruption (*fasād al-luġa al-ʿarabīya*).[2]

1.1. The aim of the present study is to examine the duality of verbal and iconic term-forming strategies, one exclusively based on lexical naming (verbal definition), the other on a shared action of lexical naming and pattern[3] imposing (visualizing, modelling). Terms resulting from the joint strategy of naming and pattern imposing operate as terminological models. Since they reveal, in part or in full, the morphemic structure of the units they denote, they may be taken for structural models. Terminological units involving any type of iconic features, will be called iconic terms (I-terms or simply IT), iconicity-free terms solely based upon lexical naming, i.e. verbal definition sanctioned by a term-giving authority, will be classified as non-iconic terrms (N-terms or NT). The class of I-terms, in the present classification, is assumed to consist of three types of terminological unit differing both in their structural properties and in their terminological autonomy. By the latter their independence of any type of contextual implication is understood.

Iconic terms (IT), in general, are marked by the shared action of (1) lexical naming (verbal definition) and (2) pattern-imposing (visualizing, modelling), in contrast with the non-iconic terms (NT), exclusively relying on lexical naming.

The iconic terms may occur as (1) units with pattern-based iconicity (PBI), like *(ism al-) fāʿil* 'active participle', where the pattern morpheme (P) /-ā-i-/ visualizes the verbal definition, as in *ākil, ʿālim* or *qātil,* or as (2) units involving pattern-and-affix-based iconicity (PABI), such as *(ism al-) mafʿūl* 'passive participle', with the prefix /ma-/ and the pattern morpheme
/-ø-ū-/ , as in *maʾkūl, maʿlūm* or *makšūf,* or finally, as (3) units without terminological identity of their own, displaying affix-based iconicity (ABI), where the affixes, in contrast to those of the PABI-units, are independent of the

---

[2] Cf. *al-bāb al-awwal fī kayf kānat al-luġa al-ʿarabīya qabl al-islām wa-baʿdahu wa-badw fasādihā wa-duḫūl al-ġarīb fīhā, Risāla,* p. 5. Quotations refer to the Thorbecke's 1886 edition; Ṣabbāġ's colloquialisms and spelling inconsistencies are left uncorrected.

[3] For various applications of the term 'pattern' which is of prime importance for the subject of this inquiry, see § 1.1.1 below.

morphemic structure of the term they are appended to and provide additional grammatical information to the underlying terminological unit, as the suffix *-īn* in the Ṣabbāġ's term *(ḍamīr) al-mutakallim-īn*, with reference to the caseless colloquial variant described, provides additional grammatical information to the basic terminological meaning 'pronoun of the 1P': 'gender-neutral, plural' (*Risāla*, 15).

1.1.1. The term *pattern* is used in Arabic linguistic studies in several senses all of them being projected in one way or another onto various paragraphs of the present study. The highly polysemous term pattern identifies with:

(1) The pattern morpheme (P), consisting of one or more vowel phonemes, inclusive of zero-vowels, inserted in the incoherent sequence of root consonants (radicals) of Arabic morphological structures, as may be seen in what we classify as PBI-terms, like *fāᶜil* made up of the root *f- ᶜ-l* and pattern */-ā-i /*. The combination of root and pattern morphemes is fundamental to the very basic structures of the Arabic stems and words which may be further expanded by the morpheme class of affixes (A), as already indicated with PABI-terms above.[4]

(2) The general form of the IT-unit irrespective of its morphemic structure, as that referred to in the process of *pattern-imposing*. The term pattern, in the latter application, identifies with the true structural *model* whose unique function consists in visualizing the verbal definition at whatever level of stem or word hierarchy: root and pattern (simple stem), as in *kitāb* or *kātib.*, or root, pattern and affix, such as *maktab, maktaba* and the like. The act of pattern imposing, in the dual terminological strategy of iconic units, is an inseparable part of lexical naming (verbal definition).

(3) Non-terminological models used in Arabic grammars to symbolize or, perhaps, visualize morphological structures are to be kept apart from true terminological models summarily referred to as iconic terms (IT). These *awzān*

---

[4] For the latter definition of 'pattern' see HARRELL, R.S. Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic, p.: 23; BEESTON, A.F.L. The Arabic Language Today, p. 31: 'verbs and nouns are a combination of two morphological strata: a sequence of consonant phonemes in determined order, commonly called the 'root' ... and a pattern of vowel (and sometimes consonant) phonemes into which the root consonants are slotted in determined positions. With some authors, morphemic status of pattern as an intra-root vocalization has no specific conceptual and terminological identity. In FISCHER's Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch, 3. Aufl., p. 33, as an unspecified part of *Stammbildungsmorphemen* (stem-forming morphemes), 'pattern' has to be retrieved by separation from root consonants as their vocalic constituent. The same lack of specificity also marks Badawi's recent grammar where the morpheme we call pattern forms only an anonymous part of the stem, as may be deduced from the 'morpheme boundaries' of *al-jarīdatu: al-* (definite article) *jarīd* (stem) *-at* (feminine affix) *-u* (case marker) (Badawi, E. et al. Modern Written Arabic, p. 31).

of the Arab grammarians[5] are construed on the root *f-ᶜ-l*, in Western works sometimes substituted by the root *q-t-l* [6] or by abstract root symbols *C-C-C*. These templates mirror morphemic constituents of the structure they represent, as in:

mufaᶜᶜil → *muᶜallim* 'active participle of the causative verbal stem *ᶜallam* ';

mifᶜal, mifᶜala, mifᶜāl → *midfaᶜ, mirwaḥa, miftāḥ* 'nouns of instrument';

muCaCCiC, miCCaC, miCCaCa, miCCāC , the same as above, in unspecified root symbols, and the like. With quadriliterals *f-ᶜ-l-l*, or *C-C-C-C*, as in *faᶜālil* or *CaCāCiC* 'one of the broken plural patterns', e.g.. *darāhim, kawākib*, etc.

The latter application of the term 'pattern' is not used in the present study.

1.2. Limited iconicity in PBI- and PABI-terms::

The PBI-term: (*ism al-*) *fāᶜil* : 'active participle':

(a) iconicity is reduced to the representative part of what is denoted: ground-form active participles, as in *ākil, ᶜālim* or *kāšif;*

(b) iconicity supporting PBI-terms does not necessarily pass to the whole class of derivationally related units of the same terminological denomination. As a result of this failure a shift from IT- to NT-units may take place, as in: IT: *ākil, ᶜālim, kāšif* → NT: *mu'akkil, mustaᶜlim, muktašif;*

(c) similar loss of iconicity may be observed with terms homonymously related to PBI-terms, as in the case of *fāᶜil* 'agent. *nomen agentis* ; subject of the (active) verbal sentence, such as: *al-malik* in SA: *qatala l-maliku wazīrahu,* and the like.

The PABI-terms yield a similar picture: (*ism al-*) *mafᶜūl* : 'passive participle (ground form)':

(aa) IT: 'passive participle': *ma'kūl, maᶜlūm* or *makšūf;*

(bb) NT: 'passive participle' in derived stems: *mu'akkal, mustaᶜlam, muktašaf;*

(cc) NT: homonymously related to IT-unit: *al-mafᶜūl* 'nomen patientis; subject of the (passive) verbal sentence', as *al-malik* in SA: *qutila l-maliku.*

1.3. Iconicity in PBI- and PABI- terms spreads over the whole IT-unit to run the process we call pattern imposing, as part of the joint strategy of lexical naming and pattern imposing.

---

[5] FISCHER's *Morphemtyp* in: Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch, p. 33; BROCKELMANN's *paradigma* In *Arabische Grammatik*, p. 33 and all earlier and subsequent editions; BEESTON's *morpheme-* or *morphological pattern* In *The Arabic Language Today*, p. 31. BADAWI's *pattern* In *Modern Written Arabic*, p. 26 etc.
[6] BARTH, J. Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen; BROCKELMANN, C. Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.

lexical naming (verbal definition)
|---| ,
          pattern imposing

as in the following PABI-term, for instance:

passive participle (ground form)
|--| e.g. *ma'kūl, ma'lūm, maqtūl*
      (*ism al-*) *maf'ūl*

The iconicity of ABI-terms is restricted to the added affix (+A) that does not form part of the morphemic structure of the underlying terminological unit. The latter morphemic element complements, by way of what we call pattern imposing (visualizing, modelling), the grammatical information of the underlying term by new data instead of their explicit specification through the process we call lexical naming.

    lexical naming
|————————|(+A)—————|
            pattern imposing

The ABI-term *al-mutakallima* 'the 1P (feminine, /singular/)'[7] may illustrate the point:

mutakallim: first person
|———————————|(+A)——————————|
                     - *a* (feminine, /singular/)

1.4. The context-dependence of ABI-terms may best be demonstrated on units whose (+A) component equals *zero*. In a context calling for relevant *zero*-data, the potentially iconic term operates as an iconic, hence ABI-term while, in the opposite case, it does not acquire iconic identity and functions as a non-iconic unit. Let us consider these two terminological states on, say, the term *al-ġā'ib* '3P':

---

[7] Iconically-conveyed data are put in round brackets which delimitate, at the same time, the iconic content of IT-units; unmarked inflections are enclosed in slash lines; all iconic data signalled by portmanteau markers, are treated as marked inflections and so are noted.

(1) context where the *zero*-data of *al-ġā'ib* are relevant:

al-ġā'ib '3P (/masculine, singular/) = IT, type: ABI-term

Contextual evidence:

al-ġā'ib '3P (/masculine, singular/) co-occurring with *al-ġā'ibīn* '3P (masculine, plural), *al-ġā'iba* (feminine, /singular/), *al-ġā'ibāt* '3P (feminine, plural), in presenting members of the Standard Arabic paradigm of relative pronouns treated by the author as units with a third-person reference:

wa-minhu asmā' al-mawṣūlāt wa-huwa li-l-ġā'ib wa-l-ġā'ibīn wa-lā muṯannā minhu ʿind al-ʿāmma wa-kaḏālik al-ġā'iba wa-l-ġā'ibāt wa-lā muṯannā lahum ʿind al-ʿāmma miṯāluhu allaḏī wa-allaḏīn wa-allatī wa-allawātī fa-l-ʿāmma istaʿmalū minhā al- taʿrīfahā wa-ḥaḏafū bāqiyahā fī ǧamīʿihā wa-ǧaʿalūhā bi-ṣīġa wāḥida ʿalā-ḫtilāf al-ašḫāṣ (B6; F1, p. 21-22).[8]

(2) context where the above quoted *zero*-data are irrelevant:

al-ġā'ib '3P', no iconic data available = NT

Contextual evidence:

al-ġā'ib in: *ḍamīr al-ǧamʿ al-ġā'ib li-l-mu'annaṯ aw li-l-muḏakkar* 'plural form of the independent 3P pronoun, feminine or masculine': NT-units *al-ǧamʿ* 'plural', *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine' and *al-muḏakkar* 'masculine' substitute for the whole potential iconic content of *al-ġā'ib* and assign it the status of NT:

wa-sābiʿ aḍ-ḍamā'ir ḍamīr al-ǧamʿ al-ġā'ib in yakun li-l-mu'annaṯ aw li-l-muḏakkar fa-yaqūlūn hummī mufradatan bi-tašdīd al-mīm wa-kasrihā ... (B5; F2, p. 19).[9]

1.5. The distinction between the IT- and NT-units is further obscured by a phenomenon that might be called terminological relativity of the affix-based iconicity, the proper subject of the present investigation. A number of ABI-terms may be alternatively classified as IT- or NT-units in accord with the linguistic domain they are related to, so that *al-ġā'ib* from the angle of its word-class identity, is an iconic unit with reference to the ground form of active participles (*asmā' al-fāʿil*) while, with reference to the grammatical category of person, it is merely a potential iconic-unit, identifying with 'the third person' (of any morphological structure compatible with this category). Nevertheless, in contexts calling for relevant *zero*-iconic data, the same term may reappear as an indisputable full-value iconic term (see § 1.4). The latter type of context-controlled reclassification of iconic identity will be extensively examined and textually documented in the following paragraphs.

2. The proper subject of the present inquiry is the ABI terminological strategy as used in *Ṣabbāġ's* text written nearly two centuries ago. The ABI-modified terms will be examined in their true iconic form as also in their

---

[8] For full quotation see § 2.2.

[9] For full quotation see § 3.3 (9); abbreviations used: B = *al-bāb;* F = *al-faṣl.*

191

collision with various largely unpredictable, contextual implications modifying the grammatical information provided by the (+A) component.

As might be seen from what precedes, iconicity of the ABI-terms differs from that of the PBI and PABI units, established by the choice of the first term-makers, the early Arab grammarians, and are strictly bound by verbal definitions that control their dual (iconic/non-iconic) identity. They markedly contrast with the context-dependent iconicity of the ABI-strategy which is one of the most characteristic features of Ṣabbāġ's *Risāla*. Yet it is closely intertwined by iconic-neutral terminological identifiers in a generally predominant non-iconic linguistic context.

Viewed from the angle of iconicity, *Risāla's* terminological stock may be subdivided into three classes: non-iconic, iconic and a hybrid class of terms combining iconic and non-iconic units in various types of confrontational or non-confrontational intercation. The selection of terminological units examined in the present inquiry is mostly reduced to items tending to reappear in parallel iconic and non-iconic applications and to terms currently met with as constituents of hybrid terminological units. Since the ABI terms are closely bound to the context, the units examined will be presented in comprehensive textual segments.

2.1. Non-iconic terms:

In Ṣabbāġ's linguistic description, all terms out of direct paradigmatical configuration that would make possible additional paradigmatical modification, such as:*al-mutannā* - dual, *al-ǧam^c*- plural → *wa-aydan ḥadafū min ǧamī^c kalāmihim ^calāmat al-mutannā wa-lafaẓūh bi-^calāmat al-ǧam^c fa-qālū li-l-itnayn yamḍū fī l-muḍāri^c wa-maḍaw* [10] *fī l-māḍī* (B2: *fī l-ḥadf,* F2, p. 12: *fī ḥadf ba^cd aḥruf hiǧā'īya*);

al-mu'annat - feminine, *al-muḏakkar* - masculine, *al-mutannā* - dual, *al-ǧam^c* - plural, as in: *wa-ḥadafū ^calāmat al-mu'annat min al-mutannā wa-l-ǧam^c minhu wa-lafaẓūh bi-ṣīġat al-muḏakkar fa-qālū al-mar'atān awqa^cūnī wa-n-niswa ġaššūnī* (ibid.);

hā' al-mu'annat - the feminine marker (*tā' marbūṭa*) → *wa-ḥadafū hā' al-mu'annat fī l-asmā' wa-lafaẓūhā ka-l-yā' fa-qālū fī as-samā' ^cāliya(tun) as-samā' ^cāliyī wa-fī al-ard wāṭi'a(tun) wāṭiyī* (ibid.); and similar terminological units.

2.2. Iconic terms:

In order to unify and simplify the notation, all terms in the subsequent analysis will be classified as either iconic or non-iconic units or, in the respective symbols, as either IT or NT. This simplification is made possible by the fact that *all* potentially iconic terms in the forthcoming description belong to

---

[10] Thorbecke's over-classicized reading is left unorrectd even when it lacks support in the manuscript version (Cf., fol. 10-11).

the ABI iconic type, henceforward referred to as either IT-or NT with no further taxonomic ramification.

Prior to the detailed analysis some introductory samples:

IT: *al-muḫāṭabīn* '2P (gender-neutral, plural)' in:

wa-sādis aḍ-ḍamā'ir ḍamīr al-muḫāṭabīn alladī huwa antum aw antū fa-akṯar ad-dātiğ antū wa-alifuhu al-ūlā tuḥdaf miṯl anā wa-anta iḏā taqaddamahā kalima āḫiruhā alif (B5: *fī ḍ-ḍamā'ir al-muttaṣila wa-l-munfaṣila,* F1: *fī ḍ-ḍamā'ir al-munfaṣila al-marfūʿa;* p. 19); or:

IT-units: *al-ġā'ib* '3P (/masculine, singular/), *al-ġā'ibīn* '3P (masculine, plural), *al-ġā'iba* (feminine, /singular/), *al-ġā'ibāt* '3P (feminine, plural), in:

wa-minhu asmā' al-mawṣūlāt wa-huwa li-l-ġā'ib wa-l-ġā'ibīn wa-lā muṯannā minhu ʿind al-ʿāmma wa-kaḏālik al-ġā'iba wa-l-ġā'ibāt wa-lā muṯannā la-hum ind al-ʿāmma miṯāluhu alladī wa-alladīn wa-allatī wa-allawātī fa-l-ʿāmma istaʿmalū minhā al taʿrīfahā wa-ḥaḏafū bāqiyahā fī ğamīʿihā wa-ğaʿalūhā bi-ṣīġa wāḥida ʿalā-ḫtilāf al-ašḫāṣ mufrad mu'annaṯ aw muṯannan aw ğamʿih fa-qāl zayd illi ḍarabnī bi-kasr lām at-tašdīd bi-išbāʿ wa-ar-riğāl illi ḍarabūnī wa-l-mar'a illi ḍarabatnī wa-n-niswa illi ḍarabūnī (B6: *fī l-asmā';* F1: *fī l-ism al-ġayr al-muštaqq,* p. 21-22).

2.3. Non-iconic and iconic terms in interaction with contextual factors.

...lā yatakallamūn abadan bi-ḍamīr (1) *al-muṯannā lā fī* (2) *al-ġā'ib wa-lā fī* (3) *al-muḫāṭab wa-kaḏālik fī* (4) *al-mu'annaṯ minhu lā fī* (5) *al-ġā'ib wa-lā fī* (6) *al-muḫāṭab wa-lā fī* (7) *al-ğamʿ* (8) *al-ġā'ib minhu fa-lā yaqūlū humā wa-lā antumā bal aqāmū ḍamīr* (9) *al-ğamʿ makānahum wa-ḥaḏafū ğamīʿ ḍamīr* (10) *al-muṯannā min kalāmihim wa-kaḏālik ḍamīr* (11) *al-mu'annaṯ* (12) *al-muḫāṭabāt wa-*(13) *al-ġā'ibāt fa-lā yaqūlū antunna wa-hunna bal-qālū antum wa-hum* (B5: see 2.2 above; F1: see ibid., p. 17):[11]

(1) NT: *al-muṯannā* 'dual' + (2) IT: *al-ġā'ib* '3P (/singular, masculine/)':
    invalidation of the iconic (/singular/) of *al-ġā'ib* → '3P masculine of the dual';

(1) NT: *al-muṯannā* 'dual' + (3) IT: *al-muḫāṭab* '2P (/singular, masculine/)':
    invalidation of the iconic (/singular/) of *al-muḫāṭab* → '2P masculine of the dual';

(4) NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine' (with reference to the dual) + (5) NT: *al-ġā'ib* '3P (/singular, masculine/)':
    invalidation of the iconic (/masculine/) of *al-ġā'ib* by the NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* with
    invalidation of the iconic (/singular/) of *al-ġā'ib* through the contextual reference to the

---

[11] Numeric indications inserted in Ṣabbāġ's text have to secure the identification and transparency of glossing.

193

dual; the total invalidation of the iconic content of *al-ġā'ib* results in the loss of iconic identity and reclassification of the latter as a NT-unit → '3P feminine (of the dual)';

(4) NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* (with reference to the dual) + (6) NT: *al-muḫāṭab* '2P (/singular, masculine/)':

the same processes as in (4 - 5 above) with reference to *al-muḫāṭab* → '2P feminine (of the dual)';

(7) NT: *al-ǧamᶜ* 'plural' + (8) NT: *al-ġā'ib* '3P' → '3P of the plural (as a substitute for the missing dual inflections)';

(9) NT: *al-ǧamᶜ* 'plural';

(10) NT: *al-muṯannā* 'dual';

(11) NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine' + (12) IT: *al-muḫāṭabāt* '2P (feminine plural)':

over-marking of the iconic (feminine) of *al-muḫāṭabāt* → '2P (feminine plural)';

(11) NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine' + (13) IT: *al-ġā'ibāt* '3P (feminine plural):

the same as in (11-12 above) with reference to *al-ġā'ibāt* → '3P (feminine plural).

2.4. The impact of context on the iconically conveyed data in IT-units in result of the context-motivated competitive factors may appear in very various forms. The following types of deviation from the basic iconic content are the most common:

(1) partial invalidation of the iconic content, as in:

IT-unit with an iconic content at its theoretical maximum:

al-ġā'ib '3P (/masculine, singular/)', as against:

the same IT-unit referring to the non-iconic 'dual':

NT: *al-muṯannā* 'dual' + IT: *al-ġā'ib* '3P (/masculine, singular/) → 'the 3P masculine of the dual'; the iconic (/singular/) is invalidated by its confrontation with the non-iconic 'dual' (see § 2.3 (1+2) above);

(2) total invalidation of the (potential) iconic content with simultaneous invalidation of the iconic identity, e.g.:

the same IT-unit in the dual context, as above, confronted with the non-iconic 'feminine', in:

IT: *al-ġā'ib* '3P (/masculine, singular/)' + NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine' >

NT (< IT): *al-ġā'ib* '3P' + NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine'→ '3P feminine (of the dual)' (ibid.); competitive factors invalidating the inherent iconic content of the IT-unit are evident: reference of *al-ġā'ib* to the dual and its confrontation with the non-iconic 'feminine';

(3) over-marking (redundancy) due to the cumulation of terminologically confirmed grammatical factors of the same grammatical orientation in the contextual space:

194

over-marking of the ʹfeminineʹ:

IT: *al-muḫāṭabāt* ʹ2P (feminine, plural)ʹ + NT: *al-muʾannaṯ* ʹfeminineʹ in *al-muʾannaṯ al-muḫāṭabāt* ʹ2P feminine (feminine plural)ʹ (ibid.), or:

over-marking of the ʹpluralʹ:

IT: *al-mutakallimīn* ʹ1P (gender-neutral, plural)ʹ + NT: /*al-*/ *ǧamᶜ* ʹpluralʹ in *ǧamᶜ al-mutakallimīn* ʹ1P plural (gender-neutral, plural)ʹ:

wa-ḫāmis aḍ-ḍamāʾir ḍamīr ǧamᶜ al-mutakallimīn allaḏī hiya -nā taqūl fī duḫūl al-ḥarf ᶜalayhi minnā ᶜalaynā wa-bi-ilḥāq aš-šīn minnāš wa-ᶜalaynāš wa-duḫūl al-ism baytnā wa-l-fiᶜl ḍarabnā wa-bi-ilḥāq aš-šīn ḍarabnāš (B5 (see 2.2 above); F2: *fī l-ḍamāʾir al-muttaṣila* - p. 20), or:

IT: *al-muḫāṭabīn* ʹ2P (gender-neutral, plural) + NT: /*al-*/*ǧamᶜ* ʹpluralʹ in *ǧamᶜ al-muḫāṭabīn* ʹ2P plural (gender-neutral, plural)ʹ:

wa-sādis aḍ-ḍamāʾir -tū li-ǧamᶜ al-muḫāṭabīn talḥaq al-afᶜāl fī l-istifhām wan-nafy fa-yaqūlū ḍarabtū mā-ḍarabtū wa-fī ilḥāq aš-šīn ḍarabtūš mā ḍarabtūš wa-kum talḥaq al-asmāʾ fī t-tamalluk miṯl la-kum wa-baytkum ... (ibid.);

the same type of double marking occurs in *ǧamᶜ al-ġāʾibīn* ʹ3P plural (gender-neutral, plural):

wa-ammā ḍamīr ǧamᶜ al-ġāʾibīn fa-huwa fī l-afᶜāl al-wāw wa-l-alif wa-hiya -ū wa-alifuhā lā-tulfaẓ fa-yaqūlūn ḍarabū wa-yaḍribū wa-bi-š-šīn ḍarabūš wa-yaḍribūš fī l-istifhām wa-n-nafy wa-ammā-ttiṣāl hāḏā ḍ-ḍamīr maᶜ al-ism fa-huwa -hum muḫaffafat al-mīm abadan wa-lā tataġayyar bi-ḫtilāf mawāqiᶜihā fī l-fiᶜl aw maᶜ al-ism fa-yaqūlū bi-hā ḍarabhum wa-hāḏā baythum maᶜ al-ism... (ibid., p. 20-21).

2.4.1. In contexts free from competitive factors, the iconic content of the IT-units is maintained to the full, as in:

al-ġāʾib ʹ3P (/masculine, singular/)ʹ; *al-ġāʾibīn* ʹid. (gender-neutral, plural)ʹ; *al-ġāʾiba* ʹid. (feminine, /singular/)ʹ, in:

zādū l-alif fī l-fiᶜl al-māḍī min al-maġīᶜ fa-qālū minhu li-l-ġāʾib wa-l-ġāʾibīn wa-l-ġāʾiba huwa aǧā wa-hum aǧū wa-hiya aǧat wa-kānat al-qāᶜida ǧāʾa wa-ǧāʾū wa-ǧāʾat (B3: *fī z-ziyādāt;* F1: *fī ziyādāt al-aḥruf al-ḥiǧāʾiya;* p. 14);

2.4.2. Iconic terms with relevant zero-data tend to alternate with terms where iconic data are substituted by autonomous verbal definitions, as in the following text:

... kull ḏālik dāriǧ baynahum kayf mā-ttafaq, wa-kaḏālik ṣīġat al-ǧamᶜ lil-muḫāṭab (i) *ka-suʾāl zayd li-ᶜamr ᶜalaykum as-salām ayna kuntum ams wa-qad fattašt ᶜalaykum, wa-lā yatakallamūn bi-ṣīġat al-ǧamᶜ lil-mufrad al-ġāʾib* (ii) *wa-tāratan yatakallamūn maᶜ al-muḫāṭab* (iii) *bi-ṣīġat al-muʾannaṯ fa-yaqūlūn anti fa-kasr hāḏihi t-tāʾ fī anti faqaṭ, iḏā-ttaṣalat fī l-afᶜāl miṯl ḍarabt wa-akalt wa-*

195

šaribt fa-hādihi t-tā' fī l-ʿarabīya maftūḥa abadan...(B6: *fī l-asmā';* F2: *fī l-asmā' al-muštaqqat al-maṣdar wa-l-fāʿil wa-l-mafʿūl;* p. 24-25);

That is:

(i) *al-muḥāṭab:* '2P (/masculine, singular/) with the relevant iconic (/singular/), contrasting with the NT *al-ǧamʿ* 'plural', while the iconic (/masculine/) is irrelevant;

(ii) *al-mufrad al-ġāʾib:* lexically conveyed 'singular', by the NT *al-mufrad,* to make explicit the zero-iconic 3P (/singular/) by the strategy of over-marking: NT singular + iconic (/singular/);

(iii) *al-muḥāṭab:* '2P with relevant zero-iconic (/masculine/)' in contrast to the NT *al-muʾannaṯ* 'feminine'.

2.4.3. In some cases, the (+A) component of the IT-units may occupy the position of the agreement indicator and make the reading ambiguous. A similar ambiguity may take place in ABI-terms of the head-modifier type related to feminine nouns whose agreement calls for an agreement indicator identical with the iconic morpheme of the latter, as in:

kāf /feminine noun/ '/k/ phonological component of the pronominal suffixes *-ak, -ik*';

al-muʾannaṯ 'feminine';

al-muḥāṭab '2P', possibly identified with *al-muḥāṭab* with a feminine marker due to the agreement, or with the full-scale ABI-term *al-muḥāṭaba* '2P (feminine, /singular/)', in one of the two possible readings:

(i) agreement-based reading:

kāf al-muʾannaṯ al-muḥāṭab-a '2P - *al-muḥāṭab* - 'with the feminine pronominal sufix *-ik*', hence '2P feminine':

    al-muḥāṭab: '2P'   *-a* 'feminine'
    |———————|———————|
   terminological unit   indicator of agreement
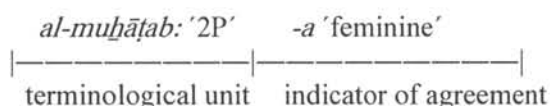
Here, on account of the competitive non-iconic *al-muʾannaṯ* 'feminine', invalidating zero-iconic (/masculine/), the reduction of iconic content of *al-muḥāṭab* is assumed;

(ii) iconic reading:

kāf al-muʾannaṯ al-muḥāṭaba '2P feminine (feminine /singular/)', implying the opposite of the previous one, namely the double marking of the feminine.

    al-muḥāṭab '2P'
    |———————|———————|
                   -a : iconic (feminine)
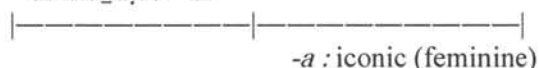
Not even the relevant context seems to provide a clue to the problem: ... *huwa anna hādihi š-šīn* (i.e. *šīn al-kaškaša) kānat banī asad tulḥiquhā fī āḥir kāf*

al-mu'annaṯ al-muḫāṭaba li-aǧl al-waqf (B3: *fī z-ziyādāt* ; F1: *fī ziyādāt al-aḥruf al-hiǧā'īya;* p. 14).

The agreement background of the feminine form of *al-muḫāṭaba* seems to be confirmed by another occurrence of this term with the masculine form *al-muḫāṭab* instead:

kāf al-mu'annaṯ al-muḫāṭab in: ... *wa-ayḍan ḍamīr al-mutakallim al-muttaṣil at-tā' wa-hiya ʿind al-ʿarab maḍmūma abadan ka-qawlika akaltu wa-nšaraḥtu wa-ammā ʿind al-ʿāmma li-annahum ḥaḏafū l-iʿrāb min al-kalim wa sakkanūhā li-l-waqf fa-qālū ḍarabt akalt inšaraḥt wa-hāḏā ḍ-ḍamīr lā ya'tī abadan illā fāʿilan fa-iḏā laḥiqahu šīn al-kaškaša kassarūh fa-qālū anā mā ḍarabtiš ṯumma wa-iḏā laḥiqahu kāf al-mu'annaṯ al-muḫāṭab ayḍan yuksar fa-yaqūlūn mā ḍarabtikš wa-bi-l-fatḥ li-l-muḫāṭab ka-qawlika mā ḍarabtak wa-mā ḍarabtakš* (B5; F2, p. 19 ; see § 2.4 (3) above);

3. Affix-based iconicity used to describe *ḍamīr*-type morphological structures classified in terms of their relationship to the category of person. In accordance with the tradition of Arab grammarians, the term denotes not only personal pronouns of all types, but also all types of verbal inflectional markers compatible with them.

3.1. *al-mutakallim* '1P':

(1) *ḍamīr al-mutakallim* '1P' (/gender-neutral, singular/), possessive pronoun *-ī*, as in *ḥimār-ī,* easy to be confounded with the colloquial feminine marker *-ī.*

ṯumma innahum (al-maġāriba) fī baʿḍ al-asmā' allatī talḥaquhā hāḏihi l-ʿalāma (hā' marbūṭa > colloquial yā' maksūra) iḏā lafaẓūh bi-l-kasr wa-štabahat hāḏihi l-ʿalāma bi-ḍamīr al-mutakallim fa-lā yalfaẓūnahu hākaḏā ḥaḏran min al-iltibās bal yaftaḥūn al-ḥarf allaḏī qablahā ka-lafẓ al-maġāriba wa-bayānuhu ḥimāra mu'annaṯ al-ḥimār iḏā lafaẓūhā bi-kasr ar-rā' āḫir al-ism qabl ʿalāmat al-mu'annaṯ fa-tasmaʿ minhum ḥimārī... (B6; F2, p. 23; see § 2.4.2 above);

(2) *ḍamīr al-mutakallim* '1P' (/gender-neutral, singular/): perfective personal marker *-tu /-t* contrasting with *ḍamīr al-muḫāṭab* (see *ḍamīr al-muḫāṭab* in § 3.2 below);

(3) *al-mutakallim* '1P' (/gender-neutral, singular/), possessive pronoun *-ī*:

wa-l-yā' ayḍan li-l-mutakallim allaḏī taʿaqqab al-asmā' al-mamlūka wa-akṯaruhā ta'tī iḫbārīyan bi-mahall rafʿ ka-qawlika al-ġulām ʿabdī wa-hāḏā baytī (B5; F2, p. 19-20; see § 2.4 (3));

(4) *ḍamīr al-mutakallim al-muttaṣil at-tā'* '1P' (/gender-neutral, singular/), personal marker in perfective verbs *-t'*:

wa-ayḍan ḍamīr al-mutakallim al-muttaṣil at-tā' wa-hiya ʿind al-ʿarab maḍmūma abadan ka-qawlika akaltu wa-nšaraḥtu wa-ammā ʿind al-ʿāmma li-annahum ḥaḏafū l-iʿrāb min al-kalim fa-sakkanūhā li-l-waqf fa-qālū ḍarabt akalt wa-nšaraḥt... (B5; F2, p. 19; see § 2.4 (3) above);

197

(5) *ḍamīr al-mufrad al-mutakallim* '1P, independent personal pronoun *anā* : over-marking of the iconic (/singular/) of *al-mutakallim* (/masculine, singular/) by the NT *al-mufrad* 'singular':

ṯumma innanā naqūl fī awwal hāḏihi ḍ-ḍamā'ir inna anā ḍamīr al-mufrad al-mutakallim iḏā lufiẓat mufradatan fa-tulfaẓ ka-mā hiya wa-ammā iḏā sabaqathā kalima āḫiruhā alif fa-tuḥfaẓ alifuhā l-ūlā ka-mā ḏakarnāh fī bāb al-ḥaḏf fa-taṣīr nā ka-qawlika fī l-istifhām mānā akalt ay a-mā anā akaltu aw mānā ṣallayt ay a- mā anā ṣallaytu...(B5; F1, p. 17; see § 2.2);

(6) *ḍamīr al-mutakallimīn* '1P (gender-neutral, plural)', imperfective personal inflections introduced by colloquial operators *b-* and *m-* , used unvowelled or vowelled along with particular colloquial variants, as *aktionsart*-markers (continuative or habitual action) and as indicativizers of the imperfect forms to keep them apart from their imperative implication: [12]

wa-zādū mīm fī l-fi'l al-muḍāri' 'ind ḍamīr al-mutakallimīn iḏā arādū an yušīrū bihi lil-ḥāl ka-qawlihim mnākul fī na'kulu wa-mnašrab fī našrabu na'am innā ḏakarnā fī awwal faṣlinā hāḏā annahum zādū l-bā' wa-sta'malūhā fī ḏālik ġayr an fī l-fi'l al-muḍāri' al-muttaṣil bi-ḍamīr al-mutakallimīn faqaṭ dūn ġayrihi min al-ašḫāṣ tāratan yasta'milū l-bā' wa-uḫrā yasta'milū hāḏihi l-mīm ḥasb al-miṯāl al-muqaddam (B3: *fī z-ziyādāt;* F1: *fī ziyādāt al-aḥruf al-hiǧā'īya,* p. 14-15);

(7) *ǧam' al-mutakallimīn* 'plural, 1P (gender-neutral, plural)'; the use of *b-* and *m-* operators; over-marking of the iconic (plural) of *al-mutakallimīn* by the NT *ǧam '* 'plural':

fa-sta'malū ḥarf al-bā' wa-adḫalūhā 'alayhi qabl ḥarf al-muḍāra'a li-yumayyizū l-ḥāḍir min al-muḍāri' fī ǧamī' aḍ-ḍamā'ir illā fī ḍamīr al-mutakallimīn fa-innahum ǧa'alū 'iwaḍan 'an al-bā' mīman ka-mā našraḥuhu lak... (B7: *fī l-af'āl;* F1: *fī l-fi'l al-muḍāri' wa-taṣrīfih;* p. 29);

(8) *ǧam' al-mutakallimīn* 'plural of the 1P (gender-neutral, plural)': pronominal suffix *-nā;* over-marking of the iconic (plural) of *al-mutakallimīn* by the NT *al-ǧam'* 'plural':

wa-ḫāmis aḍ-ḍamā'ir ḍamīr ǧam' al-mutakallimīn allaḏī hiya -nā taqūl fī duḫūl al-ḥarf 'alayhi minnā 'alaynā wa-bi-ilḥāq aš-šīn minnāš wa-'alaynāš wa-duḫūl al-ism baytnā wa-al-fi'l ḍarabnā wa-bi-ilḥāq aš-šīn ḍarabnāš (B5; F2, p. 20; see § 2.4 (3) above);

Abstract:

(1 - 4) no competitive contextual implications;

---

[12] Cf., MITCHELL, T.F. An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, p. 36; GROTZFELD, H. Laut und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen, p. 58: *b-Imperfekt.*

(5) over-marking of the iconic (/singular/):

NT: *al-mufrad* + IT: *al-mutakallim;*

(6) no competitive contextual implications;

(7) over-marking of the iconic (plural):

NT: *al-ğam*^c + IT: *al-mutakallimīn;*

(8) → (7).

3.2. *al-muḫāṭab '2P':*

(1) *ḍamīr al-muḫāṭab '2P* (/masculine, singular/)' - independent personal pronoun *anta* :

wa-ṯ-ṯānī fī ḍ-ḍamā'ir as-sab^ca al-munfaṣila anta hiya li-l-muḫāṭab fa-ammā alifuhā fa-tuḫzaf ḥīn yataqaddamuhā kalima takūn āḫiruhā alif aw lā ^cind ad-darğ fa-miṯāluhu iḏā taqaddamahā alif ammanta fa-innak kāmil ay ammā anta fa-innaka kāmil wa-fī miṯāl aṯ-ṯānī iḏā lam yataqaddamhā kalima āḫiruhā alif ^cind ad-darğ māšinti aḫbartinī bi-hāḏā ay ammā anta aḫbartanī bi-hāḏā ṯumma wa-ahl miṣr yaksirūn muṭlaqan tā' anta wa-yalfiẓūnahā ka-llatī li-l-mu'annaṯ aḥyānan fa-yaqūlūn anti ği't anti ruḥt ilā āḫrihī wa-aḥyānan bi-sukūnihā wa-tulḥaq šīn al-kaškaša bi-hāḏā ḍ-ḍamīr aydan fa-yaqūlūn fī l-istifhām mā antiš ruḥt ^cinduh ay ammā anta ruḥta ^cindahu... (B5; F1, p. 18; see § 2.2);

(2) *ḍamīr al-muḫāṭab '2P* (/masculine, singular/)'- perfective personal marker *-ta /-t* and suffixed pronouns *-ka / -ak,* possibly coinciding with *ḍamīr al-mutakallim* :

wa-ṯānī ḍ-ḍamā'ir al-muttaṣila ḍamīr al-muḫāṭab awwalan minhu at-tā' al-maftūḥa ^cind al-^carab abadan wa-l-^cāmma sakkanūhā fa-qālū ant ḍarabt wa-ḥukmuhā ka-ḥukm at-tā' al-maḍmūma fī ḍamīr al-mutakallim fī ğamī^c al-awğuh fa-li-ağl ḏālik ḥīn yaštabih al-lafẓ yasta^cīnū bi-ḍ-ḍamīr al-munfaṣil li-yumayyizū ḍ-ḍamīr bayn al-mutakallim wa-l-muḫāṭab wa-minhu kāf al-maftūḥa wa-l-^cāmma sakkanūhā abadan ḥattā wa-qad yulḥiqūhā šīn al-kaškaša fa-yubqūhā ^calā sukūnihā ka-qawlika fī l-nafy wa-l-istifhām mā ḍarabtakš mā ḍarabakš ... (B5; F2, p. 20; see § 2.4 (3));

(3) *al-muḫāṭab bi-ṣīġat al-mu'annaṯ* > *al-muḫāṭab* in *ṣīġat al-ğam^c lil-muḫāṭab* (see below);

(4) *ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-muḫāṭab '2P* (feminine, /singular/)' - *tā' maksūra* in independent pronoun and the corresponding perfective personal marker: *anti, ḍarabti, kāf maksūra* in the suffixed pronoun: *mā lakīš* :

wa-rābi^c aḍ-ḍamā'ir ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-muḫāṭab wa-hiya tā' maksūra abadan qālū bi-hā anti ḍarabtī wa-akaltī[13] *wa-fī ilḥāq aš-šīn ḍarabtīš wa-hāḏihi t-tā' kull mawāqi^cihā fā^cilan, ṯumma wa-l-kāf al-maksūra abadan wa-talḥaquhā*

---

[13] The transliteration may not reflect correctly the sound system of the colloquial variants examined quite particularly in matters of epenthesis, elision and vowel quantity.

š-šīn wa-tabqā maᶜ kasrihā fa-yaqūlūn fī l-istifhām lakīš aḫ wa-fī n-nafy mā lakīš wālid (B5; F2, p. 20; see § 2.4 (3));

(5) *ḍamīr al-muḫāṭab* '2P (/masculine, singular/): *iyyāk* and *ḍamīr al-muḫāṭabīn* '2P (gender-neutral, plural): *'iyyākum* :

wa-fī iyyāk hāḏihi istaᶜmalū maᶜnan āḫar wa-huwa maᶜnā laᶜall bi-ilḥāq aš-šīn al-maksūra fī ḍamīr al-muḫāṭab ka-qawlihim iyyākšī yuballiġnī-llāh murādī ay laᶜall yuballiġunī-llāhu murādī fa-iḏā-staᶜmalūhā bi-hāḏā l-maᶜnā lā yumkin bi-kalāmihim an yudḫilūhā ᶜalā ġayr ḍamīr al-muḫāṭab wa-baᶜḍ iḏā kān al-ḫiṭāb li-ğamᶜ yulḥiqūnahā ḍamīr al-muḫāṭabīn (B8: *fī l-ḥurūf al-maᶜnawīya*, p. 43);

(6) *ḍamīr al-ğamᶜ al-mu'annaṯ al-ġā'ib wa-l-muḫāṭab* > § 3.3. *al-ġā'ib;* total over-marking of the iconic content;

(7) *ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-muḫāṭabāt wa-l-ġā'ibāt* 'independent pronouns 2P and 3P (feminine, plural)': *antum, hum* (for the text see § 2.3 above); over-marking of the iconic (feminine);

(8) *ḍamīr al-muḫāṭabīn* 'independent pronoun 2P (gender-neutral, plural)': *antum, antū* (see § 2.2);

(9) *al-muḫāṭab* in *ṣīġat al-ğamᶜ li-l-muḫāṭab* '2P, plural (/masculine, singular/)': honorific plural; invalidation of the iconic (/singular/):

wa-l-mufrad tāratan yatakallam bi-ṣīġat al-ğamᶜ ka-qawl zayd muḥaddiṯan ᶜan nafsihi kunnā ams fī l-bustān wa-nšaraḥnā wa-kunt fī l-bustān wa-nšaraḥt kull ḏālik dāriğ baynahum kayf mā-ttafaq, wa-kaḏālik ṣīġat al-ğamᶜ li-l-muḫāṭab ka-su'āl zayd li-ᶜamr ᶜalaykum as-salām ayn kuntum ams wa-qad fattašt ᶜalykum wa-lā-yatakallamūn bi-ṣīġat al-ğamᶜ li-l-mufrad al-ġā'ib (B6; F2, p. 24-25; see § 2.4.2);

(10) *ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-mufrad li-l-muḫāṭab* '2P feminine, singular': *anti*, without *šīn al-kaškaša*, formally coincide with *al-muḏakkar al-muḫāṭab* '2P masculine (/masculine, singular/):

wa-rābiᶜ aḍ-ḍamā'ir allaḏī huwa ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-mufrad al-muḫāṭab fa-huwa naẓīr al-muḏakkar al-muḫāṭab illā iḏā laḥiqathū šīn al-kaškaša fa-huwa dā'iman maksūr at-tā' (B5; F1, p. 18; see § 2.2);

(11) *kāf al-mu'annaṯ al-muḫāṭab* 'kāf 2P feminine (/singular/)'; see § 2.4.3 (ii);

(12) *ḍamīr ğamᶜ al-muḫāṭabīn* 'verbal inflections and pronouns 2P plural (/gender-neutral, plural/): *-tū; -kum / -kū:*

wa-sādis aḍ-ḍamā'ir-tū li-ğamᶜ al-muḫāṭabīn talḥaq al-afᶜāl fī l-istifhām wa-n-nafy fa-yaqūlū ḍarabtū mā ḍarabtū wa-fī ilḥāq aš-šīn ḍarabtūš mā ḍarabtūš wa-kum talḥaq al-asmā' fī t-tamalluk miṯl lakum wa-baytkum wa-ahl al-ğalīl min sūriyā yalfiẓūn hāḏihi -kū fa-yaqūlūn lakū wa-baytkū wa-talḥaq šīn al-kaškaša fī lakum hāḏihi fa-yaqūlūn lakumš fī l-istifhām wa-n-nafy mā lakumš (B5; F1, p. 20; see § 2.2);

200

Abstract:
(1-2) no competitive contextual implications;

(3) invalidation of the iconic (/masculine/) of *al-muḫāṭab:*
   NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* + IT: *al-muḫāṭab;*

(4) invalidation of the iconic (/masculine/) of *al-muḫāṭab,* as above;

(5) no competitive implications;

(6) loss of the iconic identity of the IT-units *al-muḫāṭabāt* and *al-ġā'ibāt* in consequence of data provided by the NT-units in the present case of total over-marking of the iconic content:
   NT: *al-ǧamᶜ* and NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* + NT (< IT): *al-muḫāṭabāt* and *al-ġā'ibāt;*

(7) over-marking of the iconic (feminine):
   NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* + IT: *al-muḫāṭabaāt* and *al-ġā'ibāt;*

(8) no competitive contextual implications;

(9) invalidation of the iconic (/singular/):
   NT: *al-ǧamᶜ* + IT: *al-muḫāṭab;*

(10) over-marking of the iconic (/singular/):
   NT: *al-mufrad* + IT: *al-muḫāṭab*
   with subsequent invalidation of the iconic (/masculine/):
   NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* + NT (< IT) *al-muḫāṭab* (total reconstruction of the
   iconic content through competitive NT-units leading to its invalidation
and loss of iconic identity);

3.3. *al-ġā'ib* '3P':

(1) *ḍamīr al-ġā'ib* 'suffixed pronoun: 3P (/masculine singular/)' -*ū:*

wa-zādū l-wāw ᶜiwaḍan ᶜan ḍamīr al-ġā'ib fa-qālū baytū bi-maᶜnā baytuhu wa-ismū bi-maᶜnā-ismuhu (B3; F1, p. 15; see § 2.4.1);

(2) *al-ġā'ib* '3P (/masculine, singular/)', *al-ġā'ibīn* '3P (masculine plural), *al-ġā'iba* '3P (feminine /singular/) and *al-ġā'ibāt* '3P (feminine plural), in the paradigm of Standard Arabic relative pronouns, are losing their formal distinction in colloquial Arabic (see § 2.2 above);

(3) *al-ġā'ib* '3P (/masculine, singular/), *al-ġā'ibīn* '3P (gender neutral plural)' and *al-ġā'iba* '3P (feminine /singular/)' in the perfect paradigm of the verb *ǧā'* are introduced by an *alif* (see § 2.4.1 above);

(4) *ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-ġā'ib* 'independent pronoun: feminine, 3P (/singular/)': *hiya* :

wa-ammā ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-ġā'ib wa-huwa hiya fa-qālū fī muġarradihi mufradan hiyyi wa-fī ilḥāq šīn al-kaškaša mā hiyyīš wa-mā hiyyāš bi-l-fatḥ wa-l-kasr fī l-istifhām wa-n-nafy (B5; F1, p 18; see § 2.2 above):

NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* invalidating the iconic (/masculine/) of the IT *al-ġā'ib* (/masculine, singular/);

(5) *ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-ġā'ib* 'suffixed pronoun: 3P feminine: -*hā* :

201

wa-minhu ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-ġā'ib allaḏī huwa -hā taqūl fī duḫūl l-ism ʿalayhi baythā wa-duḫūl al-fiʿl ḍarabthā wa-awġaʿthā wa-bi-ilḥāq aš-šīn fī l-istifhām ḍarabthāš wa-fī n-nafy mā awġaʿthāš … (B5; F2, p. 20; see § 2.4 (3));

(6) *al-ġā'ib* in *ṣīġat al-ǧamʿ li-l-mufrad al-ġā'ib* 'plural, 3P (/masculine/)' co-occurrence of paradigmatical markers incompatible with the colloquial varieties described (in contrast to those related to 2P): NT *al-mufrad* 'singular' over-marking the iconic (/singular/) of the IT *al-ġā'ib* (/singular, masculine/); for the textual evidence see *al-muḫāṭab* in *ṣīġat al-ǧamʿ li-l-muchāṭab* in § 3.2 above;

(7) *ḍamīr al-mu'annaṯ al-muḫāṭabāt wa-l-ġā'ibāt* 'independent feminine personal pronoun of the 3P (feminine, plural) and 2P (feminine, plural)' substituting for the corresponding dual inflections: NT *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine' over-marking the iconic (/feminine/), as a part of the port-manteau (feminine plural) of the ABI-terms *al-muḫāṭabāt* and *al-ġā'ibāt* ; the textual evidence in § 2.3 (11-13);

(8) *aḍ-ḍamā'ir lil-muḏakkar al-ġā'ib* 'independent masculine personal pronouns of the 3P (/masculine, singular/): NT *al-muḏakkar* 'masculine' over-marking the iconic (/masculine/) of the IT *al-ġā'ib* (/masculine, singular/):

wa-ṯāliṯ aḍ-ḍamā'ir li-l-muḏakkar al-ġā'ib wa-hiya l-hā' al-maḍmūma fa-l-ʿāmma ḫaḍafūhā wa-staʿmalū minhā ḍ-ḍamm bi-išbāʿ fa-ṣār yusmaʿ ka-l-wāw fa-yaqūlūn ar-raġīf akalū zayd ay akalahu wa-fī ilḥāq aš-šīn akalūš (B5 F2, p. 20; see § 2.4(3);

(9) *ḍamīr al-ǧamʿ al-ġā'ib li-l-mu'annaṯ aw li-l-muḏakkar* 'plural form of the independent 3P pronoun, feminine or masculine': NT *al-ǧamʿ* 'plural', *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine' and *al-muḏakkar* 'masculine' substitute for the whole potential iconic content of *al-ġā'ib* and assign it the status of NT as well:

wa-sābiʿ aḍ-ḍamā'ir ḍamīr al-ǧamʿ al-ġā'ib in yakun li-l-mu'annaṯ aw li-l-muṯakkar fa-yaqūlūn hummī mufradatan bi-tašdīd al-mīm wa-kasrihā wa-yulḥiqūnahā š-šīn ʿind al-istifhām wa-n-nafy bi-l-kasr fa-yaqūlūn mā hummīš wa-l-baʿḍ mā hummāš bi-l-fatḥ wa-qalīl mā hum innamā d-dāriǧ al-akṯar al-ūlā; fa-ǧamīʿhāḏihi ḍ-ḍamā'ir marfūʿa li-annahā lā ya'tī illā fāʿilatan; wa-hāḏihi ḍ-ḍamā'ir tāratan yalfiẓūnahā qabl al-afʿāl wa-tāratan yalfiẓūn al-afʿāl bi-dūnihā (ibid., p. 19);

(10) *ḍamīr ǧamʿ al-mu'annaṯ al-ġā'ib wa-l-muḫāṭab* 'the feminine plural of suffixed and independent pronouns of the 3P and 2P' is substituted by *al-ǧamʿ al-muḏakkar* 'plural masculine' (of the corresponding forms): NT *ǧamʿ* 'plural', *al-mu'annaṯ* 'feminine', *al-ġā'ib* '3P' and *al-muḫāṭab* '2P' co-occur with NT *al-ǧamʿ* plural' and *al-muḏakkar* 'masculine' in a context free from competitive implications:

fa-hāḏihi ǧamīʿ aḍ-ḍamā'ir al-muttaṣila wa-l-munfaṣila ġayr anna ḍamīr ǧamʿ al-mu'annaṯ al-ġā'ib wa-l-muḫāṭab fī l-muttaṣil wa-l-munfaṣil qad taqaddam annahu rafaʿūh min kalāmihim wa-staʿmalū makānahumā ḍamīr al-

202

ǧamᶜ al-muḏakkar ġayr annī samiᶜt min fallāḥīn ṣafad wa-l-ǧalīl aǧmaᶜ yalfiẓūnahu fa-yaqūlūn bih ḍarabkun yaḍribkun wa-bi-ilḥāq al-šīn ḍarabkunš wa-yaḍribkunš wa-li-l-ġāʾibīn ḍarabhun wa-yaḍribhun wa-bi-ilḥāq aš-šīn ḍarabhunš yaḍribhunš wa-bi-ttiṣāl al-ism baythun (ibid., p. 21);

Abstract:

(1-3) no competitive contextual implications;

(4) invalidation of the iconic (/masculine/): IT *al-ġāʾib* confronted with NT *al-mu'annaṯ;*

(5) → (4);

(6) over-marking of the iconic (/singular/) with subsequent invalidation of the over- marked unit:

NT: *al-mufrad* + IT: *al-ġāʾib*

NT: *al-ǧamᶜ* + IT: *al-ġāʾib* → total invalidation of the iconic content with subsequent loss of the iconic identity;

(7) over-marking of the iconic (feminine):

NT: *al-mu'annaṯ* + IT: *al-muḫāṭabāt* and *al-ġāʾibāt;*

(8) over-marking of the iconic (/masculine/):

NT: *al-muḏakkar* + IT: *al-ġāʾib;*

(9) loss of the potential iconic identity of *al-ġāʾib* through the cumulation of NT-units filling the iconic space of the latter;

(10) no competitive contextual implications.

REFERENCES

BADAWI, Elsaid, CARTER, M.G. and GULLY, A. *Modern Written Arabic. A Comprehensive Grammar.* London and New York : Routledge, 2004. 812 p.

BARTH, J. *Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen.* Leipzig : J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1891. 492 p.

BEESTON, A.F.L. *The Arabic Language Today.* London : Hutchinson University Library, 1970. 125 p.

BROCKELMANN, C. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.* Vol. 1. Berlin : Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1908. 665 p.

BROCKELMANN, C. *Arabische Grammatik.* 16. Aufl. besorgt von M. Fleischhammer. Leipzig : VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1965. 277+97 p.

FISCHER, W. *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch.* 3., verbesserte Aufl. Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002. 296 p.

GROTZFELD, H. *Laut- und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen.* Wiesbaden : DMG-Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH., 1964. XIII+134 p.

HARRELL, R.S. *A Short Reference Grammar of Moroccan Arabic.* Washington, D.C. : Georgetown University Press, 1962. 263 p.

MITCHELL, T.F. *An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.* London, New York, Toronto : Oxford University Press, 1960. VIII+285 p.

ṢABBĀĠ, Mīḫā'īl b. Nīqūlā b. Ibrāhīm. (1812, manuscript version): *ar-Risāla at-tāmma fī kalām al-ʿāmma wa-l-manāhiǧ fī aḥwāl al-kalām ad-dāriǧ.* Munich : Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Cod. Arab. No. 889: 44-80 fol.).

THORBECKE, H. *Mīḫā'īl Ṣabbāġ's Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Aegypten.* Straßburg : Verlag von K.J. Trübner, 1886. X+80 p.

Abbreviations and symbols used

A   affix(es), see §1.1;

(+A)   affical iconic component in ABI-terms, §1.3;

ABI   affix-based iconicity, §1.1, §1.3, §1.4; for the sake of simplicity and transparency, the ABI-terms, as a unique iconic type represented in the textual samples analysed, will be referred to by their generic denomination IT (from § 2.2 onward);

IT   iconic term(s), §1.1, §2.2;

NT   non-iconic term(s), §1.1, §2.1;

P   pattern morpheme, §1.1.1;

123P   1P: first, 2P: second, and 3P: third person of any morphological structure compatible with this category;

PABI   pattern-and-affix-based iconicity, §1.1, §1.2, §1.3;

PBI   pattern-based iconicity, §1.1, §1.2, §1.3;

()   round brackets delimitating iconic content with all types of iconic data it may contain;

(//)   slash lines within round brackets indicate unmarked iconic data in an iconic content