

(I)

FUNCTION AND ELISION OF GLOTTAL STOP IN
EDUCATED SPOKEN ARABIC⁽¹⁾

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1. Introduction.

1.1 In Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) a word-initial glottal stop (ʔ) is regularly but variously deleted at certain inter-word junctions either alone or together with the vowel following it. For example, ʔ of the article (preceded by a consonant) underlined in

qaraʔt ʔalkitaab(2) 'I read the book'
(I read the book)

and ʔi of the noun ʔism (preceded by an open vowel) in

huwwa ʔismu ʕali 'his name is Ali'
he his name Ali

can be elided so that the following forms result:

qaraʔt alkitaab 'I read the book'
huwwa smu ʕali 'his name is Ali'

The aim of this paper is to show that elision vs. non-elision of the glottal stop in ESA is a relationship which obtains in clearly definable cases, variation being relatable, for instance, to biographical distinctions between speakers and to differences of speech function. Especially in rapid speech, certain forms elsewhere beginning a glottal stop tend to lose it and thereafter to merge syllabically with preceding forms, so that syllable boundaries cut across word boundaries.

(1) I am grateful to professor T.P.Mitchell, Mr.D.Barber, and Dr.A.T.C.Fox for their valuable comments on an earlier version of the paper.

(2) For data and reading conventions used, see note p.35.

1.2 Conjunctive and disjunctive ʔ

The elision of initial ʔ is much more restricted in Classical Arabic (CA) than in everyday educated speech.¹ The Arab grammarians recognised two types of initial glottal stop, conjunctive (waSl) and disjunctive (qaTg). Conjunctive, post-pausal ʔ is used to obviate the inadmissibility in Arabic of the vocalic inception of utterance and of initial consonant clusters and may be elided when the form to which it belongs is no longer initial. On the other hand, disjunctive ʔ may never be elided. Examples of the latter from CA are:

- (1) initial ʔ of quadrilateral verbs, e.g. ʔakram:
huwa ʔakrama Sadiiqahu 'he was generous to his friend';
- (2) initial ʔ of all nouns except eight, see subsequently;
- (3) initial ʔ of all particles. e.g. ʔinna 'that',
ʔiḥḥa 'if', ʔaw 'or'.

Common contexts of conjunctive ʔ

Successions of 3 consonants are also generally inadmissible in Arabic, so that not only is ʔ used to obviate vocalic inception but a vowel is often required to follow it in order to avoid the pattern *SCC-. This vowel, together with ʔ, is elided when ʔVCC- follows a vowel in discourse. Thus, the following are common contexts² of elision of conjunctive ʔ in CA:

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1. For elision of ʔ in CA, see, e.g. W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, Cambridge, vol. 1, 1962, pp. 19-21.
 2. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

- (i) The definite article
 fii + salbayt → fi lbayt 'at home'
 with regular (accompanying) shortening of the vowel
 ii in the closed syllable fil;
- (ii) Form I of verb- imperative
 qaala + siqraṣ → qaala qraṣ 'he said 'read!''
 qaala + fuktub → qaala ktub 'he said 'write!''
- (iii) Form VII and following forms of verb; perfect
 tense (active and passive), imperative, verbal noun
 huwa + ṣinhazam → huwa nhazam 'he was put to flight'
 Ṣimraḥ wa + ṣinhazim → Ṣimraḥ wa nhazim
 'play and be defeated'
 wa + fustuḡmil → wa stuḡmil 'and he was appointed
 governor'
 Sinna + ṣinhizaam + sal + ṣayyi + ḥaqiiqah →
 Sinna nhizaama lṣayyi ḥaqiiqah 'the defeat of the army is
 a fact'
- (iv) Eight nouns as follows:
 huwa + ṣibnu muḥammad → huwa bnu muḥammad
 'he is Mohammad's son'
 hiya + ṣibnatu muḥammad → hiya bnatu muḥammad
 'she is Mohammad's daughter'
 humaa + ṣiṯnaan → huma ṯnaa 'they two'
 lahu + ṣiṯnataan → lahu ṯnataa
 'he has two (feminine)'
 hiya + ṣimraṣah → hiya mraṣah 'she is a woman'
 lahaa + ṣimruṣun → laha mruṣun 'she has a man'
 lahaa + ṣist → laha st 'it has an anus'
 lahaa + ṣism → laha sm 'she has a name'

It will be seen subsequently that "Classical" restrictions
 on the elision of initial ṣ do not account for the variability
 in this respect of educated speech.

1.3 Harrell, in his account of Egyptian Arabic phonology, divides 'initial glottal stops' into one which is elided and one which is not, 'the first going back to an original radical /ʕ/, and the second to Classical /q/'¹. This opinion is refuted² on the grounds that in educated Egyptian (subject of Harrell's analysis) many lexical items with non-elidable initial glottal stop cannot be traced back to origins with q, e.g. ʕarḏ 'earth', ʕahwaal 'horrors', etc. - baag ʕarḏu 'he sold his land', maxaaʕTir wi ʕahwaal ilḥarb 'dangers and horrors of war'. On the other hand some forms with initial ʕ have two alternatives, as Mitchell points out, one with an elidable ʕ, and the other with a non-elidable ʕ, e.g.

ʕagtabirhaa ka- <u>smi</u>	(Egyptian - 52, 2, 197 ³)
<u>or</u> ʕagtabirhaa ka ʕismi	'I consider it like my name'
ʕilmuhumm- <u>ag</u> tinig ʕiiha	(Syrian - 27, 1, 28)
<u>or</u> ʕilmuhumm ʕagtinig ʕiiha	'What is important is that I should be convinced'.

Moreover, there is the possibility that an initial ʕ which is derivable from Classical q may be elided in some contexts of inter-word junction especially in rapid, casual speech, as in:

ʕaḥsan-asiima	'the best invoice'
(ʕaḥsan + ʕasiima/qasiima)	

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1. Richard S. Harrell, The Phonology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic, American Council of Learned Societies, 1957, p. 85.
 2. E.g. by T.F. Mitchell in his review of Harrell in BEOAS XXI (1958), pp. 635-637.
 3. Figures refer to the number of the tape in the corpus (see p.35), followed by the side involved. Any third figure indicates specific location on the side concerned.

yiktib ayma!
(yiktib + fayma/qaaʕima)

'he must write a list (i.e.
of the furniture)

Sabrak aliil!
(Sabrak +ʕaliil/qaliil)

'you have little patience'

There also has to be recognized the fact that initial ʕ of some lexical items cannot be traced back with certainty to either ʕ or q in CA, e.g. ʕimbaariḥ 'yesterday' (classical baariḥa), ʕimta 'when' (classical mataa 'when'), ʕizzaay 'how' (Classical kayf), ʕizzayyak 'how are you' (Classical kayfa ḥaaluk), ʕeeʕ 'what (usually derived (?convincingly) from fayy ʕayʕ 'any thing').

The conclusion to be drawn is that elision of initial ʕ is not dependent upon its historical origin as a segment, whether this 'origin' is classical ʕ or q.¹ It should rather be related to contemporary distinctions of form and function.

Initial ʕ which is a variant of 'underlying' q is dealt with below ('The uvular plosive in ESA').

2. Phonological and morphological ʕ

An analysis of the facts attending the elision of initial ʕ in ESA requires a distinction to be made between two types of glottal stop: (a) phonological (b) morphological.

1. This is not to deny that, with regard to phonological features other than elision, the correspondence between the classical 'q' and 'ʕ' has produced "two sorts of 'Hamzahs' (sc. glottal stops)", as Ibrahim Anis says, "identical phonetically but quite distinct phonologically. E.g. The 'hamzah' which is one of the gutturals 'ʕ' does not occur in the ʕer with any of the other gutturals (sc. xy: ʕ, ḥ, ʕ, ... but the 'hamzah' corresponding to classical 'q' may occur: yiʕud; yiʕhir", ("The Grammatical characteristics of the Spoken Arabic of Egypt", Ph.D. thesis, S.O.A.S., 1941, p. 17). For the interesting subject of compatibility and incompatibility of consonantal features, see also: T.F. Mitchell, Principles of Firthian Linguistics, Longman, 1975, pp. 63-71 and J.H. Greenberg, 'The patterning of root morphemes in Semitic', Word, 6, 1950, pp. 162-181.

2.1 Phonological ʃ is used in ESA, as in CA, to obviate two inadmissible features:

(i) Obviation of vocalic inception, c.f.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (1) | ʃana ɣuul iddaʒaaʒi
(<ʃana + ʃaɣuul + ʃiddaʒaaʒi) | (Palestinian 25,2, 30)
'I am saying the hen ... |
| (2) | ʃilli ɣawz aʃuul ana lwaʃti
(<ʃilli ɣaawiz + ʃaʃuulu + ʃana
dilwaʃti) ¹ | (Egyptian, 1, 1, 126)
'What I want to say now' |

A comparison between the facts of elision and non-elision (in parentheses) in these examples shows that while initial ʃ of some forms may be elided in contexts of inter-word junction (e.g. ʃ of ʃaɣuul (or its variant ʃaʃuul 'I say'), ʃana 'I'), ʃ which initiates an utterance (e.g. ʃ of ʃana in (1) and ʃ of ʃilli in (2) (or for that matter in the context of the form in isolation, e.g. ʃiddaʒaaʒi 'the hen') may not be omitted.

Phonological modifications entailed by elision include junctions at word boundaries (e.g. ʃana + ʃaɣuul > ʃana ɣuul (example 1), where a potentially tetrasyllabic sequence is in fact trisyllabic) and new relationships of concomitant intra-word elision, e.g. in (2) one half-close, short vowel in the unstressed closed syllable of ɣaawiz 'wanting' ($C_1VVC_2VC_3$) is elided and aa is shortened when ɣaawiz is fused with following ʃaʃuul: ɣawza-ʃuul 'I want to say'.

(ii) Obviation of initial two-consonant clusters.

On phonetic grounds it could be argued that the syllabic structures of some dialects (in Egypt and the Levant), which do not of course form part of ESA, admit initial two-consonant

1. In rapid speech, di of dilwaʃti is elided when preceded by a vowel.

clusters.¹ In principle, however, initial consonant clusters (geminate or non-geminate) are inadmissible in ESA. The following examples illustrate some uses of initial ʃ in the latter as a means of obviating initial C_1C_2 :

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (3) | ʃuʃkur illaah | 'thank God!' |
| | ʃiʒmil ilxeer | 'do good' |
| (4) | a. ʃixtabarhum | 'he examined them' |
| | b. ʃixtabirhum | 'test them' |
| | c. ʃixtibaar ilfatra lfuula | 'first term exam' |
| (5) | a. ʃistankar ilgudwaan | 'he deprecated aggression' |
| | b. ʃistankir ilgudwaan | 'deprecate aggression' |
| | c. ʃistinkaar ilgudwaan | 'the deprecation of aggression' |
| (6) | ʃibnu LLaah | 'Son of God' |

In all the above examples, a vowel (mainly i) preceded by ʃ is used to render (the inadmissible) initial consonant clusters 'pronounceable' (malfuuḂah) in the terminology of the Arab grammarians.

At (3), the vowel following ʃ is required to avoid $*\text{ʃCC-}$ (see 1.2, p. 2) in the imperative forms ʃuʃkur and ʃiʒmil (generalized pattern: $\text{ʃUC}_1\text{C}_2\text{VC}_3$) derived from the simple triradical form of the verb (pattern $C_1aC_2aC_3$. ʃakar 'he thanked', ʒamal 'he did'). At (4), ʃi- is prefixed to

- (a) the perfect tense of verbs derived by the infixation of (t) after the 1st radical with respect to the simple form (pattern: $\text{ʃiC}_1\text{taC}_2aC_3$), e.g. ʃixtabar ,

(b) the imperative of the same derived form (pattern:

1. for instance, the occurrence of initial consonant clusters characterizes Northern Sa'idi (the Arabic spoken by inhabitants of Upper Egypt between Cairo and Minia) e.g. braam 'cooking pottery', mdarrsi 'woman teacher', kwaam 'heaps'. The occurrence of the sequence $\text{ʃiC}_1\text{C}_2$ characterizes Southern Sa'idi (spoken in Upper Egypt between Assiut and Aswan), whence ʃibraam 'cooking pottery', ʃiktaar 'much', etc. where ʃi obviates initial C_1C_2 (for a detailed study, see A.A. Khalafallah, A Descriptive Grammar of Sa'idi Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, Mouton, 1969). In the Levant, forms like ktaab and ʃiktaab 'a book' ($\text{ʃ}C_1C_2$ and ʃiC_1C_2) are in free variation.

$\text{\$i}C_1C_2C_3$ e.g. $\text{\$i}xtabir$, and

- (c) the corresponding verbal noun (pattern: $\text{\$i}C_1tiC_2aaC_3$)
e.g. $\text{\$i}xtibaar$ 'a test'.

At (5), $\text{\$i}$ - is prefixed to

- (a) the perfect tense of verbs derived by the prefixation of $\text{\$i}ta$ - (pattern $\text{\$i}staC_1C_2aC_3$, e.g. $\text{\$i}stankar$ 'he deprecated'),
(b) corresponding imperatives (pattern $\text{\$i}staC_1C_2iC_3$, e.g. $\text{\$i}stankir$) and
(c) corresponding verbal noun (pattern $\text{\$i}stiC_1C_2aaC_3$, e.g. $\text{\$i}stinkaar$ 'deprecation')..

It is worth noting that:

- (i) $\text{\$} + i$ is used to obviate initial C_1C_2 in all the above forms; only with the imperative derived from the simple form of the verb $\text{\$} + i$ and $\text{\$} + u$ are used. It will be seen that all these forms admit the elision of $\text{\$}$;
(ii) the prefixation of $\text{\$} + i$ ($\text{\$} + u$) in the above examples is obligatory and closely related to the grammatical form of the verb and noun as well as to their phonological structure. For instance initial C_1C_2 requires the prefixation of $\text{\$i}$ in e.g. $(\text{\$i})xtabar$ or $(\text{\$i})staxbar$ is part and parcel of the process of morphological derivation illustrated by $(\text{\$i})C_1taC_2aC_3$ (form VIII) and $(\text{\$i})staC_1C_2aC_3$ (form x). The close succession of /s/ and /t/ is part of the process and an anaptyctic vowel may not be inserted between the two consonants of the cluster, i.e. $*\text{\$i}taCCaC$ and $*\text{\$i}taCaC$ are unpermitted patterns.

In contrast, simple forms of the verb and those with geminated second radical (perfect and imperfect), are characterized in the region of our concern by regional variation between fiC_1C_2^- and C_1iC_2^- , as

<u>Lebanese</u>	<u>Cairene</u>	
finzilna bilmaTaar	nizilna filmaTaar	'we landed'
fixliSna mn ižžawazaat	xiliSna mn iggawazaat	'we finished with the passport offic
fiḥawwil ma Saari (58, 1, 128)	tiḥawwil gumla	'you transfer mone

2.1.1 f in example 6 (fibnu LLah) is characteristic of a limited number of nouns (see 3.1.1) of kinship reference, e.g. fibn 'son', fibna 'daughter', fuxt 'sister', summ 'mother'. Similarly, variation occurs with the commonly occurring numeral fiḥneen/sitneen 'two', and fimrafa 'a woman', which also occur in the forms ḥinteen/tinteen and mara (especially in the Levant). Although fimrafa and mara are variants in the Levant, they are not so in Egypt, where mara is a pejorative term usually avoided in educated speech.

2.2 Morphological f occurs as

- (1) one radical element of a lexemic root, e.g. f in famal 'hope' (root $\sqrt{\text{fml}}$) and fazan 'he permitted' ($\sqrt{\text{fzn}}$);
- (2) as part of a complex 'schema' (i.e. vowel pattern + affix) within a morphological scatter, e.g. f in the schema fa(C₁C₂)aal, e.g. famḥaal 'proverbs' (plural noun) < maḥal 'proverb' (singular noun), and faḡmaal 'deeds, works' < ḡamal 'deed, work';

(3) fa- (first person singular) of the system of imperfect tense verbal affixes,

cf. falgab 'I play' , tilgab 'you play'
faquul 'I say' , taquul 'you say'

It will be seen that phonologically determined f is elidable (connective) while morphologically determined f is, in general, non-elidable (disjunctive) (but see also 3).

3. Elision/non-elision of f

The forms mentioned above under 2 (examples 1-6) admit the elision of f in junction with a preceding form. Considering the similarities and differences which obtain between such forms, it seems possible to distinguish between them, inter alia, by the grammatical categories to which they belong, e.g. nominals, verbals, pronouns, adjectives, the article, and particles. Moreover, the contexts in which f is elided (when no longer initial) are subdivided into:

- (I) following a consonant,
- (II) following a vowel.

General phonological and morphological behaviour of forms with elidable f

(I) f preceded by a consonant

If preceded by a consonant (and no pause is made before the form in which f is initial)¹, f alone is elided and the vowel following it becomes the nucleus of a syllable opened by the preceding

1. If a pause is made f is not, of course, elided, regardless of the rules given below.

consonant, as in

filbaSaat haay illi (< filli) jabuuha (4, 1, Jordanian)
'those new buses they brought'

fii-;jarq ilfawSaT (< filfawSaT) (23, 2, Lebanese)
'in the Middle East'.

(II) ʃ preceded by a vowel

When a vowel precedes, ʃ may be elided together with the following vowel, except under conditions of special emphasis, as shown below:

- (1) If the vowels (preceding and following ʃ) are qualitatively the same, ʃ is elided together with its vowel, e.g.

(i) ʃilfulla byaD (<ʃabyaD) mi llaban
(ʃilfulla ʃabyaD mi llaban) 'an Arabian jasmine is whiter than milk'

(ii) yaʕni lmafruud (^ʃilmafruud) ...
(yaʕni ʃilmafruud ...) 'it is supposed, that is ...'

It may be noted that (i) is an example of ambiguous utterances which may result from inter-word junctions which involve elision in the absence of contextual clues. Here the underlying constituents may be either

ʃilfull obyad (<ʃabyaD) mi llaban 'Jasmine is whiter than milk'
where full is a mass noun, or

ʃilfulla byaD (<ʃabyaD) mi llaban
in which case fulla is singulative 'one (particular) jasmine'

(2) When the vowels preceding and following ʃ differ qualitatively, educated speakers usually retain ʃ and the following vowel, e.g.

- barDu ʃiḥna ... 'we, likewise ...' (Palestinian)
- saʃaltu ʃanhu 'I asked him which' (Egyptian)
- ʃinnanii ʃaʕuul ... 'I say ...' (Egyptian)
- ʃuu filli biyssaʕid ʕala ... 'what helps in ...' (Palestinian)
- fa ʃiḥna biḡniina ʃinnu ... 'we are catering for ...' (Palestinian)
- biyʃuulu ʃeeh 'what are they saying?' (Egyptian)

(3) However, they tend to elide *fi* in most forms (especially the article) where *i* is anaptyctic, whatever the vowel that precedes, e.g.

- lifannu lmasaafa bgiida ... 'because the distance is long ...'
(Palestinian)
- Sittarbiya lfanniyih 'art education' (Jordanian)
- fi lmadrasa lli fiiha hna 'in the school we are in (now)'
(fii filmadrasa filli fiiha fihna) (Palestinian)

Note:

fa in the form *fallaah* 'Allah' is elided after any vowel in ESA,
e.g.

- Sistayfiru LLaah 'ask God for forgiveness!'
- Sistagantu bi llaah 'I seek the help of Allah'

Contexts of elision/non-elision of initial *f*

3.1 Nominals

The contrast between phonologically determined *f* in nouns such as *fism* 'name' (monosyllabic), *fahmad* 'Ahmad' (bisyllabic), and *fitibaar* 'test', *fitinkaar* 'deprecation' (trisyllabic) and morphologically determined *f* in nouns such as *fizn* 'permission' *fire* 'inheritance', etc. (monosyllabic), *famaal* 'proverbs', *farqaam* 'numbers', etc. (bisyllabic), *farnab* 'rabbit' (quadriliteral) and *fizaaza* 'holiday', *fitaara* 'provocation', etc. (trisyllabic) forces a distinction, for example, between:

- (a) *fism* and *fizn*/*fihn*
- (b) *fitibaar*/*fitinkaar* and *famaal*/*fizaaza*
- (c) *fahmad* and *farnab*

The classes in (b) and (c) are further seen against the particularities of (a).

- (a) *fism* vs *fizn*

Examples:

gan fiznak 'with your permission'
 safaltu gan ismak (<fismak 'your name') 'I asked him about your name'

Though of the same generalized pattern f_iCC, fism 'name' admits elision, fizn 'permission' does not. The consonantal units in fizn are all radicals (\sqrt{fz})¹, appearing in all related patterns of the form, e.g. fazan 'he permitted', fazaan 'call to prayer'. In fism, f is phonologically determined (see 2.1); it does not occur in other related patterns where it is not phonologically "required", e.g. the verbal samma² 'he gave a name to'. Two sub-classes of nominal forms of structure CVCC with glottal beginning are recognised therefore: sub-class (1) where f is a radical, i.e. inseparable both from the base form and all derivative alternates (e.g. fard 'land' - fardaDi 'lands', fagr 'pay' - faguur 'wages', falb 'heart' - fuluub 'hearts', etc.; sub-class (2), where initial f is not a radical element of the lexeme and does not therefore necessarily appear in related forms (e.g. fibn 'son' - bint 'daughter', banuun 'sons', banaat 'girls, daughters'; fiθnayn 'two', θintayn 'two', tinteen 'two', etc.). While initial f of sub-class (1) is not elided in ESA, f of sub-class (2) is regularly so in non-pausal contexts. The forms belonging to the latter are mostly the kin terms already mentioned:

1. $\sqrt{\quad}$ = root

2. For the treatment of (the corresponding plural) fasaami (/fasmaaʃ), see (b), p. 15.

- fibr e.g. filxaliil-ibni faḥmad 'Al-Khalil-ibn-Ahmad' (Egypt.
 fibna e.g. ʒand-ibīnit xaulti 'at my niece's place' (Lebanese)
 fism (see above)
 fimrafa/marfa } }
 } see (2.2.2)
 fiθneen/tinteen }
 fuxti 'my sister', e.g. fuft-uxti 'I saw my sister' (Egyptian)
 summi 'my mother', e.g. fuft-ummi 'I saw my mother' "

However, f in the last two forms is rarely elided in educated speech, while f in the Levantine variants ixti and simmi may not be elided, cf. :

- fuft ixti 'I saw my sister'
 fuft simmi 'I saw my mother' (Syrian)

It is perhaps worth noting that in contrast with f of sub-class (1) which is followed either by i (e.g. firθ 'heritage') or a (e.g. faḡr 'pay') or u (e.g. fusra 'family'), f of sub-class (2) is mostly followed by i, as in the numerous examples of e.g. verbal nouns elsewhere containing elidable initial f.

The above regularities can be formulated as follows:

$$(a) \quad [fV_1-] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V - \\ V_1 / C - \end{cases} \left[\begin{array}{l} -C_1C_2(V) : \\ -bn \\ -bna \\ (-xt) \\ (-mm) \\ -sm \\ \\ -mrafa \\ -θnayn \\ -θneen \\ -tneen \end{array} \right]$$

() = less often, { = either or

(b) fixtibaar/fistinkaar/sinfiqaag vs samθaal, fižaaza and filhaam

Examples:

1. { baakir ixtibaar (<fixtibaar) ilfatra l fuula
'the 1st term's exam is tomorrow'
2. { mafruug istinkaar (<fistinkaar) ilgudwaan
'the plan to deprecate aggression'
3. { masfalit infiqaag (<sinfiqaag) ilgarab
'the question of the Arabs' disunion'
4. { kitaab samθaal gaammiyya 'a book of folk proverbs'
5. { baakir fižaaza rasmiyya 'tomorrow is an official holiday'
6. { sihr wa filhaam 'magic and intuition'

It has been shown (under 2.1, p.6) that fi in verbal nouns such as *fi*xtibaar (generalized pattern $\text{fiC}_1\text{tiC}_2\text{aaC}_3$), *fistinkaar* (generalized pattern $\text{fistiC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aaC}_3$) and *sinfiqaag* 'separation' (generalized pattern $\text{sinC}_1\text{iC}_2\text{aaC}_3$) is phonologically determined. Examples (1-3) above show that this type of *f* is elidable.

In contrast, are

- (i) fa which is used as a prefixed component of a complex schema characterizing so-called "broken plural" nouns of the generalized pattern faC(C)aaC(i) :
 $\text{faC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aaC}_3$, e.g. *samθaal* 'proverbs' (<maθal 'proverb'), (example 3), *sawhaam* 'illusions' (<w... illusion'),
fasmaaf 'names' (<fism 'name'),
 faCaaCi , e.g. *ṣarqaDi* 'lands' (<ṣarD 'land'),
ṣayaani 'songs' (<ṣuyniyya 'song'), *ṣasaami* 'names' (<fism), *ṣawaani* 'pots' (*ṣinaaf* 'a pot'); and
- (ii) fi of singular nominals of the generalized pattern fiC(C)aaC(a) :
 $\text{fiC}_2\text{aaC}_3\text{a}$, e.g. *fižaaza* (example 4), *fižaaza* 'a bottle';
fiṣaaba 'injury', $\text{fiC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aaC}_3$, e.g. *filhaam* 'intuition',
siḥsaan 'beneficence', *fiḥlaal* 'humiliation'.

This type of ʕ is non-elidable in ESA^1 .

Thus:

$$(b) \quad [\text{ʕi-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{v-} \\ \text{i} / \text{c-} \end{cases} \left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{C}_1 \text{tiC}_2 \text{aaC}_3 \\ -\text{StiC}_1 \text{C}_2 \text{aaC}_3 \\ -\text{nC}_1 \text{iC}_2 \text{aaC}_3 \end{array} \right]_{\text{VN}}$$

(VN Verbal nouns)

(c) ʕahmad vs ʕarnab

Examples:

- (1) kiif ahmad (<ʕahmad 'Ahmad', proper name) 'how is Ahmad?'
- (2) Saad arnab barri 'he caught wild rabbit'

While nouns and names formed on the "relative" pattern $\text{ʕaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3$ (e.g. ʕahmad in (1), ʕabyaD 'Abyad (proper name)') may be involved in elision, quadrilateral nouns such as ʕarnab (example 2) pattern $\text{C}_1\text{VC}_2\text{C}_3\text{VC}_4$, may not.

Here again, contrast is between an initial radical in a lexeme of quadrilateral type and forms with initial ʕ which occur in paradigms of related forms, others of which do not contain initial ʕ . Cf., for example, ʕahmad: ʕamiid 'praiseworthy', ʕaamid 'thankful', ʕamd 'praise' - ʕabyaD: bayaaD 'whiteness', etc.

The fact that guttural ʕ is followed by liquid r in ʕarnab and guttural h in ʕahmad is probably also noteworthy. It will be seen subsequently that in the presence of another guttural (x , y , h , ʕ , h) (non-radical) ʕ may be elided (see 3.4).

Thus,

$$(c) \quad [\text{ʕa-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{v-} \\ \text{a-} / \text{c-} \end{cases} \left[\text{[-C}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3] \right]_{\text{N}}$$

1. In vernacular Egyptian, ʕ of e.g. ʕasaami is elidable as in meliorative ʕaaʕit laasaami! 'may the names live (for ever)'.

3.2 Verbals

Here the striking contrast is between the behaviour of phonological *fi-* and morphological *fa-* (see 2.1 and 2.2). The following examples show that the elidability of an initial glottal stop is dependent upon the quality of the vowel (phonologically required both before and after the elision of *f*, (see 1.2 p. 2)) following *f*:

(A) elidable *f* (*f* + *i*)

- 1(a) min faDlak iqrāf (<fiqrāf 'read') ilkitaab
'Please read the book'
- (b) min faDlak irtaah (<fi^rtaah 'rest yourself')
'Please take a seat'
2. law fit ixtabirhum (<fi^rixtabirhum 'examine them')
'Examine them if you wish'
3. law fit istankir (<fi^ristankir 'deprecate') ilḡudwaan
'Deprecate aggression if you wish'
4. Silmuḡallim ixtabarhum (<fi^rixtabarhum 'he examined them')
'The teacher examined them'
5. faḡmad istankar (<fi^ristankar 'he deprecated') ilḡudwaan
'Ahmad deprecated aggression'
6. Silkitaab ittargim (<fi^rittargim 'was translated')
'The book was translated'
7. Silḡoḡd inkatab (<fi^rinkatab 'was written')
'The contract was written'

(B) non-elidable *f* (*f* + *a*)

8. rabbak famar bissatr
'God has ordered condonation'
9. firrafiis fakram Deefu
'The president honoured his guest'

Comments:

f (followed by *i*) is elidable in the following forms and categories: imperative forms, e.g. those formed on the patterns $fiC_1C_2a(a)C_3$ (examples 1a, b), $fiC_1taC_2iC_3$ (ex. 2), and $fistaC_1C_2iC_3$ (ex. 3); perfect tense of verbs derived by the infixation of (t), pattern $fiC_1taC_2aC_3$ (ex. 4), or the prefixation

of *sta*, pattern $\text{fistaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3$ (ex. 5) (see 2.1, p. 6); passive verbs formed on the pattern $\text{fitC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{VC}_3$ e.g. *fittargim* (ex. 6), *fittaakil* 'it was eaten' or *finCaCaC*, e.g. *finkatab* (ex. 7), *finkasar* 'was broken'.

In contrast, morphological *f* (followed by *a* as part of the schema) is non-elidable whether it is a radical element of the form, e.g. *famar* (ex. 8), *fakal* 'he ate' (perfect pattern $\text{C}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3$), or the initial consonant of quadrilateral verbs (derived form IV) e.g. *fakram* (ex. 9), *fawraq* 'burst into leaf', *faflas* 'went bankrupt' (pattern faCCaC , *fafgal* in traditional Arabic grammar).

An exception to this general behaviour of *fa-* is *fa-* of the first person singular imperfect tense. In this case *f* is elidable in ESA as in:

raybitak amji (<*famji* 'I walk')
'Is it your wish that I should go?'

Sultilak asrig (<*fasrig* 'I hurry up') *fahsan*
'I told you I had better hurry up'.

This may be formulated as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(i) } [\text{fi-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{V -} \\ \text{i} / \text{C -} \end{cases} \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{a(a)C}_3] \\ [-\text{C}_1\text{t}\text{aC}_2\text{iC}_3] \\ [-\text{staC}_1\text{C}_2\text{iC}_3] \end{array} \right] \text{V (imp)} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{CtaC}_2\text{aC}_3] \\ [-\text{staC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3] \end{array} \right] \text{V (perf)} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{tC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{VC}_3] \\ [-\text{nC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3] \end{array} \right] \text{V (passive)} \end{array} \\
 \\
 \text{(ii) } [\text{fa-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{V -} \\ \text{a-} / \text{C -} \end{cases} \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{VC}_3] \end{array} \right] \text{V (imperf)}
 \end{array}$$

(V: verb; imp.: imperative; perf.: perfect; imperf.: imperfect)

3.3 Pronouns

As regards independent pronouns with initial $\text{f}\nabla\text{-}$, a

distinction could be made between informal forms of pronouns where *fi-* (or *fa-*) is elidable, and formal (high flown) reflexes (borrowed from the written language) where *fa-* is non-elidable, e.g.

<u>informal</u>	<u>high flown</u>
(1) maa gallaqt <u>ana</u> (< <i>fana</i> 'I') ga lmawDuug 'I did not comment on the subject'	(2) maa gallaqtu <u>fanaa</u> gala lmawDuug 'I did not comment on the subject'
(3) g ^{andak} <u>inta</u> (< <i>finta</i> 'you (masc. singular.)') lhall 'You have the solution'	g ^{indaka} <u>fanta</u> lhall 'You (masc. sing.) have the solution'
(5) g ^{andik} <u>inti</u> (< <i>finti</i> 'you' (fem. sing.)) lhall 'you have the solution'	g ^{indaki} <u>fanti</u> lhall 'you (fem. sing.) have the solution'.
(7) g ^{andükum} <u>intu</u> (< <i>fintu</i> 'you' (plural)) lhall 'you have the solution'	(8) g ^{indakum} <u>santum</u> lhall 'you (plural) have the solution'
(9) Saal <u>iḥna</u> (< <i>fiḥna</i> 'we') wlaad innaharda 'he said we are today's people, i.e. let us turn over a new leaf'	(10) (No reflex with initial <i>f</i>) qad <u>naḥnu</u> sabnaafu lyawm 'he said we are today's people'

The above examples show that

- (1) initial *fa-* is elidable in the 1st person singular pronoun *fana* 'I' (informal), non-elidable in *fanaa* 'I' (high flown) examples 1 and 2)-
- (2) initial *f + i* is elidable in all informal forms, e.g. *finta/finti* 'you' (2nd person masculine/feminine singular) (examples 3 and 5), *fintu* 'you' (2nd person plural) (example 7) and *fiḥna* 'we' (1st person plural);
- (3) initial *f + a* is non-elidable in all formal reflexes, e.g. *fanta/fanti* 'you' (2nd person masculine/feminine singular) (examples 4 and 6) and *santum* 'you' (2nd person plural) (example 8).

3.3.1 On the evidence of (3) one might have expected the $\$+i$ of the relative pronominal form ṣilli (appropriate to informal style) to be elidable while $\$ + a$ of ṣallaḥi, ṣallati (appropriate to formal style) to be non-elidable. But, in fact, $\$il-/ṣal-$ here is equatable on good grammatical grounds with the article $\$il/ṣal$ (see 3.5) and $\$$ is therefore regularly elided, as in

<u>informal</u>	<u>high flown</u>
dafaḡt ittaman <u>illi</u> (<ṣilli 'which') ttafaḡna ḡaleeh 'I paid the price which was agreed upon'	dafaḡtu ʔʔamana <u>llaḥi</u> (<ṣallaḥi (masc. sing.)) ttufiḡa ḡalayh 'I paid the price which was agreed upon'
ha lṣaḡyaaḡ <u>illi</u> (<ṣilli) muttafaḡ ḡaleeha 'these things which were agreed upon'	haaḥihi lṣaḡyaaḡu <u>llati</u> (<ṣallati (fem. sing.) ttufiḡa ḡalayha 'these things which were agreed upon'

The above regularities of elision can be formulated as follows:

$$(i) \quad [ṢV_1-] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V & - \\ V_1 / C & - \end{cases} \quad \begin{bmatrix} [-na] \\ [-nta] \\ [-ntu] \\ [-ḡna] \end{bmatrix} \text{Pron}$$

$$(ii) \quad [ṢV_1-] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V & - \\ V_1 / C & - \end{cases} \quad \begin{bmatrix} [-lli] \\ [-llaḥi] \\ [-llati] \end{bmatrix} \text{Pron}$$

(Pro pronominal)

Rule (i) applies in informal and casual styles.

Rule (ii) applies in all styles.

3.4 Adjectives

Here an important constraint is between ṣa- and the gutturality/non-gutturality of the first radical of the form. The following examples show that initial $\$$ followed by a non-guttural consonant is non-elidable while initial $\$$ followed by a guttural consonant is elidable:

(A)

- (1) ... kull maa Saarit faʃadd faw faqwa (25, 2, 188 - Syrian)
'the tougher or stronger it becomes'
- (2) fittagaamul maḡah fashal (23, 2 - ~~he~~banese)
'dealing with him is easier'
- (3) litastawḡib fakṯar min ṯalaaṯat malayiin (66, 1, Egyptian)
'so that it may embrace more than 3 millions'
- (4) nishib fii mawDuuḡ fafḌaḡ (Palestinian)
'to talk a lot about a more terrible subject'
- (5) ... kull maa kaant ilmudarrisi faḡrab (27, 1, 302 - Jordanian)
'the nearer the woman-teacher is (i.e. to the pupils)'
- (6) maḡak faSḡar ḡaḡm (Egyptian)
'you have the smallest size'

(B)

- (7) fiSSabr aḥla (ḥilw 'sweet' > faḥla 'sweeter')
'patience is better'
- (8) filharam aḡla (ḡaali 'high' > faḡla 'higher, highest')
'the pyramid is higher'
- (9) filḡamḡ ayla (yaali 'expensive' > faayla 'more expensive')
wheat is more precious'
- (10) filwalad ahyaf (haayif 'trivial' > faahyaf 'more trivial')
min faxuuh
'the boy is more trivial than his brother'

The above examples force the recognition of two sub-classes of
'relative' or 'comparative' adjectives:

Sub-class (1)

Where f is non-elidable in the presence of a following non-guttural radical (e.g. palato-alveolar ʃ in faʃadd (example 1), denti-alveolar sulcal s in fashal (example 2), velar k in fakṯar (example 3), labio-dental f (example 4), uvular q in faḡrab and faqwa (examples 5 and 1), denti-alveolar sulcal emphatic S in faSḡar (example 6));

Sub-class (2)

Where f is elidable in the presence of a guttural radical in comparable place (e.g. ḥ in faḥla (ex. 7), ḡ in faḡla (ex. 8), y in faayla (ex. 9), h in faahyaf (ex. 10)).

3.4.1 However, it is relevant to note that if the first radical of the adjective is x or ʃ, then educated speakers do not form the relative on the (usual) pattern ʃaC₁C₂aC₃. Rather, they use ʃakθar 'more' + corresponding noun, as in

- (11) ʒali ʃakθar xumuul (xaamil 'lazy' > ʃakθar xumuul
'more lazy') 'Ali is more lazy'
- (12) ʒiil ʃakθar ʃaSaala (ʃaSiil 'sensible' > ʃakθar
ʃaSaala 'more sensible')
'a more sensible generation'

Thus

$$[\text{ʃa-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V & - \\ a- / C & - \end{cases} \langle [C_1] \begin{bmatrix} h \\ \text{ʒ} \\ y \\ h \end{bmatrix} \rangle \begin{bmatrix} [-C_1 C_2 a C_3] \\ [-C_1 a C_2 C_3] \\ [-C_1 C_2 a] \end{bmatrix} \text{Adj}$$

(< > related to one of the following patterns)

3.5 The Article

The basic (underlying) form of the article prefix, often cited as ʃal or ʃil, is in fact l-. Since the following item must begin with a consonant (lc-) and no utterance may begin with a vowel or consonant-cluster, and since, too, a sequence of 3 consonants is not admissible, ʃi or the more formal ʃa is introduced to 'keep within the rules'. In both cases ʃ may be elided at inter-word junctions either alone (if preceded by a consonant) or together with the following vowel (if preceded by a vowel).

- (1) biTTaʒg ilkutub (<ʃilkutub 'the books') ilqadiima
(<ʃilqadiima 'the old') maxTuuTah
'of course, ancient books are handwritten'
- (2) kamaa ʃasham alfawwaluun (<ʃalʃawwaluun 'the ancestors')
'as (our) forefathers participated (i.e. in civilization)'

If, however, the item itself begins with elidable ʃ, then, in casual educated speech, this ʃ is elided and l is thereafter initial in the form, e.g. ʃil + ʃimtihaan 'examination' > limtihaan 'the examination'. Cf.

daxalt limtiḡanaat (<filṣimtiḡanaat) 'I sat for the exams'
 fiward laḡmar (<filṣaḡmar 'the red') 'the red roses'

This may be formulated as follows:

$$[\text{fV}_1-] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset / \text{V} - \\ \text{V}_1 / \text{C} - \end{array} \right. \left[[-1] \right] \text{the article}$$

3.6 Particles

With regard to particles, the following examples show that a distinction could be made, inter alia, between: (A) patterns which contain only one consonant (preceded by a short close or open vowel) other than initial f, and (B) patterns which contain two or more consonants other than f:

(A)

- (1) suuṣṣyaa tastaṭiḡ ṣan ('that') tastawḡib ilṣaṣliḡa (56, 1, Lebanese) 'Syria can know (lit. grasp) (how to use) the weapons'
- (2) jaḡr ṣaw ('or') jaḡreen 'a month or two' (Syrian)
- (3) yuṣaddi ṣilaa ('to') Saḡr ḡanaṣir ilmuḡtamag (4, 1, Jordanian) 'it leads to the fusion of the elements of the society'
- (4) timayyiz nawḡiyyit iḡḡubn ṣiza ('if') kaanit kaamilat idḡasam ṣaw niṣfi dasam ṣilaa ṣaaxiruh (56, 6, Egyptian) 'it distinguishes the quality of cheese, whether it is full cream or half-cream, etc. (lit. to its end).'
- (5) biḡḡaawil yitkayyaf ṣiḡa kaanat xaliit (25, 2, Palestinian) 'he tries to adjust himself if it is mi'

(B)

- (6) yaḡni binḡaawil inn ('that') iḡna naḡtarib (25, 2, Egyptian) 'we are trying to be closer to each other'
- (7) maa fii jaḡk innu lfamṭaaḡ haaḡi ... (3, 1, Jordanian) 'no doubt that this rain ...'
- (8) bitkuun izzaay ('how') (56, 2, Egyptian) 'how is it?'
- (9) ṣult izzayyak (Egyptian) 'I said "how are you?"'
- (10) ṣilkitaab anhu ('which') (Egyptian) 'which book?'
- (11) ṣin ṣallak imta ('when') matruddiḡ (Egyptian) 'if he asks when, do not answer'

Under (A), ʃ in particles such as the noun clause marker ʃan (example 1), the conjunction ʃaw (example 2 and 4), the directional particle ʃila(a) (examples 3 and 4), conditional ʃiza/ʃiða (examples 4 and 5) is non-elidable. It is worth noting that (with the exception of ʃila(a) 'to') this group of particles is also incompatible with pronominal suffixation.

Under (B), ʃ in particles such as nominalizing ʃinn (examples 6 and 7), interrogative ʃizzaay (example 8), ʃanhu (ʃanhi (feminine)/ ʃanhum (plural) 'which' (example 10) and ʃimta 'when' (example 11) may be elided:

$$[\text{ʃV}_1-] \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \emptyset / \text{V} - \\ \text{V}_1 / \text{C} - \end{matrix} \left[\text{[-CC(V) (V) (C)]} \right] \text{particle}$$

In contrast with particles at (A), these particles (with the exception of ʃimta) are compatible with suffixation, e.g. in (7) ʃinn is associated with a bound pronoun, the 3rd person masculine singular suffix $-\text{u}$, in (9) ʃizzaay is compounded with the 2nd person masculine singular suffix $-\text{ak}$.

Summary: Generally speaking, initial ʃ particles which contain only one consonant other than ʃ and which are incompatible with suffixation is non-elidable. On the other hand, initial ʃ in particles which contain 2 or more consonants besides ʃ and are compatible with suffixation is elidable.

4. Stylistic distinctions

4.1 There is a considerable difference between the facts of elision in educated speech (as partly illustrated above) and the speech of uneducated people. It is perhaps worth

mentioning that almost any word-initial f in vernacular Arabics (e.g. Egyptian and Jordanian¹) is elidable, at any rate in contexts of inter-word junction. The following attested examples illustrate some contexts of elision typical of Egyptian market-place speech; they are in marked contrast with the facts of usage in educated speech as well as in CA (shown in parentheses):

- (1) waLLaahi ma maddiit iidi 'By God! I didn't stretch my
Educated (waLLaahi ma maddiit fiidi) hand'
CA (WaLLaahi maa madadtu yadi)
- (2) bagattilik arnab gaʃiyyi 'I sent you a rabbit yesterday'
Ed. (bagattilik ʃarnab imbaarih)
CA (bagaθtu laki ʃarnaban ʃams)
- (3) bagd iznik ya sitt 'with your permission, madam'
Ed. (bagd ʃiznik ya madaam)
CA (bagda ʃiθniki yaa sayyidati)
- (4) fii nwaar kitiir fi-ʃjaariɕ 'there are many lights in the
Ed. (fii ʃanwaar) street'
CA (tuuzadu ʃanwaarun kaθiiratun fi ʃjaariɕ)
- (5) keef laħwaal 'How are you?'
Ed. (keef ilʃaħwaal)
CA (kayfa lʃaħwaal)
- (6) ɕarabiyyat lugra 'taxi-cabs'
Ed. (ɕarabiyyaat ilʃugra)
CA (ɕarabaatu lʃugrah)
- (7) makanʃi fahimn abadan 'He was not understanding me at all'
Ed. (makanʃi fahimni ʃabadan)
CA (lan yafhamani ʃabadan) 'he will never understand me'
- (8) biyfull eeh 'what is he saying to me?'
Ed. (biyfulli ʃeeh)
CA (ma llaθi yaquuluhu lii)
- (9) ɕal ee da 'what is all this about?'
Ed. (ɕala ʃee da)
CA (lɪmaaθaa kullu haaθaa, i.e. ɕalaa ʃayyi ʃayfin haaθaa).

1. For a detailed study of a Jordanian dialect, see S.A. El-Hassan, 'Phonological aspects of syllabication and the syllable in a Jordanian Arabic dialect', M.Phil. dissertation, Leeds Univ., 1969, chapter 2.

Such contrasting contexts of elision/non-elision form a part of an educated Arab's receptive competence; they offer no barrier to intelligibility.

As can be seen, even ʃ of items such as ʃabadan 'never' (ex. 7), usually associated with emphasis, is elidable in this uneducated style of speech. Initial ʃ of interrogative particles such as ʃee(h) 'what' (examples 8 and 9) (rarely elided in ESA especially when preceded by a vowel) is regularly elided and so is ʃ of nouns such as ʃizn (example 3), ʃarnab (example 2), ʃanwaar (example 4), etc. It may be remembered that ʃ of structurally comparable nouns such as ʃabb 'father', ʃuxt 'sister', ʃaḥmad 'Ahmad', is elidable in ESA (especially in casual speech), non-elidable in CA. Thus, it is perhaps justifiable to conclude that ESA goes beyond the restrictions of the written language, yet it is far less given to elision than uneducated speech.

Note:

While the substitution of w and y for initial ʃ is common in illiterate speech, this is rare in ESA; cf.:

- $\text{da wakil ʒaal waLLaahi}$ (Upper Egypt)
Educated ($\text{da ʃaki ʒaal waLLaahi}$) 'by God! this is good food'
- bi yee da (Upper Egypt)
Educated ($\text{bi ʃee da/bi kaam da}$) 'what price is this'
- $\text{ʃufna yalli}^1 \text{ ʃultullak ʒaleehun}$ (Damascus)
Educated ($\text{ʃufna ʃilli ʃutilak ʒaleehum}$) 'we saw those who I toldyou about'

4.2 Equally important is variability within ESA. This results from differentiation in terms of local linguistic loyalties and loans (serving high-flown speech) from the written language. The following are a few examples

1. The relative pronoun has the following forms in Syrian Arabic:
 halli (e.g. $\text{ʃinnaas halli ʒandi}$ 'the people I have'), yalli
and ʃilli :

illustrating some regularities of difference between educated and less educated, formal and informal, etc.

4.2.1. It is perhaps interesting that in casual speech the frequency of the elision of ξ is high, while in high-flown speech it is quite low. The following contrasting extracts from unscripted discussions and conversations reveal a correlation between elision and the formality of the situation.

Extract 1 (high-flown) Situation: formal as expected when a group of commentators of different nationalities sit together to discuss a political question for a T.V. programme. The speaker is a 50-year-old Lebanese male addressing a mixed audience in Kuwait.

1 "ḥawaalii faab ... tantahi muddat ṣalrafiis
ṣalḥaali faranḏiyya (pause) ṣaḡtaqid-ilṣaTraof
 qad-istanfazat qiwaaha ... wafaḡtaqid ṣannahaa
 kilaahumaa ṣiqtanaga - lṣaan ṣanna-stimroor
 5 ṣannaziif-iddamawi qad yiṣadii ṣilaa
 ḥuluul xaariḏiyya. ṣamma-ttaḡqiib ḡalaa suṣaalak
 ḥawla-lwasaaTo ... laa ḡak ṣannahu ṣusiif fahmihaa ...
 ṣiifax haani kaana ḡariifan ḡindamaa qaama biṣism-
 9 ilmuḡaawama binaqdi mawḡifi-lmuḡaawami ..."

(56, 1)

"Approximately in Aab (August), the presidential period of the present president (Faranḏiyya) comes to an end. I think the parties now have exhausted their strengths, and I think that both of them now have been convinced that the continuation of bloodshed might lead to the imposition of external

solutions.

Commenting in your question about mediation ...
there is no doubt that it was misunderstood ...
Brother Hany was daring when he, on behalf of the
Resistance, criticised the Resistance's stand ..."

Extract 2 (casual) Situation: informal as is appropriate
among friends and relatives. The topic is of the daily
type. The speaker is a 25-year-old Lebanese male talking
to his Egyptian friends.

- 10 "ʕanaa hwiytii ʕinnii kasdir ... tigrif ʕawwil
maʕiit hooni ʕa maʕir riht ʕalaa (hesitation)
nzilna bi-lmaʕaar fattaʕna ʕalaa taksi maa laʕina
13 faa (pause) riħnaa ntarna saħtiin lalfayna taksi
(pause) bilmaʕaar ʕaħduuna ʕarbuħ saħaat biħħawazaat
15 (pause) ʕixliʕna mn-iħħawazaat riħnaa ʕalaa-
lħumruk maħal ma biynabju layraaD ..." (58,2)

"my hobby is to go for a stroll ... You know,
the moment we arrived here in Cairo (lit. Egypt)
I made for ... we landed (on the aerodrome),
we looked for a taxi and could not find one, we
waited two hours to find a taxi. At the aerodrome
they kept us four hours in the passport office.
(when) we finished with the passport office we
went to the customs where they searched the luggage ..."

Comments

(1) In passage (1) ʕ of the article is not elided
right through as in (2), perhaps to slow down the tempo
of the speech to give the interlocutor more time to
think. In layraaD (line 17) ʕi of the article is elided

together with initial *ʃ* of the item (*ʃayraaD* 'things') leaving *l* initial as appropriate to casual speech. (Cf. *ʃagtaqid - ilʃaTraaf*, line 2).

(2) While elidable *ʃ* of nominals (e.g. *ʃayraaD*) is elided in the informal passage, it is not elided in any instance in the formal counterpart. Even *ʃ* in *ʃism* 'a name' is retained, *biʃism* (line 8), though *bism* is to be expected.

(3) In (1) initial *ʃ* of forms derived by the prefixation of *sta-* (e.g. *ʃistanfazat* (line 2)) and *ʃ* of their corresponding verbal nouns (e.g. *ʃistimraar* (line 4)) are elided. No such forms occurred in (2). As expected in formal speech, *ʃa* of the first person singular imperfect tense is retained throughout in (1). In contrast, it is elided in the informal passage (e.g. *kasdir* 'go for an outing', line 10) (see 4.2.2, no. 2)

(4) In (1) the noun clause marker *ʃan* appropriate to formal style is used (e.g. in lines 3, 7) where *ʃ* is non-elidable; in (2) its informal variant *ʃinn* 'that' is used (line 10), though the speaker retained its elidable *ʃ*.

4.2.2 The following observations are not irrelevant:

(1) It has been shown (2.2.1) that initial clusters in 'simple' verb forms (e.g. perfect *ʃixliʃna* (line 15)/*xiliʃna*, 'geminate' imperfect *ʃiḥawwil/tiḥawwil*) are obviated in two ways: either by initial *ʃi* or by the introduction of a vowel between the first and second radical consonants of the form.

Three variants

Another (and equally important) variant of the above forms (e.g. *ʃinzilna/nizilna*) emerges as a result of (highly) educated speakers introducing the vowel patterns or schemas

of the written language into speech, especially in formal situations. Thus a continuum of variants is being built up comprising forms which are cognates but not in free variation, since they serve different styles of speech; thus,

<u>speech event</u>	<u>biography of speaker</u> ¹	<u>variable forms</u>
informal chat	rural (Upper Egypt), urban or rural (Levant) less educated	a. <u>ʕinzilna</u> or <u>nzilna</u> <u>bilmaʕaar</u> b. <u>ʕizliSna</u> or <u>xliSna</u> <u>mn iʕʕawazaat</u> c. <u>ʕihawwil</u> or <u>tʕhawwil maSaari</u>
ditto	urban (Egypt and the Levant) educated	a. <u>nizilna</u> <u>bi/fi</u> ³ <u>lmaʕaar</u> b. <u>xiliSna</u> <u>mn</u> <u>iʕʕawazaat</u> c. <u>tihawwil</u> <u>maSaari/</u> <u>gumla</u>
formal conversation	either urban or rural (Egypt and the Levant) highly educated	a. <u>nazalnaa</u> <u>fi</u> <u>lmaʕaar</u> b. <u>xaluSnaa</u> <u>mina</u> <u>lʕawazaat</u> c. <u>tuhawwil</u> <u>gumla(h)</u>

(2) In the casual conversation of Syrian and Lebanese speakers, the prefix *ʕa* (or *ʕi*) of the first person singular imperfect tense is elided if preceded by a form ending in an open syllable or one of the type CVC, as in:

- ʕiddi ʕallaʕ ʕala kalaamak (Lebanese 58, 2, 52)
(ʕiddi ʕaʕallaʕ " ") 'I'd like to comment on
what you say'
- ʕanaa hwiytii ʕinnii kasdir (Extract 2 above, 1.10)
(ʕanaa hwiytii ʕinnii : 'my hobby is to go for a stroll'
ʕakasdir)
- ʕiddi kammil ʕamali (Syrian)
(ʕiddi ʕakammil ʕamali) 'I'd like to complete my work'

1. A speaker adjusts, of course, to hearer.
2. Both forms occur in Upper Egypt and the Levant (see ft. p. 7).
3. *bi* used in the Levant, *fi* in Egypt.

- laazim kammil ɣamali (Syrian)
(laazim ʃakammil ɣamali) 'I have to complete my work'
- yaɣni biʃdir ʃuul ɣan nafsi (Lebanese 23, 2, 192)
(" " ʃaʃuul " ") 'that is, I can say about myself.'

If ʃa/ʃi is followed by a consonant cluster, or preceded by a form ending in a consonant cluster, only ʃ is elided, as in :

- kunt aɣallim luɣa frinsiyyi (Lebanese 58, 2)
(kunt ʃaɣallim " ") 'I was teaching French'
- mafruud ifham ɣaleeh (Lebanese 23, 2)
(mafruud ʃifham ") 'I am supposed to understand him'

This is in contrast with Egyptian practice where ʃ is elided (together with preceding vowel) and the vowel following it is retained in comparable contexts, as in

- bidd aɣallaʃ ɣala kalaamak
- laazim akammil ɣamali
- kunt aɣallim luɣa

(3) Some (highly) educated speakers are socially motivated to introduce into their speech the written language's passive forms for stylistic effect and to sound cultured/educated above the ordinary. In contrast with elidable ʃ of passive verbs formed on the pattern ʃitC₁aC₂VC₃ or ʃinC₁aC₂ (see 3.1.2) which characterizes less educated style, ʃ of passive perfect verbal forms in this style (e.g. as that in extract 1), characterized by the pattern ʃu(CC)i(C) (e.g. ʃunzil 'was revealed', ʃursil 'was sent') may not be elided. Passage (1) contains an example of the latter:

ʃannahu ʃussil ʃahmihaa (line 7)

More examples are:

- ʃilmudiir ʃuqiil 'the manager was sacked'
- ʃams ʃuqiima lɣafl 'yesterday the party was given'
- ʃilfilm ʃuqiid ɣarDu(h) 'the film was repeated'

The following rules seem to account for the elision of the glottal stop in ESA:

Nominals

$$(a) \quad [\text{ʕ}V_1] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V \\ V_1 / C \end{cases} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \left[\begin{array}{l} -C_1C_2(V) \\ -bn \\ -bna \\ (-xt) \\ (-mm) \\ (-sm) \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} -mraʕa \\ -ʕnayn \\ -ʕneen \\ -tneen \end{array} \right] \end{matrix}$$

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial ʕ of the sub-class of nouns of structure ʕVC₁C₂(V) and of ʕimraʕa, ʕiʕneen/ʕitneen/ʕiʕnayn is elided either together with the following vowel (if preceded by a vowel) or alone (if preceded by a consonant).

$$(b) \quad [\text{ʕi-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V \\ i / C \end{cases} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \left[\begin{array}{l} -C_1tiC_2aaC_3 \\ -StiC_1C_2aaC_3 \\ -nC_1iC_2aaC_3 \end{array} \right]_{VN}$$

(VN verbal nouns)

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial ʕi of nominals of structure ʕiC₁tiC₂aaC₃, ʕistiC₁C₂aaC₃, or ʕinʕiʕaaʕ₃ is elided if preceded by a vowel, ʕ alone is elided if ʕi- is preceded by a consonant.

$$(c) \quad [\text{ʕa-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V \\ a- / C \end{cases} \begin{matrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{matrix} \left[-C_1C_2aC_3 \right]_N$$

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts, initial ʕ of nouns and names formed on the 'relative' pattern ʕaC₁C₂aC₃

is elided either alone (if preceded by a consonant)
or together with the following vowel (if preceded by a vowel)
(see p. 16).

Verbals

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(i) } [\text{\$i-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{v} \text{ ---} \\ \text{i-} / \text{c} \text{ ---} \end{cases} \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{a}(\text{a})\text{C}_3] \\ [-\text{C}_1\text{taC}_2\text{iC}_3] \\ [-\text{staC}_1\text{C}_2\text{iC}_3] \end{array} \right]_{\text{V (imp)}} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{C}_1\text{taC}_2\text{aC}_3] \\ [-\text{staC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3] \end{array} \right]_{\text{V (perf)}} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{tC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{VC}_3] \\ [-\text{nC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3] \end{array} \right]_{\text{V (passive)}} \end{array} \\
 \\
 \text{(ii) } [\text{\$a-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{v} \text{ ---} \\ \text{a-} / \text{c} \text{ ---} \end{cases} \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{VC}_3] \end{array} \right]_{\text{V (imperf)}}
 \end{array}$$

(V verb, imp imperative, perf perfect, imperf imperfect)

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial si- is elidable in the following forms: imperative forms of structure $\text{siC}_1\text{C}_2\text{a}(\text{a})\text{C}_3$, $\text{siC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{iC}_3$, and $\text{sistaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{iC}_3$; perfect tense of verbs of structure $\text{siC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{aC}_3$ and $\text{sistaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3$; passive verbs of structure $\text{sitC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{VC}_3$ and $\text{sinC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3$
(ii) initial sa- is elidable in the first person singular imperfect tense, structure $\text{saC}_1\text{C}_2\text{VC}_3$

Pronouns

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(i) } [\text{\$V}_1\text{-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{v} \text{ ---} \\ \text{V}_1 / \text{c} \text{ ---} \end{cases} \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{na}] \\ [-\text{nta}] \\ [-\text{ntu}] \\ [-\text{?na}] \end{array} \right]_{\text{Pron.}} \\
 \\
 \text{(ii) } [\text{\$V}_1\text{-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{v} \text{ ---} \\ \text{V}_1 / \text{c} \text{ ---} \end{cases} \left[\begin{array}{l} [-\text{lli}] \\ [-\text{lla?i}] \\ [-\text{llati}] \end{array} \right]_{\text{Pron.}} \\
 \text{(Pron pronominal)}
 \end{array}$$

Rule (i) specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial f is elidable in all informal forms of pronouns, either alone (if preceded by a consonant) or together with the following vowel (if preceded by a vowel).

Rule (ii) specifies that initial f is elidable in all relative pronominal forms, informal and high flown.

Adjectives

$$[\text{fa-}] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{v} - \\ \text{a-} / \text{c} - \end{cases} \left\langle [C_1] \begin{Bmatrix} \text{h} \\ \text{c} \\ \text{y} \\ \text{h} \end{Bmatrix} \right\rangle \begin{bmatrix} [-C_1 C_2 a C_3] \\ [-C_1 a C_2 C_3] \\ [-C_1 C_2 a] \end{bmatrix} \text{Adj}$$

($\langle \rangle$ = related to one of the following patterns)

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial f is elidable in the subclass of 'relative' or 'comparative' adjectives in the presence of a following guttural radical (C_1), either alone (if preceded by a consonant) or together with the following vowel [a] (if preceded by a vowel).

The article

$$[\text{fV}_1-] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / \text{v} - \\ \text{v} / \text{c} - \end{cases} \begin{bmatrix} [-1] \end{bmatrix} \text{the article}$$

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial f of the article is elidable either alone (if preceded by a consonant) or together with the following vowel (if preceded by a vowel).

Particles

$$\{[V_1-] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset / V \\ V_1 / C \end{array} \right. \text{ --- } [\text{---CC(V) (V) (C) }] \text{ particle}$$

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial \emptyset of particles which contain 2 or more consonants besides \emptyset is elidable either together with the following vowel (if preceded by a vowel) or alone (if preceded by a consonant).

Note:

Research is based on a corpus of unscripted, unprepared conversations and discussions covering a wide range of topics and interpersonal relationships recorded in Egypt and the Levant. The speakers are educated men and women of different origins and occupations, aged (25-65). For a definition of Educated Spoken Arabic, see Mitchell 1978 and El-Hassan 1977.

Brief conventions for reading the transcribed material employed are as follows:

Consonant-letters

θ, ð voiceless and voiced dental fricatives; ʃ, ʒ voiceless and voiced palate-alveolar fricatives; r an alveolar flap, rr an alveolar roll; x, ɣ voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives, ʕ, ʁ voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives; q a voiceless uvular plosive; ʕ glottal plosive; S, T, Ð, Z, L, D 'emphatic' consonants, corresponding to 'non-emphatic' s, t, ð, z, l, d respectively.

Vowel-letters

i a half-close to close front spread vowel; u a half-close to close back rounded vowel; a, ʌ front and back open vowels; e, ɛ mid- to half-close front and back vowels, spread and rounded respectively. Long vowels are indicated by doubling the appropriate vowel letter (ii, ee, aa, ʌʌ, oo, uu).

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