I

FUNCTION AND ELISION OF GLOTTAL STOP IN

EDUCATED SPOKEN ARABIC

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1. Introduction.

1.1 In Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) a word-initial glottal stop (١) is regularly but variously deleted at certain inter-
word junctions either alone or together with the vowel
following it. For example, ١ of the article (preceded
by a consonant) underlined in

\textit{qara\textit{f} \textit{kalkitaab(2)}} \quad \textit{I read the book}

(I read \textit{the book})

and ١ of the noun \textit{fism} (preceded by an open vowel) in

\textit{huwwa fismu \textit{gali}} \quad \text{his name is Ali'}

he \text{his name Ali}

can be elided so that the following forms result:

\textit{qara\textit{f} al kitaab} \quad \textit{I read the book'}

\textit{huwwa smu \textit{gali}} \quad \text{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.

(I) 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 notes p.35.
1.2 Conjunctive and disjunctive $f$

The elision of initial $f$ is much more restricted in Classical Arabic (CA) than in everyday educated speech. The Arab grammarians recognised two types of initial glottal stop, conjunctive (wa$jl$) and disjunctive (ga$Tg$). Conjunctive, post-pausal $f$ 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 $f$ may never be elided. Examples of the latter from CA are:

(1) initial $f$ of quadriliteral verbs, e.g. ʕakram:

huwa ʕakrama Sadiqahu 'he was generous to his friend';

(2) initial $f$ of all nouns except eight, see subsequently;

(3) initial $f$ of all particles. e.g. sinna 'that',

fiNNa 'if', faW 'or'.

**Common contexts of conjunctive $f$**

Successions of 3 consonants are also generally inadmissible in Arabic, so that not only is $f$ used to obviate vocalic inception but a vowel is often required to follow it in order to avoid the pattern *VCC=. This vowel, together with $f$, is elided when $VCC=$ follows a vowel in discourse. Thus, the following are common contexts$^2$ of elision of conjunctive $f$ in CA:

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3.

(i) The definite article

\( \text{fi} + \text{albayt} \rightarrow \text{fi lbayt} \) 'at home'

with regular (accompanying) shortening of the vowel

\( \text{ii} \) in the closed syllable \( \text{fil} \);

(ii) Form I of verb - imperative

\( \text{qala} + \text{figraf} \rightarrow \text{qala graf} \) 'he said 'read!''

\( \text{qala} + \text{fuktub} \rightarrow \text{qala ktub} \) 'he said 'write!'''

(iii) Form VII and following forms of verb; perfect tense (active and passive), imperative, verbal noun

\( \text{huwa} + \text{finhazam} \rightarrow \text{huwa nhaazam} \) 'he was put to flight'

\( \text{simra}\mathbf{\text{h}} \) wa + \( \text{finhazim} \rightarrow \text{simra}\mathbf{\text{h}} \) wa nhaazim

'play and be defeated'

\( \text{wa} + \text{fustugmil} \rightarrow \text{wa stugmil} \) 'and he was appointed governor'

\( \text{sinna} + \text{sinhizam} + \text{fal} + \text{zayji} + \text{qaqiqah} \rightarrow \text{sinna nhaizama l} \text{zayji} \text{ qaqiqah} \)' the defeat of the army is a fact'

(iv) Eight nouns - follow:

\( \text{huwa} + \text{figra} \) mu\( \text{hammad} \rightarrow \text{huwa bnu mu\( \text{hammad} \) \) 'he is Mohammad's son'

\( \text{hiya} + \text{fignata} \) mu\( \text{hammad} \rightarrow \text{hiya bnu mu\( \text{hammad} \) \) 'she is Mohammad's daughter'

\( \text{humaa} + \text{fignaan} \rightarrow \text{huma } \text{enaan} \) 'they two'

\( \text{lahu} + \text{fignataan} \rightarrow \text{laha } \text{enaan} \) 'he has two (feminine)'

\( \text{hiya} + \text{simra\( \text{fah} \) } \rightarrow \text{hiya mra\( \text{fah} \) 'she is a woman'

\( \text{lahaa} + \text{simru\( \text{un} \) } \rightarrow \text{la} \text{ha mru\( \text{un} \) 'she has a man'

\( \text{lahaa} + \text{figst} \rightarrow \text{la} \text{ha st} \) 'it has an anus'

\( \text{lahaa} + \text{figsm} \rightarrow \text{la} \text{ha sm} \) 'she has a name'

It will be seen subsequently that "Classical" restrictions on the elision of initial \( \mathbf{\text{f}} \) 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 /q/, and the second to Classical /q/\(^1\). This opinion is refuted\(^2\) 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 \(\dot{q}\), e.g. Sur\(\dot{d}\) 'earth', Sahwa\(\=\dot{a}\)l 'horrors', etc. - ba\(\dot{a}\r\) Sur\(\dot{d}\)u 'he sold his land', max\(\dot{a}\)n\(\dot{a}\) Tir wi Sahwa\(\=\dot{a}\)l il\(\dot{a}\)rb 'dangers and horrors of war'. On the other hand some forms with initial \(\dot{q}\) have two alternatives, as Mitchell points out, one with an elidable \(\dot{q}\), and the other with a non-elidable \(\dot{q}\), e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sa\=\(\dddot{g}\)tabirha\(\dddot{a}\) ka-smi} & \quad \text{\textit{(Egyptian - 52, 2, 197)}}^3 \\
\text{or Sa\=\(\dddot{g}\)tabirha\(\dddot{a}\) ka-f\(\dddot{i}\)smi} & \quad \text{I consider it like my name'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Filmuhumm-\(\dddot{a}\)gtin\(\dddot{a}\) f\(\dddot{i}\)iha} & \quad \text{\textit{(Syrian - 27, 1, 28)}} \\
\text{or Filmuhumm Sa\=\(\dddot{g}\)tin\(\dddot{a}\) f\(\dddot{i}\)iha} & \quad \text{What is important is that I should be convinced'.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sa\=\(\=\dot{a}\)n-\(\=\dot{a}\)siima} & \quad \text{\textit{'the best invoice'}} \\
\text{\textit{(Ta\=\(\=\dot{s}\)san + \(\=\dot{s}\)asiima/qusiima)}}
\end{align*}
\]


2. E.g. by T.F. Mitchell in his review of Harrell in BS\(\dot{a}\)AS 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.
5.

yiktib aymal
(yiktib + Sayma/qawṣina) 'he must write a list (i.e. of the furniture)

Sabbak ayyil!
(Sabbak + falla’il/qalil) '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. tilmārib 'yesterday' (classical baariha), tinta 'when' (classical maternal 'when'), tīzasay 'how' (classical kayf), tīzzarella 'how are you' (classical kayfa ṣaalluk).

See! 'what (usually derived (convincingly) from Sayy [ayā '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. 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 ʕ and ʕ has produced "two sorts of 'hamzah' str. glottal stop'", 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 any word with any of the other gutturals (sc. 'y.s.h.d.), but the 'hamzah corresponding to classical 'ʕ' may occur: yiṣped: yiṣhir", ("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-v-v phonemes in Semitic', Word, 6, 1950, pp. 162-181.
2.1 Phonological ldata is used in ESA, as in CA, to obviate two inadmissible features:

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

(1) سانا قول ادداذاعز (Palestinian 25, 2, 30)
   (سانا + تاغول + ءدداذاعز) 'I am saying the hen ...

(2) غليغذ اذوعل انا اغلي (Egyptian, 1, 1, 126)
   (غليغذ غاوز + ءاذوعل + سانا + ءاذواعي) 'What I want to say now'
   (دیلوادی) +

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

Phonological modifications entailed by elision include junctions at word boundaries (e.g. سانا + تاغول > سانا قول (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 غاوز 'wanting' (C₁VC₂VC₃) is elided and ąa is shortened when غاوز is fused with following ءاذوعل: غاوز ءاذوعل '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

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1. In rapid speech, ą of دیلوادی is elided when preceded by a vowel.
clusters. In principle, however, initial consonant clusters (geminate or non-geminate) are inadmissible in ESA. The following examples illustrate some uses of initial $'$ in the latter as a means of obviating initial $C_1C_2$:

(3) Sujkur illaah  
    $'$iğmil ilkeer  
    'thank God!'  
    'do good'

(4) a. Sixtabarhum  
    b. Sixtabirhum  
    c. Sixtabur ilfutru lfuula  
    'he examined them'  
    'test them'  
    'first term exam'

(5) a. Sixtankar ilguduwaan  
    b. Sixtankir ilguduwaan  
    c. Sixtankur ilguduwaan  
    'he deprecated aggression'  
    'deprecate aggression'  
    'the depreciation of aggression'

(6) Sibnu LLaaah  
    'Son of God'

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

At (3), the vowel following $'$ is required to avoid $'$iCC- (see 1.2, p. 2) in the imperative forms Sujkur and Sixgimil (generalized pattern: $'$UC$_1$C$_2$VC$_3$) derived from the simple triradical form of the verb (pattern $C_1$C$_2$C$_3$). Jakir 'he thanked', $gi$mal 'he did'). At (4), $si$- is prefixed to

(a) the perfect tense of verbs derived by the infixation of (t) after the $li$- radical with respect to the simple form (pattern: $C_1$C$_2$aC$_3$), e.g. Sixtabar,

(b) the imperative of the same derived form (pattern: $C_1$C$_2$C$_3$).
8.

\( \text{śiśtaC}_{2}c \) e.g. śixtabir, and

the corresponding verbal noun (pattern: \( \text{śiC}_{1}\text{tiC}_{2}\text{aaC}_{3} \)),
e.g. śixtabbar 'a test'.

At (5), śi- is prefixed to

(a) the perfect tense of verbs derived by the prefixation
    of sta- (pattern śistaC\(_{1}\)C\(_{2}\)aaC\(_{3}\), e.g. śistankar
    'he deprecated'),

(b) corresponding imperatives (pattern śistaC\(_{1}\)C\(_{2}\)iC\(_{3}\), e.g.
    śistankir) and

(c) corresponding verbal noun (pattern śistiC\(_{1}\)C\(_{2}\)aaC\(_{3}\),
    e.g. śistinkar 'deprecation').

It is worth noting that:

(i) ś + i is used to obviate initial C\(_{1}\)C\(_{2}\) in all the above
    forms; only with the imperative derived from the simple
    form of the verb ś + i and ś + u are used. It will be
    seen that all these forms admit the elision of ś;

(ii) the prefixation of ś + i (ś + 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\(_{1}\)C\(_{2}\) requires
    the prefixation of śi in e.g. (śi)xtabbar or (śi)staxbar
    is part and parcel of the process of morphological
    derivation illustrated by (śi)C\(_{1}\)taC\(_{2}\)aaC\(_{3}\) (form VIII)
    and (śi)staC\(_{1}\)C\(_{2}\)aaC\(_{3}\) (form x). The close succession of
    /s/ and /t/ is part of the process and an analectic
    vowel may not be inserted between the two consonants
    of the cluster, i.e. *śitaCCaC and *CitaCaC 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 $\text{šC}_1\text{C}_2^-$ and $\text{C}_1\text{C}_2^-$, as

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Lebanese</th>
<th>Cairene</th>
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<td>Ꝩ� allocations</td>
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2.1.1 Ꝩ is in example 6 (ṣibnu LLaah) is characteristic of a limited number of nouns (see 3.1.1) of kinship reference, e.g. ᵃḥin 'son', ᵁibna 'daughter', ᵇuxt 'sister', ᵇ.zūmm 'mother'. Similarly, variation occurs with the commonly occurring numeral Ꝩteen/ʕitteen 'two', and Ꝩmra 'a woman', which also occur in the forms Ꝩeen/ʕitteen and Ꝩara (especially in the Levant). Although Ꝩmra and Ꝩara are variants in the Levant, they are not so in Egypt, where Ꝩara is a pejorative term usually avoided in educated speech.

2.2 Morphological Ꝩ occurs as

1. one radical element of a lexemic root, e.g. Ꝩ in Ꝩmal 'hope' (root Ꝩ말ml) and Ꝩasan 'he permitted' (⸂zāzn);
2. as part of a complex 'schema' (i.e. vowel pattern + affix) within a morphological scatter, e.g. Ꝩ in the schema Ꝩa(\text{C}_1\text{C}_2)aal, e.g. Ꝩmæbal 'proverbs' plural noun) < Ꝩæbal 'proverb' (singular noun), and Ꝩagmaal 'deeds, works' < Ꝩmal 'deed, work';
10.

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

cf. $an$gab 'I play', $ti$gab 'you play'

$ta$quul 'I say', $ta$quul 'you say'

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

3. Elision/non-elision of $a$

The forms mentioned above under 2 (examples 1-6) admit the elision of $a$ 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, verbs, pronouns, adjectives, the article, and particles. Moreover, the contexts in which $a$ 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 $a$

(I) $a$ preceded by a consonant

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

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1. If a pause is made $a$ is not, of course, elided, regardless of the rules given below.
11.

consonant, as in

silboSgu t ha y illi (< filli) jabu u ha (4, 1, Jordanian)
'those new buses they brought'

fii - jargil SguS q (< fillawSguT) (23, 2, Lebanese)
in the Middle East'.

(II) $ preceded by a vowel

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

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

(i) Sil fulla byaD (<SubyaD) mi llaban
(Sil fulla SubyaD mi llaban) 'an Arabian jasmine is white:
than milk'

(ii) yarni limofruuD (<YimofruuD) ...
(yarni YimofruuD ...) '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

Sil fulla byaD (<SubyaD) mi llaban 'Jasmine is whiter than milk'
where full is a mass noun, or

Sil fulla byaD (<SubyaD) mi llaban
in which case fulla is singular 'one (particular) jasmine'

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

- borDu fi nna ... 'we, likewise ...' (Palestinian)
- sa fa ltu lanhu 'I asked him which' (Egyptian)
- fi nna ni faquul ... 'I say ...' (Egyptian)
- juu filli biysa a rig gula ... 'what helps in ...' (Palestinian)
- fa fi nna bignia na finnu ... 'we are catering for ...'(Palestinian)
- bi yfu lu leeh 'what are they saying?' (Egyptian)
However, they tend to elide $i$ in most forms (especially the article) where $i$ is anaptyctic, whatever the vowel that precedes, e.g.

- $\text{lifannu imasaafa bgiida ...}$ 'because the distance is long ...' (Palestinian)
- $\text{Sittarbiya lfanniyyih}$ 'art education' (Jordanian)
- $\text{fi lmodrosa lli fiiha ḫna}$ 'in the school we are in (now)' (fii $\text{fīlmadrosa fīlli fīihā fiynā}$) (Palestinian)

Note:

So in the form $\text{Ṣallāh } '\text{Allah}'$ is elided after any vowel in ESA, e.g.

$\text{Tistayfīru Llāh}$ 'ask God for forgiveness!
$\text{Tistagaṣantu bi llaah}$ 'I seek the help of Allah'

Contexts of elision/non-elision of initial $i$

3.1 Nominals

The contrast between phonologically determined $i$ in nouns such as $\text{ṣism } '\text{name}'$ (monosyllabic), $\text{Ṣajmad } '\text{Ahmad}'$ (bisyllabic), and $\text{Ṣixtibāq } '\text{test}'$, $\text{Ṣistinkoar } '\text{deprecation}'$ (trisyllabic) and morphologically determined $i$ in nouns such as $\text{Ṣizn } '\text{permission}'$, $\text{Ṣiğē } '\text{inheritance}'$, etc. (monosyllabic), $\text{Ṣamqal } '\text{proverbs}'$, $\text{Ṣorgqam } '\text{numbers}'$, etc. (bisyllabic), $\text{Ṣarnab } '\text{rabbit}'$ (quadriliteral) and $\text{Ṣiṣaṣazə } '\text{holiday}'$, $\text{Ṣiṣqorq } '\text{provocation}'$, etc. (trisyllabic) forces a distinction, for example, between:

(a) $\text{Ṣism and Şizn}/\text{Ṣiṣn}$
(b) $\text{Ṣixtibqar}/\text{Ṣistinkoar}$ and $\text{Ṣamqal}/\text{Ṣiṣaṣazə}$
(c) $\text{Ṣajmad}$ and $\text{Ṣarnab}$

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

(a) $\text{Ṣism vs Şizn}$
Examples:

\begin{align*}
\text{gan } & \text{fiiznak} \quad '\text{with your permission'} \\
\text{saäl} & \text{altu } \text{gan } \text{ismak } <\text{fiiznak} \quad '\text{I asked him about your name'}
\end{align*}

Though of the same generalized pattern fiizCC, fiism 'name' admits elision, fiizn 'permission' does not. The consonantal units in fiizn are all radicals ($\sqrt{\text{fiizn}}$), appearing in all related patterns of the form, e.g. fiyan 'he permitted', fiyaan 'call to prayer'. In fiism, $\sqrt{}$ is phonologically determined (see 2.1); it does not occur in other related patterns where it is not phonologically "required", e.g. the verbal samma $^2$ 'he gave a name to'. Two sub-classes of nominal forms of structure CVCC with glottal beginning are recognised therefore: sub-class (1) where $\sqrt{}$ is a radical, i.e. inseparable both from the base form and all derivative alternates (e.g. SurD 'land' - SurDdi 'lands', Sogr 'pay' - Suguur 'wages', Sâlb 'heart' - Suluub 'hearts', etc.; sub-class (2), where initial $\sqrt{}$ is not a radical element of the lexeme and does not therefore necessarily appear in related forms (e.g. fiibn 'son' - bint 'daughter', banuun 'sons', banaa't 'girls, daughters'; fiënâyn 'two', ëinten 'two', tinteen 'ten', etc.).

While initial $\sqrt{}$ of sub-class (1) is not elided in ESA, $\sqrt{}$ 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. $\sqrt{}$ root
2. For the treatment of (the corresponding plural) âasaami (/âasmaa$\sqrt{}$), see (b), p. 15.
Fil.: e.g. filxaliil-ibni Sahmad 'Al-Khalil-ibn-Ahmad' (Egypt.
Filna e.g. qand-ibinit xaolti 'at my niece's place' (Lebanese)
Fism (see above)
Fimra/a/marla } } see (2.2.2)
Fineen/tineen }

Juxti 'my sister', e.g. jufit-uxti 'I saw my sister' (Egyptian)
Jummi 'my mother', e.g. jufit-ummi 'mother'

However, $\xi$ in the last two forms is rarely elided in educated speech, while $\xi$ in the Levantine variants juxti and jummi may be elided, cf.:

- jufit juxti 'I saw my sister'
- jufit jummi 'I saw my mother' (Syrian)

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

The above regularities can be formulated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\xi & \xi V_1 - \rightarrow \\
\{ \emptyset / V - \\
\{ V_1 / C - \\
& \begin{cases}
\text{-C}_1\text{C}_2(V): \\
\text{-bn} \\
\text{-bna} \\
\text{(-xt)} \\
\text{(-mm)} \\
\text{-sm} \\
\text{-mrca\$u} \\
\text{-@nayn} \\
\text{-@neneen} \\
\text{-@tneen}
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\{ \} = \text{less often, } \{ \} = \text{either or} \]
Examples:

1. (baakir ixtiboaar (fixxtiboaar) ilfu'tra 1 fuula 'the 1st term's exam is tomorrow'
2. (mojrurq ixtinkoor (fixistinkoor) ilgudwaan 'the plan to deprecate aggression'
3. (masalit injigaq (Sinjigaq) ilgarab 'the question of the Arabs' disunion'
4. (kitaab samoolal gaammiiya 'a book of folk proverbs'
5. (baakir fiizaaza rasmiiya '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 ixtiboaar (generalized pattern fiC C2aaC3), ixtinkoor (generalized pattern fiistic1C2aaC3) and injigaq 'separation' (generalized pattern fiinC1C2aaC3) is phonologically determined. Examples (1-3) above show that this type of fi is elidable.

In contrast, are

(i) Sa which is used as a prefixed component of a complex schema characterizing so-called "broken plural" nouns of the generalized pattern Ssa(C)(C)aaC(i):
SsaC1C2aaC3, e.g. samoolal 'proverbs' (mamool 'proverb') (example 3), sawhaam 'illusions' (wawaam 'illusion'),
Sasmal 'names' (fism 'name'),
Scaaci, e.g. sarcoDi 'lands' (yorfD 'land'),
Sayaani 'songs' (Suyniya 'song'), Sasami 'names' (fism), Sawaani 'pots' (Sinaa 'a pot'); and

(ii) fi of singular nominals of the generalized pattern fiC(C)aaC(a):
fiC2aaC3a, e.g. fiizaaza (example 4), fiizaaza 'a bottle;
fiisuma 'injury', fiic1C2aaC3, e.g. filhaam 'intuition',
fiisaan 'beneficence', fisaal 'humiliation'.

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This type of ʕ is non-elicitable in ESA.¹

Thus:

(b) [ʕi-] \[\{\emptyset / v - [\begin{array}{c}
-C_1iC_2aC_3 \\
-S_iC_1C_2aC_3 \\
-nc_1C_2aC_3 \\
\end{array}]\} \_BN\]

(VN Verbal nouns)

(c) ʕahmad vs ʕarnab

Examples:

(1) kiif ʕahmad (ʕahmad 'Ahmad', proper name) 'how is Ahmad?'

(2) Suq da ʕarnab barri 'he caught wild rabbit'

While nouns and names formed on the "relative" pattern ʕaC_1C_2aC_3 (e.g. ʕahmad in (1), ʕobyuD 'Abyad (proper name)') may be involved in -lision, quadrilateral nouns such as ʕarnab (example 2) pattern C_1VC_2C_3VC_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: ʕamid 'praiseworthy', ʕamid 'thankful', ʕamd 'praise' - ʕobyuD: boyuD 'whiteness', etc.

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

(c) [ʕa-] \[\{\emptyset / v - [\begin{array}{c}
-a / C - [\begin{array}{c}
-C_1C_2aC_3 \\
\end{array}]\} \_N\]

1. In vernacular Egyptian, ʕ of e.g. ʕasaami is elidable as

in meliorative ʕaajit lasaami! 'may the names live (for ever)'.
3.2 Verbals

Here the striking contrast is between the behaviour of phonological \(-i\) and morphological \(-a\) (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 \(-i\), (see 1.2 p. 2)) following \(-i\):

(A) elidable \(-i\) \((\-i + i)\)

1(a) min faDlāk igraʕ (\<gigraʕ\> 'read') ilkitaab
   'Please read the book'

1(b) min faDlāk iρtaʔ (\<gitaʔ\> 'rest yourself')
   'Please take a seat'

2. law išt ixtābirhum (\<sixtābirhum\> 'examine them')
   'Examine them if you wish'

3. law išt istankir (\<sistikir\> 'deprecate') ilgudwaan
   'Deprecate aggression if you wish'

4. Šilmugallim ixtābirhum (\<sixtābirhum\> 'he examined them')
   'The teacher examined them'

5. Šarmad istankar (\<sistikar\> 'he depredated') ilgudwaan
   'Ahmad deprecated aggression'

6. Šilkitaab iittargim (\<sittargim\> 'was translated')
   'The book was translated'

7. Šilqadq inkātab (\<sinkātab\> 'was written')
   'The contract was written'

(B) non-elidable \(-i\) \((\-i + a)\)

8. rabbak Šamār bissatr
   'God has ordered condonation'

9. Širraštis Šakram Deefu
   'The president honoured his guest'

Comments:

\(-i\) (followed by \(i\)) is elidable in the following forms and categories: imperative forms, e.g. those formed on the patterns ŠiC\(_1\)C\(_2\)a(a)C\(_3\) (examples 1a, b), ŠiC\(_1\)taC\(_2\)iC\(_3\) (ex. 2), and ŠistaC\(_1\)C\(_2\)iC\(_3\) (ex. 3); perfect tense of verbs derived by the infixation of \((t)\), pattern ŠiC\(_1\)taC\(_2\)aC\(_3\) (ex. 4), or the prefixation
of sta, pattern $\text{SistaC}_1 \text{C}_2 \text{aC}_3$ (ex. 5) (see 2.1, p. 6); passive verbs formed on the pattern $\text{YitC}_1 \text{aC}_2 \text{VC}_3$ e.g. $\text{fittargim}$ (ex. 6), $\text{fittaakil}$ 'it was eaten' or $\text{sinCaCaC}$, e.g. $\text{sinkatab}$ (ex. 7), $\text{sinkusar}$ 'was broken'.

In contrast, morphological $\text{S}$ (followed by a as part of the schema) is non-elicitable whether it is a radical element of the form, e.g. $\text{Somar}$ (ex. 8), $\text{Sakal}$ '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. $\text{Sakram}$ (ex. 9), $\text{Swaraq}$ 'burst into leaf', $\text{Safias}$ 'went bankrupt' (pattern $\text{SaCCaC}$, $\text{Safgal}$ in traditional Arabic grammar).

An exception to this general behaviour of $\text{S}$ is $\text{S}a-$ of the first person singular imperfect tense. In this case $\text{S}$ is elicitable in EEA as in:

\[ \text{raybitak amji (} < \text{Samji} \text{ 'I walk'}) \]
'Is it your wish that I should go?'

\[ \text{Sultilak asriq (} < \text{Sasriq} \text{ 'I hurry up}) \text{Sa} \text{hsan} \]
'I told you I had better hurry up'.

This may be formulated as follows:

(i) $\text{[S]}-$ \[ \begin{align*}
\emptyset & / \text{V} - \\
\text{i} / \text{C} - \\
\end{align*} \]
\[ \begin{align*}
\left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{C}_1 \text{aC}_2 \text{aC}_3 \\
\text{staC}_1 \text{C}_2 \text{aC}_3 \\
\end{array} \right] \text{V (imp)} \\
\end{align*} \]

(ii) $\text{[Sa]}-$ \[ \begin{align*}
\emptyset & / \text{V} - \\
\text{a} / \text{C} - \\
\end{align*} \]
\[ \begin{align*}
\left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{C}_1 \text{aC}_2 \text{VC}_3 \\
\text{nC}_1 \text{aC}_2 \text{aC}_3 \\
\end{array} \right] \text{V (imperf)} \\
\end{align*} \]

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

3.3 Pronouns

As regards independent pronouns with initial $\text{S}$-, a
distinction could be made between informal forms of pronouns
where Ꚉ- (or Ꚉ-) is elidable, and formal (high flown)
reflexes (borrowed from the written language) where Ꚉ- is
non-elidable, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal</th>
<th>High Flown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) maa ṭallaqt ḍanā (キン 'I') ḏa ṭma ṭunug</td>
<td>(2) maa ṭallaqtu ḍanā ḍala ṭma ṭunug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I did not comment on the subject'</td>
<td>'I did not comment on the subject'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) ṭanda ḍinta (キン 'you (masc. sing.)') ḏa ṭal</td>
<td>(キン 'You (masc. sing.) have the solution')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You have the solution'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) ṭanda ṭanti (キン 'you (fem. sing.)') ḏa ṭal</td>
<td>(キン 'you (fem. sing.) have the solution')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You have the solution'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) ṭanda ṭum ṭinta (キン 'you (plural)) ḏa ṭal</td>
<td>(キン 'you (plural) have the solution')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You have the solution'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Ꚉāl ṭaḥna (キン 'we') ṭla ṭum (キン 'he said we are today's people, i.e. let us turn over a new leaf')</td>
<td>(キン 'he said we are today's people')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above examples show that

(1) initial Ꚉ- is elidable in the 1st person singular
pronoun ḍanā 'I' (informal), non-elidable in ḍanā 'I'
(high flown) examples 1 and 2)-

(2) initial Ꚉ- is elidable in all informal forms, e.g.
キン 'you' (2nd person masculine/feminine singular)
(examples 3 and 5), Ꚉāl 'you' (2nd person plural)
(example 7) and ḍiḥna 'we' (1st person plural);

(3) initial Ꚉ- is elidable in all formal reflexes,
e.g. ḍanā 'you' (2nd person masculine/feminine
skeletal) (examples 4 and 6) and Ꚉanta 'you' (2nd
person plural) (example 8).
3.3.1 On the evidence of (3) one might have expected the ʼini of the relative pronominal form ʼilli (appropriate to informal style) to be elidable while ʼa of ʼallaši, ʼallati (appropriate to formal style) to be non-elidable. But, in fact, ʼil-/ʼal- here is equatable on good grammatical grounds with the article ʼil/ʼal (see 3.5) and ʼa is therefore regularly elided, as in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{informal} & \\
\text{dafagšt ittaman ʼilli (ʼilli} & \text{ high flow} \\
\text{ʼwhich) } & \text{ llaši (ʼallaši} \\
\text{ttafaža } & \text{ (masc. sing.) } \\
\text{gelehn } & \text{ ttufiqa } \\
\text{'I paid the price which was} & \text{ galayh} \\
\text{agreed upon'} & \text{'I paid the price which was} \\
\text{agreed upon'} & \text{agreed upon'} \\
\text{muttafaq } & \text{ these things which were agreed} \\
\text{gelehn } & \text{upon'} \\
\text{‘these things which were agreed} \\
\text{upon'} & \text{upon'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The above regularities of elision can be formulated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(i) } [\text{SY}_-] & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\varnothing / \text{V} - \\
\text{SY} / \text{C} - \\
\end{array} \right\} \\
\text{Pron} & \left[ \begin{array}{c}
[-\text{na}] \\
[-\text{nta}] \\
[-\text{ına}] \\
\end{array} \right] \\
\text{(ii) } & \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\varnothing / \text{V} - \\
\text{SY} / \text{C} - \\
\end{array} \right\} \\
\text{Pron} & \left[ \begin{array}{c}
[-\text{lli}] \\
[-\text{llaši}] \\
[-\text{llati}] \\
\end{array} \right] \\
\end{align*}
\]

(P: pronominal)

Rule (i) applies in informal and casual styles.

Rule (ii) applies in all styles.

3.4 Adjectives

Here an important constraint is between ʼa- and the gutturality/non-gutturality of the first radical of the form. The following examples show that initial ʼa followed by a non-guttural consonant is non-elidable while initial ʼa followed by a guttural consonant is elidable:
21.

(A)

(1) ... kull maa Sqrīt Sājadd Saw Sāqwa (25, 2, 168 - Syrian)
  'the tougher or stronger it becomes'

(2) Sittāramul màrah Gashal (23, 2 - Lebanese)
  'dealing with him is easier'

(3) litastawrīb Sākbr min Qalaaqat malayiin (66, 1, Egyptian)
  'so that it may embrace more than 3 millions'

(4) nishib fii mawDūr, Sāfbr, (Palestinian)
  'to talk a lot about a more terrible subject'

(5) ... kull maa kaant ilmudarrisi Sāgrb (27, 1, 302 - Jordanian)
  'the nearer the woman-teacher is (i.e. to the pupils)'

(6) māraq Ṣusyr ḥagm (Egyptian)
  'you have the smallest size'

(B)

(7) SīSqrbr all (ḥilw 'sweet' > Sāhla 'sweeter')
  'patience is better'

(8) Sīlahram aqrā (gaali 'high' > Sāqla 'higher, highest')
  'the pyramid is higher'

(9) Sīlqarnt ayrā (yaali 'expensive' > Sāyla 'more expensive')
  wheat is more precious'

(10) Sīlwalad ahyaf (haayif 'trivial' > Sāhyaf 'more trivial')
  min Ṣaxuxuh
  'the boy is more trivial than his brother'

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

Sub-class (1)
Where S is non-elidable in the presence of a following non-
guttural radical (e.g. palato-alveolar j in Sājadd (example 1),
denti-alveolar sulcal s in Gashal (example 2), velar k in
Sākbr (example 3), labio-dental f (example 4), uvular q in
Sāgrb and Sāqwa (examples 5 and 1), denti-alveolar sulcal
emphatic S in Ṣusyr (examples 6));

Sub-class (2)
Where S is elidable in the presence of a guttural radical in
comparable place (e.g. ḥ in Sāhla (ex. 7), ḫ in Sāqla (ex.
8), ḷ in Sāyla (ex. 9), ḡ in Sāhyaf (ex. 10)).
3.4.1 However, it is relevant to note that if the first radical of the adjective is \( x \) or \( \$ \), then educated speakers do not form the elative on the (usual) pattern \( \$aC_1C_2C_3 \). Rather, they use \( \$ak\thetaur 'more' + \) corresponding noun, as in

\[(11) \quad \text{rali } \$ak\thetaur xumuul (xaamil 'lazy' } > \text{ \$ak\thetaur xumuul 'more lazy'}' \quad \text{ 'All is more lazy'}\]

\[(12) \quad \text{\$ill \$ak\thetaur \$aS\{il\} 'sensible' } > \text{ \$ak\thetaur \$aS\{il\} 'more sensible'}' \quad \text{ 'a more sensible generation'}\]

Thus

\[
[s-a-] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\emptyset / v \\
a-/ C
\end{array} \right\} \quad \left\langle \begin{array}{l}
[a] \\
[C_1] \\
[C_1C_2C_3]
\end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{bmatrix}
[-C_1C_2aC_3] \\
[-C_1aC_2C_3] \\
[-C_1C_2a]
\end{bmatrix} \quad \text{Adj}
\]

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

3.5 The Article

The basic (underlying) form of the article prefix, often cited as \( \$al \) or \( \$il \), 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, \( \$i \) or the more formal \( \$a \) is introduced to 'keep within the rules'. In both cases \( \$ \) 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).

\[(1) \quad \text{bitTahār ilkutub (\&ilkutub 'the books') \&ilqadīma (\&ilqadīma 'the \&old') mx\text{TuuTah 'of course, ancient books are handwritten'}\]

\[(2) \quad \text{kamaa fasham al\text{f}awwala\text{u}n (\&alfawwala\text{u}n 'the ancestors') as (our) forefathers participated (i.e. in civilization')\]

If, however, the item itself begins with elidable \( $ \), then, in casual educated speech, this \( $ \) is elided and \( l \) is thereafter initial in the form, e.g. \( \$il + \text{\$imti\text{h} \text{a}n 'examination'} \rightarrow \text{limti\text{h} \text{a}n 'the examination'. \text{Cf.}}\)
daxalt limithanaat (âsilimthanaat) 'I sat for the exams'
Silward lahmâr (âsilâhmâr 'the red') 'the red roses'

This may be formulated as follows:

\[
[fv_1] \quad \{ \emptyset \quad V \quad - \quad [-1] \}
\]

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 $\$\$, and (B) patterns

which contain two or more consonants other than $\$:

(A)

(1) suuyyyaa tastTiieg \$an ('that') tastawgib ilfasliqa (56, 1, Lebanese

"Syria can know (lit. grasp) [how to use] the weapons"

(2) jahr \$aw ('or') jahreem 'a month or two' (Syrian)

(3) yu$kaddi \$ilaa ('to') Sohr gongqSir ilmujtamaq (4, 1, Jordanian)

'it leads to the fusion of the elements of the society'

(4) timawyiz nawgiyyit \$qubn \$iza ('if') kaanit kaamilat

iddasam $aw ni$fl dasam \$ilaa \$aaxiruh (56, 6, Egyptian)

'it distinguishes the quality of cheese, whether it is

full cream or half-cream, etc. (lit. to its end).

(5) biyhaawil yitkayyaf \$i$d kaanat xalinT (25, 2, Palestinian

'he tries to adjust himself if it is m:

(B)

(6) yagni biyhaawil \$nn ('that') i$hna nagtarib (25, 2, Egyptian)

'we are trying to be closer to each other'

(7) maa fi$ jakk innu \$umToor $aad $i ... (3, 1, Jordanian)

'no doubt that this rain ...

(8) bitkuun izzayy ('how') (56, 2, Egyptian)

'how is it?'

(9) Sult izzayyak (Egyptian)

'I said "how are you?"

(10) Silkitaab anhu ('which') (Egyptian)

'which book?'

(11) Si$n Sallak imta ('when') matruddi$ (Egyptian)

'if he asks when, do not answer'
24.

Under (A), $ in particles such as the noun clause marker $an (example 1), the conjunction $aw (example 2 and 4), the directional particle $ila(a) (examples 3 and 4), conditional $iza/$iša (examples 4 and 5) is non-elicable. It is worth noting that (with the exception of $ila(a) 'to') this group of particles is also incompatible with pronominal suffixation.

Under (B), $ in particles such as nominalizing $inn (examples 6 and 7), interrogative $izzaay (example 8), $anhu/$anhi (feminine)/$anhum (plural) 'which' (example 10) and $imta 'when' (example 11) may be elided:

\[ [\text{V}_{1}] \rightarrow \text{V} - \left[ -\text{CC}(\text{V})(\text{V})(\text{C}) \right] \text{particle} \]

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

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

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 ʃ in vernacular
Arabic (e.g. Egyptian and Jordanian\(^1\)) 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) waLLaLhi ma maddiišt iidi 'By God! I didn’t stretch my
Educated (waLLaLhi ma maddiišt iidi)
hand'
CA (waLLaLhi maa maddtu yadi)

(2) baraatilik arnaab gajiyyi 'I sent you a rabbit yesterday'
Ed. (baraatilik arnaab imbaarì)
CA (baraatilu lawati Sarnaban Sams)

(3) bard iznik ya sitt 'with your permission, madam'
Ed. (bard iznik ya madaam)
CA (barda siynniki yaa sayyidati)

(4) fii nwar kitiiř fi-Saariq 'there are many lights in the
Ed. (fii Sarwoor ... ... )
street'
CA (tuuzzadu Sarwoorun kaeeirootun fi Saarig)

(5) keef laraawal 'How are you?'
Ed. (keef ilSahawaal)
CA (kayfa ilSahawaal)

(6) garubiiyyat lugaab 'taxi-cabs'
Ed. (garubiyyaat ilSugra)
CA (garubaatu ilugrah)

(7) makanji fahimn abadan 'He was not understanding me at all'
Ed. (makanji fahimnì Sabadan)
CA (lan yafhamani Sabadan) 'he will never understand me'

(8) biySulli eeh 'what is he saying to me?'
Ed. (biySuli ilSneh)
CA (ma ilaani yaguułuhu lii)

(9) ralee da 'What is all this about?'
Ed. (ra la fee da)
CA (limaañaa kullu haanaa, i.e. rala an sayyi saytin haanaa).

---

1. For a detailed study of a Jordanian dialect, see
S.A. El-Hassan, 'Phonological aspects of syllabification
and the syllable in a Jordanian Arabic dialect', M.Phil.
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  İş of items such as ṣābdān 'never' (ex. 7), usually associated with emphasis, is elidable in this uneducated style of speech. Initial  İş of interrogative particles such as lā ḫu (h) 'what' (examples 8 and 9) (rarely elided in ESA especially when preceded by a vowel) is regularly elided and so is  İş of nouns such as bāz (example 3), ṣālāb (example 2), ṣānnā (example 4), etc. It may be remembered that  İş of structurally comparable nouns such as hā'bīb 'father', ṣāxīt 'sister', ṣāḥmād '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  İş is common in illiterate speech, this is rare in ESA; cf.:

- da wakīl gaal wāllādhi (Upper Egypt)
  Educated (da ṣākīl gaal wāllādhi) 'by God! this is good food'
- bi ṣāl (Upper Egypt)
  Educated (bi ṣāl da/bi kaam da) 'what price is this'
- ʃuʃnu ʃallī ʃultūlāk gāleehun (Damascus)
  Educated (ʃuʃnu ʃallī ʃultūlāk gāleehun) 'we saw those who I told you 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:
   hallī (e.g. līnaas hallī ḡandī 'the people I have'), yallī
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 ـ 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  "hyaalii saab ... tantahi muddat Salmaa
      Salmaa fornitya (pause) Saytqid-ilfroof
      qad-istanfazat qawaaha ... waSaytqid Sannahaa
      kilahumaa fiqtanaa - lwaan Sanna-stimruur

5  Sannahiif-iddamawi qad yifaddi fiila:
    fululul xaariiyya. Sanna-ittaghiib galaa suaalak
    haawa-lwaasaatu ... laa jka Sannahu Susiiif fahmihaa ...
    fiilax haani kaana Sariiifan giindamaa quoma bifism-
    ilmuqoodama binaaqdi mawqifi-ilmuqoodami ..."
   
   (56, 1)

"Approximately in Aab (August), the presidential period of the present president (Faraniiyya) 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
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 ..."
together with initial .lazy of the item (lazy 'things') leaving
1 initial as appropriate to casual speech. (Cf. lazayl -
iallyTaaf, line 2).
(2) While elidable lazy of nominals (e.g. lazy) is elided
in the informal passage, it is not elided in any instance
in the formal counterpart. Even lazy in lazy 'a name'
is retained, bilazy (line 8), though bism is to be expected.
(3) In (1) initial lazy of forms derived by the prefixation
of sta- (e.g. listantafazat (line 2)) and lazy of their corresponding
verbal nouns (e.g. listimraar (line 4)) are elided. No
such forms occurred in (2). As expected in formal speech,
lazy 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 lazy an appropriate to formal
style is used (e.g. in lines 3, 7) where lazy is non-elidable;
in (2) its informal variant lazy 'that' is used (line 10),
though the speaker retained its elidable lazy.

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 lixliSna (line 15)/xiliSna,
'geminate' imperfect liihawwil/tiibawwil) are obviated in
two ways: either by initial lazy 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. liznilna/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,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>speech event</th>
<th>biography of speaker</th>
<th>variable forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>informal chat</td>
<td>rural (Upper Egypt),</td>
<td>a. <em><strong>Sinzi[RNA]</strong></em> or <em><strong>nzil[RNA]</strong></em> (\text{bllm[Taar]})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urban or rural (Levant)</td>
<td>b. <em><strong>xilis[RNA]</strong></em> or <em><strong>xli[RNA]</strong></em> (\text{mn i[RNA]awa[RNA]za[RNA]t})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>less educated</td>
<td>c. <em><strong>fit[RNA]hawwil</strong></em> or <em><strong>t[RNA]hawwil ma[RNA]Su[RNA]ri</strong></em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. <em><strong>ti[RNA]hawwil ma[RNA]Su[RNA]ri/(\text{g}[RNA]\text{um}[RNA]a</strong></em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. <em><strong>tu[RNA]hawwil (\text{g}[RNA]\text{um}[RNA]a(h)}</strong></em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) In the casual conversation of Syrian and Lebanese speakers, the prefix ***fä (or ***fi)*** 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:

- **biddi ralla[RNA] gala kala[RNA]mak** (Lebanese: \(\text{58, 2, 52}\) ) 'I'd like to comment on what you say'
  (biddi ḥa[RNA]galla[RNA]HF " " )

- **fanaa hwiytii x[RNA]nnii ka[RNA]dir** (Extract 2 above, \(\text{1.10}\) ) 'my hobby is to go for a stroll' (fanaa hwiytii ḥn[RNA]li ḥakas[RNA]dir)

- **biddi kammi[RNA]l [RNA]gamali** (Syrian) 'I'd like to complete my work'
  (biddi ḥakammi[RNA]l gamali)

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 gamali (Syrian) 'I have to complete my work'

yaghi bi'dir Suul gan nafsi (Lebanese 23, 2, 192) ('Suul' "that is, I can say about myself.
If Sa/Ya is followed by a consonant cluster, or preceded by a form ending in a consonant cluster, only S is elided, as in:

- kunt agallim luya frinsiyya (Lebanese 58, 2) 'I was teaching French'
  (kunt Šagallim " ")

- mafruDU ifham galeeh (Lebanese 23, 2) 'I am supposed to understand him'
  (mafruDU Yifham " ")

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

- bidd agallaš gala kalaamak
- laazim akammil gamali
- kunt agallim luya

(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 S of passive verbs formed on the pattern S1tC1S2VC3 or S1nC1pC2 (see 3.1.2) which characterizes less educated style, S of passive perfect verbal forms in this style (e.g. as that in extract 1), characterized by the pattern S2(CC)1(C) (e.g. Sunzil 'was revealed', Sursil 'was sent') may not be elided. Passage (1) contains an example of the latter:

Fannahu Susiš fahmihaa (line 7)

More examples are:

- Šilmudiir Šugiil 'the manager was sacked'
- Šams Šugiima ḫaaf 'yesterday the party was given'
- Šilfilm Šugiid gorDu(h) 'the film was repeated'
The following rules seem to account for the elision of the glottal stop in ESA:

Nominals

(a) \([SV_1] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V \\ V' / C \end{cases} \)

\([-C_1C_2(V) \\ -bn \\ -bna \\ (-xt) \\ (-mm) \\ (-sm) \\ -mra\tilde{a}\nu \\ -\theta\tilde{a}\nu \\ -\theta\nu\nu\nu \\ -\theta\nu\nu \]

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial \(\tilde{a}\) of the sub-class of nouns of structure \(SVC_1C_2(V)\) and of \(\tilde{a}mra\tilde{a}\nu, \tilde{a}\nu\nu\nu/\tilde{a}t\nu\nu/\tilde{a}t\nu\nu\nu\tilde{a}\nu\nu\) is elided either together with the following vowel (if preceded by a vowel) or alone (if preceded by a consonant).

\[\begin{cases} \emptyset / V \\ i / C \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -C_1tiC_2aaC_3 \\ -Stic_1C_2aaC_3 \\ -nC_1iC_2aaC_3 \end{bmatrix} \]

(VN verbal nouns)

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial \(\tilde{a}\) of nominals of structure \(\tilde{a}C_1tiC_2aaC_3, \tilde{a}tC_1C_2aaC_3, \) or \(\tilde{a}tC_1C_2aaC_3\) is elided if preceded by a vowel, \(\tilde{a}\) alone is elided if \(\tilde{a}\) is preceded by a consonant.

(c) \([Sa-] \rightarrow \begin{cases} \emptyset / V \\ a- / C \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -C_1C_2aaC_3 \end{bmatrix}_N \]

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts, initial \(\tilde{a}\) of nouns and names formed on the 'elative' pattern \(SaC_1C_2aaC_3\)
is elided either alone (if preceded by a consonant) or together with the following vowel (if preceded by a vowel) (see p. 16).

**Verbals**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{[\text{īC}_1\text{C}_2\text{a(a)C}_3]} \\
&\text{[\text{īC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{iC}_3]} \\
&\text{[\text{īstaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{iC}_3]} \\
&\text{\text{V} (imp)}
\end{align*}
\]

(i) [\text{īi-}] \Rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\emptyset / \text{V} & \text{[\text{īC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{aC}_3]} \\
i- / \text{C} & \text{[\text{īstaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3]} \\
\text{\text{V} (perf)} \\
\end{cases}

(ii) [\text{īa-}] \Rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\emptyset / \text{V} & \text{[\text{īC}_1\text{C}_2\text{VC}_3]} \\
a- / \text{C} & \text{\text{[\text{īC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3]} \\
\text{\text{V} (imperf)} \\
\end{cases}

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

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial \text{īi-} is elidable in the following forms: imperative forms of structure \text{īC}_1\text{C}_2\text{a(a)C}_3, \text{īC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{iC}_3, \text{and īstaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{iC}_3; perfect tense of verbs of structure \text{īC}_1\text{taC}_2\text{aC}_3 and \text{īstaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{aC}_3; passive verbs of structure \text{īC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{VC}_3 and \text{īC}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3.

(ii) Initial \text{īa-} is elidable in the first person singular imperfect tense, structure \text{īaC}_1\text{C}_2\text{VC}_3.

**Pronouns**

(i) [\text{īV}_1-] \Rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\emptyset / \text{V} & \text{[\text{ī-na]}} \\
\text{V}_1 / \text{C} & \text{\text{[\text{ī-nta]}} \\
\text{\text{[\text{ī-ntu]}} \\
\text{\text{[\text{ī-\{na\}]}}} \\
\text{\text{Pron.}} \\
\end{cases}

(ii) [\text{īV}_1-] \Rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\emptyset / \text{V} & \text{[\text{ī-li}]}} \\
\text{V}_1 / \text{C} & \text{\text{[\text{ī-lla\{i\}]}} \\
\text{\text{[\text{ī-llati]}} \\
\text{\text{Pron.}} \\
\end{cases}

(Pron pronominal)
Rule (i) specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial î 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 î is elidable in all relative pronominal forms, informal and high flown.

Adjectives

\[
[Sa-] \rightarrow \begin{cases}
    \emptyset / V - & \langle [C_1] \atop \emptyset \rangle \left[\begin{array}{c}
    \emptyset \\
    \emptyset \\
    \emptyset
    \end{array}\right]
    \\
    a- / C - & \langle [C_1] \atop \emptyset \rangle \left[\begin{array}{c}
    \emptyset \\
    \emptyset \\
    [C_1 C_2 a C_3]
    \end{array}\right]
    \\
    [C_1 C_2 a] \\
    \end{cases}
\]

(\langle \rangle \text{ related to one of the following patterns })

This rule specifies that in non-pausal contexts initial î 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

\[
[Sv_1-] \rightarrow \begin{cases}
    \emptyset / V - & \langle [I-1] \rangle \\
    v', / C - & \langle [I-1] \rangle \\
    \end{cases}
\]

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

\[
[SV_1] \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
\emptyset / V \\ V_1 / C \\
\end{cases} \quad \left[ [-CC(V)(V)(C)] \right] \\
\text{particle}
\]

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).

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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:
- \( \emptyset, \emptyset \) voiceless and voiced dental fricatives; \( \emptyset, \emptyset \) voiceless and voiced palatal fricatives; \( r \) an alveolar flap, \( r \) a lateral fricative, \( x, x \) voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives, \( h, h \) voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives; \( q \) a voiceless uvular plosive; \( \emptyset \) glottal plosive; \( S, T, B, Z, L, D \) 'emphatic' consonants, corresponding to 'non-emphatic' \( s, t, b, z, l, d \), respectively.

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