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Center for Arab Studies

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Trends and Developments
in Today's Arabic

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ROMANO-ARABICA

XX

Trends and Developments in Today's Arabic



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PROLOGUE

Modern Standard Arabic is seen either as a continuation of Classical Arabic (if Classical Arabic is taken as a dated phenomenon, a stage in the evolution of literary, supra-dialectal Arabic that peaked before the demise of Arab polities at the beginning of the second millennium CE) or as the contemporary instantiation of an abstract, timeless variety of Arabic – that can also be labeled as “Classical” –, which is unavoidably affected by the conditions surrounding its use in modern times. The peculiarities of MSA’s sociolinguistic situation, more specifically the rather limited range of contexts in which it is used, have shielded it to a considerable extent from the pressure towards change that is inherent to a language being used for everyday communication and in lower registers, which justifies, in describing and studying it, an approach that emphasizes continuity and stability. At the same time, there are unmistakable signs of evolution that set this variety apart and provide reasons for treating it as a living, evolving code of communication, and the studies and reference works that focus on this facet of MSA are steadily gathering momentum, concentrating either on features that distinguish it from previous stages of literary Arabic or on developments on the basis of which further chronological or geographical distinctions can be established within MSA itself.

The intriguing mix of stability and adaptation to continuously evolving influences, types of content and means of communication that is characteristic for MSA was one of the main topics addressed during the conference *Trends and Developments in Today’s Arabic*, organized on the 12th and 13th of April 2019 by the Arabic Department and the Center for Arab Studies of the University of Bucharest, whose proceedings are hosted by the 20th issue of the *Romano-Arabica* journal.

The contributions presented at the conference can be grouped into four broad categories: there is one series of works that focus on different morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of MSA – among them issues pertaining to grammaticalization, vocabulary and special terminologies, more or less complex syntactic structures, and the possible reasons lying behind their evolutions – with some accounts and analyses relying on more strictly contemporary sets of data and others adopting a chronologically broader perspective; there are also didactically-oriented works that deal with methodological issues concerning the teaching of MSA to students having a non-Arab linguistic background; the third category contains papers that are concerned with literary topics, approaching stylistic and other formal features of MSA in different genres of contemporary Arab literature; and, finally, the fourth category contains works approaching colloquial varieties of Arabic from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Among them we should mention the paper of Prof. Judith Rosenhouse, who graciously accepted our invitation to be the keynote speaker of the conference, arguing in favor of viewing language evolution and change according to a mathematically inspired pattern.

A special panel of the conference hosted the works of PhD students coordinated by Prof. George Grigore, a selection of which is included in this issue of *Romano-Arabica* as well.

**Ovidiu Pietrăreanu, coordinator of the current issue,
Organizer of the International Conference**

Trends and Developments in Today’s Arabic, Bucharest, April 12-13, 2019

TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN TODAY'S ARABIC

واقع اللُّغة العربيَّة في الشِّعرِ الفُكاهيِّ المُعاصِرِ
THE REALITY OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE
IN CONTEMPORARY HUMOROUS ARABIC POETRY

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Abstract. The present paper seeks to provide an insight into the usage of the Arabic language in contemporary humorous poetry, by assessing the extent to which the terms, structures and expressions occurring therein are close to or far from formal Arabic, and by studying the interaction of such a variation with the levels of poetic speech that can be identified within this genre, which is known for blending, in fluctuating proportions and different circumstances, elements of colloquial Arabic or borrowings from other languages in texts that can otherwise be written in accordance with the norms of classical Arabic. These phenomena and their impact on the language of contemporary poetry have been investigated in connection with the works of a number of prominent authors of humorous poetry from several Arab countries, such as: Abd al-Hamid al-Deeb, Hassan Jad, Hussein Shafiq, Hafez Ibrahim, Mahmoud Ghanim, Bayram al-Tunisi, Muhammad al-Asmar, and Ali al-Jundi, Ahmed Matar, Ahmed Rafiq, Ibrahim Tuqan, Yasser Qatamesh, Mustafa Rajab, and others. The type of poetic discourse known as “dreaming poetry”, which expresses people’s pains and grievances in a funny and sarcastic manner, criticizing some social and political situations in a special, distinctive language, is yet another aspect that was not lost in this research.

Keywords: multilingualism; paradoxes of language; Halamanteshi poetry; humorous poetry; sentence structure.

مُقَدِّمة

يَسْتَعْمَلُ الشَّاعِرُ اللُّغَةَ وَأَدْوَاتِهَا عَلَى نَحْوِ مَبْتَكَّرٍ فِي نَقْلِ الْمَعْنَى وَالْأَفْكَارِ وَالْعَوَاطِفِ وَالْإِنْفِعَالَاتِ الَّتِي يَرِغِبُ فِي إِبْصَالِهَا إِلَى الْمُتَلَقِّينَ وَقَدْ عَرَفَ الشِّعْرُ الْعَرَبِيُّ هَذَا النَّمَطَ الْفُكَاهِيَّ مِنْ قَدِيمٍ (1). وَلَعَلَّ فَنَّ الْهَجَاءِ الَّذِي يَقُومُ عَلَى الْإِنْتِقَاصِ مِنَ الْآخَرِينَ، وَالنَّقِيلِ مِنْ شَأْنِهِمْ، وَالنَّيْلِ مِنْهُمْ بِذِكْرِ شَيْءٍ مِنْ عِيُوبِهِمْ الْخُلْفِيَّةِ وَالْخُلْفِيَّةِ أَوْ سَبِّهِمْ وَشَتْمِهِمْ مَا يُوَكِّدُ ذَلِكَ (2).

(1) لم يخلُ شعر قديم أو حديث من روح الفكاهة والهزل؛ فنرى هذا اللون الشعري لدى بعض الشعراء الجاهليين القدامى الذين جعلوا من فن الهجاء أداة للسخرية. ونراه كذلك لدى الشعراء المخضرمين، وشعراء صدر الإسلام، وبنو أمية، والعباسيين، والأيوبيين، والمماليك حتى عصرنا الحاضر. ينظر: ديوان زهير بن أبي سلمى، شرحه وقدم له: علي حسن فاعور، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، ط1، سنة 1988/1408، ص 51. وينظر: ديوان جرير بشرح محمد بن حبيب، تحقيق: د. نعمان محمد أمين طه، دار المعارف، القاهرة، ط3، دبت، 159/1. وينظر: ديوان ابن الرومي، شرح: الأستاذ أحمد حسن بسج، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، ط3، 2002/1433، 138/3. وينظر: ديوان البهاء زهير، تحقيق: محمد "أبو الفضل" إبراهيم، ومحمد طاهر الجبلاوي، دار المعارف، (نخائر العرب 53)، القاهرة، ط2، سنة 1982، ص 227.

(2) ينظر: الأدب الفكاهي، د. عبد العزيز شرف، الشركة المصرية العالمية للنشر، لونغمان، القاهرة، ط1، سنة 1992، ص 27 فما بعدها، و ص 63 فما بعدها. وينظر: النقد الأدبي عند الإغريق والرُومان، عبد المعطي شعراوي، مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية، القاهرة، دط، سنة 1999، ص 114.

وروح الفكاهة من الهبات التي حباها الله بعض النَّاس دون بعض. وهي ظاهرة اجتماعية مُعَدِّية، مثلها في ذلك مثل التناوب، وهي تنمُّ في الغالب بين أشخاص متآلفين متقاربين في السِّنِّ والمستوى التَّعليمي والثقافي. وقد أكَّد الجاحظ أنَّ الإنسان أكثر ما يضحك حين يكون مع غيره في جماعة (3). بيد أنَّ درجة حضورها تختلف من فرد لآخر. يهدف هذا البحث إلى الكشف عن واقع اللُّغة العربيَّة: مفردات، وتراكيب، في هذا النمط الشِّعريِّ الفكاهيِّ المعاصر. وقد أُوِّقِيَّ فيه الضوء على بعض مظاهر الانحراف اللُّغوي في النواحي الصوتية والصرفية والتركيبيَّة، مثل: إبدال الأصوات اللُّغوية، وكسر حرف المضارعة، وقطع همزة الوصل، وصرف الممنوع من الصرف، وغيرها. وقد اتبع الباحث المنهج الوصفي التحليلي القائم على الرصد والوصف والتحليل والاستدلال والتعليل. ولم يُقتصر في البحث على الجانب النَّظري فقط الذي يَصِفُ ويستقرئ واقع اللُّغة العربيَّة: أصواتاً وأبنيَّة وتراكيب ودلالات، بل ضمَّ إلى جواره الجانب التحليلي النَّظري الذي يَرصد ويحلل ويستشهد.

دلالة الفكاهة:

تأتي "الفكاهة" في معاجم اللُّغة للدلالة على الدُّعابة، ونقيض الجَدِّ، والمزاح، والسُّخرية، والتَّهكُّم، والاستهزاء. يُقال: فكِه الرجل فكاهة فهو فكِه وفكاهه، إذا كان: طَيِّب النَّفْس (4). وتأتي في الأدب للدلالة على الإضحك والمداعبة وإثارة الروح المرحة وتسرية الهمِّ. وربُّما تُخرج إلى التَّهكم والسُّخرية والاستهزاء، أو تأخذ منْخِي هُجوماً قوياً، فتكون نقداً جارحاً وهجاءً لاذعاً (5).

وكثير من الشِّعر الفكاهيِّ يُركِّز على المعنى حتَّى وإنْ ظَهَرَ فيه بعض النُّوآت اللَّفظيَّة المتمثِّلة في البنية والتركييب والوزن وغيرها، وبعض منه يُركِّز على اللَّفظ فقط، وبعض منه يتناول جانبي اللَّفظ والمعنى (الشُّكُل والمضمون، المعنى والمبني) معاً (6).

الشِّعر الحلمنتيشي (7):

برز "الشِّعر الحلمنتيشي" حديثاً في مصر والسودان ثم انتقل إلى أقطارٍ أخرى في الوطن العربي، كليبيا والسُّعودية وغيرهما، استجابة لظروف بعض البلدان العربيَّة وأحوالها ومؤثراتها. وكان من أوائل من كتب فيه الشاعر المصري "حسين شفيق المصري" المتوفى سنة 1948، ثم برز فيه آخرون تَلَوْا حُسْنًا، وبعضهم مازال حياً بين ظُهورنا، كياسر قطامش ومُصطفى رجب وسمير القاضي وغيرهم. وأصل هذه التَّسمية "الحلمنتيشي" لا يخلو من أحد ثلاثة أمور (8): الأوَّل: أنَّ تكون هذه الكلمة مُخترعة على غير مثال سابق، للدلالة على هذا النمط الخاص من القول. والثاني: أنَّ تكون هذه الكلمة منسوبة إلى فرقة تسمى "حلمنتيش" كانت تعرض هذا اللون الفكاهيِّ. والثالث: أنَّ تكون هذه الكلمة منسوبة من مادتين لَعَوِيَّتَيْن أُضيف إليهما باء النسب: الأولى: حَلَا الشيء (يحلُّو: حَلَاوة وحلواناً): التي تدلُّ على: ضدَّ المرارة، والهبَّة، والمعالجة بالحلاوة (10)، والثانية: نَشُّ: التي تدلُّ على النَّثف، والأخذ، والجذب، والضرب. جاء في لسان العرب:

(3) البخلاء، للجاحظ، حقَّقه: طه الحاجري، دار المعارف، القاهرة، ط5، دت، ص 124. وينظر: أخبار الحمقى والمغفلين، لجمال الدين أبي الفرج عبد الرحمن بن الجوزي القرشي البغدادي (ت 597هـ)، شرحه: عبد الأمير المهنا، دار الفكر اللبناني، ط1، سنة 1990/1410، ص 17.

(4) يُنظر: لسان العرب، لأبي الفضل جمال الدين محمد بن مكرم المعروف بابن منظور المصري، دار صادر، بيروت، دط، دت، 523/13 فما بعدها. (فكه). وينظر: الصحاح: تاج اللُّغة وصحاح العربيَّة، لإسماعيل بن حماد الجوهري، تحقيق: أحمد عبد الغفور عطار، دار العلم للملايين، ط 4، سنة 1990، ص 224. (فكه).

(5) الفكاهة في مصر - (سلسلة: اقرأ) - د. شوقي ضيف، دار المعارف، القاهرة، ط3، رقم الإيداع 2004/11017، ص 10 فما بعدها.

(6) يُنظر تمييز "جون كوين" لثلاثة أنماط من القصيدة في: النَّظريَّة الشِّعريَّة: بناء لُغة الشِّعر - تَرْجمة وتعليل: د. أحمد درويش - دار غريب للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، القاهرة، ط4، سنة 2000، ص 31 فما بعدها.

(7) يُقال: إنَّ "الشِّعر الحلمنتيشي" منسوب إلى فرقة تُدعى "حلمنتيش" كانت تعرض مثل هذا الشِّعر الفكاهيِّ. يُنظر: <http://www.diwanalrab.com/spip.php?article47127>، (ديوان العرب)، الشِّعر الحلمنتيشي بقلم: فلروق موسي، بتاريخ 2018/12/19.

(8) السابق نفسه.

(9) مثل: جلمود، وسبجل، ومشأل، ودمعز. وفي العصر الحديث: كهرومغناطيسي، وكهرو حراري.

(10) لسان العرب (حَلَا).

"والمُنْتَأَش. اللَّيْثُ: إخراج السُّوْكَ بِالمُنْتَأَش، وهو المُتَفَاش الذي يُنْتَفِ بِه السُّعْر... والعرب تقول للمُنْتَأَش: مُنْتَأَخٌ وَمُنْتَأَشٌ. وَنَتَشْتُ السُّيَّءَ بِالمُنْتَأَش؛ أَي: اسْتَحْرَجْتُهُ..."(11). فتكون "الْحَلْمَنْتَيْشِي" بمعنى: النَّفْءُ الحُلُوُّ أو الأخذ الحُلُوُّ أو الجَدْب الحُلُو. وفيها إشارة إلى التقاط الشاعر الفكاهي من موقف مُعَيَّن أو حالة مُعَيَّنة كَلَامًا حُلُوًّا يأخذ بِألباب المتلقين وأبصارهم وقلوبهم (12). وأرَجَح أن يكون قد دخل النحت على هذه الكلمة، شأنها في ذلك شأن الكلمات المنحوتة، كـ(البحترى) التي هي منحوتة من (حتر) و (بتر)، وغيرها من الكلمات.

يحاول هذا النمط الإبداعى الأقتراب من جماهير المتلقين مُعَبَّرًا عن قضاياهم الاجتماعية والثقافية والاقتصادية والسياسية، ومستعملا الكلمات العامية الدارجة في ثوب لغوي فصيح من حيث التنوين والإعراب والالتزام بقواعد الوزن والقافية غالبًا. وكثير من هؤلاء المتلقين من عامة النَّاس الذين لم يُنَخِّ لهم التَّعْلِيمُ الفُرْصَةَ الكافية، كي يفهموا الأشعار الفصيحة وما فيها من معان ودلالات غير مباشرة؛ ومن ثمَّ وَجَد هؤلاء في هذا النمط الشَّعْرِي ضالَّتْهم، فَشَاع وذاع وانتشر لدى سواد الناس، مُعَبَّرًا عن آلامهم وآمالهم وواقعهم المَعِيش بِأسلوب فُكَاهِي مُضْحِك، وبلهجة ساخرة(13). وإذا كان الشَّعْرُ الحلمنتيشي قد ظهر بوصفه ردة فعل بإزاء بروز نجم الشعراء الكبار، مثل شوقي ومطران وجبران وغيرهم، أو تأثرا بالمتغيرات الاجتماعية وبخاصة التي على لغتنا العربية- كإفحام الإنجليزية أو الفرنسية في المحافل الرسمية وغير الرسمية، أو اختلاف البيئات - فمن المناسب تخصيص مجال للحديث عن الأسباب الداعية لظهور الشَّعْرِ الفُكَاهِي فيما يأتي:

دوافع الشَّعْرِ الفُكَاهِي المعاصر وأسباب ظهوره:

ثمة أسباب داعية إلى كتابة هذا اللون الشَّعْرِي، كالرَّغْبَة في الإضحاك وإشاعة جوِّ من البَهْجَة والمرح، والشَّعْبَرُ عن حاجات النَّفس والحياة، والتَّخْفِيف من آلامها، والتَّروِيح عن النَّفوس المتعبة المحمَّلة بشواغل الحياة ومسؤولياتها، والرَّغْبَة في إِفْحَام الخصوم والتَّنْكِيل بهم، طالما سَنَحَت الفُرْصَة لذلك، والرَّغْبَة في تَصْوِير العادات الاجتماعية والسلوكية السَّادَة، مثل: البُخْل، والشَّرَه، والنَّطْفَل، والتَّنْبِيه عليها، والرَّغْبَة في التَّكْسِب والحصول على المال لدى بعض الشعراء؛ إذ في سبيل المال تُباع الضَّمَانر، وتُستَرَى الدِّمَم، بحسب الطَّلَب للزَّبَانن؛ فلا تُظْهَر كرامة، ولا تُكْشَف حقيقة. ولعلَّ المناسبة والمقام أبرز هذه الأسباب (14)؛ إذ يشيع استعمال هذا اللون الشَّعْرِي لضرورات المقام والموقف والظرف والحالة. ومن ثمَّ يختار الشَّاعِر ألفاظه وتركيبه وتعبيره بناء على مُتَضَمِّنَات ذلك المقام؛ فبدلاً من التَّهْذِيب والإِنْقَان والتَّنْفِيح والتجويد ربما يكون المقام سبباً في تعبير الشاعر عما يجري حوله من أحداث بهذه الطريقة على قدر ما لديه من لغة، وإلا فاتته المناسبة.

ومن ذلك مناسبة وفاة الإمام الشيخ محمد عبده سنة 1905، حيث وقف سنة من الأدياء على قبره يرثونه ويُعَبِّدُون مناقبه، وكانوا بحسب ترتيب وقوفهم: الشيخ أحمد أبو خطوة أولاً، وبعده جاء حسن عاصم، ثم عبد الرازق باشا والد الشيخ مصطفى عبد الرازق، فقاسم أمين، ثم حفني ناصف، فحافظ إبراهيم. وقد ماتوا جميعاً على ترتيب وقوفهم؛ فتوقفي أبو خطوة أولاً، ثم تلاه حسن عاصم، فعبد الرازق، فقاسم أمين. وهنا فطن الاثنان الأخيران المتبقيان بعد وفاة الأربعة

(11) لسان العرب (نتش).

(12) القلب في ورطة، ياسر قطامش، ص 15 فما بعدها.

(13) لم يُقْتَصِر وجود هذه العايات في الشَّعْر على الوقت الرَّاهن، بل كانت توجد في أشعار المتقدِّمين خصائص لهجية مميزة في الأصوات والصَّرْف والنَّحْو إلى جوار الفصحى. ومن ثمَّ وضع العلماء القدماي ضوابط مكانية وزمانية لأخذ اللغة؛ حيث حدَّدوا قبائل معينة أخذوا منها اللغة، وحدَّدوا كذلك زماناً معيناً في البادية والحاضرة. وذلك يُؤكِّد محافظة اللغة العربية على ثباتها واستقرارها على عكس سواها من اللغات؛ حيث نقرأ الشَّعْرُ الجاهلي ونفهمه، بالرَّغم من وجود مئات السنوات التي تُفصل بيننا وبين هذا الشَّعْر. يُنظَر: الاقتراح في أصول النحو، جلال الدين السيوطي (ت 911هـ)، ضبطه وعلَّق عليه: عبد الحكيم عطية، راجعه وقَدَّم له: علاء الدين عطية، دار البيروني، دمشق، ط2، سنة 2006/1427، ص 47-48. ويُنظَر: أصول النحو عند السيوطي بين النظرية والتطبيق، د. عصام عيد فهمي أبو غربية، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، القاهرة، ط1، سنة 2006، ص 47 فما بعدها.

(14) هناك قصائد كثيرة - قديمة وحديثة - كانت تقال في مناسبة معينة. يُنظَر: هوامش التاريخ: من دفاتر مصر المنسوبة، مصطفى عبيد، دار الرواق للنشر والتوزيع، ط1، سنة 2018، ص 145. ويُنظَر: ديوان حافظ إبراهيم، ضبطه وصحَّه وشرحه: أحمد أمين، وأحمد الزين، وإبراهيم الإبياري، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، القاهرة، ط3، سنة 1987، ص 58.

الأوائل، وهما: (حفني ناصف)، و(حافظ إبراهيم) إلى هذا التسلسل في الوفاة، إذ أدرك حفني ناصف أن الدور قد حلَّ عليه، وأن مؤعد منيته قد اقترب؛ فكتب إلى حافظ إبراهيم أبياتاً، منها قوله (15):

أَتَذَكُرُ إِذْ كُنَّا عَلَى الْقَبْرِ سِتَّةَ	نُعَدُّ أَثَارَ الْإِمَامِ وَتَنْدُبُ
وَقَفْنَا بِتَرْتِيبٍ وَقَدْ دَبَّ بَيْنَنَا	مَمَاتَ عَلَى وَفَى الرِّثَاءِ مُرْتَبُ
أَبُو خُطْوَةٍ وَوَلَى وَقَفَاهُ عَاصِمٌ	وَجَاءَ لِعَبْدِ الرَّازِقِ الْمَوْتُ يَطْلُبُ
فَلَبَّى، وَغَابَتْ بَعْدَهُ شَمْسُ قَاسِمٍ	وَعَمَّا قَلِيلٍ نَجْمٌ مَحْيَايَ تَعْرَبُ
فَلَا تَخْشَ هُلُكًا مَا حَبِيبَتْ فَإِنْ أُمْتُ	فَمَا أَنْتَ إِلَّا خَائِفٌ تَتَرَقَّبُ
فَخَاطِرٌ وَقَعَتْ تَحْتَ التِّرَامِ وَلَا تَخَفُ	وَنَمْ تَحْتَ بَيْتِ الْوَقْفِ وَهُوَ مُخْرَبٌ
وَحُضُّ نَجْمِ الْهَيْجَاءِ أَعَزُّ أَمِنَا	فَإِنَّ الْمَنَايَا عَنْكَ تَنَائَى وَتَبْعُدُ

فأجابه حافظ إبراهيم بقوله من قصيدة ألقاها سنة 1912 في حفل تكريم لحفني ناصف، لانتقاله من القضاء إلى التقنيش بنظارة المعارف (16):

أَخْشَى عَلَيْكَ الْمَنَايَا	حَتَّى كَانَتْكَ مِنِّي
إِذَا شَكُوتُ صُدَاعًا	أَطْلُتُ تَسْهِيْدَ جَفْنِي
وَإِنْ عَرَكَ هُرَاوَالٌ	هَيَأْتُ لِحَدِي وَقَطْنِي
وَإِنْ دَعَوْتُ لِحَيِّ	يَوْمًا فَيَأِيكَ أَعْنِي
عُمْرِي بِعُمْرِكَ رَهْنٌ	فِعِشْ أَعِشْ أَلْفَ قَرْنِ

وقد اكتملت فصول القصّة حتى نهايتها؛ فمات حفني ناصف أولاً في فبراير سنة 1919، ثم حافظ سنة 1932، وبعد أن ثوَّفِي حفني ناصف أدرك حافظ إبراهيم أن الدور عليه، فأثد يقول مشيراً إلى هذا التوافق العجيب (17):

أَدْنَتْ شَمْسُ حَيَاتِي بِمَغِيبِ	وَدَنَا الْمُنْهَلُ يَا نَفْسُ فُطِيْبِي
.....
قَدْ وَقَفْنَا سِتَّةَ نَبْكِ عَلَى	عَالِمِ الْمَشْرِقِ فِي يَوْمِ عَصِيبِ
وَقَفَّ الْخَمْسَةَ قَبْلِي فَمَضَوْا	هَكَذَا قَبْلِي وَإِنِّي عَنْ قَرِيبِ
وَرَدُّوا الْحَوْضَ تَبَاعًا فَفَضُّوا	بَاتِّفَاقٍ فِي مَنَايَاهُمْ عَجِيبِ
أَنَا مُدُّ بَانُوا وَوَلَى عَهْدُهُمْ	حَاضِرُ اللُّوْعَةِ مَوْصُولُ النَّحِيبِ

ومن ذلك أن دُعي الشاعر حسن جاد إلى وليمة أحد الأصدقاء بالدار البيضاء بليبيا؛ فاحتشد لها المدعون مؤمّلين أن تكون الوليمة دسمة؛ لكنهم فوجئوا بما لم يكن في الحسبان؛ إذ كانت الوليمة عبارة عن وجبة شعبية، يأكلها

(15) يُنظر: أتذكر إذ كنا على القبر ستة، زهير ظاظا، موقع الوراق http://www.alwaraq.net/Core/dg/rare_indetail?id=1117 بتاريخ 29 يونيو 2019.

(16) يُنظر القصيدة كاملة في ديوان حافظ إبراهيم، ص 179-184.

(17) يُنظر القصيدة كاملة في: ديوان حافظ إبراهيم، ص 517-521.

عامّة المصريين، وهي "البصارة"⁽¹⁸⁾. فكتب قصيدة يصور فيها هذه المناسبة وما جرى فيها. (19) وقد تأثر صاجب الوليمة بما قيل في قصيدة (البصارة)؛ فأعاد الوليمة على نحو آخر يرضي الشاعر وزملاءه؛ فكتب الشاعر قصيدة جديدة، صدت لهذه الوليمة الجديدة، وهي (الطهارة من البصارة)، ويقوم أساسها على المقابلة والتضاد⁽²⁰⁾.

الأساليب المستعملة في الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر:

تتنوع الأساليب المستعملة في الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر. ومن ذلك:

(1) **تبادل السخرية والطرفة**: يستخدم الشاعر أسلوب السخرية، ويتعد عن الأسلوب الجاد في أسلوب متبادل. ومن ذلك ما اتهم به الشاعر محمود غنيم صديقه الشاعر "محمد الأسمر" مداعباً إيّاه بأنه بخيل⁽²¹⁾، وأنّ عليه أن يصوم إذا أتاه ضيف لزيارته مُقَدِّمًا له ما لديه من طعام وشراب وغطاء، فإن لم يفعل فإنه سيكون مثاراً للشك في انتسابه إلى العرب، وسيكون عرضة لتحليل دمانه ومعرفة نوعها، وهي تورية بديعة، وليس هذا فقط بل إنه يصف لصديقه وصفة ناجعة تشفيه مما هو عليه من داء البخل، وذلك بأن يأخذ "نقيع الجود" فيشربه ليبراً. وفي نهاية القصيدة يُعزّي "محمود غنيم" صديقه محمد الأسمر في سخائنه وكرمه، حيث كان ينحلي بذلك فيما مضى من أيام⁽²²⁾. وكان مما قاله محمود غنيم فيها ساخرًا مداعباً صديقه محمد الأسمر⁽²³⁾:

يا صديقي قد فحصنا	ك فگان البخل داءك
خذ نقيع الجود واشرب	له تجد فيه دواعك
كنت بالأمس سخياً	رحم الله سخاءك
إبك ما شئت عليه	أجمل الله عزاءك

(2) **استعمال الأسلوب العكسي** أو ما يسمى أسلوب القلب: وذلك بأن يعكس الشاعر المراد من الجواب، فتبدو رسالته مسلية ومضحكة. ويبدو ذلك في مثل قول إبراهيم طوقان⁽²⁴⁾:

لِلْحَقِّ سَطْرٌ فِي صَحَافَتِنَا، وَلِلتَّضَلُّيلِ نَهْرٌ
قَلْبٌ صَحَافَتُهَا يَطُلُ عَلَيْكَ بُهْتَانٌ وَهَجْرٌ
هَذَا يُقَالُ لَهُ الزَّرِيمُ كَمَا يُقَالُ لَذَاكَ حُرٌّ

(3) **الإفادة من إمكانات اللغة**: أفاظاً ودلالات في تعبير المبدع عما يريد، فيستخدم الشاعر التورية والكنائية والاستعارة والتعريض في انتقاد سياسة حاكم أو حزب، أو مقاومة مصيبة، أو الذنب عن النفس، أو التناول نحو الذات والآخرين⁽²⁵⁾.

(18) عبارة عن قول مدشوش مطبوخ مع خضراوات (ملوخية وبصل وعدس وثوم).

(19) ديوان حسن جاد، ص 289 فما بعدها.

(20) ديوان حسن جاد، ص 291-292.

(21) شعراء الفكاهة، مصطفى رجب، ص 20.

(22) شعراء الفكاهة، مصطفى رجب، ص 20. وقد نشرت جريدة الأهرام في 11 يوليو سنة 1938 للأسمر الكلمة النثرية التي بحث فيها الضيوف الذين يلقون راحة الآخرين في منازلهم، واقتراحه أن يُعلّق صاحب كل بيت على باب منزله هذين البيتين:

إِنَّ فِي الْفُنْدُقِ مَأْوَاكَ	وَفِي السُّوقِ عِذَاءُكَ
لَيْسَ دُنْيَا لَأَنَاسٍ	أَنْ يَكُونُوا أَقْرَبَاءُكَ

(23) يُنظر: http://www.nidaulhind.com/2016/blog-post_26.html

(24) الأعمال الكاملة، ص 200، 201.

(25) وهذا أمرٌ شائع في العمل الإبداعي لدى الشعراء: القُدّامي والمحدّثين. يُنظر: ديوان أبي نواس برواية الصوّلي، تحقيق: د. بهجت عبد الغفور الحدّثي، هيئة أبو ظبي للثقافة والتراث، دار الكتب الوطنيّة، ط1، سنة 2010، ص 387. ويُنظر: أبو الشّمقّمق وما تبقّى من شعره، ضمن شعراء عباسيون، دراسات ونصوص شعريّة، غوستاف فون غرنباوم، ترجمها وأعاد تحقيقها: د. محمد يوسف نجم، راجعها: د. إحسان عبّاس، منشورات دار مكتبة الحياة، بيروت، مطبعة عيتاني، دط، سنة 1959، ص 136.

ومما استعمل حديثاً في التورية استعمال "حبيب" اسماً أو صفة في قول حسن جاد حين صَوَّرَ مُنَافَسَةَ وَخِصَامًا بين صديقه الأستاذ "حبيب بيومي"، وزميل له اسمه "عبد الودود"⁽²⁶⁾:

عَدُوُّكَ يَا عَبْدَ الْوُدُودِ حَبِيبٌ
وَكَيْفَ تَرْجِي مِنْ حَبِيبٍ مَوَدَّةً
وَقَصْدُكَ فِي كُلِّ الْأُمُورِ نَحِيبٌ
وَمَا لَكَ بَيْنَ الْعَالَمِينَ حَبِيبٌ

ولا يخفى جمال التورية لدى النقاد والمفكرين حتى جعلوا منزلتها منزلة "الإنسان من العين، وسُمُّها في البلاغة سُمُّ الذهب على العين"⁽²⁷⁾.

(4) **التأثر بالشعراء الأقدمي:** وقد تَبَدَّى ذلك في المعارضات الشعريّة (28)، حيث برزت تلك المعارضات لدى كثير من شعراء هذا النمط الشعريّ الفُكاهي، وبخاصة شعراء الشُّعْرِ الحَلْمَنْتَيْشِيّ الذين عارضوا قصائد كبار الشعراء وزناً وقافية. ومن ذلك ما كتبه حسين شفيق المصري فيما أسماه "المشعلقات" مُعارضاً المعلقات، وما كتبه مُعارضاً به القصائد الذائعة قديماً وحديثاً فيما أسماه "المشهورات". ومن ذلك معارضة ياسر قطامش قصيدة أمير الشعراء "أحمد شوقي" التي مطلعها (29):

خَدَعُوها بِقَوْلِهِمْ: حَسَنَاءُ
بطريقة هزليّة ساخرة. يقول قطامش (30):
"خَدَعُوها بِقَوْلِهِمْ حَسَنَاءُ"
لَوْ رَأَيْتِي تَقُولُ: نَفِضْ وَرَوْشْ
كَبَنَاتِ "الْفِيدِيُو كَلِيبِ" تَعَرَّتْ
فـ"البودي" قَدْ أَبَانَ بَطْنُكَ حَتَّى
وَهَبَلَتْ الشَّبَابَ بَصُوءاً فَصَارُوا
وَالْعَوَانِي يَغْرُهُنَّ النَّعَاءُ
كَلَمْتِي كَأَنَّهَا خَنْفَاءُ
أَوْ فَهْرَتِلْ" فَلَيْتَهَا خَرَسَاءُ
قَلْتُ: عَيْبٌ فَهَذِهِ مَسْخَرَاءُ
قَدْ جُنِنَا وَاللَّهِ يَا هَيْلَاءُ
كَحَمِيرِ طَاشُوا وَقَالُوا: "حَاءُ"

ولعلك تلاحظ تطويع الشاعر ياسر قطامش اللهجة العامية المصرية في محاولة منه لتفسيحها، لتأتي على قياس الفصحى، وأيضاً استعماله الكلام الأجنبي، مثل "الفيديو كليب"، و"البودي"... إلخ، مع الحرص على استعمال الأسلوب الفكاهي الساخر، إذ صنع هؤلاء الشباب كما يصنع الحمير حين ينهقون مصدرين هذا الصوت "حاء... حاء... حاء".

(5) **استعمال تقنية التكرار:** وهذه تقنية من التقنيات التي استعملها الشاعر الفُكاهي في إبداعه الشعري، ليكشف عن الجوانب النفسية والدلالية والإيحائية التي يضيفها إلى الكلام، وليؤكد المعنى ويوضحه ويقويه، ناهيك عن كونه حلية لفظية جمالية موسيقية، سواء أكان التكرار تكراراً للأصوات أم كان للمفردات أو للتراكيب، وسواء أكان التكرار تكراراً في اللفظ أم كان تكراراً في المعنى. وهذا لا يعني أن التكرار مزية على الإطلاق، فربما كان سبباً في ضعف البناء الشعري أو السطحية إذا لم تقتضه الحاجة ولم تدع إليه.

(26) ديوان الشاعر حسن جاد حسن، ص 299.

(27) ينظر: خزانة الأدب وغاية الأرب، لأبي بكر بن علي بن عبد الله المعروف بابن حجة الحموي (ت837هـ)، تحقيق: د. كوكب دياب، دار صادر، بيروت، ط2، سنة 2005/1425، 192/3. قيل: العين: ما ضرب من النقد والدنانير، وقيل: المال العتيق، وقيل: الذهب عامة. ينظر: لسان العرب، لابن منظور، (عين).

(28) المعارضات الشعريّة ظاهرة قديمة حديثة، حيث عارض كثير من الشعراء القدماء قصائد قديمة، كما عارض كثير من الشعراء المعاصرين قصائد قديمة أو معاصرة، مثل شوقي الذي عارض البحتري في سبنيته، وعارض البوصيري في همزيته وبُزْدَتِهِ.

(29) الشوقيات، تأليف: أمير الشعراء أحمد شوقي، مؤسسة هندواي للتعليم والثقافة، د. ط، د. ت، رقم الإيداع 19938/2012، ص 507.

(30) فذلّة شعريّة بالفصحى والعامية، ياسر قطامش، دار المصرية اللبنانية، بيروت، د. ط، 2010 م، ص 55.

ومن استعمال تقنية التكرار هذا التركيب (هات المُدَام) الذي تكرر في قول عبد الحميد الدّيب مؤكّداً رغبته الجامعة في الهروب والفرار من تلك الحياة الجادّة التي يعيشها إلى حياة الرّوى والأوهام (31):

هَاتِ الْمُدَامَ؛ فِدِينُ اللَّهِ تَيْسِيرُ
هَاتِ الْمُدَامَ، وَلَا تَعْرِضْ لِمَتْرَبِي
هَاتِ الْمُدَامَ الصَّبَّوحَ الْبِكْرَ يَحْمِلُهَا
فَأَسْعُدُ النَّاسَ مَخْمُورٌ وَمَخْدُورٌ
مَهْمَا عَلَا الْعَيْشُ لَمْ تَعْلُ الْقَوَارِيرُ
إِلَيْكَ أُخْتَسُ سَاجِي الطَّرْفِ مَعْرُورٌ

ومن استعمال تقنية التكرار تكرار "سوسو" في قول عبد السلام شهاب (32):

أَحِبُّ سُسُو وَمَا أَذْرَاكَ مَا سُسُو
سُسُو الَّتِي فِي هَوَاهَا الْقَلْبُ مَوْحُوسُ

ومنه تكرر هذا التركيب المشتمل على الكلام الأجنبي (فستانك الميني جيب) أربع مرات متصلة في قصيدة "ميني جيب" لياسر قطامش (33)

(6) **المغالاة والمبالغة في الوصف:** يتوجّه الشاعر إلى كشف الأخطاء والعيوب وتضخيمها والتهويل منها، بغية الإضحاك والاستهزاء. ومن ثمّ يُتَوَع في الوصف والعرض، ويُبالِغ في ذلك، ليبلغ مدّى بعيداً، وربما جاء بالمرذول من الألفاظ الذي يُوكّد كلامه، مما قد يجعل الكلام عرضة للرّفُض وعدم القبول لدى بعض المتلقّين، إذ تتضمّن هجاءً مرفوضاً، أو غزلاً فاحشاً، أو مدحاً مبالغاً فيه. ومن ذلك قول الشاعر حسن جاد في صديق له تولى عمادة إحدى الكليات الجديدة مستعملاً بعض الألفاظ غير المقبولة في بعض المجتمعات، مثل: "الخوازيق"، "مبولة"، "يطرطر"، "مزنون"،.. يقول (34):

وَفِي الْحِطَّانِ آلاَفٌ مُؤَلَّفَةٌ
سُبْحَانَ مَنْ قَسَمَ النَّعْمَى فُسَانِمَةً
يَا عَبْقَرِيَّ زَمَانٌ لَغَزٌ مَنْطِقُهُ
كَلْبِيَّةٌ (الصَّادِ) لَا تَنْسَى لَكُمْ زَمَانًا
نَهَضَتْ بِالْقِسْمِ حَتَّى صَارَ مَبُولَةً
مَنْ الْجَوَامِيسِ وَالْأَبْقَارِ وَالنُّوقِ
مَرْزُوقَةٌ وَأَرِيْبٌ غَيْرُ مَرْزُوقِ
يَدِقُّ عَنْ كُلِّ مَفْهُومٍ وَمَنْطُوقِ
سَقَيْتَهَا فِيهِ آلاَفُ الْخَوَازِيْقِ
كُبْرَى يَطْرَطِرُ فِيهَا كُلُّ مَرْزُوقِ

وفي هذا السياق يسترسل الشاعر بمبالغات أكثر قبولاً من سواها، إذ لا تتعدّى في المُعْظَم – بشكل خاص – حد المعقول، فيقول (35):

طُولُ اللَّحَى وَالنَّفَاقِ الْعَذْبُ وَالنَّقْرِي
نَصَحْتَكُمْ، فَاجْعَلُوا نَصَبَ أَعْيُنِكُمْ
إِنَّا لَفِي زَمَانٍ أَصَحَّتْ مَنَاصِبُهُ
فَكَمْ مَنَاصِبٍ شَتَّى يَسْتَقِلُّ بِهَا
ثَلَاثَةٌ دُونَهَا شُمُّ الْعَرَائِيْقِ
لِتَبْلُغُوا الْمَجْدَ مِثْلِي دُونَ تَعْوِيْقِ
كَأَلْمَالِ مَا بَيْنَ مَنُهَبٍ وَمَسْرُوقِ
مَنْ لَا يَجِيدُونَ غَيْرَ النَّفْخِ فِي الْبُوقِ

(31) الشاعر اليبانيس عبد الحميد الديب، عبد الرحمن عثمان، مكتبة دار العروبة، القاهرة، دط، دبت، ص 41.

(32) القلب في ورطة، ياسر قطامش، ص 18.

(33) فذلكة شعرية، ياسر قطامش، ص 56.

(34) يُنظر: ديوان الشاعر حسن جاد (1914-1995)؛ جمع وتحقيق: عبد الرحمن إبراهيم الغزنوي، دار الثقافة اللغوية، المنصورة،

ط1، 2016/1437، ص 286.

(35) السابق، ص 285-286.

فَأَصْبَحَ الْيَوْمَ فِيهَا أَلْفَ فَارُوقٍ

وَكَانَ فِي مِصْرَ (فَارُوقٌ) بِمُفْرَدِهِ

(7) **المفارقة السَّخَرَة**: يجسد الشاعر المفارقات التي يحيها في واقعه الخارجي عبر المفردات وعبر سياق الموقف الشعري، ويستعمل السخرية في هذا اللون الشعري. وذلك أمر طبيعي، فالهدف الرئيس من القصيدة هو الإضحاك عن طريق الفكاهة والسخرية. ومن ثم يتلاعب الشاعر بالكلمات، لتأتي في إطار من الضحك والفكاهة. وقد تأتي المفارقة بالخلط بين الجد والهزل، أو بين أُمُودج قديم وأُمُودج حديث، أو بين المُرَّاح والفكاهة من جهة، والهجاء والقُدح من جهة أخرى. وغالبا ما تنتهي المفارقة بغير المتوقع.

ومن المفارقات التَّهْكُمِيَّة السَّخَرَة تلك المفارقة في قصيدة "تصدير واستيراد"، إذ تشتري البقرة (وهي في الأصل منتجة للبن، ومصدرة له) كوبًا من الحليب دره ضرعها، لتصير مستوردة لما تنتجه وتُصدِّره (36). ومنها تلك المفارقة اللفظية التي تُعبر عن حالة التردّي والضياع والقمع لدى الشباب العربي في قصيدة "ملاحظات" لأحمد مطر، إذ جمع الشاعر المتقابلات في مثل: المفارقة بين اليقظة والنوم، والإفطار الذي ينقلب إلى جوع... إلى آخر ما يُدلل به الشاعر على كمّ المعاناة التي يحيها شباب الوطن العربي الذين يُفعمون ويُضطهدون (37). ومن المفارقات الغربية قول الشاعر الفلسطيني محمود درويش الذي التقى صديقه الشاعر الفلسطيني "راشد حسين" في مطار القاهرة (38):

والتَّقِينَا بَعْدَ عَامٍ فِي مَطَارِ الْقَاهِرَة
قَالَ لِي بَعْدَ ثَلَاثِينَ دَقِيقَة
"أَيْتَيْتِي كُنْتُ طَلِيقًا
فِي سُجُونِ النَّاصِرَة".

ولا شك في أنّها مفارقة تنضوي على مرارة كبيرة من الوضع الذي يعيشه هذا الصديق.

مفارقات اللغة في الشِّعرِ الفُكاهيِّ المعاصر:

يتميّز الشِّعرُ الفُكاهيُّ بالترّاء، والتَّدقُّق، والصدِّق، والسَّدَاجَة والسطحية، والوُضوح، ويكتسي بالتنوّع اللغوي (39). وتضع المجتمعات العربية - لظروف اجتماعية واقتصادية وسياسية وحضارية وثقافية - لمفارقات لغوية، فيستعمل أبناء المنطقة اللغوية أكثر من نظام لغوي (40) يمتزج فيه العامي بالفصحى، والأجنبي بالعربي الأصيل (41). في هذا النمط الشعري أكثر من مستوى لغوي، فمن فصيح يحرص على استعمال الألفاظ والتراكيب الفصيحة إلى عامي مقبول أو مردول، إلى اشتطاط في استعمال لغة هجينة بين الكلمات العربية الفصيحة والكلمات العامية

(36) أحمد مطر: شاعر المنفى واللحظة الحارقة، هاني الخير، دار فليبس، الجزائر، ط1، سنة 2009، ص 48.

(37) لأفانت، لأحمد مطر، (الديوان بموقع: www.alkottob.com)، ط1، نوفمبر - تشرين الثاني، سنة 1984، ص 82-83.

(38) ديوان محمود درويش (المجلد الأول)، دار العودة، بيروت، ط14، سنة 1994، ص 602-603.

(39) للمقام دور رئيس في توظيف لغتين أو أكثر في مجتمع واحد، ليتواصل أبناء البيئة الواحدة. وقد ذكر أحد الباحثين أنه "يصدق على الوضعية اللسانية المتميزة بتعايش لغات وثنائية متباينة في بلد واحد، إما على سبيل التساوي إذا كانت جميعها لغات عاملة، كالألمانية والفرنسية والإيطالية في الجمهورية الفدرالية السويسرية، وإما على سبيل التفاضل إذا تواجدت لغات عاملة، كالعربية بجانب لغات عامية، مثل: الهوسا، والغورمانشة، والسونايزارما، والتماشيق، والفولفولدة، والتوبو، في جمهورية النيجر". ينظر: التَّعَدُّدُ اللُّغَوِي وانعكاساته على التَّسْيِجِ الاجتماعي، محمد الأوزاعي، مطبعة النجاح الجديدة، الدار البيضاء، منشورات كلية الآداب بالرباط، ط1، سنة 2002، ص 11.

(40) فكلّ لغة نظام قائم بذاته، وفيها " نظام من الأصوات، ونظام من المقاطع، ونظام من أقسام الكلم، ونظام من الأصول، ونظام من الزوائد، ونظام من الصيغ الصرفية، ونظام للاشتقاق. ونظام النحو بأبوابه، وقران أبوابه، ونظام للظواهر الموقعية، ونظام لأنواع التراكيب ومعانيها". ينظر: مقالات في اللغة والأدب، د. تمام حسان، عالم الكتب، القاهرة، ط1، سنة 2006، ص 32/2.

(41) نجح مستعمر البلاد العربية في فرض لغته وثقافته وهويته على البلاد التي احتلها. يقول الرَّافعي: "وما دلت لغة شعب إلا دلت، ولا انحطت إلا كان أمره في ذهاب وإدبار. ومن هذا يفرض الأجنبي المستعمر لغته فرضاً على الأمة المستعمرة، ويركّبهم بها، ويشعرهم عظمة فيها، ويستلحقهم من ناحيتها، فيحكم عليهم أحكاماً ثلاثة في عمل واحد: أمّا الأول، فحبس لغتهم في لغته سجنًا مؤبداً. وأمّا الثاني، فالحكم على ماضيهم بالقتل محوًا ونسيانًا. وأمّا الثالث، فتقييد شعبيهم في الأغلال التي يصنعها، فأمرهم من بعدها لأمره تبع". ينظر: وحي القلم، مصطفى صادق الرافعي، راجعه واعتنى به: د. درويش الجويدي، المكتبة العصرية، بيروت، د.ط، د.ت، ص 29.

الدَّارِجَة والكلمات الأجنبية، فتصير القصيدة مزيجاً بين الفصحى والعامية ولغات أخرى (42). وينبغي الإشارة إلى أن الشعراء الذين كتبوا هذا اللون الشعري لم يكونوا على درجة واحدة في اللغة؛ فمنهم المتمكن فيها القادر على إدراك مرامي الكلام، ومنهم الضعيف الذي لا يتجاوز محصوله اللغوي الحد المطلوب، ومنهم وسط بين هؤلاء وأولئك. وأياً ما يكن، فربما يكون المعجم اللغوي من الألفاظ والتراكيب الفصيحة لدى بعض من شعراء هذا اللون قاصراً عن أن يُمدِّهم بالفصيح من الألفاظ، ومن ثمَّ يَعدلون عنها إلى استعمال المفردات الفكاهية السهلة المحكيّة باللّهجة الدارجة أو بلغة أجنبية، وذلك على النحو الآتي:

أولاً: الفصحى:

اللغة الفصحى ليست عائقاً أمام إبداع هذا اللون الشعري بدليل أن هناك شعراء كثيرين برزوا في هذا المجال مع استعمالهم العربية الفصحى. ومن هؤلاء عبد الحميد الذيب الذي كان حريصاً على استعمال اللغة الفصحى في شعره الفكاهي؛ ومن ذلك قوله في قصيدة يُصوّر فيها تلك الغرفة التي كان قد استأجرها ليسكن فيها، وموقفه وموقف صاحب البيت حين دفع الأجرة التي كانت ثمانين قرشاً (43):

ثَمَانُونَ قِرْشًا أَهْلَكْتَنِي كَأَنَّهَا
طَوَيْتُ لَهَا الدُّنْيَا سُؤْلاً وَكُدِيَّةً
ثَمَانُونَ دُنْبًا فِي سِجِلِّ عَدَائِي
فَمَا ظَفِرْتُ نَفْسِي بِرَدِّ جَوَابِ

والشاعر علي الجندي يُصوّر ما يُعانيه من أحد الثقلاء الذين لا يستطيع الواحد منهم فكاً ولا يقوى على صرْفهم أو الاعتذار منهم بلغة فصيحة وبطريقة فكاهية ساخرة قائلاً (44):

ثَقِيلٌ عَلَى أَرْوَاحِنَا ثِقَلُ الْحَجَرِ
تَغِيْبُ بِشَاشَاتِ الْمُنَى بِحُضُورِهِ
نُلْقِيهِ مِنْ سُؤْمِهِ رُحْلَ الْبَشَرِ
وَتُهْجَرُ أَحْرَانُ النَّفُوسِ إِذَا هَجَرَ

وعبد الحميد الديب هذا الشاعر البائس يُصوّر حالته النَّفْسِيَّة بلغة فصيحة وبطريقة تَهْكِيْمِيَّة ساخرة من نفسه ومن حياته، فيقول (45):

دَعِ الشُّكُوى وَهَاتِ الْكَأْسَ نَسْخَرُ
وَهَامِ بِي الْأَسَى وَالْبُؤْسَ حَتَّى
وَدَعَكَ مِنَ الرِّمَانِ إِذَا تَنَكَّرُ
كَأَنَّي عَبَلَةٌ وَالْبُؤْسُ عُنْتُرُ

ومن ذلك ما قاله أمير الشعراء أحمد شوقي في صديقه السياسي الطيب محجوب ثابت، صاحب الشخصية المثيرة له ولغيره من الشعراء. ففي قصيدته "براغيث محجوب" وجد البراغيث تملأ عيادة محجوب وتُرْجَب بزائريها عند مَقْدَمِهِ من على الباب، حتى إذا دخل الزائر إلى عيادة الطبيب محجوب، فإنه سيُبصر تلك البراغيث في شاربهِ ولحيته وجليونه الذي يدخنه وبين أسنانه وهي تبحث عن بقايا الطعام. وقد استعنى بها الشاعر شوقي عن الحجامة، لكثرة ما شربت من دمه. وفي الشتاء تخرج مبكرة من مكمنها، وهي تتراقص كما تتراقص الأمواس على الجلد (46):

بِرَاغِيْثٍ مَحْجُوبٍ لَمْ أَنْسَهَا
وَلَمْ أَنْسَ مَا طَعِمْتِ مِنْ دَمِي

(42) الازدواجية اللغوية أمر حتمي، فقد كان يوجد قديماً إلى جانب العربية الفصحى لهجات أخرى محكية، لها خصائصها الصوتية والصرفية والنحوية. وقد نجحت كتب التراث اللغوي في تسجيل عدد من اللهجات العربية ونسبتها إلى القبائل التي تكلمت بها، كالكسكية والكشكشة والعجعية، وهي لهجات فصيحة، استشهد بها النحاة واللغويون. وقد تعايشت لهجات اللغة الواحدة وتجاوزت طوال عصر الاستشهاد باللغة. ينظر: اللهجات العربية نشأة وتطوراً، د. عبد الغفار هلال، مكتبة وهبة، القاهرة، ط2، 1414 هـ = 1993، ص 94 فما بعدها.

(43) شعراء الفكاهة المعاصرون، مصطفى رجب، ص 43.

(44) الشعر ديوان الثقلاء، خالد القشطيني، جريدة الشرق الأوسط، العدد (11132)، الخميس 25 جمادى الأولى سنة 2009/1430.

(45) الشاعر البائس، عبد الحميد عثمان، ص 38.

(46) الشوقيات، تأليف: أمير الشعراء أحمد شوقي، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، القاهرة، د.ط، د.ت، رقم الإيداع 19938/2012، ص 919.

وَتَشَقُّ حَرَاطِيمُهَا جَوْرِي
وَكُنْتُ إِذَا الصَّيْفُ رَاحَ أَحْتَجِمُ
تَشَقُّ حَرَاطِيمُهَا جَوْرِي
وَكُنْتُ إِذَا الصَّيْفُ رَاحَ أَحْتَجِمُ
تَشَقُّ حَرَاطِيمُهَا جَوْرِي
وَكُنْتُ إِذَا الصَّيْفُ رَاحَ أَحْتَجِمُ
تَشَقُّ حَرَاطِيمُهَا جَوْرِي
وَكُنْتُ إِذَا الصَّيْفُ رَاحَ أَحْتَجِمُ

وَتَشَقُّ حَرَاطِيمُهَا جَوْرِي
وَكُنْتُ إِذَا الصَّيْفُ رَاحَ أَحْتَجِمُ
تَشَقُّ حَرَاطِيمُهَا جَوْرِي
وَكُنْتُ إِذَا الصَّيْفُ رَاحَ أَحْتَجِمُ
تَشَقُّ حَرَاطِيمُهَا جَوْرِي
وَكُنْتُ إِذَا الصَّيْفُ رَاحَ أَحْتَجِمُ
تَشَقُّ حَرَاطِيمُهَا جَوْرِي
وَكُنْتُ إِذَا الصَّيْفُ رَاحَ أَحْتَجِمُ

ومن ذلك قول حافظ إبراهيم في صديقه الدكتور محبوب ثابت حينما كان في ضيافة سعد زغلول وكان الدكتور مشغولاً بوزارة يتولاها أو فتاة غنيّة من بيت عريق يتزوجها، مشيراً في الوقت نفسه إلى لازمة من لوازم محبوب في استخدام حرف القاف بطريقة تجعله مثاراً للسخرية (47):

قُصِفَ المَدافعِ في أَفقِ النِّسَاتينِ
مِن مَارجِ النَّارِ تَصَويرِ الشَّيَاطِينِ

يُرْعَى وَيُرْبَدُ بِالْقَافَاتِ تَحْسِبُهَا
مِنْ كُلِّ قَافٍ كَأَنَّ اللَّهَ صَوَّرَهَا

ثانياً: العاميات:

يتفاوت شعراء هذا النمط في استعمال العاميّة قُرْباً أو بُعْداً من الفُصحى، فبعضهم يشتطّ في استعمالها حتى لتجد جلّ إبداعه بالعامية، كبيرم التونسي ذلك الذي يُقَدِّم وجبة دسمة من الثبعر المحكيّ باللهجة المصرية(48)، وبعضهم ينحو ناحية الفصحى السهلة الميسرة أو الفُصحى الجَزَلَة القويّة، وبعضهم يستعمل لغة هجينة في منطقة وسطى بين منطقتي العربية الفُصحى الخالصة، واللهجة العامية المحكيّة الخالصة، فيستخدم الشّاعر لغة وسطاً بين المحكيّة والفصيحة، أو يستعمل لهجة هجينة من كلمات عاميّة دارجة موعلة في العاميّة، وكلمات فصيحة عالية مُعْرِقة في الفصحى، وكلمات أجنبية. وربما أجرى بعض الشعراء على كلامه شيئاً من خصائص الفُصحى، كالإعراب مثلاً الذي يجريه بعضهم على بعض الكلمات العاميّة.

وقد صادف استعمال العاميّة في الثبعر من قِبَل بعض الشعراء هوى لدى بعض النقاد الكبار من أمثال الدكتور محمد التويهي الذي استهواه ما كتبه صلاح جاهين، فقال: "إن القصائد العاميّة التي ينظمها صلاح جاهين لتحمل من الحيوية ما لا يوجد في مجموع الثبعر التقليدي الذي أنشأه الشعراء المقلدون منذ الباروديّ إلى يومنا هذا"(49). وهذا الرأي لا يمكن قبوله على إطلاقه أو رفضه على إطلاقه لدى جميع المبدعين؛ فربما جاءت الألفاظ العامية في مكانها لإضفاء جو من التفكّه والظرف والفرح، أو جاءت سخيّة غير مناسبة للدلالات والمعاني، لتملأ الفراغ حين ينضب معين الشاعر من الفصحى؛ فمعلوم أنه إذا حدث فراغ فلا بد أن يملأ حتى لو بالعاميات أو باللغات الأجنبية. وقد أكّد الجاحظ ذلك حين قال: "أزعم أن سخيّف الألفاظ مشاكل لسخيّف المعاني. وقد يُحتاج إلى السخيّف في بعض المواضع. وربما أمتع بأكثر من إمتاع الجزل الفخم من الألفاظ والشريف الكريم من المعاني"(50).

وربما يسهم توظيف بعض المفردات المحكيّة باللهجة العاميّة في الثبعر العربيّ المكتوب باللغة العربية الفصحى- في الوعي بجماليّات تلك اللغة الشعرية حين استعمال الكلام اليوميّ، وخاصة إذا كانت مفردات اللغة منتقاة

(47) ديوان حافظ إبراهيم، ضبطه وصحّحه وشرحه: أحمد أمين، وأحمد الزين، وإبراهيم الإيباري، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، ط3، سنة 1987، ص 189-190.

ومسألة الخلل في نطق بعض الأصوات أشار إليها بعض الشعراء القدماء؛ ومن هؤلاء الصاحب بن عباد الذي يهجو (عبّاساً) لأنه كان ينطق اسمه بالناء: بدلاً من السين (عبّأً) وقد قلده الصاحب بن عباد في قلب السين ثاء في لفظتين أخريّين؛ هما: (الكاس) و(الطاس)؛ حيث قال:

شَادِنِ قَلْتُ لَهْ: مَا اسْمُكَ
قَالَ لِي بِالغُج: عَبَّأْتُ
صِرْتُ مِنْ لَغْتِهِ أَلْغَا
قُلْتُ: أَيْنَ الكَاثُ وَالطَاثُ

يُنظر: ديوان الصاحب بن عباد، بتحقيق: الشيخ محمد حسن آل ياسين، منشورات دار القلم، بيروت، مطبعة النهضة، بغداد، ط2، 1974/1394، ص 199.

(48) الشعراء الذين كتبوا هذا اللون منتشرين في مناطق العالم العربي. وقد استعمل شعراء كبار بعض الكلمات العامية في إبداعهم؛ كالشاعر المصري أحمد شوقي.

(49) قضية الشعر الجديد، د. محمد النويهي، المطبعة العالميّة، القاهرة، دط، سنة 1964، ص 266.

(50) البيان والتبيين لأبي عثمان عمرو بن بحر الجاحظ، تحقيق: عبد السلام محمد هارون، مكتبة الخانجي، القاهرة، ط1، 1998/1418، ص 145/1.

بعناية وموظفة توظيفاً دقيقاً لغرض مقصود وهدف منشود من المبدع دون تعسف أو تكلف أو ابتذال؛ فالألفاظ والتراكيب والتعابير والأمثال والصور الشعبية جميعها مصدر ثري في خدمة المعاني والدلالات، وتقريب الأفكار والآراء، وشحن الانفعالات والعواطف التي يرغب المبدع في إيصالها للمتلقي، فتأتي القصيدة واضحة، مفهومة المعنى للكثير من الناس. وقد بدا ذلك الاستعمال العامي على مستويي الصيغ، والتراكيب معاً. ومن دون شك، فإن استعمال المفردات والتعابير والتراكيب العامية يسهم في تضيق دائرة التجربة. وبالرغم من ذلك، فقد تصدق تلك التجربة على تجارب إنسانية أخرى. وينبغي – هنا – عدم إغفال أن كثيراً من المفردات الشائعة والعبارة الشعبية المشهورة والتراكيب الذائعة التي قد يُظن أنها عامية غير فصيحة هي فصيحة في الأساس، بيد أن دورانها على الألسنة وكثرة شيوعها مما يوهم بكونها دارجة غير فصيحة (ومن ذلك: ملح، وملخلخ، وشاف يشوف..، وهذه كلها تحتاج إلى دراسات تأصيلية تستعين بما كتب عن تفصيح العامي) (51).

إن ثمة سؤالاً جوهرياً يفرض نفسه فحواه: لماذا يستعمل الشاعر الفكاهي الحريص على خلود شعره ويقائه الألفاظ الأجنبية أو الكلمات المحكية في شعره؟ وينبثق من هذا السؤال مجموعة من احتمالات الإجابة على هيئة مجموعة من الأسئلة الآتية:

هل كان اللفظ الذي اختاره الشاعر الفكاهي بالعامية أو الأجنبية هو الأنسب من سواه في التعبير عما يريد؟ وهل كان ذلك الأسلوب اللغوي الذي اختاره هو البديل الصحيح الذي يسيّله يستطيع التعبير عن واقعه المعيش دون سواه؟ وهل كان استعماله لتلك الألفاظ والتراكيب سبباً في إثراء العربية الفصحى أو في إضعافها؟ يحاول بعض شعراء السبّ والفكاهي توظيف الموروث الشعبي في هذا النمط الشعري، ومن ثم نرى ذلك التعدد اللغوي الموجود، حيث نجد المفردات العامية أو الأجنبية مجاورة لمفردات العربية الفصحى. وربما كان ذلك الاستعمال سبيل الشاعر إلى محاورة المتلقي لئلا يفتقر الإبداع، وتأكيد الانفعال به والتفاعل معه، وتقريب المعاني التي يرغب في إيصالها إلى جمهور الناس، كي يفهموا الرسالة الشعرية وينفعلوا بها ويتفاعلوا معها. تحمل بعض القصائد المكتوبة بهذا اللون ظلالاً من المعاني والدلالات لا يناسبها إلا استعمال الكلمات الدارجة، كما هو الحال في القصائد العزليّة التي تُعبّر مفرداتها عن اللبونة والرقة والنعومة والرّشاقة والظرافة، مثل قول مصطفى رجب محاكياً للشاب الظريف (52):

واشْرَحْ هَوَاكَ فَكُنَّا عَشَاقُ

لا تُخْفِ مَا فَعَلْتَ بِكَ الْأَشْوَاقُ

وذلك حين يقول (53):

يَوْمَ التَّلَاتِ، وَمَا جَنَّتْ بُولَاقُ
وَالدَّمْعُ مِنْكَ عَلَى النَّمِيمِصِ مَرَّاقُ
سَنْبُورُ قَلْبِي فِي الْهَوَى دَقَاقُ
حَتَّى الْهَرَبِيسَةِ طَعْمُهَا حَرَّاقُ
حَارَاتِ بُولَاقِي وَدَارِ زُعَاقُ
مَا شَافَهَا النَّصَابُ وَالسَّرَاقُ

وَاحِكِ الْحِكَايَةِ يَا بَحِيثَ كَمَا جَرَتْ
ضَبَطُوكَ فِي نَاهِيَا تَبْصُصُ سَاهِمًا
وَتَقُولُ: يَا سَوْسُو ارْحَمِي ذَلِي دَانَا
وَالْحُبُّ شَخْرَمَنِي وَبَرِيطُ عَيْشَتِي
تَفَّتْ عَلَيْكَ وَرَعَقَتْ فَتَجَمَعَتْ
عَيْنِي عَلَيْكَ مُشْنَدَلًا فِي عَلَقَةٍ

وكثير من الألفاظ المستعملة – هنا – قريبة من الناس، تلامس وجدانهم، وتقرب من أحوالهم، وبعضها عامي دارج، مثل: (التلات)، (تبصص)، (سوسو)، (دانا)، (تفت عليك)، (سنبور قلبي)، (شخرمني)، (بربط)، (زُعاق)، (مُشْنَدَلًا)... إلخ.

(51) العامية ليست مضادة للفصحى، وإنما هي فصحة محرّفة. وقد جمع الدكتور أمين السيد كثيراً من ذلك في: العامي الفصحى في المعجم الوسيط، إدارة التحرير بمجمع اللغة العربية بالقاهرة، ط1، 2005. وقد رُتبت الكلمات ترتيباً أبجدياً في مائتين وخمسين صفحة.

(52) ديوان الشاب الظريف: شمس الدين محمد بن عفيف الدين سليمان اليمساني (ت 688هـ)، حققه وأعدّ تكميلته وفسّر ألفاظه: شاكر هادي شكر، مطبعة النجف، النجف الأشرف، دط، سنة 1967/1387، ص 185.

(53) ديوان شعر: حلمنتيشيات ابن رجب، د. مصطفى رجب، العلم والإيمان للنشر والتوزيع، دسوق، دط، رقم الإيداع 2007/20654، ص 9.

وقول ياسر قطامش في "المشاغبات الرّوجية" (54):

أضحى الرّعيقُ بديلاً عن أعانينا
فكيف يا رُوجتي تبغين عكننتي؟
وقلت في غلظة: أين (المُرْتَب)؟ إن
أين (الحوافز) يا كذاب قد ذهب؟
وناب عن فرحة اللّقيّا تباكيننا
وكننت يا حلوتي بالشعر ترصينا
لم تُعطني نصفه أضربك سكيننا
أين (العلاوة)؟ قلت: الحبُّ يكفيننا

بهذه الألفاظ التي يستعملها الناس في مفرداتهم اليومية التي تتكرّر في كلامهم، مثل: (الزريع)، (عكننتي)، (المرتّب)، (الحوافز)، (العلاوة)... إلخ - نقل الشّاعر تجربته في هذه الأبيات. ومن ذلك قصيدة "رسالة بالفاكس إلى المتنبّي" لياسر قطامش (55):

لشبعك ما يلقي الفؤاد وما لقي
زمانك قد ولى وهذا زماننا
فرفقاً بأعصابي ولا "تتمهزق"
فأين "بنو حمّدان" بل كيف نلتقي؟

ولعلك تلحظ في هذه القصيدة كلمات عاميّة بارزة في الدّارجة المصريّة، كما هو الحال في: "تتمهزق"، و"تتريشوا"، و"مُحزّق"، وهناك أيضاً كلمات غير عربية، مثل: "استريتش".

ولا نستطيع الجزم بأن وجود الألفاظ العامية دلالة على العجز اللغوي التام لشعراء هذا النمط، إذ هم متفاوتون في ذلك؛ فربما كان وجود كلمات عاميّة شائعة في القصيدة أبلغ من وجود سواها من المفردات الفصيحة في التّعبير عن مُراد الشّاعر في موقف معيّن أو حادثٍ مخصوص. وربّما - على العكس من ذلك - تكون تلك المفردات ركيكة ضعيفة غير مناسبة للمحتوى والسّياق.

ومن ذلك استعمال هذا الفعل الدّارج في العاميّة الليبيّة "انتلف" الذي يعني الذهاب من غير أسف عليه في قول الشّاعر أحمد رفيق عندما أحسّ بشيء من الارتياح بعدما بلغه نبأ تحرير الوطن من غاصبيه، فعبر عن ذلك بأسلوب تهكمّي ساخر (56):

قد (انتلف) الحمّارُ بِأَمِّ عَمُرُو
فلا رجعت، ولا رجعت الحمّارُ

وكان بإمكانه استعمال فعل الدّهاب؛ لكنه لن يُؤدّي الدّلالة نفسها التي يُؤدّيها الفعل (انتلف) الذي يدلُّ على تحقّق الدّهاب السّريع مع كراهة العودة، فضلاً عن الارتياح والفرح لزوال المغتصب. وقد جاءت أبيات القصيدة مؤكدة ذلك (57). وربما يلتصق لهذا الفعل أصل فصيح هو (تلف) بمعنى الفناء والهلاك، (انتلف) على وزن (انفعل) (58). ومن الكلام العامّي استعمال ياسر قطامش المفردات العاميّة الشائعة في اللهجة المصريّة، مثل: "الهجايص"، "فَيْرَكَة"، "فَسْر"، "المعيز"، "طشنت"... إلخ، وكذلك التراكيب العاميّة الدارجة، مثل: "بلّوي بوزي"، "بلاش تزعل" في

(54) يُنظر: القلب في ورطة، ياسر قطامش، ص 41.

(55) يعارض قصيدة المتنبّي في ديوانه؛ إذ يقول:

لعينيك ما يلقي الفؤاد وما لقي
وللخب ما لم يبق مني وما بقي

يُنظر: ديوان المتنبّي، دار بيروت للطباعة والنشر، بيروت، دط، 1403 هـ = 1983 م، ص 345. ويُنظر: القلب في ورطة بين ليلي وبطة (من الأدب الساخر)، ياسر قطامش، الدار المصريّة اللبنيّة، دط، دت، ص 39.

(56) يُنظر: اتجاهات نقد التّعبير اللبّي الحديث (1950-1995)، أحمد محمد الجرم، منشورات جامعة 7 أكتوبر، المجموعة العربية للتدريب والنشر، القاهرة، ط1، سنة 2010، ص 54.

(57) ديوان شاعر الوطن الكبير (الفترة الثالثة 1946-25): أحمد رفيق المهدي، المطبعة الأهليّة، بنغازي، ط1، سنة 1962/1382، ص 210 فما بعدها.

(58) يُنظر: لسان العرب، للإمام أبي الفضل جمال الدين محمد بن مكرم ابن منظور المصري (ت 711)، دار صادر، بيروت، دط، دت، (تلف)، 18/2.

قصيدة ياسر قطامش "كلام في الهجايص"⁽⁵⁹⁾. وفي استعمال الألفاظ ذات النسق العامي تأكيد للغة الحياة التي يعيشها الشاعر، وإشاعة لروح الفكاهة والسخرية. وكان الشاعر يرمي إلى إضفاء قدر من الواقعية في شعره، فيغوص في أعماق الشعبية متمثلاً صورها وأنماطها. ومن استعمال العامية الخالصة في هذا النمط الشعري قول ياسر قطامش⁽⁶⁰⁾:

مُسَعَّدٌ سَعِيدٌ أَبُو دَرَشٍ رَاجِلٌ تَخِينٌ وَمَفْشٌ
عَ الْقَهْوَةِ يَقْضِي النَّهَارَ فِي الطَّوْلَةِ (دُرْجِي وَدَش)
وَلَمَّا يَبْجِي الْفَطَارَ يَلْهَطُ وَيَفْضَلُ يَحْشُ
وَيَعُدُّ مَا يَنْسَجِمُ مَظْبُوطٌ وَيَمْلَأُ الْكَرْشُ
بِيشُوفٍ فَضَائِيَّاتٍ وَعَيْنِهِ مَا يَنْعَقِلُشْ
رَقْصٌ وَعَنَا وَمَسْخَرَةٌ قَاعِدٌ وَمَا يَبْعَثُشْ
وَإِنْ جِيتَ أَعَاتِبُهُ وَأَقُولُ: دَهْ مِشْ صِيَامٌ أَبَدًا
يَضْحَكُ قَوِي وَيَقُولُ: "رَمَضَانَ كَرِيمٍ مَعْلَهْشْ"!!!

وقد صبغت العامية القصيدة السابقة بالصبغة المحلية الضيقة. ومنه قول "ياسر قطامش" أيضا في قصيدة: "سوسو والكحك"⁽⁶¹⁾:

مِرَاتِي سُوْسُو اللَّبْطُ زَعْلَانَةٌ وَيَايَا
مَعْفُولَةٌ يَبْجِي الْعِيدَ مَا تَجْبِشْ كَحَايَاهُ؟
أَوْدِي وَشِي فِي مِ النَّاسِ يَا حَدَايَاهُ؟
و500 مُشْكَلَةٌ مَعَ "بَالُو" وَرَوَايَهُ
قَالَتْ: مَا لِيْشْ دَعْوَةٌ، قَلْبَتْ لِي سَحْنَتُهَا
قَالَتْ لِي: بَقَى مَعْفُولٌ تَعْمَلُ كَدَهْ مَعَايَا؟
قَلْتُ لَهَا: سَعْرُ الْكَحْكِ بَقِيَ غَالِي وَحَايَاهُ
فِي كُلِّ عَيْدٍ عَكْنَنَّهُ!! يَا سُوْسُو بَغْفَايَهُ

وإذا أخذ الشاعر من كلام الناس العامي، فينبغي أن يرتقي درجة فوق مستوى لغتهم، لتأتي لغته أكثر إرهافا وجاذبية وإجادة وتركيزا، حتى لا يكون شأنه شأن الكلام النثري العادي. وهناك أمثلة كثيرة لاستعمال شعراء هذا اللون مثل هذه الكلمات.

ثالثا: اللغة الأجنبية:

أدخل بعض شعراء الشعر الفكاهي الألفاظ الأجنبية في أشعارهم، ليصير معجمهم اللغوي مزيجاً بين الفصحى والعامية والأجنبية⁽⁶²⁾.

(59) فنلكة شعرية، ياسر قطامش، ص 15-16.

(60) فنلكة شعرية، ياسر قطامش، ص 146.

(61) السابق، ص 147.

(62) هذا موجود في لغة الشعر الجاهلي، وفي القرآن الكريم "؛ مثل: "المشكاة"، و"الإستبرق"، و"الشطرنج". يُنظر: المعرب من الكلام الأعجمي على حروف المعجم؛ لأبي منصور موهوب بن أحمد بن محمد بن الخضر الجواليقي (ت 540هـ)، وطبع حواشيه وعلق عليه: خليل عمران المنصور، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، ط1، 1998، ص 6 فما بعدها. ويُنظر: دراسات في فقه اللغة، د. صبحي الصالح، دار العلم للملايين، بيروت، ط3، 2009، ص 316.

وربما كانت الرطانة باللغات الأجنبية وبخاصة الإنجليزية بسبب الإحساس بالدونية، أو العكس (النظرة المتعالية) بشعور الشخص بأنه من الطبقات الراقية، أو مجازة للإلف والعادة، أو التعليم الأجنبي والدراسة باللغات الأجنبية، أو للإمتاع والفكاهة، أو لغيرها (63).
وقد ظهر ذلك الانبهار بالثقافة الغربية والتباهي بها والتقليد لها في الإبداع الشعري في الشعر الفكاهي. ومن ذلك القصيدة المشهورة على الشابكة التي جاءت قافيتها باللغة الإنجليزية (64):

أَيَا دَا الْقَلْبَ لَا تَحْزَنْ
فَلَنْ تُجْدِي عَقَاقِيرٌ
فَكَمْ مِنْ عَاقِلٍ فُطِنَ
سَنَنْعِرُهُ وَتَسَاهُ
فَدَاكَ الْحُبُّ إِنْفَكَشَنَ (infection)
وَلَنْ تَشْفِيكَ إِنْجَكَشَنَ (injection)
مَضَى بِالْحُبِّ دَايِرِكَشَنَ (direction)
وَلَنْ يَبْقَى لَهُ مَشْنَنَ (mention)

وقول حسن السبع مخاطبًا إحداهن، ومشيرًا إلى أنه حادثي إلا أن يتعلق الأمر بالأكل، فالوداع حينئذٍ للحادثة (65):

شَمْرِي لِي عَن سَاعِدَيْكَ وَجُودِي وَدَعِي عَنكَ صَرَعَةَ الْفَاسْتِ فُودِ

حيث وظّف الشاعر هذا التركيب الأجنبي المتداول لدى فئة من الناس، وهو (Fast Food) الذي يعني الطعام السريع، ليجعل القصيدة ملوكة على الألسن، قريبة التناول.
ومن استعمال المفردات الأجنبية قول ياسر قطامش في قصيدة "رسالة إلى العزيز شيمون بيريز" (66):

يَا أَيُّهَا الْمِسْتَرُ بِيرِيْزُ: لَا لَا تَقَاطِعِي "please"

.....
أَمْرِيكَ قَدْ تُهْدِي إِلَيْكَ مَعُونَةَ مَلِيُونٍ "shoes"

حيث يستعمل كلمات (mister) بمعنى: (السَّيِّدُ)، و (please) بمعنى: (من فضلك)، و (shoes) بمعنى: (أحذية).
ومن استخدام المفردات الأجنبية قول مصطفى رجب من قصيدته "لا تَقْتَضِي" (67):

.....
وَإِذَا رَزَقْتَ مَعَ الْغَدَاءِ كَوَارِعًا
إِنَّ الْكَأَكُولَةَ يَا مَدْهُوْلُ بَلْوَةٌ
وَالْبَيْبِسُ بَعْدُ عَنْهُ يَا ابْنَ حَفِيظَةٍ
فَاحْبِسْ بَيْبَسُونَ وَلَا تَتَكَوَّلِ
جَايَاكَ مِنْ عِنْدِ الْيَهُودِ يَا شَيْخَ عَلِي
حَتَّى وَلَوْ شَرِبْتَهُ كُلُّ الْبَيْبِلِ (people)

(63) استمدّ المستعمر سيطرته اللغوية من هيمنته على مُنَاخَاتٍ أُخْرَى على المستوى الشعبي، في المأكّل والمشرب والملبس... إلخ، فيجد المرء نفسه بين لغتين مختلفتين وهويتين متباينتين: لغة المتلقي ابن البلد الأصليّة، ولغة المرسل (المستعمر): إنجليزية كانت أو فرنسية أو إيطالية. وهذه نظرية قديمة ذكرها ابن خلدون في أن المغلوب مُولَعٌ دائماً بالغالِبِ في زِيَهٍ وَشِعَارِهِ وَنَحْلِهِ وَسَائِرِ أَحْوَالِهِ وَعَوَانِدِهِ. يُنظَرُ: مقدمة ابن خلدون، تأليف: العلامة وليّ الدين عبد الرحمن بن محمد ابن خلدون (ت 808هـ)، حَقْفَهُ وَخَرَجَ أَحَادِيثَهُ وَعَلَّقَ عَلَيْهِ، عبد الله محمد الدرويش، دار يَغْرَب، دمشق، ط1، سنة 2004/1425، 283/1.

(64) يُنظَرُ: <https://www.saravaneus.com/print.php?id=396963>، (سرابا)، قصيدة بقلم: وليد الخالدي، بتاريخ 2018/12/30.

(65) يُنظَرُ: <https://www.ye1.org/porum/Threads/9604>، بتاريخ 2018/12/30.

(66) القلب في ورطة، ياسر قطامش، ص 143.

(67) ديوان شعر حلمنتيشيات ابن رجب، مصطفى رجب، ص 64-65.

مَا ذَاقَ طَعْمَ "الْكُنْتِ" طُولَ حَيَاتِهِ أَبَدًا، وَلَمْ يَحْكَمْ بِعَلْبَةٍ (دَنْهَلِ)

فهناك ألفاظ أجنبية استعملها الشاعر – هنا - كـ "people"، و"البييس"، وأيضًا، فقد اشتق الشاعر من "الكوكاكولا" الفعل "تتكوكل"، واستعمل "السيارس" [sabāres]، وهي كلمة ذائعة في العامية المصرية، وهي أعقاب السجائر يُعاد تدخينها ثانية بعد إطفائها مرّة أخرى. و(الكنت) و(دنهل): نوعان من السجائر المتداولة. وقد ذاع استعمال المفردات والتراكيب الأجنبية في هذا النمط المُتَّسِم بالطرافة والضحك وشاع، فكتب الفنّان ياسر العظمة قصيدة شعريّة مضحكة بلغة مطعّمة بالإنجليزية [عَرَبِيَّةٌ عَالَمِيَّةٌ]، وجعل عنوانها "بُؤْيُمة لَفْ"؛ بمعنى: "قصيدة حُب"، وهي تحكي حكاية حُب له مع فتاة إنجليزية جميلة أحبها، قال فيها (68):

فِرْنْدِي وَوَكَا فِي الدِّيزَرْتِ سَلُولِي فَاتِي فِي لَفِّ جَرِيْتِ مُشْعَلِ
إِذَا أَنْتَ مَاسْكِرْتِ فِي اللَّفِّ عَاشِقًا رَمَنْتَ حَزِينِ الْهَارْتِ فِي إِفْرِي مَحْفَلِ
تُدَارِين لَفًّا إِنْ ذَا هَارْتِ وَإِنَّمَا تُرُو الْأَيَزِ إِنْ يُورِ فَيِس سِي إِتْ كَلِيَزَلِي
سَاقِضِي حَيَاتِي فَيُفْعَلُ لِلْفَهَا وَشَانِصِي سَمُولِ فِيرِي لِتَلِ التَّحْمَلِ
وَلَقِي بِجِ فِيرِي بِجِ بِيْلِفِي مِي أَدْنِدْنَه لُونِي وَفْرِي جُوَيْفَلِ
أَلْفَكْ لَفَّا فِي الْبُلُودِ مَسَارَه وَهَارْتِي مَآي دَارْلِنَجِ سَرِيْعِ التَّرْتَبَلِ
فَهُوْمِي دِمَاسْ وَهُومِكْ لُنْدَنْ وَيْتُونِنَا الدِّسْتَنْسْ فِرِي مَطُولِ

ولعلك تلاحظ الكثرة الكثيرة من الكلمات الإنجليزية، ففي البيت الأول "صديقي" صارت: "فرندي"، و"سييرا" صارت: "ووكا"، و"الصحراء" صارت: "الديزرت"، و"سلولي" صارت: "ببطء"، و"حُب" صارت: "لَفْ"، و"عظيم" صارت: "جريت"، وهكذا في بقية الأبيات. ولست مع زج الكلمات الأجنبية وحشرها بطريقة مفتعلة تثير الأشمئزاز ربما بسبب التقليد الأعمى أو فقدان الانتماء أو الشعور بالنقص أو الغزو الفكري والثقافي. ومن ذلك قول أحد السودانيين في قصيدة يستعمل في قافية أبياتها كلمات أجنبية (الإديوكيتير)، (ليتر)، (بالكيلوميتر)، (قريتز) يشعر القارئ معها بشيء من الهبوط والانحدار في المستوى الفني (69):

إِلَيْكَ أَبْتُ أَسْتَاذِي سَلَامِي فَاتَكَ أَنْتَ نِعَمَ (الإديوكيتير)
وَأَبْدًا بِالْوَدَادِ وَبِالتَّحَايَا وَسَوْفَ تَجِيْنُكَ الْأَخْبَارُ (ليتر)
بِعَادِكَ يَا أَحِي قَدْ طَالَ حَتَّى تَطَاوَلَ أَمْرُهُ (بالكيلوميتر)
لَيْنْ عُدْتُمْ إِلَى السُّودَانِ فُورًا تَكُونُ بِدَاكْ فَرِحْتَنَا (قريتز)

لقد شاعت مفردات وتراكيب وكنايات منقولة من اللغات الأجنبية في هذا الشعر الفكاهي، مثل: البنكنوت، والنُيُولُوك، والفديو كليب، والموبايل، وغيرها، مثلما ذاعت فيه مفردات وتراكيب عامية دارجة، مثل: "المونكة"، و"اللككة"، و"الهمكة"، و"المجصلة"، و"المبعكة"، و"... إلخ.

ظواهر لغوية في الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر

(68) بدلاً من أن يقول: خليلي سيرا في الصحاري تمهل.
يُنظر: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbkpRtzTR2u> بتاريخ 2019/1/10 (قصيدة ياسر العظمة "العربية على اليوتيوب").
(69) يُنظر: هل اللغة العربية في خطر؟، د. بتول حاج أحمد محمد – السودان، بتاريخ 10 يناير 2019.
https://www.adabislami.org/magazine/print_article/191

يسلك الشعْرُ الفكاهي مسلك الشعر العربيّ في بعض الاستعمالات اللغويّة الخاصّة (70). وبطبيعة الحال لا يمكن الحكم على شاعر ما بالضعف أو القوّة، أو على شعر ما بالرداءة أو الجودة نتيجة لوجود هذه الأخطاء أو المخالفات. وقد عبّر ابن جنّي عن ذلك فقال: " فمتى رأيت الشاعر قد ارتكب مثل هذه الضرورات مع فُجْحها وانخراق الأصول بها، فاعلم أنّ ذلك على ما جثّمه منه، وإن دلّ من وجه على جورّه وتعسّفه، فإنه من وجه آخر مؤذّن بصياله وتخمّطه، وليس بقاطع دليل على ضعف لغته ولا قصوره عن اختياره الوجه الناطق بفصاحته" (71). كما لا يمكن القول بأنّ كل ما وقع في هذا النمط من الشعْر داخل في الضرورة، إذ بعضها أخطاء صريحة في اللّغة، وخاصّة حين يجري بعض الشعراء أحكام العربيّة الفصحى على بعض المفردات والتراكيب العاميّة.

ولعلّ من أبرز الظواهر اللغويّة لدى بعض شعراء هذا النمط الشعريّ الميل إلى التسنّكين، والتخلّي عن الإعراب (72)، حيث يتخفّف بعض شعراء من هذا اللون من الإعراب، فيسقطون علاماته من بعض الكلمات، فلا يُعرف فاعل من مفعول، ولا تُعلم دلالة واضحة للكلمات، بسبب التسنّكين الذي يؤدي إلى اختلاط في الوظائف النحويّة. وفيما يلي أبرز المظاهر اللغويّة في الشعْر الفكاهي المعاصر:

1 – إبدال الأصوات اللغويّة: بالرغم من أنّ العربيّة الفصحى مليئة بالمفردات، فإن بعض شعراء الفكاهة يستعملون العاميّة في كلامهم. وقد بدأ ذلك على مستوى الأصوات، فالجيم تصير دالا أو ياء، والضاد تصير ظاء، والذال دالا، والثاء تاء. ومن ذلك (الثلاثاء) التي صارت (الثلاث) في قول مصطفى رجب (73):

وَإِخْكِ الْحِكَايَةَ يَا بَخِيثَ كَمَا جَرَتْ يَوْمَ الثَّلَاثِ، وَمَا جَنَّتْ بُوْلَاقُ

(وهذا أنا) أو (هأنأنا) تصير: (دانأنا) في قول مصطفى رجب (74):

وَتَقُولُ: يَا سَوْسُو أَرْحَمِي ذَلِّي دَانَا سَنِّيُورُ قَلْبِي فِي الْهُوَى دَقَاقُ

(والكذب) تصير (الكذب) في قول مصطفى رجب (75):

يَقُولُ: وَزَارَتِي تَسْعَى وَتَسْعَى وَطَعْمُ الْكِذْبِ مَا أَحْلَى ابْتِلَاعَهُ!

2 – قطع همزة الوصل:

وقد ورد قطع همزة الوصل في الشعْر الفكاهي المعاصر كثيرا. ومن ذلك قول إبراهيم طوقان (76):

يَا مَنْ تُرِيدُ الْإِنْتِحَارَ وَجَدْتَهُ إِنَّ الْمَعْلَمَ لَا يَعْيشُ طَوِيلًا

(70) الخروج على قواعد اللغة ظاهرة لغوية قديمة؛ فقد تحدّث العلماء عن الضرورة الشعريّة، وأفردوا لها كُتُبًا، أظهرها فيها أن شعراء كثيرين حتى شعراء عصور الاحتجاج قد وقعوا في الضرّان.

(71) الخصائص، أبو الفتح عثمان بن جنّي (ت 392 هـ)، تحقيق د. عبد الحميد هندراوي، دار الكتب العلميّة، بيروت، د. ط. 1421 هـ، 165/1.

(72) ينظر آراء النحاة في هذا الموضوع في: تأويل مشكل القرآن، لمحمد بن عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة، دار التراث، القاهرة، ط. 2، سنة 1973، ص 14. و: طبقات النحويين واللغويين، أبو بكر محمد بن الحسن الإشبيلي الزبيديّ (ت 379 هـ)، تحقيق: محمد أبو الفضل

إبراهيم، دار المعارف، مصر، د. ط. سنة 1973، ص 11. و: من أسرار العربيّة، د. إبراهيم أنيس، مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية، القاهرة، ط. 3، سنة 1951، ص 208. و: الإعراب وأثره في المعنى، د. فضل الله النور علي، جامعة السودان للعلوم والتكنولوجيا، مجلة العلوم

الإنسانية والاقتصاديّة، العدد الأول، يوليو سنة 2012، ص 29 فما بعدها.

(73) ديوان شعر حلمنتيشيات ابن رجب، ص 9.

(74) السابق نفسه.

(75) ديوان شعر حلمنتيشيات ابن رجب، ص 23.

(76) الأعمال الشعريّة الكاملة، ص 176.

فقد قطع همزة الوصل من المصدر الخامسِي (الأثْجَار)، لتستقيم نغمة بحر الكامل، وناسب القطع لانقطاع حياة المعْلِم. وقول ياسر قطامش(77):

يَقُولُ بِفَخْرٍ: أَنَا إِبْنُ بَاشَا
أَلِيْطُ بِأَتْفٍ لَهُ هَيْمَنُهُ

فهزمة (ابن) همزة وصل، لكن الشاعر قطعها، لتستقيم نغمة بحر المتقارب.

3 – تحويل همزة القطع إلى همزة وصل: تتحوّل همزة القطع إلى همزة وصل في بعض أبيات هذا اللون الشعريّ. وقد ورد ذلك في مثل قول إبراهيم طوقان (78):

وَلَوْ أَنَّ فِي "التَّصْلِيحِ" نَفْعًا يُرْتَجَى
وَأَبِيكَ، لَمْ أَكْ بِالْعُيُونِ بَخِيلاً

حيث وصل الشّاعر همزة القطع في أداة النَّصْب (أَنَّ). وقد ساعد ذلك على إقامة نغمة بحر الكامل. وقول ماجد الرّاوي (79):

فَقَالَ: أَنْتَ فِي (بَارِيس) تَحْيَا
أَمْ أَنْتَ سَاكِنٌ أَرْضَ الْفُرَاتِ!؟

حيث وصل الشّاعر همزة القطع في الأداة (أَنَّ) في (أَنْتَ سَاكِنٌ). وقد أسهم ذلك في إقامة نغمة بحر الوافر. وقول الشّاعر (80):

أَبَا الطَّيِّبِ الْمُتَنَبِّيِ الْآنَ لَمْ يَعْذُ
مِنَ الشَّعْرِ مَا يُعْرِي بِلَوْزٍ وَفَسْتَقْ

فالأصل أن يقول: (الآن)، لكنه عدل عن ذلك إلى (الآن)، مع عدم الاعتداد بياء "المتنبي" في الإنشاد. وقد أسهم ذلك في إقامة الوزن الشعري لبحر الطويل. ومن دون ذلك التغيير سينكسر إيقاع البيت. ومثله قول الشّاعر (81):

فَبِحَقِّ وَدِكُّمِ لَوْ إِنِّي قَادِرٌ
لَدَرَجْتُ أَنَحُو نَحْوَكُمِ دَرَجَ الْحَجَلِ

فقد وصل الشّاعر همزة القطع في (إِنِّي). والأصل أن تصير: (أَنِّي)، لإقامة نغمة بحر الكامل.

(77) فذلّكة شعريّة، ياسر قطامش ص 20.

(78) الأعمال الشعريّة الكاملة، إبراهيم طوقان، المؤسسة العربيّة للدراسات والنشر، بيروت، ط2، 1993، ص 176.

(79) يُنظر: ماجد الرّاوي، مختارات من شعره السّاذج والجاد، المختارات من دواوينه المطبوعّة بموافقات وزارة الإعلام واتّحاد الكتّاب العرب في الجمهوريّة العربيّة السّوريّة وما نُشر في بعض المجلات والصّحف، دون بيانات أخرى، ص 10.

(80) يعارض قصيدة المتنبي في ديوانه؛ إذ يقول:

لِعَيْنِكَ مَا يَلْقَى الْفُؤَادَ وَمَا لَقِيَ
وَلِلْخَبِّ مَا لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنِّي وَمَا بَقِيَ

يُنظر: ديوان المتنبي، دار بيروت للطباعة والنشر، بيروت، دبط، 1403 هـ = 1983 م، ص 345. وينظر القلب في ورطة بين ليلي وبطة (من الأدب الساخر)، ياسر قطامش، الدار المصريّة اللبنيّة، دبط، دبت، ص 39.

(81) ينظر: الشّاعر مقبل نصر غالب رائد الشعر الحلمنتيشي في اليمن، مجلة جامعة عدن، الثلاثاء 11 مارس 2008، العدد (14049)، السنة الأربعون، ص 13. ويُنظر: http://www.nidaulhind.com/2016/12/blog-post_26.html، الفكاهاة في الشعر العربي قديماً وحديثاً، د. محمد عبد القادر، بتاريخ 2018/12/19.

4 – عدم حذف حرف العلة من الفعل المضارع المجزوم المعتل الآخر:

ومن ذلك قول الشاعر اليمني مقبل نصر غالب (82):

كُنْ عَمِيلاً تَرَى الزَّمِيلَ عَمِيلاً وَلَا تَرَضَى بِوَأَشْنَطُنْ بِدِيلاً
ولا تجزع إذا بعث النخيلاً وبعث الأرض والأعراض طويلاً

فالوجه في (لا تَرْضَى): أن يُقال: (لا تَرْضُ)، لكنه أشبع فتحة الضاد مع أن الفعل المضارع مجزوم بـ(لا) الناهية وعلامة جزمه حذف حرف العلة. ولعلك تلحظ التداخل في موسيقا البيت الأول، فبينما هي في الشطر الأول على نغمة الخفيف، إذ هي في الشطر الثاني والبيت الذي بعده على نغمة الوافر.

5 – حذف الفاء من جواب الشرط:

يقترن جواب الشرط بالفاء وجوبا في الأدوات الشرطية الجازمة إذا تحققت شروط مذكورة في كتب النحو (83)، لكن قد يقتضي جواب الشرط حذف الفاء لضرورة الشعر. وقد ورد ذلك في الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر في مثل قول مصطفى رجب (84):

فَإِنْ وَصَلْتَ إِلَى الْبِقَالِ فَتُحِي سَيَرْفَعُ بَعْدَهَا سِعْرَ الْبِضَاعَةِ

فجواب الشرط يجب اقترانه بالفاء، لأنَّ الجواب جملة فعلية مبدوءة بالسَّيْنِ.

6 – دخول حرف الجر على الفعل:

معلوم أن الجرَّ خصيصة من خصائص الأسماء، فلا يدخل على الأفعال. وإذا تمَّ ذلك، فَرُبَّمَا يكون تأثراً باللهجة الدارجة. وقد ورد ذلك في الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر في مثل (بتنفغ) في قول حُسَيْن شَفِيْق المِصرِي (85):

يَقُولُونَ لِي: هَلْ مِنْ وَسِيْطٍ تَجِيْبُهُ شَفَاعَتُهُ عِنْدَ الرَّئِيسِ بِنْتَفَعُ

7 – حذف (أن) الناصبة:

وقد وردت هذه الظاهرة في الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر في (أفديها) في قول عبد الحميد الديب (86):

لَأَجْلِكَ إِذَا أَنْ أُبِيعَ كَرَامَتِي وَإِنَّمَا أَفْدِيهَا بِبَيْعِ ثِيَابِي

(82) يُنظر: ديوان إيليا أبي ماضي، دار العودة، بيروت، دط، دبت، ص 606.

(83) يُنظر: دليل السالك إلى ألفية ابن مالك، عبد الله بن صالح الفوزان، دار ابن الجوزي، ط2، 1433 هـ، 247/2 فما بعدها.

(84) ديوان شعر حلمنتيشيات ابن رجب، ص 23.

(85) الشعر الحلمنتيشي، بقلم فاروق مواسي، موقع ديوان العرب <https://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article47127> بتاريخ الأحد 2019/6/30.

(86) شعراء الفكاهة، مصطفى رجب، ص 43.

8 – صرف الممنوع من الصَّرْف:

وقد وَرَدَ صرف الممنوع من الصَّرْف في كلمة (عثمان) في قول الشاعر حسن جاد (87):
 وراحت عند مَهْدِيّ وَطَه
 وَعُثْمَانِ وَأَكْثَرَتِ الْبُكَاءُ

وكلمة (تكاليف) التي على صيغة منتهى الجموع في قول حسن جاد في وليمة بخيل (88):

وقضَى الليل يحسبُها تكاليفا إلى الصبح

ومثلها (شعائر) في قول الشاعر عبد الحميد الذيب واصفا مباراة جرت عام 1923 بين فريق دار العلوم (المعمّم) وفريق المدرسة الخديويّة (المطربش)، ومظهرًا تسامح فريق المطربشين الذين سمحوا للفريق المعمّم أن يهزمه مرة واحدة بعد أن فاز عليه في سبعة أشواط (89):

فما ضَرْنَا أَنَا اِخْتَلَفْنَا شَعَائِرًا وَمَا ضَرَّ ذَا الطَّرْبُوشِ أَنْ يَتَعَمَّمَا

ومنه (أزرق) في قول حُسَيْنِ شفيق المصري (90):

وَلَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ مَحْسُوبِكُمْ كَانَ حَقَّهُ يَكُونُ حِمَارًا إِزْرَقًا يَتَّبِرْدَعُ

والوجه أن يُقال (أزرق) بعدم التنوين، لأنه صفة على وزن (أفعل)، لكنه صرف الكلمة. ومنه (عَضْبَان) في قول محمد الأسمر في الشيخ محمد العناتي (91):

تخاله عُضْبَانًا وليس بالعضْبَانِ

ف(عَضْبَان) صفة على وزن (فعلان) ومؤنثها (فَعْلَى)

9 – تكرار (بين) في حالة عطف اسم ظاهر على اسم ظاهر آخر:

ومن تكرار (بين) مع الأسماء الظاهرة قول حسن جاد يصف مأدبة اللّنام (92):

ولو خُيرَتْ بين الموت جوعًا وبين حضور مأدبة اللّنام
 فَإِنَّ الموت أهون بل وأشهى مذاقا من قرى عبد السلام

(87) ديوان حسن جاد، ص 291-292.

(88) ديوان حسن جاد، ص 296.

(89) الشاعر البانس عبد الحميد الديب، ص 28.

(90) ينظر: موقع الشعر الحلمنتيشي / <http://halmantichi.blogspot.com/2011/04/>.

(91) بين الأعاصير، محمد الأسمر، دار الفكر العربي، القاهرة، د. طه، د. ت، ص 207.

(92) ديوان حسن جاد، ص 302.

10 – الاشتقاق من العامي:

وذلك كثير في الشعر الفكاهي؛ فقد وردت مصادر وأفعال ومشتقات من الكلام العامي؛ فنسمع "أفيس"، و"رَعَقَتْ... رُعَاق"، و"تَدَلَعَتْ"، و"يَبْنَيْل"، و"نَفَضَ"، و"رَوْشَ"، و"أَنْطَغَ"، و"مَجْدَع"، و"مُونْتَك"، و"مُرْسَتَك"، و"تكرمش"، و"تجريس"، وغيره من الكلام الشائع على ألسنة الناس الدارج في كلامهم.

11 – إجراء الكلام الأجنبي مجرى الكلام العربي:

فيجري على الكلمة الأجنبية ما يجري على الكلام العربي من تنوين وتعريف واشتقاق وغير ذلك، مثل إدخال (أل) مع الكلمتين الأجنبيتين: البيبيس (Pepsi)، والبيبل (people) في قول مصطفى رجب (93):

والبيبيس بَعْدَ عَنَّهُ يَا ابْنَ حَفِيظَةٍ حَتَّى وَلَوْ شَرِبْتَهُ كُنَّ الْبَيْبِلِ

واشتقاق فعل مضارع هو: (تتكوكل) من الكلمة الأجنبية (CocaCola) في قول مصطفى رجب (94):

وَإِذَا رُزِقْتَ مَعَ الْعَدَاءِ كَوَارِعًا فَاحْبِسْ بَيْنَسُونٍ وَلَا تَتَكَوَّلِ

ولعل قصيدة ياسر العظمة التي سبقت الإشارة إليها (95) أصدق دليل على إجراء الكلام الأجنبي مجرى الكلام العربي؛ ففيها تعريف للأسماء الأجنبية بالألف واللام (الديزرت)، و (الهارت)، و (الأيض)، و (البلود)، و (الترنبل)، و (الديستنس). وفيها إضافة الأسماء إلى باء المتكلم (فرندوي)، و (لفي)، و (هارتي)، وإضافتها لكاف الخطاب (هومك)، وإضافتها لـ(نا) الدالة على جماعة المتكلمين (بيتويننا). وفيها إسناد الأفعال الأجنبية للضمائر، كإسناد الفعل الماضي إلى تاء الفاعل في مثل (رمنت)، و (سكرفت)، وإسناد الفعل المضارع إلى كاف الخطاب في مثل (ألفك)... إلخ. ومهما يكن من تبريرات في أن الشاعر واع بما يفعل، دار بما يصنع، وأنه لا منتهى لحرية التعبير عما يريده من المعاني الدقيقة والدلالات الكثيرة، فإن ذلك كله لا يعفي من وقوع بعض من شعراء الشعر الفكاهي في الخطأ في الكلام والحن في القول.

أهم النتائج

كانت أهم نتائج البحث ما يأتي:

- جذب التواصل بالشعر الفكاهي اهتمام نسبة لا بأس بها من جمهور المتلقين.
- تمثيل مفردات الشعر الحلمنتيشي وتعايره ثورة على اللغة في أنظمتها: الصوتية والصرفية والنحوية والدلالية.
- يتفاوت شعراء الفكاهة في لغتهم، بناءً على إمكاناتهم وقدراتهم؛ فبعضهم يستعمل العربية الفصحى، وبعضهم يستعمل أداءين لغويين متميزين، لتصير قصيدته خليطاً من فصحى ودارجة، وبعضهم يستعمل لغة أخرى أجنبية إلى جوار اللغة العربية الفصحى، لتصير مظاهر الاستعمال اللغوي في الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر أربعة، هي:
 - (1) شعر يتفق في أصواته وبنيته وتراكيبه مع أصول الفصحى وقواعدها.
 - (2) شعر يخالف في بعض أبنيته الصرفية وتراكيبه النحوية أصول العربية وقواعدها.
 - (3) شعر يستعمل الكلمات العامية والتراكيب الدارجة بدرجة تقل أو تكثر حسب الشاعر والسياق.

(93) ديوان شعر حلمنتيشيات ابن رجب، ص 64-65.

(94) ديوان شعر حلمنتيشيات ابن رجب، ص 64-65.

(95) يُنظر: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbKpRtzTR2u> بتاريخ 2019/1/10 (قصيدة ياسر العظمة "العربلمية على اليوتيوب").

(4) شعر يستعمل الألفاظ الأجنبية: إنجليزية أو فرنسية أو إيطالية أو غيرها بجوار الفصحى أو بجوار الفصحى والعامية معا.

وقوة لغة هذا الشاعر أو ذلك أو لا مما يتحلى به من إمكانات وقدرات.

● لم يكن الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر - في معظمه - نقياً تماماً في حرصه على استخدام العربية الفصحى، بل نمت شوائب ظاهرة برزت في جُلِّه، فربما احتوى بعضه على عاميات متعدّدة بتعدّد أقطار الوطن العربي، وربما جاءت في بعض الألفاظ الأجنبية بما قد يُمِلُّ أزمة وعي وثقافة قبل أن يكون أزمة لغة ولسان.

● عارض شعراء هذا اللون الشعريّ القصائد الشعريّة الجاهليّة، كالمعلّقات، وغيرها من القصائد المشهورة للمنتبّي والمعرّي وابن زيدون وغيرهم على مرّ العصور.

● ليست قصائد الشعر الفكاهي شبيهاً تافهاً غير مُجدِّ، كما أنها لا تأتي لتضييع الوقت أو لتزجية الفراغ، بل لبعضها دور مهمّ في إلقاء الضوء على قضايا الواقع المعيش، والتعبير عن آلام الناس وآمالهم وهمومهم المختلفة: السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية، والتوعية بالسلوكيات السلبية المعوّجة التي تحتاج إلى تقويم.

● اختلف شعراء الشعر الفكاهي المعاصر فيما بينهم في توظيف إمكانات اللغة من حوار، وكنائية، وتورية، وغيرها من أجل تحقيق ما يُريدون الإبلاغ عنه من قضايا وأفكار، بغضّ النظر عن فخامة الألفاظ وفصاحة التراكيب.

● كل قصيدة هي نصّ بذاته له سياقه المختلف وتراكيبه اللغوية المتميزة عن غيره.

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THE *QARA'A*: DEFINING A GROUP IN LEARNING ARABIC AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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Abstract. Conflicts contribute to an increased interest in languages (Van Deusen-Shull 2003: 214–215); this has been reflected in the learning and teaching of Arabic in the United States in particular, and in other countries since the 9/11 attacks (Alosh 2005: 115; Allen 2007; Dahbi 2004; Sehlaoui 2008: 281–283). As a report by the British Council had predicted through four different indicators, the need for Arabic as a second language (L2) arose due to cultural, educational, and diplomatic reasons (Tinsley & Board 2013: 15). If definitions and concepts are common in the process of acquiring and learning L2, regardless of the identity of the target language, they should become a common starting point among those working in the field (Gass & Selinker 2008; Van Patten & Benati 2010). The specificity of the Arabic language in this field calls for bridging the gaps between these concepts, and in some cases expanding them (Husseinali 2006; Ibrahim & Allam 2006: 437–46), even though contemporary Arabic suffers from a chronic shortage of linguistic terminology and an overall instability (al-Sarāqbī 2008; Nağāt 2016). In recent years, there has been a growing interest in heritage language learning. Some consider those who have learned to read Arabic for the purpose of reciting the Qur'an (Qara'a learners) to be part of that category, while others consider them to be part of the second language acquisition (SLA) group. This paper defines this group as Qara'a and attempts to classify it by identifying its characteristics, whether linguistic, pedagogical, or psychological. Finally, the paper tries to address the group's pedagogical and educational needs and attitudes.

Keywords: *Qara'a, Arabic, Qur'an, heritage learners, foreign language, second language, field independent, field dependent.*

Introduction

In modern linguistic research, theorists of applied linguistics have detailed the division of L2 learners according to the learning environment (Ringbom 1980; Gass & Selinker 2008). Second language (SL) learners are therefore expected to be exposed to various linguistic features in an immersive environment that will contribute to the learning experience, including gaining some competence in understanding the culture.

Foreign language (FL) learners learn a language in a staged classroom environment, with educational material tailored to their needs but with no, or very limited, contact with L1 speakers.

In recent years, a growing interest in another category of L2 has resulted in the evolution of the term 'heritage learners' (HL), although other terminologies have been

coined: ‘allochthonous language’, ‘home language’, ‘language of origin’, and ‘immigrant minority language’, among others (Van Duessen-Scholl 2003: 218).

In their study of heritage language acquisition among Korean HL in Hawaii, O’Grady *et al.* defined HL as:

‘...[the] phenomenon of heritage language acquisition, which is characterized by an unusual pattern of exposure to the parental language. In the typical case, heritage learners receive ample exposure to the home language early in life, only to have that exposure end or undergo a dramatic reduction within a matter of years — often at the point where formal schooling begins’ (2011: 23).

On the other hand, Sehlaoui identified the contextual factors that help to produce a heritage language program: 1) the home; 2) the culture of the heritage language; and 3) language as dialogue (2008: 287–290).

In the case of the Arabic language, the HL represent a group of learners whose L1 is not Arabic, while their linguistic competence is limited to a colloquial variety, which, at best, helps them to communicate in the domestic context. Alqassas described this as the ‘middle ground’, citing al-Fāssī: ‘MSA acquisition occupies a middle position on the language acquisition continuum’ (2017: 83).

Let us take the UK as the model in which Arab expatriates were the first to establish educational institutions in a rich linguistic environment (al-Ḥamad 2016: 81–84; Dickens & Watson 2006). The number of Arab supplementary schools has reached 157 in England (Soliman *et al.* 2016: 5), while Tinsley and Board put the number at 176; fifteen British universities award BA degrees in Arabic (Tinsley & Board 2013), and Arabic is being taught in sixty-four higher education institutions (Towler 2018: 18). Although most of the supplementary schools were established by minority Arab communities in the UK, some Arab governments have also established offshore supplementary schools to serve the families of students and citizens in the UK, not to mention strengthening the cultural, civilizational, and political methodologies that are common in that country.

The *Qara’a*

The problem is whether we can consider the *Qara’a* as an independent group or whether it can be included within SLA or HL categories. This paper will attempt to define the specific characteristics of *Qara’a* and examine its educational, intellectual, and linguistic needs.

Qara’a learners start their journey by learning to read the Arabic script (via symbols and sounds) to become able to recite the Qur’an as part of their religious rituals and practices. This approach is prevalent in Muslim communities in non-Arab countries. Out of this group of learners, some try to pursue acquiring Arabic language skills for research, administrative or religious duties, or communication (Bernasek & Canning 2009: 261).

This group has achieved Qur’an recitation skills in reading groups (known as circles) either in mosques or supplementary religious schools, most of which employ the traditional *katātīb* teaching and learning style (aka *madrasa* = school). The goal of these schools is to enable the learner, guided by a teacher, to read the Qur’an from beginning to end (aka *ḥatma*). The end of the course is celebrated in the presence of friends and family and gifts are offered to both learner and teacher.

For some, *Qara'a* learners fall under SLA, although they do not give special attention to reading the Qur'an before learning other language skills (Bernasek & Canning 2009: 268). In one study, over half the university students questioned stated that their interest in Arabic stems from their desire to understand the Qur'an and Hadith (Anderson & Suleiman 2009: 128). Meanwhile, another study by Rasha Soliman *et al.* has found that '42% of teachers believe that understanding the Qur'an was an important reason for learning Arabic' (2016: 16).

For others, *Qara'a* learners fall under HL because there is a common cultural background in terms of the religious or cognitive conformity with an Arab culture that is rich in Islamic heritage (Dahbi 2004: 631; Sehlaoui 2008: 288–289). This may have prompted some to include *Qara'a* under HL because 'they have one affinity to [the] Arabic language or another (identity, religion or family)' (Husseinali 2006: 396). Others still have justified it in terms of a language or literary competence - however weak - in the target language, prompting Van Duessen-Scholl to classify the mass 'heritage learners' and 'learners with a heritage motivation' (2003: 221–222).

Nevertheless, we cannot attribute linguistic competence based on common historical or cultural links or on literacy competence at the level of awareness of sounds and symbols. If this were the case, we might consider all Arabs as HL of Persian, Ottoman, and Urdu because of the existence of the two preconditions, or even just one of them; this could apply to English and other languages written in the Roman script (Hansen 2010: 568).

1. Characteristics of the *Qara'a*

This article will consider three elements in defining and discussing the *Qara'a*, which are as follows:

1.A. Motivation

Learners come in large numbers to learn to read the Qur'an because reading it carries a substantial religious reward; the Prophet Mohammad motivated this act by saying: 'the best amongst you is the one who learns the Qur'an and then teaches it' (an-Nawawī 1991: 327). The Prophet further encouraged interest in learning this skill despite the difficulties in attaining it, by stating: 'The one [among you] who reads the Qur'an with a great ability (skill) will gain a full reward [from Allah], while the one who reads it with strife will gain double the reward.' (an-Nawawī 1991: 327).

Despite the fact that the social background of the learner is of great importance, neglect of the role of understanding in the process of teaching the Qur'an is considered one of the greatest drawbacks of the traditional Qur'anic school models. In their study, Soliman *et al.* found that '(49%) [of the participating teachers] stated that they support learning Qur'anic Arabic through the explanation of meanings in the Qur'an, reciting verses aloud and assigning homework of memorizing Qur'anic chapters' (2016: 17) but in reality, the focus is often on the last two objectives.

Bernasek and Canning summarized *Qara'a* motivation as 'reading and reciting the Qur'an, study of the Qur'anic exegesis or other texts...; seeking a heritage connection with their religion...; or an interest in business Arabic or tourism' (2009: 261, 267), and highlighted the importance of Arabic and Islamic studies responding to market demand (2009: 264).

Perhaps the demographic changes that led to the formation of communities in the West have led to an increased interest in an informed reading of the Qur'an (Anderson & Suleiman 2009: 128; Cherti & Bradley 2011: 30–31, 40), even if attention is still focused on the recitation skills at its various levels.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of these schools is the consolidation of the cultural and religious identity of the individual (Asadullah & Chaudhury 2010: 214; Brooks 2018: 88–110), and the adoption of other identities as well to cement cohesion with other community groups (Cherti & Bradley 2011: 32, 38).

1.B. Linguistic considerations

The learning objective of the *Qara'a* has shifted from focusing on learning to read the Qur'an to learning to communicate in Arabic and learners could therefore be rightly considered as 'false beginners' (Van Duessen-Scholl 2003: 221). Bernasek and Canning stressed this point: 'Competence in reading the script in order to read and recite the Qur'an will not necessarily translate into an advantage in a beginning-level Arabic class at university, where communicative skills are often emphasized' (2009: 269).

Integrating them into 'novice classes' therefore poses great challenges for the teacher, *Qara'a* learners, and their peers. The *Qara'a* develop a negative attitude, which the teacher perceives as ignoring their learning needs. On the other hand, FLA/SLA colleagues who have primary challenges (Hansen 2010: 568–571) may also feel left behind and anxiety may set in.

The focus on all skills in language learning may result in mixed feelings about *Qara'a*, who may have a false sense of language competence – even when limited to the fundamentals (Cook & Bassetti 2005; Hansen 2010: 571) – based on their previous experience of learning Arabic.

Reading

The *Qara'a* consider the previous experience in reading the Qur'an to be the foundation for learning conversational Arabic. However, to read the Qur'an the learner should master the articulation of the letters and avoid phonetic errors (*lahn*, i.e., observance of the rules and improved requirements for the recitation) (Šukrī *et al.* 2004: 17). Therefore, a number of reading-related challenges come to the surface as they move on to learn other reading skills.

Phonetic errors

Although the phonetic aspect is the primary focus of the teaching of madrasas, we find reading difficulties for the *Qara'a* in relation to the closeness in the articulation of sounds. The most notable of these errors is the replacement of the dental emphatic sounds *t̤*, *d̤*, and *ḍ* with the dental fricative sounds *s*, *z*, and *ẓ* respectively (Al-Hamad & Mohammad, 2020; Hansen 2010: 571). The learner may also hypercorrect the sounds *s* and *z* by replacing them with the sounds *t̤* and *d̤* respectively (Decamp 1972; al-Ḥamad & 'Alawī 2016). These sounds were erroneously associated with graphemes and the learner has repeated them continuously until they have become fossilized, despite the fact that the sounds may exist in a learner's L1 (Selinker & Lakshmanan 1993; Wei 2008). Wei explained this phenomenon: 'phonological fossilization refers to the repetition of phonological errors which result from the incorrect acquisition of pronunciation of L2... When such phonological errors are repeatedly made and eventually stay in the incorrect manner, phonological fossilization occurs' (2008: 128).

As a result, some have tried to develop practical solutions, either by training learners on the differences or by facilitating the experience of 'de-fossilization' (Selinker & Lakshmanan 1993: 212). In his study on sound awareness in Arabic, al- 'Ašīrī has reviewed a number of textbooks and tried to compare similar pairs of phonemes and graphemes at different stages of learning (2017). Suçin, meanwhile, developed special descriptors for the overlapping phonemes and graphemes in Arabic (2015: 229 and 231).

The 'fossilization' of replacing one phoneme with another is considered as a 'major error' (*lahn ġālī*) that may spoil the devotion of reading the Qur'an (Šukrī *et al.* 2004:14–15). 'De-fossilization' not only serves the purpose of learning Arabic as L2 but is also a motivation to learn to read Arabic for the purposes of recitation.

Applying the *tağwīd* rules on Standard Arabic (SA)

As part of their education, the *Qara'a* learn to read Arabic by applying the *tağwīd* or elocution rules, which are a set of pronunciation rules applicable during Qur'anic recitation (although it should be noted that these rules are only applied in Qur'anic recitation; Šukrī *et al.* 2004: 12–13). This results in the reading of SA prose and poetry in a manner and characteristic associated with the Qur'an *tağwīd* rules. This may be difficult at first for some *Qara'a* learners as it requires constant flexibility; some may even believe they are just learning a fresh or wishing they were (Bernasek & Canning 2009: 269).

Writing

Although it is closely linked to identity and may bring a 'degree of Arabization and Islamization of the original languages' (Morrow & Castleton 2007: 204), Arabic with its consonantal writing system poses a number of challenges for learners from backgrounds where the English writing system is used (Cook & Bassetti 2005; Hansen 2010: 568–570, 578).

Furthermore, the Uthmanic model of Qur'anic orthography differs from the SA writing system (Šukrī *et al.* 2004: 239–244) and the influence of the Qur'anic experience may therefore show up in the writing of learners of intermediate and advanced levels, where they may employ words —or quote the Qur'an — which are less suitable for writing dialogues or discussing controversial issues.

Listening

The only advantage *Qara'a* learners may have over their SL/FL peers is their familiarity with Arabic sounds and other commonly used Arabic religious expressions in their native languages. Some basic expressions of communication associated with religion have permeated the language of Muslim communities, which some have termed the 'Allah lexicon' (Morrow & Castleton 2007). Linguistically, it is code-switching at a phrasal level in the native language that is understood at both a semantic and a pragmatic level.

Authenticity of texts

In a modern language learning environment, special attention should be paid to correcting language learners at the early stages, and not to focus on accuracy but rather on fluency, getting the rhythm, and trying to learn from the context. Studies on revision have not proved the effectiveness on learning of correcting errors (Truscott & Hsu 2008; al- 'Uš 2017: 12). Nevertheless, these methods do not apply to learning Qur'anic recitation, because the sole purpose is to learn to handle the Qur'an in such a way that it cannot be altered or read in a manner that contradicts a single phrase, leaving the teacher no room to accept any error that may arise in active learning environments that assimilate authentic texts.

Perhaps the 'sanctification 'of, and respect for, the text as well as the prohibition of alteration is what the *Qara'a* can offer to the discussion of texts after joining the Arabic as a SL/FL learning environment.

1.C. Pedagogical and educational considerations

Most madrasas and supplementary schools run by Muslims are predominantly religious (Cherti & Bradley 2011: 3, 20–21; McLoughlin 2011: 628). As an example, only 7% of the 179 schools surveyed in the British case have UK qualified teacher status (Cherti & Bradley 2011: 26–27). A similar report in India that covered forty-seven schools found that schools were unable to recruit qualified teachers (Singh *et al.* 2018: 4, 63). Madrasas founded in the West have been a natural, and sometimes physical, extension of their hierarchical administrative dependence on the teaching institutions of the Qur'an in the country of origin (Dickens & Watson 2006: 109).

Learning perspectives

Pedagogically, the *Qara'a* are divided into two categories according to the learning environment they grew up in. The *Qara'a* from developing countries, in which learners mostly receive a traditional education, whether at formal or supplementary schools, often follow the behaviorism learning theory governed by 'stimuli and responses'.

New pedagogies or modern educational approaches, such as experiential learning, the constructivist classroom, or the learner-centric classroom (al- 'Uş 2017: 17–22) are not utilized teachers who cannot apply them due to the lack of logistical support and/or to the large number of students in the classroom, where classroom management and following the curriculum are of primary importance.

In short, the *Qara'a* exposed to this learning environment can fall under the 'field dependent' (FD), which favors acceptance and communication with others and relies on external sources and directives, but in behavioral terms does not develop critical or active learning skills (Brown 2000: 114–118; Hansen & Stansfield 1982: 263).

Qara'a learners from Western backgrounds, on the other hand, can be considered 'field independent' (FI) learners. This group was exposed to a range of active learning environments that tend to analyze and define their own goals and how to achieve them, based on modern approaches and methodologies; and they may go beyond interaction with educational games in the classroom led by professional teachers (Brown 2000: 114–118; Hansen & Stansfield 1982: 263–264). Nevertheless, this group faces difficulties when attending supplementary schools, which rely heavily on the traditional approach.

Brown argues that FI learners may occur in democratic, industrial, and competitive societies, and accept liberal ideas, while FD learners are prevalent in authoritarian regimes, dominated by social traditions with strict practices in ways of living (2000: 115). However, this does not necessarily imply the cognitive superiority of the learner in either category (Hansen & Stansfield 1982).

Learning environment

Qur'an classes or circles are convened in classrooms or mosque halls where furniture, if any, is distributed to serve a teacher-centric classroom, so that students are lined up in front of the teacher. It is a serious environment, in which there is no room for relaxation and learning style choices. The classroom furniture is therefore distributed to serve the communication between the teacher and the learner, not between the learners themselves, and the areas of movement belong to the teacher because he is the only one who can move during the process of education (Brown 2000: 116).

All of the above is inconsistent with an active learning environment in which the teacher may be exceptional, in an active environment that is not subject to formal constraints, whose philosophy is based on a learner-centric environment for the student to learn for himself or from his peers (al- 'Uş 2017: 17). The psyche of the *Qara'a* learner, therefore, shifts when learning Arabic in modern language classes where, depending on the classroom plan, furniture is mobile.

Curriculum and textbooks

Most books that target *Qara'a* are geared towards religious education, only preparing learners for communicative roles such as giving (religious) sermons, leading prayers, jurisprudence, etc. (see e.g., Sa'īd 1985; al-Fawzān *et al.* 2004; Surty 1995; Younes 2011), although they follow the grammar-translation method of language teaching. However, these books represent an evolution from 'The Baghdadi Rule' (al-Ġindī 2010) or 'The Noorani Rule' (Ḥaqqanin. d.) used for teaching to read the Qur'an. Despite their societal role, these books are not designed to develop the learner's intellectual capacity or cultural awareness, both of which are central to modern language learning (for examples of topics see al- 'Uṣ 2017: 12–14).

The challenges of integrating *Qara'a* learners with other groups

Vitality, diversity, interest, and enjoyment are the hallmarks of modern foreign language classes that reinforce the concepts of coexistence and tolerance between cultures and races. In her discussion of integrating 'culture' in teaching advanced-level Arabic learners, Attar devised a strategy to introduce the cultural 'other', which can be summarized as follows: 1) the stereotype of the Orient; 2) the importance of putting oneself in someone else's shoes to fully understand them; 3) awareness of the historical framework of language; and 4) determining the motivation for learning (Attar 1995: 191–5). If these factors are applied to the *Qara'a*, one might suggest that they form a good understanding and sense of these factors. The common background they share with the Arab and Muslim culture develops this understanding.

2. Addressing the *Qara'a* learners' needs

A number of pedagogical and cognitive challenges arise when integrating the *Qara'a* with SL/FL learners, including the following:

- It is a significant moment when the *Qara'a* are merged with SL/FL learners of Arabic into one group, especially when placed at A1/CEFR level, as the challenge the teacher faces is not to bore them or lead them to lose motivation while their peers learn basic Arabic. Through experience, it is recommended from the start that emphasis must be given to communicative skills that serve the goals of listening, speaking, and oral expression (see Suçin 2015: 228–230, 233–235), giving all learners an opportunity to learn without neglecting their individual needs. The *Qara'a* may take part in role-playing to assist the teacher when introducing letters and sounds to the students in their learning groups. However, teachers should pay attention to the phonetic mistakes they are prone to make and develop a corrective action plan without delay.

- Most of the *Qara'a* are FD learners who are not familiar with modern educational environments and methods, especially those learners from developing countries. What the instructor may face head-on is the lack of any degree of proficiency in any 'evaluation and

assessment' tools (e.g., multiple choice, filling in the blanks with the correct words, etc.). Therefore, pairing these learners with FI learners can contribute to sharing the learning experience and encourages mixed-ability learners' participation in different and complementary ways.

- The *Qara'a* must be integrated and introduced into active, learner-centric classrooms, so that each teacher can enrich inter-group discussion in tailored groups. Working in groups also leads to experiencing different learning styles and techniques in a collaborative mixed-ability learning environment.

- The 'digital divide' is globally becoming increasingly visible, and digital progress is accelerating in a number of countries. It is a common and effective factor in the teaching of foreign languages (Yaman 2015: 769). The prevalence of 'digital illiteracy' among the *Qara'a* from developing countries, especially Africa, is astonishing: the individual learner does not have any skills or digital competence to deal with the technology and, moreover, a discussion on utilizing technology in learning or assessment is a luxury they simply cannot comprehend (Yaman 2015: 770).

- While encouraging the *Qara'a* to work with technology, this poses challenges for the teacher, who needs to enforce the ethics of its use in the classroom. Interacting with a mobile with its various applications is an irritating distraction, and the teacher's repeated warnings to avoid it are often ignored.

- The exaggerated reverence arising from the 'sanctification' of the teaching process represents the most important challenge left by religious education in the hearts of the *Qara'a*, especially among FD learners (e.g., their FI peers calling a teacher by his first name is considered exceeding the limits and may cause disrespect towards the teacher). The aim, therefore, is that discussion of the teacher's ideas does not detract from his status and presence in the classroom but forms part of his educational role.

- Many of the FD *Qara'a* are not accustomed to a diverse classroom, where learners representing another religion, ethnicity, or sex are present. They need time, therefore, to develop their strategies in cultural communication with others. It is important to pay attention to the creation of groups, so that the student is encouraged to learn through friendly communication with peers of different backgrounds without embarrassment or coercion.

This has resulted in madrasas being accused of isolationism and hostility towards others, and has even been linked to the growth of terrorism (Assadullah & Chaudhry 2010: 206, 215–216), while some have called it exclusionary to other religions, anti-Semitic, or degrading to women – among other stereotypes – as suggested by Brooks in her review and discussion of a number of these views (2018: 1–2).

Perhaps the most significant contribution of these schools is the consolidation of the cultural and religious identity of the individual (Asadullah & Chaudhury 2010: 214; Brooks 2018: 88–110), and the adoption of other identities as well to cement cohesion with other community groups (Cherti & Bradley 2011: 32, 38).

3. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to characterize this group according to its unique specificities, which it does not share with other groups learning Arabic as SL, FL, and HL, even if they cross paths. It is hoped this paper will enable researchers to consider their classification and discuss the intellectual, behavioral, linguistic, and pedagogical dimensions that have collectively formed the main features through which this category can be defined, so that practitioners can provide the best means to facilitate their learning.

The empowerment of *Qara'a* learners is one of the main educational goals that a teacher should observe; it is also important to form and develop their critical thinking and try to free them from stereotypes and generalizations inherited from previous learning environments.

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AFRICANISMS IN THE EARLIEST NUBI VOCABULARY

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Abstract. Nubi is an Arabic-lexifier creole, spoken in Kenya and Uganda. The paper looks at the African component of Nubi in Cook's (1905) vocabulary. This consists of loanwords from and idiomatic calques after its substrate and adstrate languages. In a number of cases multiple etymologies have to be proposed for these loanwords, i.e., the exact donor language cannot be identified. It is shown that some idiomatic calques may reflect prior pidginization whereas others may be areal features. Reference is also made to Juba Arabic, a pidgin-creole spoken in South Sudan which is closely related to Nubi.

Keywords: *Nubi, substrate, adstrate, loanwords, idiomatic calques.*

1. Introduction

The present paper examines the African component of the Arabic-lexifier creole Nubi, as recorded in Cook (1905), the earliest vocabulary of the language. The lexical contribution of the African substrate and adstrate languages is reflected in a number of loanwords and idiomatic calques.

The author of the vocabulary, Sir Albert Ruskin Cook (1870–1951), was a British medical missionary in Uganda. He arrived in Uganda in 1896, with a Church Missionary Society mission. There he founded Mengo Hospital in 1897 as well as a treatment centre for the venereal diseases and the sleeping sickness in 1913, which was to become later Mulago Hospital. Cook is well known for his efforts to train Africans to become medical assistants, first at Mulago during World War I. He was also instrumental in the opening of a medical college, which became a medical school in his life time. In recognition of his achievement Cook was awarded the Order of the British Empire in 1918, the Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George in 1922 and received a knighthood in 1932. Cook served as president of the Ugandan Branch of the British Medical Association from 1914 to 1918 and again from 1936 to 1937.

The manuscript appears to have been compiled by Cook during a trip to Mongalla, in Southern Sudan, in 1905, where the Church Missionary Society was planning to start missionary work (Cook 1945, Nakao 2016). Cook apparently learned Nubi from his companions coming from Uganda with him, including his servant Domola who was bilingual in Luganda and Nubi (Nakao 2016). The manuscript, henceforth referred to as Cook (1905), erroneously entitled “Dinka Vocabulary, 1956”, is kept at Makerere

University Library, access number: AR/MAK/97/7. It amounts to 148 pages, of which the first 37 are a phonological and grammatical sketch of Dinka (Bor dialect). The vocabulary part consists of four columns on each page, from left to right: English, Dinka, Nubi and (Cairene) Arabic.

The paper is structured as follows. The sources consulted for finding etyma for the loanwords and models for the calques identified are mentioned in section 2. The loanwords and the proposed etyma are listed in section 3. The calques and their models are presented in section 4. The findings and their implications are discussed in section 5. The conclusions are summarized in section 6.

2. Sources

Nubi is a creole spoken in Kenya and Uganda. Its lexifier language is Sudanese Arabic.

The substrate is represented by a large number of languages, belonging to two super-phylums: Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo (Owens 1985, Wellens 2003: 207, Nakao 2012: 132, Avram 2020a). The former includes Eastern Sudanic languages, such as Bari – including its dialects Kakwa, Pojulu, and Mundari¹, Lopit and Lotuho (eastern Nilotic), Acholi, Belanda Bor, Dinka, Jur, Nuer, Pāri, Shilluk (Western Nilotic), Didinga (Surmic), and Central Sudanic languages, such as Avokaya, Baka, Bongo, Kreish, Lendu, Lugbara, Ma'di², Mamvu, Moru. The Niger-Congo super-phylum is represented by e.g., Zande, in particular, and Mundu. As for the adstrate languages, these are all Bantu: Bangala, Luganda, Lugungu, Lunyoro, and Swahili.

The sources consulted consist mainly of lexicographic works: Acholi – Savage (1955), Carollo (1991), Blackings (2009); Bari – Owen (1908); Belanda Bor – Asan & al. (2015); Bongo – Moi & al. (2014); Dinka – Nebel (1979), Blench (2005a); Jur – Pozzati & Panza (1993); Lopit – Ladu & al. (2014); Luganda – Murphy (1972), Sternfeld & Nickshere (2015); Lugbara – Barr (1965), Crazzolara (2018), Lugbara Dictionary (n.d.); Lunyoro – Maddox (1902); Ma'di (Blackings & Fabb 2003); Moro – Blench (2005b) Nuer – Stigand (1923), Huffman (1929); Pāri – Simeoni (1978); Pojulu – Lokosang (2010); Shilluk – Westermann (1912), Kohnen (1994); Swahili – Rechenbach (1967), Ndalū & al. (2013); Zande – Colombaroli (1895b), De Angelis (2002). The etymologies of selected Nubi words are discussed in Nhial (1975), Pasch & Thelwall (1987), Kaye (1987), Abu-Manga (1991), Kaye (1991a, 1991b), Kaye & Tosco (1993), Nakao (2012, 2015, 2016), Nakao & al. (2019).

All examples are reproduced in the orthography or system of transcription used in the sources.

3. Loanwords

All the loanwords discussed in this section meet the following requirements: (i) they can be traced to certain or, at the very least, plausible etyma; (ii) they are not recorded in

¹ Sometimes considered to be separate languages (see e.g., Wellens 2003: 207).

² Lugbara and Ma'di are sometimes treated as one language (as in e.g., Crazzolara 2018).

Sudanese Arabic (Amery 1905, Hillelson 1925, Dickins 2007). Lexical items of possible African origin but for which no source language has been identified are excluded.

ADRO ‘ANCESTORS; GRANDFATHER’. A possible etymon is Lugbara *àdrò* ‘maternal uncle’ (Crazzolara 2018: 181); see also the entry *adro* in Lugbara Dictionary n.d. The meaning of the Nubi term presupposes the semantic shift ‘maternal uncle’ > ‘ancestors; grandfather’.

AGURAGURA ‘HORSE’. The term for ‘horse’ can safely be traced to Acholi *agura gura* ‘horse’ (Kitching 1932: 39, Savage 1955: 1, Carrolo 1991: 197, Blackings 2009: 5).

ALAT ‘COTTON’. The etymon is Dinka *alath* ‘cotton plant’ (Nebel 1979: 8), *alath* ‘cotton plant’ (Blench 2005: 14). The Dinka (Bor dialect) form in the Dinka section of Cook (1905) is *alat*.

BAKULI ‘BASIN’. Relevant forms are attested in at least one substrate language and in two adstrate languages: Acholi *bakuli* ‘bowl’ (Carrolo 1991: 104) and Swahili *bakuli* ‘basin, deep dish, tureen’ (Rechenbach 1967: 23), Luganda *bbakuli* ‘bowl’ (Murphy 1972: 130).

BANJA, BANYA ‘DEBT, TO OWE’. According to Kaye (1987: 157), rural Juba Arabic and modern Ki-Nubi *bánjá* ‘debt’ are etymologically derived from Bari *bánjá* ‘debt’, itself “a loan from Bantu, e.g., Luganda (*e*)*bbanja* ‘debt’”. However, other etyma may be Lugbara *banja* ‘loan, debt’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.), Lunyoro *ibanja* ‘debt’ (Maddox 1902: 130). Moreover, the Bari, Luganda, Lugbara and Lunyoro forms with [dʒ] cannot account for the variant *banya* recorded by Cook (1905). The etymon of this second variant appears to be Acholi *banya* ‘debt’ (Kitching 1932: 40, Savage 1955: 3, Blackings 2009: 14). If so, the two variants listed in Cook (1905) have different origins. Note, finally, that *bánjá* figures in the section “Nubi Lexicon of Unknown Origin” in Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 143) and that Nakao & al. (2019) list only the form *banja* ‘debt’, for which they indicate a Luganda origin.

BIRANGWA ‘BEAN’. The word is a borrowing from either Lugungu or Lunyoro. Consider the corresponding forms: Lugungu *birangwa* ‘beans’ (Robert & Diprose 2012: 19), Lunyoro *birangwa* ‘beans’ (Maddox 1902: 85).

BUNDOOKY ‘GUN’ (Cook 1905). Although ultimately of Arabic origin, the Swahili *bunduki* ‘gun, rifle’ (Rechenbach 1967: 39) is the most likely etymon; see also Lugbara *bunduki* ‘gun’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.).

BONGO ‘CLOTH, CALICO’. Phonetically similar forms are widely attested in a large number of substrate languages: Acholi *boŋo* ‘cloth’ (Kitching 1932: 41), *bongo* ‘cloth’ (Savage 1955: 3), *bongo* [bòngö] ‘clothes, clothing’ (Blackings 2009: 17); Bari *boño*³ ‘Kleid, Fell’ (Müller 1864: 37), *bonggo* ‘1) Zeug, Stoff; 2) Kleid, Kleidungsstück’, *bonggo* ‘(1) stuff, cloth; (2) dress’ (Owen 1908: 126), *bŋŋ* ‘cloth’ (Spagnolo 1933: 25); Lendu *bongo* ‘cloth’ (Meldon 1913: 42); Lopit *boŋo* ‘item of clothing (general); cloth’ (Ladu & al. 2015: 13); Lugbara *bongo* ‘cloth’ (Barr 1965: 21); Ma'di *ḥŋŋó* ‘cloth’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 396); Pojulu *boŋgo* ‘cloth; dress’ (Lokosong 2010: 25); Zande *bongo* ‘cloth’ (Junker 1890: vol. 1, 242). It is therefore impossible to establish the source language. Nakao (2012: 129) also suggests Dinka *buong* ‘dress for women’. Note that Dinka *buòng* (Nebel 1979: 17), *buoŋ* (Blench 2005: 30) also means ‘apron-skin’. There is another Dinka word, *abongo* ‘loincloth’ (Nebel 1979: 2), *abŋgo* ‘loincloth’ (Blench 2005: 5). Consider also

³ Where <ñ> stands for [ŋ].

Belanda Bor *bongu* ‘item of clothing’ (Asan & al. 2015: 11) and Luo *abojo* ‘perizoma indossato dagli uomini’ (Pozzati & Panza 1993: 4). The Belanda Bor, Dinka, Luo and Ma'di forms are less likely etyma, on phonetic and/or semantic grounds: phonetically, they are less similar to the Nubi form recorded by Cook (1905); semantically, the Dinka and Luo forms have rather specialized meanings. Therefore, Belanda Bor, Dinka, Lugbara, Luo and Ma'di can be excluded from the list of source languages.

BURA ‘CAT’. There are at least five substrate languages in which the term for ‘cat’ is phonetically similar: Acholi, Bongo, Dinka, Lugbara and Pãri. Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 142) and Nakao (2012: 133) also list the Bari form *burön*⁴ ‘cat’, which can be discarded on phonetic grounds. Acholi *bura* (Savage 1955: 4, Nakao 2012: 133), *bura* [bùràà] (Blackings 2009: 19) ‘cat’ raises no problems; however, in an earlier source (Kitching 1932: 41) the form given is *bora*. For Lugbara two forms are listed in the sources: *bórà* (Crazzolaro 2018: 217) and *bura* (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.). The Bongo, Dinka and Pãri equivalents, however, are all considered to be loanwords from Arabic: the entry for Bongo *bura* ‘cat’ in Moi & al. (2014: 19) includes the specification “Bw [= borrowing] Arabic”; similarly, Nebel (1979: 17) glosses Dinka *bura* as ‘ar. [= Arabic] cat’; finally, Simeoni (1978: 98) in his entry for *cat* specifies for Pãri “*bura* (Ar.) [= Arabic]”. Indeed, a form *burra*, meaning either ‘cat’ or ‘young cat’ is listed in Behnstedt & Woidich (2011: 326 – map 112, 329) as attested in Sudan. Note, however, that Behnstedt & Woidich (2011: 329) attribute this form to an onomatopoeic origin: “auf das Schnurren bezieht sich wohl auch *burra*”. This may be indeed the case, since Nuer, for instance, has *bure*, *bure* ‘to call pussy, pussy’ (Huffman 1929: 7). Consequently, this somewhat weakens the case for *bura* ‘cat’ being an Arabic loanword the African languages mentioned, since onomatopoeia can hardly serve as convincing evidence of borrowing. To conclude, an African origin of this item is less certain than assumed by others (e.g., Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 142, Nakao 2012: 133), but is not necessarily to be excluded.

DANGA ‘BOW’. A possible etymon is Bari *dan* ‘Bogen’ (Müller 1864: 39), *dang* ‘der Bogen (zum Schiessen)’ (Mitterutzner 1867: 168), *dang* ‘bow (for shooting)’ (Owen 1908: 127). This is the etymon indicated Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 142) for modern Nubi *dángá* ‘bow’ and by Nakao (2012: 133) for Juba Arabic *dáŋgá* ‘bow’ and modern Ki-Nubi *dángá* ‘arrow’. However, there are two other possible etyma. One is Dinka: *dang* ‘Pfeilbogen – arco, a. di saietta’ (Mitterutzner 1866: 214), *dhang*⁵ ‘bow’ (Nebel 1979: 27), *dhanj* ‘2) bow (for hunting)’ (Blench 2005: 51); note, however, that the entry for *dang* in Mitterutzner (1866: 214) includes the specification “B. [= Bari] *dang*”. The other possible source is Luo *danj* ‘arco di legno flessibile’ (Pozzati & Panza 1993: 88). The following are less likely etyma: Lopit *ranj* [ránj] ‘bow for shooting arrows’ (Ladu & al. 2015: 37) has word-initial [r], while Nuer *danj* ‘wedding stick’ (Huffman 1929: 11) and Shilluk *danj* ‘dancing stick (on the extremity bent as a bow)’ (Kohnen 1994: 40) differ in their meaning. Still, the donor language cannot be identified. Note, finally, that *danga* ‘bow’ also figures in Hillelson (1925: 36), who adds “Negro Ar.[= Arabic] of Southern S. [= Sudan].

⁴ Note that Bari *burön* appears to be the plural form, cf. Pojulu *burön*, plural of *bureyi* ‘cat’ (Lokosang 2010: 26).

⁵ Where <dh> represents the voiced dental stop (Nebel 1979: IX).

DIRISA ‘WINDOW’. The word is etymologically derived from Swahili *dirisha* ‘window’ (Rechenbach 1967: 75). The same etymon is indicated by Nhial (1975: 90), Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 141), and Nakao & al. (2019). The reflex [s] of Swahili /ʃ/ illustrates [s] ~ [ʃ] free variation (see Owens 1985: 237, 1997: 161, Wellens 2003: 38, Luffin 2005: 62, Avram 2017b, 2018, 2020a: 329).

GARI ‘CART’. The word is etymologically derived from Swahili *gari* ‘vehicle, wagon, car’ (Rechenbach 1967: 108). This is also the etymon indicated by Nakao & al. (2019). Note, however, that the word is also attested in Acholi *gari* ‘bicycle, car, cart’ (Savage 1955: 8) and Lugbara *gári* ‘bicycle’ (Crazzolaro 2018: 253), *gari* ‘bicycle, vehicle’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.); these two languages presumably borrowed it from Swahili. The exact source language, therefore, cannot be established.

GODOGODO ‘THIN FROM ILLNESS’. According to Kaye (1987: 157), “this word is used [...] in many languages of Equatoria Province, including Latuko, Muru, Bari, Acholi, Zande, Avokaya and Bakaa to mean ‘very weak, thin, sick(ly)’”. I can only concur with Kaye’s (1987: 157) conclusion that “it is difficult to determine the exact donor language”. Note also that *Godogodo* is one of the words listed in the section “Nubi Lexicon of Unknown Origin” in Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 143).

GOMBOLO ‘LOUSE’. A possible etymon is Lugbara *gobolo* ‘louse’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.). According to Nakao (personal communication, March 2017) the Nubi word is of Sudanese Arabic origin. However, the form for ‘louse’ in the latter is *gamla* (Amery 1905: 218, Hillelson 1925: 176). The Lugbara word appears to be phonetically closer to the Nubi form recorded by Cook (1905).

GUGU ‘GRANARY, TREASURY’. The etymon is Bari *gugu* ‘Kornkasten’ (Müller 1864: 42), *gugu* ‘Getreidebehältniss’ (Mitterrutzner 1867: 177), *gúgu* ‘granary’ (Junker 1890: vol. 1, 261), *gugu* ‘granary’ (Owen 1908: 132), *gugu* ‘the common barn or storehouse’ (Spagnolo 1933: 327); cf. also Pojulu *gugu* ‘granary; food store; a silo’ (Lokosong 2010: 48). Note that Nakao (2012: 134) includes this loanword among the “lexical borrowings known in Juba but unknown in Nubi”.

JORA ‘BAG’: *jora* ‘bag’. A possible etymon is Lugbara *jurua* ‘bag’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.).

KARANGA ‘DROUGHT; SUMMER’. According to Nakao (2016), the Nubi word is etymologically derived from Bangala *kalánga* ‘dry season’.

KIBRA ‘FOREST’ (Cook 1905). According to Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 142) and Nakao (2012: 133) the etymon is Luganda *e-kibira* ‘forest’. The alternative origin suggested by Kaye (1991b: 13) is less convincing. In his discussion of the etymology of the name Kibera, a suburb in Nairobi where the Nubi live, Kaye (1991b: 13) claims that Kenyan Nubi *kibra* and Ugandan Nubi *kibíra* are derived from Sudanese Arabic *kabra* ‘thorny gate or fence for a corral; dried thicket’ and in Shukriyya Arabic also ‘corral’. Phonetically, “the $\underline{a} > \underline{i}$ is a special KN [= Ki-Nubi] development of SCA [= Sudanese Colloquial Arabic] dialects, probably to be explained via dissimilation” (Kaye 1991b: 13). According to Kaye (1991b: 13), “when Kibera was founded around 1900, it had lots of corrals, trees, bushes, and shrubs [and] it was only natural for the first SUD [= Sudanese] KN speakers to call it kíbra”. Moreover, Kaye’s (1991b: 13) concludes that “this is a SCA borrowing into Luganda rather than the other way around”. Several objections can be levelled at this scenario. Firstly, it needs to invoke a “special KN development”. Secondly,

no independent evidence is provided for the dissimilation **a > i*. Note also that similar forms exist in two other relevant Bantu languages: Lugungu *kibira* ‘forest; large area of very many trees and other plants growing closely together’ (Robert & Diprose 2012: 59); Lunyoro *kibira* ‘forest’ (Maddox 1902: 99).

KIKOMBE ‘CUP’. The etymon is certainly Swahili *kikombe* ‘cup (mug, goblet, etc.)’ (Rechenbach 1967: 199).

KOLOKON ‘CHAIN; YOKE’. The Nubi word can be traced to Swahili *korokoni* ‘jail’ (Rechenbach 1967: 244). The [l] reflex of Swahili reflects Nubi [l] ~ [r] free variation (Wellens 2003: 214, Luffin 2005: 65, Avram 2017b, 2018, 2020a: 329). On the assumption that the Nubi word is etymologically derived from Swahili, what remain to be explained are its meanings, which differ from that of the potential etymon. In Cook (1905) *kolokon* occurs twice. The first occurrence is in the entry *Prisoners*: I suggest that the phrase *anas bita kolokon* actually means ‘the people in chains’. The second occurrence is in the entry *Yoke*: the phrase *kolokon bita bagara* translates as ‘yoke of a cow’. Summing up, the Swahili-derived word underwent a semantic shift: ‘jail’ > ‘chain’ / ‘yoke’.

KORUFU ‘LEAF’. The source language is certainly Bari, in which the following forms are attested: *karofu* ‘Blatt’ (Müller 1864: 45), *korópo* (*korófo*) ‘n. pl. Blatt eines Baumes’ (Mitterrutzner 1867: 202), *korófo* ‘leaves’ (Owen 1908: 140), *kərəpə* / *koropo* ‘leaves’ (Kaye & Tosco 1993: 300) and Nakao (2012: 133). Note that *korófo* appears in the section “Nubi Lexicon of Unknown Origin” in Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 143).

KOTI ‘COAT’. The word, whose ultimate origin is English *coat*, occurs in three substrate and adstrate languages: Acholi *koti* (Savage 1955: 32), *koti* [kʷtʰ] ‘coat’ (Blackings 2009: 59); Lugbara *koti* ‘coat’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.); Swahili *koti* ‘coat, jacket’ (Rechenbach 1967: 245). Acholi and Lugbara may have borrowed the word from Swahili.

KUNGU ‘DANCE’. The etymon is Bari *kungu* ‘entertainment with music, dancing’ (Junker 1890: vol. 1: 340), *kungu* ‘public rejoicing’ (Junker 1890: vol. 1: 353), *kungu* ‘type of dance’ (Seligman 1913: 732). In Cook (1905) the Nubi form also appears in the phrase *sho kungu* ‘to dance’, in which *sho* ‘to do’ functions as a light verb. The word *kuungú*, meaning ‘song’ in modern Nubi, is listed in the section “Nubi Lexicon of Unknown Origin” in Pasch & Threlwall 1987: 143).

KURUJU ‘CULTIVATE’. The word can be traced to Bari *korgu*⁶ ‘ackern, anbauen’ (Müller 1864: 48), *kurju* ‘anbauen, ackern’ (Mitterrutzner 1867: 205), *kurju* ‘to cultivate, to plough’ (Owen 1908: 140). This is also the etymon identified by Nhal (1975: 89) and by Nakao (2012: 133). Note that *kúruju* ‘to plant, cultivate’ is listed in the section “Nubi Lexicon of Unknown Origin” in Pasch & Thelwall 1987: 143).

KUSUBULA ‘SELL’. The etymon is Luganda *kusuubula* ‘engage in trade; trade in, deal in’ (Murphy 1972: 524).

KWATA ‘WRESTLING’. In Nakao (2012: 134, n. 6), Juba Arabic *kwátá* ‘wrestling’ figures among the “non-Arabic words [...] whose etymologies are still unknown”. According to Nakao (2013: 100), Juba Arabic *kwátá* ‘wrestling’ is a borrowing from Nilo-Saharan languages, but no specific language is mentioned. The Nubi form can be traced to Zande *kpátá* ‘lotta, percossa’ (De Angelis 2002: 152), with the labial-velar co-articulated

⁶ Where <g> should read <ǵ>, which stands for [dʒ].

stop /kp/ having changed into [kw]. The Nubi word recorded by Cook (1905) occurs in the entry *Wrestle*: in the phrase *sho kwata* the noun *kwata* combines with the Arabic-derived *sho* ‘do’, which functions as a light verb.

KYATA ‘POTATOES’. Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 142) suggest a Swahili etymon *kyazi*⁷ ‘sweet potato’, which is not sufficiently similar to the Nubi form ending in [ta]. More recently, Nakao (2012: 133) lists the following possible etyma: Bari *kayata*, Acholi *kiyata* ~ *layata*, Ma'di *kaata* ~ *kiata*, Pojulu *kayata* ‘sweet potatoes’. Now, variants such as Acholi *layata* and Ma'di *kaata* cannot be the etyma and should therefore be excluded from the list. The Bari and Pojulu forms *kayata* are phonetically closer to the Nubi form. Finally, another possible etymon is Lugungu *kyata* ‘sweet potato’ (Robert & Diprose 2012: 169). To sum up, it is not possible to determine the source language.

LABOLO ‘BANANA’. The source language suggested by Nakao (2016: 418) is Bari. However, the range of potential sources is larger since phonetically similar forms are found in several substrate languages. Acholi has *labolo* ‘plantain, banana’ (Kitching 1932: 49), ‘banana’ (Savage 1955: 12), *labolo* [lɔ̀bɔ̀lɔ̀] ‘banana, plantain’ (Blackings 2009: 65). Ma'di has *lābōlō* ‘banana’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 645). A form *rabolo* ‘banana’ is attested in Bari (Spagnolo 1933: 21) and Lopit (Ladu & al. 2015: 37) and occurs as a variant in Ma'di as well (Nakao 2012: 133). The situation is further complicated by the occurrence in Nubi of [l] ~ [r] free variation. To conclude, the donor language cannot be determined.

LA, or LO DWAR ‘HUNTER’. According to Nakao (2016: 418), this is etymologically derived from Lwo *dwar* ‘hunt’. A perfect match, however, is Acholi *ladwar* ‘hunter’ (Kitching 1932: 49, Blackings 2009: 67), where *la* is an agentive prefix (Acholi Language Manual 2009) and *dwar* means ‘hunt’ (Acholi Language Manual 2009); moreover, the *lo* can also be accounted for: in Acholi, “all derived nouns prefixed by “la” make their plural by changing “la” to “lo”” (Acholi Language Manual 2009).

LAWOTI ‘NEIGHBOURS’. The etymon is Acholi *lawot* ‘companion’ (Kitching 1932: 49), ‘traveller, companion, comrade’ (Savage 1955: 14), ‘traveller’ (Blackings 2009: 74) in its plural form *lawoti*.

LWAR ‘ABSCESS’. The Nubi word can plausibly be traced to Dinka *luär* ‘pain of a swelling’ (Blench 2005: 106).

MABURU ‘BOAT’: Phonetically similar forms, with a different, but related meaning, are found in three substrate languages: Acholi *mabur* ‘ship, steamer’ (Kitching 1932: 53), ‘steamer’ (Savage 1955: 15), ‘ship’ Blackings 2009: 80); Bari *mabu(u)r* ‘steamer’ (Abu-Manga 1991: 136); Dinka *mabur* ‘steamer’ (Cook 1905), *mabu(u)r* ‘steamer’ (Abu-Manga 1991: 136), *mabur / mabuur* ‘steamer’ (Brisco 2006: 193). The word is ultimately of Arabic origin, i.e., etymologically derived from *babūr* ‘steamer’. In his discussion of the change word-initial *b* > *m*, Abu-Manga (1991: 136) speculates that “*mabu(u)r* might have been borrowed indirectly [by Bari and Dinka] through one of the non-Nilotic languages of Bahr al Ghazal, namely, of the Moro-Madi or Bongo-Bagirmi groups”, but provides no evidence from any of the relevant languages.

MAGOMBE ‘HELL’. The etymon is Luganda *magombe* ‘the place of the dead; the other world; hell’ (Murphy 1972: 318).

⁷ Actually, the Swahili form is *kiazi* (Rechenbach 1967: 181).

MATOFALI ‘BRICK’. The etymon is Swahili *matofali*, the plural of *tofali* ‘brick’ (Rechenbach 1967: 531).

MBISI ‘COOK’. The etymon is Swahili *mpishi* ‘cook’ (Rechenbach 1967: 347). This is also the etymon suggested by Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 142) for the modern Nubi form *mpishi* ‘cook’. The reflex [s] of Swahili /ʃ/ in the form recorded by Cook (1905) is yet another illustration of the aforementioned [s] – [ʃ] free variation.

MBURUZI ‘FLUTE’, EMBURUZI ‘TRUMPET’. The Nubi form can be traced to Swahili *maburuji*, the plural of *buruji* ‘mwanajeshi ambaye anapuliza buruji au tarumbeta [= soldier who blows the bugle or the trumpet]’ (Nдалu & al. 2013: 66). This must have been confused with the Swahili form *buruji* ‘bugle’ (Rechenbach 1967: 40). The confusion accounts for the meaning of the Nubi form recorded by Cook (1905). The reflex [z] of Swahili /dʒ/ can be accounted for in terms of the [z] ~ [dʒ] free variation in Nubi (Owens 1985: 235, 1997: 161, Wellens 2003: 215, Luffin 2005: 63, Avram 2017b, 2018, 2020a: 329).

MEJA ‘TABLE’. Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 142) and Nakao & al. (2019) trace the Nubi word to Swahili *meza* ‘table’ (Rechenbach 1967: 311). A Swahili is not to be discarded, in light of the [z] ~ [dʒ] free variation in Nubi. However, due note should be taken of corresponding forms in three other languages: Acholi *meja* (Kitching 1932: 53, Savage 1955: 16), *meja* [méjà] (Blackings 2009: 182) ‘table’, Bari *meja* ‘table’ (Spagnolo 1933: 15) and Pări *meja* (?) ‘table’ (Simeoni 1978: 111). The word for ‘table’ in all these languages is phonetically closer to the Nubi form recorded by Cook (1905). This raises two possibilities: Nubi *meja* was either directly taken from Acholi, Bari and/or Pări or from Swahili via these languages, which all lack /z/ in their inventory of consonants (see also Avram 2017b, 2020a: 328).

MUBISI ‘BEER’. A possible etymon is Luganda *mubisi* ‘sweet banana juice’ (Murphy 1972: 349). The Luganda form is also mentioned by Felkin (in Schweinfurth & al. 1888, Appendix: 518), who specifies that it is “called *sandi* in Unyóro” and that it designates “fresh banana wine, which is a perfectly teetotal drink”. If this is indeed the case, a semantic shift needs to be posited from ‘juice/banana juice’ to ‘beer’.

MUKUTA ‘KEY’. A perfect match is Pări *mukuta* (Simeoni 1978: 104). The entry *Key* in Simeoni (1978: 104) includes the specification “(Ar.) [= Arabic]”. However, no phonetically similar Sudanese Arabic form figures in Amery (1905), Hillelson (1925), Dickins (2007) or Behnstedt & Woidich (2012: 175 – map 224, 175). Also, the expected reflex of Sudanese Arabic /f/ in *muftāh* ‘key’ would be [p] in Pări, which lacks /f/ in its inventory of consonant phonemes.

MUWEMBA ‘GRAIN’. The Nubi may be traced to Luganda *muwemba* ‘sorghum or millet used for making beer’ (Murphy 1972: 391). This etymon, however, presupposes a semantic shift to the meaning ‘grain’.

NYARUKU ‘CHILD’. A possible etymon is Dinka *nyer-kug* ‘1) Kind – fanciullo; 2) jung – giovine’ (Mitterrutzner 1866: 272). A Dinka etymon, *nyárkuk* ‘child’, is also suggested for Juba Arabic *nyirikuk* ‘child’ by Yokwe (1985: 328). Behnstedt & Woidich (2011: 37) indicate Dinka *nyarkúk* as the etymon of both Juba Arabic *nyirikuk* and modern Nubi *nyeréku*. Note, however, that the Dinka forms given by Mitterrutzner (1866: 17), Yokwe (1985: 328) and Behnstedt & Woidich (2011: 37) do not appear in either Nebel (1979) or Blench (2005). Another possible etymon is Bari *nyerkuk* ‘Kind’ (Müller 1864: 55). There is also a Bari form without word-final /k/: Owens (1985: 238) etymologically

derives Nubi *nyereku* from Bari *nyereku* ‘child’, while in Owens (1997: 161) the Bari form given is *nyerku*. This etymon is also accepted by Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 142) and by Wellens (2003: 214). Since etymological word-final consonants are frequently deleted in Nubi (Avram 2017b, 2018), the Nubi form recorded by Cook (1905) could equally well be traced to Bari or Dinka. Therefore, the source language cannot be established.

NYILA ‘BOOT’. The etymon is Lugbara *nyila* ‘shoes’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.).

NYINVEZA ‘FIX’. A possible etymon is Luganda *nyweza* ‘make firm, hold firmly’ (Murphy 1972: 462).

NYORORO ‘CHAIN’. The etymon is Lugbara *nyororo* ‘chain’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.). The Lugbara form itself is in all likelihood a borrowing from Swahili *mnyororo* ‘chain, fetters’ (Rechenbach 1967: 341).

SAMBA ‘FIELDS’. The Nubi form is etymologically derived from Swahili *shamba* ‘(cultivated) field, plantation, garden’ (Rechenbach 1967: 473). This is also the etymon identified by Pasch & Thelwall (1987: 142). Note again the [s] as a reflex of Swahili /ʃ/.

SENENE ‘LOCUST’. The source languages are either Luganda or Lunyoro. The relevant forms are Luganda *ensenene* ‘grasshopper’ (Sternfeld & Nickshere 2015: 29) and Lunyoro *nsenene* ‘an edible grasshopper’ (Maddox 1902: 112).

SERI ‘FENCE’. The etymon is Lugbara *ṣě́rí* ‘fence’ (Crazzolara 2018: 345), *seri* ‘type of plant used for fencing’ (Lugbara Dictionary n.d.).

SHANDI ‘BEER’ The source languages are either Lugungu or Lunyoro. The corresponding forms are: Lulungu *nsande* ‘banana juice; drink that is made from the juice of ripe bananas’ (Robert & Diprose 2012: 231); Lunyoro *nsande* ‘a drink made from sweet bananas’ (Maddox 1902: 112). For Lunyoro, Emin Pasha mentions the form *sandi*⁸ ‘fresh banana wine’ (Schweinfurth & al. 1888: 34), about which he further writes that it “is the juice of fresh bananas, freshly pressed out, and little, if at all fermented” (Schweinfurth & al. 1888: 76). This is yet another form in which [s] corresponds to an etymological /ʃ/. Note that the Nubi form also presupposes the semantic shift from ‘banana juice/wine’ to ‘beer’.

TURUJU ‘CHASE AWAY, DIVORCE, DRIVE AWAY’. The most probable etymon is Bari *turǵo* ‘einstürzen’ (Müller 1864: 60), *turjō* ‘einstürzen’ (Miterrutzner 1867: 251). The etymon indicated by Nakao (2012: 133) for modern Nubi *turuju* ‘chase away’ is Bari *turjō* ‘chase away’. An Arabic etymon has also been suggested in the literature. According to Nhial (1975: 90), modern Juba Arabic *túrju* ‘chase out, expel, dismiss’ “is a corruption of the Arabic word [*tarad*] (past), (*yaṭrad*) (present)”. Similarly, Wellens (2003: 213) derives modern Uganda Ki-Nubi *turuju* ‘chase’ from the Sudanese Arabic imperative form *aṭrudu* ‘chase him!’. However, a Sudanese Arabic etymon is less similar phonetically to the form recorded by Cook (1905). Moreover, it makes it necessary for Nhial (1975: 90) to posit “the substitution of [j] for [d]” and for Wellens (2003: 213) to assume apheresis of /a/ and *d* > ġ, as an example of what she calls “rare cases of consonant changes”. Under the circumstances, it would seem that Nakao’s (2012: 133) etymology is the most convincing one.

⁸ Emin Pasha appears to have missed the word-initial /n/ in the Lunyoro form given by him.

4. Idiomatic calques

The influence of the substrate and adstrate languages on Nubi is also reflected in a number of idiomatic calques⁹. The calques at issue are either compounds¹⁰ or phrases. In other words, calquing is reflected not only in compounding, but also in idiomatic collocations, which align between Nubi and its substrate and/or adstrate languages. In fact, in most cases, these idiomatic calques can be traced to several substrate and/or adstrate languages.

Consider first the following examples:

BETE KIDADA ‘EGG’, lit. ‘egg hen’. Structurally identical compounds are attested in several substrate languages: Acholi *tɔŋ gweno* (Kitching 1932: 72), *tɔŋ gweno* (Carollo 1991: 194) ‘egg’, lit. ‘egg hen’; Lugbara *a’ugbe* ‘egg’ (Barr 1965: 31), lit. ‘hen egg’; Ma’di *àʔú élé* ‘egg’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 646), lit. ‘hen egg’; Shilluk *toŋ gweno* ‘egg’ (Kohnen 1994: 204), lit. ‘egg hen’.

GATA KALAM ‘DECIDE; JUDGE’, lit. ‘cut word’. Similar phrases are used in the following substrate languages: Acholi *ɲolo kop* ‘decide case, give judgment’ (Kitching 1932: 56), ‘to decide, give judgment’ (Savage 1955: 18), lit. ‘cut matter’; Bongo *a’doci kudo* ‘judge’ (Moi & al. 2014: 20), lit. ‘cut speech’; Dinka *wèt tèm* ‘decide’ (Nebel 1979: 127), *wɛt teem* ‘give the sentence’ (Blench 2005: 161), lit. ‘word cut’; Pãri *ɲondi lubo* ‘judge’ (Simeoni 1978: 105), lit. ‘cut word’. A similar phrase also occurs in Swahili: *kukata shauri* ‘decide’ (Rechenbach 1967: 174), lit. ‘cut problem’.

IDA (BITA LATAP) ‘BRANCH’, lit. ‘arm of tree’. Structurally similar forms are found in the following substrate languages: Belanda Bor *ba’d yat* ‘branch’ (Asan & al. 2015: 10), lit. ‘arm tree’; Luo *bade yath* ‘branches of a tree’ (Pozzati & Panza 1993: 16), lit. ‘arms tree’; Shilluk *bade yath* ‘branches of a tree’ (Kohnen 1994: 16). Consider also the similar form in Zande *be ngiùà* ‘ramo’ (De Angelis 2002: 242), lit. ‘arm tree’.

MOYA ENA ‘TEAR’, lit. ‘water eye’. Structurally identical compounds are attested in several substrate/adstrate languages. These include, in addition to Acholi *pig-waŋ* ‘tear’, lit. ‘water eyes’ mentioned by Nakao (2012: 136), forms in five other Nilo-Saharan languages: Belanda Bor, Dinka, Luo, Pãri and Shilluk. Here are the compounds at issue: Belanda Bor *fì waŋ* ‘tears’ (Asan & al. 2015: 15), lit. ‘water eyes’; Dinka *piu-e-nyin* ‘Thränen - lagrime’ (Mitterrutzner 1867: 280), *piu nyin* ‘tear’ (Nebel 1979: 71), *piu nyin* ‘tear’ (Blench 2005: 144), lit. ‘water eyes’; Luo *pi wɔŋ* ‘lacrima’ (Pozzati & Panza 1993: 265), lit. ‘water eye’; Pãri *pii-nyiy* ‘tear’ (Simeoni 1978: 111); Shilluk *pi nyiy* ‘tears’ (Kohnen 1994: 160), lit. ‘water eyes’.

RASO JUA ‘ROOF’, lit. ‘head house’. Structurally similar compounds are widely attested in the Nilo-Saharan substrate languages: Acholi *wi-ot* ‘roof’ (Nakao 2012: 136); Bari *kwe na kadi* ‘roof’ (Nakao 2012: 36), lit. ‘head + POSS + house’; Bongo *doh-ruh* ‘Dach’ (Schweinfurth 1872: 6), *dörüü* ‘roof’ (Moi & al 2014: 24), lit. ‘head house’; Dinka *ghut-nom* ‘Dachspitze – comignolo del tetto’ (Mitterrutzner 1867: 227), *qotnhom* ‘roof’ (Nebel 1979: 181), lit. ‘house head’; Lotuho *axou xaji* ‘roof’ (Nakao 2012: 136), lit. ‘head house’; Lugbara *jo-dri* ‘roof’ (Barr 1965: 59), lit. house head’; Ma’di *jo dri* (Nakao 2012: 136), *dʒódri* ‘roof’ (Blackings & Fabb 2003: 51), lit. house head’; Nuer *wic dwil* ‘roof’

⁹ Manfredi (2020) uses the term “lexical calques”.

¹⁰ Called “calques with morphological process (compounds)” by Nakao (2012: 136).

(Huffman 1929: 50), lit. 'head house'; Pări *wi-otto* 'roof' (Simeoni 1978: 22), lit. 'head house'; Shilluk *wiy wot* 'roof' (Westermann 1912: 285), lit. 'head house'. Note, finally, that the compound is also found in Zande *ri bambu* 'tetto della capanna' (De Angelis 2002: 288), lit. 'head hut'.

Five of the compounds found in Cook (1905) contain as their first member *jina*. While it is not recorded on its own in Cook (1905), *jina* is attested in Ugandan Nubi, with the meaning 'child, offspring' (Wellens 2003: 87, fn. 94). Note also the Juba Arabic cognate *jéna* 'baby, child' (Smith & Ama 2003: 116), 'child' (Watson 2015: 180), 'bébé' (Manfredi 2017: 202). The compounds at issue are discussed below:

JINA KALAMOYO 'KID', lit. 'child goat'. The sources include forms attested both in Nilo-Saharan and in Bantu languages. The former include: Acholi *latin dyel* 'kid' (Savage 1955: 39, Carollo 1991: 211), *latin dyel* 'kid' (Kitching 1932: 79), lit. 'child goat'; Dinka *manh thòk* 'kid' (Nebel 1979: 154), lit. 'child goat'; Lugbara *ndrí mvá* 'kid' (Crazzolara 2018: 21), lit. 'goat child'. The latter are: Luganda *omwana w'emбуzi* 'goat' (Murphy 1972: 398); Swahili *mwanambuзи* 'kid' (Perrott 1965: 54), lit. 'child goat'.

JINA KIDADA 'CHICKEN', lit. 'child hen'. The Nubi form recorded by Cook (1905) could be modeled on: Dinka *manh ajith* 'chicken' (Nebel 1979: 118), lit. 'child hen'; Lugbara *a'ú mvá* 'chicken' (Crazzolara 2018: 285), lit. 'hen child'.

JINA KORA 'TOE', lit. 'child leg'. While no perfect match has been identified in any of the potential source languages, it is worth mentioning the Acholi compound *anyira tyen* 'toes' (Savage 1955: 160), lit. 'girls leg'.

JINA NAJA 'LAMB', lit. 'child sheep'. Similar compounds are attested in three substrate languages: Acholi *latin romo* (Kitching 1932: 79, *latin rómò* 'lamb' (Savage 1955: 39, Carollo 1991: 212) 'lamb', lit. 'child sheep'; Dinka *manh amaal* 'lamb' (Nebel 1979: 155), *manh amääl* (Blench 2007: 115) 'lamb', lit. 'child sheep'; Lugbara *kàbil mvá* 'lamb' (Crazzolara 2018: 285), lit. 'sheep child'. In addition, the same compounds are found in the two Bantu adstrate languages: Luganda *omwana gw'endiga* 'lamb' (Murphy 1972: 398); Swahili *mwanakondoo* 'lamb' (Perrott 1965: 54), lit. 'child sheep'.

JINA SHULTAN 'PRINCE', lit. 'child king'. There are possible models in two of the substrate languages as well as in one of the adstrate languages. The former are: Dinka *wen bénydit* 'prince' (Nebel 1979: 174), lit. 'son king'; Lugbara *ɔ́pí mvá* 'prince' (Crazzolara 2018: 323), lit. 'king child'; Nuer *gat kwari* 'prince' (Huffman 1929: 15), lit. 'child king'. The latter is Swahili *mwana wa mfalme* 'prince' (Perrott 1965: 153), lit. 'child of king'.

Finally, in the two compounds below *jua* 'house' is the first member:

JUA BITA TER 'NEST', lit. 'house' + POSS + 'bird'. Structurally similar or identical forms are found in the following Nilo-Saharan languages: cf. Acholi *ot winyo* (Savage 1955: 41), *òt winnyó* (Blackings 2009: 164) 'nest', lit. 'house bird'; Bari *kadi-na-kwen* 'nest' (Owen 1908: 135), lit. 'house + POSS + bird'; Belanda Bor *kwot winy* 'nest' (Asan & al. 2015: 21), lit. 'house bird' Shilluk *wot winyo* 'nest' (Kohnen 1994: 212), lit. 'house bird'. Another possible model is provided by Zande *doumô zirê* 'nid' (Colombaroli 1895b: 465), lit. 'house bird'.

JUA NANGARATO 'NOSTRIL', lit. 'house nose'. A perfect match is Shilluk *wòté wòm* (Westermann 1912: 286), *wot orom* (Kohnen 1994: 152) 'nostril', lit. 'house nose'.

5. Discussion

The records of early Nubi differ in the extent to which loanwords from the African substrate and adstrate languages are included (Avram 2017b, 2018). For instance, Owen & Keane's (1915) vocabulary contains no such lexical items (Avram 2015). For several loanwords from the African substrate or adstrate languages in section 3 there is independent evidence of their occurrence in early Nubi, since these are also found in two other contemporary works (Jenkins 1909 and Meldon 1913)¹¹, as shown in Table 1 below:

Cook (1905)	Jenkins (1909)	Meldon (1913)
<i>bongo</i> 'cloth; calico'	—	<i>bongo</i> 'cloth'
<i>bura</i> 'cat'	<i>burra</i> 'cat'	<i>burra</i> 'cat'
<i>danga</i> 'bow'	—	<i>dangah</i> 'bow'
<i>gari</i> 'cart'	<i>gāri</i> 'locomotive', 'train'	—
<i>gugu</i> 'granary'	<i>gūgū</i> 'granary'	—
<i>kibra</i> 'forest'	<i>kibera</i> 'thick forest'	<i>kibrah</i> 'forest, clump of trees'
<i>korufu</i> 'leaf'	<i>karrafa</i> 'leaf'	<i>korāfah</i> 'branch'
<i>kungu</i> 'dance'	—	<i>kungu</i> 'dance, feast, wake'
<i>kyata</i> 'potatoes'	<i>khiaātā</i> 'sweet potatoes'	—
<i>labolo</i> 'banana'	<i>lobolo</i> 'banana'	—
<i>meja</i> 'table'	—	<i>maizah</i> 'table'
<i>nyaruku</i> 'child'	—	<i>nerakūk</i> 'child'
<i>nyila</i> 'boot'	<i>nīlāt</i> 'slippers'	—
<i>nyororo</i> 'chain'	—	<i>nyororo</i> 'chain'
<i>samba</i> 'fields'	—	<i>shambah</i> 'plantation'
<i>turuju</i> 'chase away, divorce'	<i>tarajū</i> 'expell'	—
	<i>torjū</i> 'driving out'	

Table 1. African loanwords in records of early Nubi

Note also that a form *nyarkou* 'enfant, bébé nourisson' (Muraz 1926: 162) is also found in Turku, an extinct Arabic-lexifier pidgin, formerly spoken in Chad¹².

A number of the lexical items of African origin presented in section 3 appear not to have made it into the modern variety of Nubi, as suggested by the fact that they do not occur in e.g., Pasch & Thelwall (1987), Wellens (2003), Luffin (2003–2004, 2005), Nakao & al. (2019). The words at issue are: *adro* 'ancestors; grandfather', *aguragura* 'horse', *alat* 'cotton', *bakuli* 'basin', *bundooky* 'gun', *bongo* 'cloth, calico', *gugu* 'granary', *jora* 'bag', *karanga* 'drought; summer', *kikombe* 'cup', *kolokon* 'chain; yoke', *koti* 'coat', *kusubula* 'sell', *la dwar / lo dwar* 'hunter', *lawoti* 'neighbours', *lwar* 'abscess', *maburu* 'boat', *magombe* 'hell', *mubisi* 'beer', *mburuzi* 'flute' / *emburuzi* 'trumpet', *mukuta* 'key', *muwemba* 'grain', *nyinveza* 'fix', *nyororo* 'chain', *senene* 'locust', *shandi* 'beer'. Of these, the following are Swahili-derived forms: *bakuli* 'basin', *bundooky* 'gun', *kikombe* 'cup',

¹¹ See also Avram (2017a).

¹² See also Avram (2019: 17-18).

koti ‘coat’, and *mburuzi* ‘flute’ / *emburuzi* ‘trumpet’. This fact is rather surprising, given the influence exerted by Swahili on the lexicon of both modern Ugandan Nubi (Wellens 2003) and, in particular, Kenyan Nubi (Luffin 2003–2004, 2014). For the variety of Kenyan Nubi spoken in Mombasa, for instance, Luffin (2003–2004) lists some 170 loanwords from Swahili (out of approximately 1,400 words recorded), from a wide range of domains.

Some of the loanwords in section 3 “presumably go back to the proto-level stage [...] of Juba Arabic and Nubi” (Nakao 2012: 133). These must have been borrowed before the split into what are today Juba Arabic and Nubi, since, as shown in Table 2, they are attested in both varieties¹³:

Cook (1905)	Juba Arabic
<i>banja</i> ‘debt’	<i>bánja</i> ‘debt’
<i>bura</i> ‘cat’	<i>Búra</i> ‘cat’
<i>danga</i> ‘bow’	<i>daḡá</i> ‘arc’
<i>gugu</i> ‘granary’	<i>gúgu</i> ‘granary’
<i>karanga</i> ‘drought; summer’	<i>karánga</i> ‘saison sèche’
<i>kibra</i> ‘forest’	<i>kíbra</i> ‘forest’
<i>korufu</i> ‘leaf’	<i>korófo</i> ‘feuille’
<i>kuruju</i> ‘cultivate’	<i>kúruju</i> ‘dig’ / ‘cultiver’
<i>kwata</i> ‘wrestling’	<i>kwátá</i> ‘wrestling’
<i>labolo</i> ‘banana’	<i>laboro</i> ~ <i>labolo</i> / <i>laboró</i> ‘banana’
<i>nyaruku</i> ‘child’	<i>nyirikuuk</i> ‘baby, child’ / <i>ḡerkúk</i> ‘enfant, garçon’
<i>turuju</i> ‘chase away, divorce, drive away’	<i>túruju</i> ‘purchasser’

Table 2. African loanwords shared by early Nubi and Juba Arabic

Finally, five other loanwords listed in section 3, four of which are from Swahili, appear to have been borrowed after the proto-level stage, to use Nakao’s (2012: 133) term. As can be seen in Table 3, these loanwords – which occur in modern Nubi as well – are not found in Juba Arabic:

Cook (1905)	Modern Nubi	Juba Arabic
<i>dirisa</i> ‘window’	<i>dirisha</i> ‘window’	—
<i>gari</i> ‘cart’	<i>gári</i> ‘car’	—
<i>godogodo</i> ‘thin from illness’	<i>gódógódó</i> ‘thin, slender, weak (body)’	—
<i>matofali</i> ‘brick’	<i>matufáli</i> ~ <i>matufári</i> ‘brick’	—
<i>meja</i> ‘table’	<i>méza</i> ‘table’	—

Table 3. African loanwords not found in Juba Arabic

As for the calques presented in section 4, a number of remarks are in order. Some of these calques are still in use in modern Nubi (Wellens 2003, Nakao 2012, Nakao & al 2019):

¹³ The Juba Arabic forms and glosses in Table 2 are from Smith & Ama (2003), Nakao (2012: 133), Watson (2015), and Manfredi (2017).

Cook (1905)	Modern Nubi
<i>ida (bita latap)</i> ‘branch’	<i>iida lakáta</i> ‘branch’ <i>idân ta shederân</i> ‘branch’
<i>moya ena</i> ‘tear’	<i>móyo éna / moyo éna / moyéna / moéna / mwéna</i> ‘tear’
<i>raso jua</i> ‘roof’	<i>rás júa</i> ‘roof’
<i>jina kidada</i> ‘chicken’	<i>jina gǐdda</i> ‘chicken’
<i>jina kora</i> ‘toe’	<i>jéna kurâ</i> ‘toe’

Table 4. Calques after African languages in early and modern Nubi

Compounds of the type illustrated in section 4 are typical of the Nilo-Saharan Sudanic substrate languages. At first sight, this would account for the occurrence of some of these in Juba Arabic¹⁴ as well:

Cook (1905)	Juba Arabic
<i>ida (bita latap)</i> ‘branch’	<i>ída ta séjera</i> ‘branch’
<i>moya ena</i> ‘tear’	<i>móya éna / móyo éna</i> ‘tear’
<i>raso jua</i> ‘roof’	<i>râs ta júwa / rás júwa</i> ‘roof’
<i>jina kalamoyo</i> ‘kid’	<i>jéna ganamáya</i> ‘cabri’
<i>jina kidada</i> ‘chicken’	<i>jéna jidéda</i> ‘poussin’
<i>jina naja</i> ‘lamb’	<i>jéna kurúf</i> ‘agneau’

Table 5. Calques shared by early Nubi and Juba Arabic

However, forms structurally similar or identical to those in Table 5 are also recorded in pidgins or creoles with different substrate and adstrate languages (Avram 2003: 37-35, Parkvall & Baker 2012, Avram 2020b). For instance, compounds of the type ‘water eye / eye water’ are widely attested in English-, French- and Portuguese-lexifier pidgins and creoles (Parkvall & Baker 2012: 237, Avram 2017c: 10, 2017d: 42-43, 2020b: 185 and 191). As suggested by Holm (2000: 104), “such compounds may have resulted from a universal strategy for expanding a Pidgin vocabulary to fill lexical gaps”. Parkvall (2000: 113), who specifically mentions *eyewater* as a word “that could predictably be invented on the spot by anybody not knowing any other word”, notes that this is typically done by lexicalizing semantically transparent compounds. This leads Parkvall (2000: 113) to the conclusion that “much of what may look African in Creole semantics may therefore well be but an indirect manifestation of former Pidginhood”. Therefore, it may be the case that for some speakers “struggling to communicate” in the multilingual contact situation such compounds are “lexical innovations” (Parkvall & Baker 2012: 231–232), i.e., they are not necessarily calqued on models provided by the substrate and/or adstrate languages.

¹⁴ The Juba Arabic forms and glosses are from Kaye (1987), Smith & Ama (2003), Nakao (2012: 136) and Manfredi (2017).

Also, the use of a word meaning ‘child’ in compounds to designate the young of an animal or bird is attested in other pidgins and creoles, e.g., the Arabic-lexifier pidgin *Turku ouled bagar* ‘veau’ (Muraz 1926: 165), lit. ‘child cow’¹⁵, Cameroon Pidgin English *pikin got* ‘kid’, lit. ‘child goat’, and in a number of French-lexifier creoles (Avram 1998). Moreover, in modern Ugandan Nubi “by placing *jina* in front of the noun, diminution is expressed” (Wellens 2003: 87). Similarly, in modern Kenyan Nubi *jina* functions as a diminutive marker (Nakao & al. 2019). In other words, *jina* ‘child’ has been grammaticalized into a diminutive marker. This again parallels developments in several French-lexifier creoles, in which French-derived *piti* ‘child; small’ has turned into the diminutive prefix *ti-* (Avram 1998).

The compound ‘house bird’ meaning ‘nest’ is also recorded in another Arabic-lexifier pidgin, *Turku: bett ter* ‘nid’ (Muraz 1926: 123), lit. ‘house bird’¹⁶.

Consider, finally, the compound ‘head house’ for ‘roof’. Structurally similar or identical forms are also found in Sudanese Arabic: Dickens (2007) records *raas bayt / raas al-bayt* ‘roof’, lit. ‘head house / head the-house’. The same compound is attested in *Turku: rass bett* ‘toit’ (Muraz 1926: 169), lit. ‘head house’¹⁷.

Summing up, some of the compounds in section 4 cannot necessarily be attributed to substrate and/or adstrate influence on Nubi. However, they may be illustrative of substrate and/or adstrate reinforcement. Also, these compounds provide further evidence for an “idiomatic structure” (in the sense of Owens 1996, 2014), which Nubi, its lexifier – Sudanese Arabic – and the substrate and adstrate languages share and which is the result of areal convergence.

6. Conclusions

This paper has examined the African component of Cook (1905), the earliest extant vocabulary of the Arabic-lexifier creole Nubi.

Etymologies have been proposed for a total of 49 loanwords from the substrate and/or adstrate languages of Nubi. These include several lexical items previously figuring among Nubi lexicon of unknown origin or claimed not to be recorded in the language. It has been shown that in a number of cases the source language cannot be determined. Comparison with the closely related Juba Arabic indicates that some of these loanwords date from before the split of the two varieties, given that they are recorded in both of them.

Also, 12 idiomatic calques have been identified and traced, in most cases, to several possible source languages. The status of calques of some compounds has been discussed within the larger context of pidginization, i.e., as traces of former “pidginhood”, as well as and of areal convergence, i.e., as areal features cutting across genetic affiliations.

¹⁵ See also Avram (2018).

¹⁶ See also Avram (2019: 19).

¹⁷ The compound occurs in Chad Arabic and Nigerian Arabic as well, see Avram (2019: 20), Owens (1996: 291), Manfredi (2020: 628-629).

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THE ENIGMATIC LANGUAGE AND THE OXYMORONIC ABSENT RELATIONSHIPS IN THE POETRY OF SAMĪḤ AL-QĀSIM AND MAḤMŪD DARWĪŠ

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Abstract. This study deals with one of the most important elements in the structure of poetic language, which is the element of ‘language’ and all its rhetorical forms, figures of speech, magnificent classical resounding words that are transformed into a language of ambiguity, and the absent relationships between the words. Among the abundant styles that modernist poets resort to is the ‘oxymoron’ which plays a significant role in creating dual meanings, irony, and unusual relations between words.

This study aims to find out how this lexical category serves the metaphorical style and how it lends the modern poem a new poetic feature, and how it contributes to the immortalization of the text by turning it into an infinite text.

The study introduces demonstrations of oxymoronic intertextualities in sections and passages from the poems of SamīḤ al-Qāsim in his collection *‘Aḡā’ibu Qānā l-Ġadīda/ “Miracles of New Qana”*, and a group of poems from Maḥmūd Darwīš’s collects of poetry, mainly *‘Aṭaru l-farāša/ “Butterfly effect”*, *Ka-zahri l-lawzi ‘aw ‘ab ‘ad/ “Like almond blossom or more far”* and *Lā ‘urīdu li-hāḍīhi l-qaṣīda ‘an tantahī/ “I Don’t Want This Poem to End”*.

In general, the study aims to answer the questions: Can we consider the absence-relationships and the employment of the oxymoron a foundation on which modern poetics is established? Is this kind of relationship the hook on which modern poets hang their poetic creativity, excellence and genius? Can we consider it a tool of compensation in the modernist poem, which gave up the employment of the poetic meter and rhyme?

Keywords: *Poetic language, absence-relationships, oxymoron, semiotics, SamīḤ al-Qāsim, Maḥmūd Darwīš.*

The Poetic Language from Classicism to Modernism

The poetic language is considered one of the most important elements in the structure of the poem because it works like a living dynamic creature in the depths of the artistic entity of the poet, his treasure and essence, and a tool of expression about the hidden feelings and thoughts of the soul, which makes the judgment on any poet start from the linguistic analysis of his poetic works, his creative tools, his syntactic structures, his artistic, rhetoric and musical styles and other things that fall under the category of ‘poetic language’.

With this approach, the poet’s genius becomes connected to his ability to dive into the depths of the language to extract its potential hidden capacities and distinctive styles. The poetic text, however, becomes a server to a creative practice of the language that is affected by special literary, social, and historical standards and criteria. Consequently, the revolution against poetry starts, basically, from a revolution against ‘language’ itself, as every new experience starts from a new formulation and a new language.

Since the classical pre-Islamic period of *Ġāhiliyya* till the post-modernist period, the poetic language has passed through several stages of change and in each stage, it was basically affected by the social and historical standards and the literary standards, namely, the textual and the para-textual elements.

Thus, the language of the poems in the classical *Ġāhiliyya* period depended on Bedouin words to describe the tents, the ruins (*'aṭlāl*) and chanting for the camels and sheep. These words were grandiloquent, bombastic and resounding to suit the hardness of the Arab life, its roughness and rigidity. Besides, the traditional poetic language was characterized by direct addressing, common classical structures, utterances from the lexicon that bear no more than their dictionary meaning, and which conform with the meaning, and are organized according to a certain musical meter and poetic rhythm that were considered one of the pillars of poetic language.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that the traditional classical poetic language was characterized by the repeated employment of figures of speech, rhetorical devices, and metaphors that were familiar to the prevailing literary taste of that period and considered as high linguistic status.

With the development of the age, the language developed and started adjusting itself to it and thus, it became a true mirror for society and human culture. The language became graceful, the thoughts and styles of expression by its means developed, too, and it started depending on new devices such enjambment and flowing/ (*ġarayān*) and other styles.

The language in *modernist literature* gave up its privileges of being rhetorical and oratory and direct. It started conforming itself to the poet's self and purpose. It stopped being satisfied with touching reality in a casual way but expanded and went beyond the surface onto wider spaces and into deeper places and meanings. Consequently, it rose above itself and became more abundant with what it generally promises, and began referring to more than what it said; it was no more just an accurate introduction of an idea or a specific topic but a womb for a new fertility.

Soon, the language turned into another stage of development, in which the Prose-Poem poets refused that their expression become standardized and frequently dealt with. As a result, they started using their own words in a way that goes beyond the language in an attempt to look for its attractions and the harmony between sound and meaning, thought and rhythm, and between the poetic experience and the language that expresses it.

In view of this, we can say that 'language' is the foundation of every poetic form; it is farther than being rigid and stagnant; it continuously flows "like blood that flows in the veins of the word on the one hand, and in the veins that connect the word with the body of the poem, and life accompanies it like the pulse that accompanies the green body" (al-Mūsā 1918: 6).

The word continued playing its role in the conflicts of the human being, his contradictions and the developments of his life, and thus, it has become monotonous when he is settled, stormy during the age of his explosion and revolutions, and dreamy, calm and delicate during his sorrows. However, even though it was characterized in classical poetry by being descriptive that imitative to reality, it changed in modern poetry and became the language of creation and allusion; "a dialectic life language that seeks creation, association, and is able to go to the unknowns,... it is a functional interactive [language] that mixes unconsciously with the rhythm that rushes with the experience to be, simultaneously, a vision" (al-Mūsā 1981: 7). It is a revealing vertical language that seeks to invade the areas

of unconsciousness and to keep away from the areas of unconsciousness and the borders of the emotional circle.

In view of this, we can say that the poetic language is auto-dynamic and dialectic with life and it seeks to sabotage the commonly accepted and to defeat the mind that deals with it as a corpse (al-Mūsā 1981: 7). It avoids the “lexicon of dead words and connects strongly with the language of life” (Sakīk 1977: 121). It has turned from accepting restrictions into moving into its dynamics; from being a descriptive language, whose purpose is to suggest meanings and make queries, and from directness and stability into fragmentation and laceration, that express post-modernist life. It also turned from a state of introversion into a state of extroversion as an open and abundant language with lots of potentialities, from being a language of limited indication into a language of multiple indications, and then into a language of non-indication (Qāsim 1981)¹. It also changed from being a language in which the emotions are tied by the chains of classical meters and the rumbling of dead words into a free flexible language (al-Malā’ika 1959: 7).

Finally, after it was the language of logic and causal interconnectedness, it became a language of emergence and outburst, and a language of sparkling and insight; from being merely a means of performance into “one of the bricks of indication in the text, whose values lie in what it suggests rather than in what it tells, and in the new positions that it generates in the text, not in the positions that it is intended to do originally” (al-Ṭrābulsī 1984: 30). In view of all this, it is “infinite in its formulation, its reproduction, and it is renewed, ..., by the renewal of the human experiences, and the possession of poetic unconsciousness, and its triumph over itself” (al-Mūsā 1981: 16).

On the other side, the criteria of poetic aesthetics have changed over history. Characteristics such as virility, magnificence and distinctive eloquence have disappeared. Poetry is no more a kind of speech to which ‘meaning’ and ‘versification’ are added. The poetic language is no more an alphabetical language with all its meanings, connections and structural tools that fall within its boundaries and constitute the inherited cultural constants; language has turned into the magic that contains colors and sounds that blow up dreams that are not from this world (al-’As’ad 1978: 46); it is the absence-language that tends to move away from the object to avoid pointing out its particular details, instead of pointing out the object or subject that it deals with and seeks to give it the highest degree of brilliance and clarity (al-Mūsā 1981: 16). It turned into a language which the poets returned it to its childhood in order to summarize by it their private and public visions” (Ibid.).

In addition to that, the poetic terms have gained new conceptions. The clearer expression is no more the more eloquent and more efficient one.² Besides, rhetoric is no

¹ These are the three stages of the development of language, as ‘Adnān Qāsim defined them in his research *Luġatu š-ši’ri l-’arabī: ‘Aṣālatu t-turāḡi fī muwāḡahati t-taḡḡir*. They are: the stage of limited indication, the stage of multiple indications, the stage on non-indication (Qāsim, 1981).

² al-Ġāhiz states that in his book *al-Bayānu wa t-tabyīn*: “the more the indication is clearer and more eloquent, and the allusion is clearer and more lightening, the more effective they are.” (al-Ġāhiz: 90). Besides, Ibn al-Aṭīr referred to the same opinion saying: “the eloquent words are the clearer and obvious”. (Ibn al-Aṭīr 1959, Vol. 1: 27). He adds: “The eloquent speech is the speech that is clear and obvious, and I mean by ‘clear’ is that the words are understood and our understanding does not need a language book for that”. (Ibn al-Aṭīr 1959, Vol. 1: 26).

more what it meant in the classical times: ‘clarification and simplification of meaning’ and “everything that it employs to convey the meaning to the heart of the receiver in order to strengthen it in its soul, and to strengthen it in your soul, in an acceptable image and good exposition” (al-‘Askarī 1981: 19).

The rhetorical eloquent styles (*bayān*) – which meant “introducing the same meaning in different styles with clear indications to it and the indication of the words” (al-Qazwīnī 1988: 201) – are no more among the aesthetics of poetry, but its opposite, which are: the unknown and the unfamiliar. While the standard writing and its adoption and relying on its fossilized forms were the ‘value’ in classical poetry, we see that the techniques of ‘deviation’, ‘invention’, and ‘metaphor’ are among the most important elements of the aesthetic value in modern poetry. Besides, modern language gains its value from “construction after destruction, creativity after conflict, and creation after extermination” (al-Ṭarābulṣī 1984: 30).

Thus, the poetry-industry has taken another path, and some of its stages are defined by André Breton and Jean Schuster through their description of their experience, saying: “I did not care for meter and rhyme; I rubbed the rust of the words..., I disavowed clarity that is deprived of any value. Working in the dark, I found the lightning, I caused confusion, ..., I did not follow the steps of those who respond to the desires of the majority of the people or those who surrender to authority.

I derive my principle from myself, the basis of my behavior and taste, ..., I decided for myself not to imitate. I showed my ability and did not hide my boldness. I kept away the commonly accepted controls, and devised others for my private use” (Breton and Schuster 1990: 9-10).

According to their arguments, the poet is no more a user of language but an exploder of it; he empties it of the familiar meaning in it and eradicates it from its known context. He has now to harmonize with a rite of alienation; “to become a stranger to the language of his people, the familiar language, ..., and to discover the other language that exists in the true or mythical self” (al-‘As‘ad 1978: 44). The reader, too, is no more a listener who applauds; he “has become a poet, too, who is drifted with the stream of the poet; he thinks with him and rolls over his waves” (Maḥmūd 1981: 51). Poetry has become a carrier of all the impulses and bursts of the world, and moves towards the absolute.

In *modern poetry*, we see that the poetic language is reborn away from the pattern and the stereotype. Poetry, too, keeps away from the surface of the material and the world. It no more describes this world from the outside but penetrates to its depths, towards the supernatural and the hypertext (Adūnīs 1996: 21). This language is born with every ‘creative artist’ and the artist cannot possess it except by “emptying it from its past, and charging it with the future” (Adūnīs 1996: 78).

Kamal Bek describes this language as a language of ‘violation’. While the classical poet was looking forward to a divine time-language that is above his society, and while the Romantic poet was attached to an escapist, anti-social and secret language, the modern poet seeks to achieve the language of violation (Bek 1986: 130). It is a language in which the styles and tools have changed and *maḡāz*/metaphor assumed a deeper dimension, that is based on employment of odd words, contrasts and unusual collocations within what is known as ‘oxymoron’.

What is *Mağāz*/Metaphor?

Mağāz is a figure of speech used metaphorically to mean something different from its original and literal meaning. However, the original meaning and the desired meaning have a common relationship. The single word has no meaning by itself and it derives its meaning from its relationship with the surrounding words and the context that it occurs in. Probably, the following section from the poem “To a Young Poet” by MaḤmūd Darwīš (from his collection *Lā 'urīdu li-hāḍihi l-qaṣīda 'an tantahī/ I Don't Want This Poem to End*) is a clear expression of what *Mağāz* is. He says:

"لا تقل للحبيبة: أنتِ أنا
وأنا أنتِ،
قل عكس ذلك: ضيفان نحُ
على غيمة شاردة/ زائدة
شُدُّ، شُدُّ بكل قواك عن القاعدة
لا تضع نجمتين على لفظة واحدة
وضع الهامشي إلى جانب الجوهري
لنكتمل النشوة الصاعدة

لا تصدق صواب تعاليمنا
لا تصدق سوى أثر القافلة

Don't tell the beloved, you are I,
and I am you,
Say the opposite of that: we are two guests
of a stray excess cloud.
Deviate, with your all might, deviate from the rule.
Don't place two stars in one utterance
and place the marginal next to the essential
to complete the rising rapture.
Don't believe the accuracy of our instructions.
Believe nothing except the caravan's trace. (Darwīš 2009: 144-145).

By this, Darwīš implies how important it is for the poet to transcend the familiar meanings that are on the road of poetry, as al-Ġāhiz stated, and the well-known styles that are subject to the context. This reminds us of what MaḤmūd Darwīš says in his collection *'Aṭaru l-farāša/The Butterfly Effect*:

"الشيء الناقص في القصيدة، ولا أعرف ما
هو، هو سرُّها المُشعُّ. وهو، ذلك
الناقص، ما أسميه "بيت الصيد""

"The missing thing in the poem, and I do not know
What it is; it is its shining secret. It is that missing thing,
What I call 'The Main Point'." (Darwīš 2008: 224)

Darwīš continues to say that:

"الطريق إلى المعنى، مهما تشعبَ وطال، هو رحلة الشاعر. كلما ضلّته الظلال اهتدى!"

The road to the meaning, no matter how much it branches and continues, is the poet's journey. The more the shadows mislead him, the earlier he finds his way.

(Darwīš 2008: 224)

In these words, he emphasizes the importance of deviation of the language and the role of *mağāz*/metaphor in it, and the importance of the language in being refusing, explosive and un-surrendering to a passive reader who does not possess the skills of reading, deciphering of the texts and discussing the linguistic styles that contribute to the formation of indication. Among these artistic styles that particularly characterize the modernist poetic language are: the employment of myth, interconnectivity of texts, onomatopoeia and synaesthesia (mixture of senses)³ and the device of oxymoron, (which will be illustrated below with examples from the poems of the two poets, Samīḥ al-Qāsim and Maḥmūd Darwīš, who went beyond the ordinary employments of *mağāz*/ metaphor and gave their poems a special flavor). So, what is 'oxymoron'? and who are the poets Samīḥ al-Qāsim and Maḥmūd Darwīš?

The Oxymoron: Definitions

Oxymoron is a Greek term that consists of two parts: *oxús* which means 'sharp', 'cute', 'clever', and *mōrós*, which means 'foolish' or 'stupid'. The whole term originally meant "clever fool", which shows the combination of two opposites in an unfamiliar style, which characterizes the oxymoron and distinguishes it from other lexical varieties. Mağdī Wabhī maintains that the Greek meaning of the term 'oxymoron' means "something that has no meaning" (Wabhī 1974: 25), which sounds inaccurate. In Arabic the term is translated as "irdāf ḥulufī" and is defined as "a surface contrast between two phrases to arouse admiration" (Wabhī 1974: 374), or 'irony' (Āṣī, Ya'qūb 1987, Vol.1: 122) or conveying a rhetoric effect (Fathī 2000: 22).⁴

Adnān Qāsim dealt with the style of unusual restricted collocations under the title "Unusual Linguistic collocations", which deals with the most important characteristics of the language of modern poetry, which is "making the words be adjacent in a strange way" (Qāsim 1981: 44), such as: using foreign words in an unusual syntactic form or paring external things with internal hidden ones in linguistic structures. He exemplifies his arguments by examples from Adonis (Ālī Aḥmad Sa'īd 1930) "Bādiyatū l-'urūq" or adding one of the features of nature to a concrete feature, which makes the combination unreal such as Adonis's combinations (the hidden branches, the plains of visions). Other examples include the combination of items that are opposite in direction such as "Get up

³ These are artistic styles that have become prevailing in the modernist Arabic poetry, and though there are roots for them in the classical Arabic poetry, they are not one of the foundations on which the poetic text is established.

⁴ Muḥammad Ālī al-Tunji mentions in *al-Mu'ğamu l-mufaṣṣali fi l-'adabi* that the purpose of the eternal contradiction is to reach the real deep meaning by a rhetoric effect (al-Tunji 1993, Vol.1 : 79).

earthwards". In this example, "get up" indicates movement upwards, while the "earth" is downwards. Another example is: "the tongue grows in the feet". A third example is: "the wall becomes tears". As we see, the wall and the branch are objects that indicate "hardness" and solidness" but they are turned into "tears", something liquid, despite the differences and contrast between them. This kind of combination is strange and is considered a linguistic violation "falling" under the category of oxymoron, though Qāsim did not mention this example openly (Qāsim 1981: 22-44).

Thus, oxymoron is a rhetoric contrast that combines two contrasted words, which creates a sharp tone. Some examples of this type are: *A pleasant pessimist*, and *wise fool*, *a sad pleasant*, *eloquent silence* (Thrall and Hibbard 1960: 335).

An oxymoron can also be a combination of two lexical elements that look contradictory externally such as: "their silence is eloquent", or "I have to be hard just in order to be gentle" (Shipley 1966: 295). Thus, oxymoron is a version of intensive contrast (Preminger and Bragon 1993: 873), and a combination of opposite meanings in order to create a specific effect (Cuddon 1998: 627; Baldick 2001: 179). Karl Beckson and Arthur Ganz consider the oxymoron a kind of oratory expression that consists of two opposite or opposite looking words that express a sudden contrast (Beckson and Ganz 1990: 171). Meyer Abrams speaks about the oxymoron under the entry of 'Paradox' and confirms that they are two combinations that are considered in their ordinary usage as contradictory (Abrams 1981: 127).

Samīh al-Qāsim (1939-2014)

Samīh al-Qāsim was born in al-Zarqa city in Jordan in 1939. His parents are originally from Rama Village in the Galilee. He studied at Elementary Latin School in Rama (1945-1953), then he continued his studies in Nazareth (1953-1955) and graduated from its Terra Sancta Secondary School in 1957.

In his youth, he traveled to the Soviet Union, where he studied philosophy, economics and Russian for a whole year. al-Qāsim worked as a teacher, but he soon became involved in political activities in the Communist Party and moved to work in journalism and literary writing.

The Israeli government arrested him several times and imposed on him home detention because of his patriotic and national attitudes. He resisted the law of Compulsory Service that the Israeli government imposed on the young men of the Druze Community that he belongs to. He established the movement of "The Free Druze Young Men" at the end of the '50s to resist the Israeli policy and its treatment of the Arab population.

Samīh al-Qāsim is considered one of the most well-known contemporary Palestinians whose name is connected to the poetry of revolution and resistance. In his poetry, he dealt with the struggle and suffering of the Palestinians. He constituted with the late Palestinian poet Maḥmūd Darwīš the nerve of the Palestinian Resistance Literature and the twin of a process that is full of struggle, creativity and life.

Samīḥ al-Qāsim published more than 60 books of poetry, stories, theater, essays and translation. He received a number of prizes, shields, certificates and honorary membership in several institutions. After a hard struggle with cancer, he died in August, 2014.⁵

Mahmūd Darwīš (1941-2008)

Mahmūd Darwīš was born in the Palestinian village al-Berwih, from which he was evacuated and forced to leave with his family to Lebanon in 1948. He stayed there for a year and returned to his semi-homeland to find that his land has been taken and cultivated by others.

After his return, he lived with his family, who had to move from one village to another, till he finally settled in Haifa, which constituted for him “a place where he wrote poetry and essays in *al-Ittiḥād* newspaper and *al-Ġadīd* Magazine” (Sa‘āda 2009: 41).

After he was arrested for several times because he wrote about the Palestinian cause in his poetry and essays, he was sent by the Communist Party to study in Moscow, from where he moved to Cairo and then to Lebanon, where he headed the Center of Palestinian Researches. He also occupied the position of Head of the Association of the Palestinian Writers and Journalists and established the cultural *al-Carmel Magazine*. After that, he resigned from the Palestine Liberation Organization in protest at Oslo Agreement in 1993.

Darwīš received several awards and his works were translated into more than twenty languages. On 27 of July 2007, the Ministry of Transportation of the Palestinian Authority issued a post stamp that bears his name in honor and appreciation of the poet’s position and his role in reviving the Palestinian Cause. Darwīš died in 2008 as a result of sudden complications that followed his heart surgery (Sa‘āda: 43). He was buried in Ramalla.

The Metaphorical Oxymoron in the Poetry of al-Qāsim and Darwīš

In his Poem ‘*Aḡā’ibu Qānā l-Ġadīda / Miracles of New Cana* (2006), the Palestinian poet Samīḥ al-Qāsim says:

Father, **you are alive and dead...dead and alive**
With the rhythm of a new consolidated advance
And a concentrated shelling
That pull down all the sides to this side. (al-Qāsim 2006: 30)

He continues to say:

“Father, ... **we will die and live**
Because we die by a rash strike
And our murderer, Father, will die by the loneliness of his hard desire,
Will die by the judgment of Fate,
But by our knockout! (al-Qāsim 2006: 30)

"أبي أنت حيٌّ وميتٌ.. وميتٌ وحيٌّ
بإيقاع زحفٍ جديدٍ معرَّزٍ

⁵ <http://info.wafa.ps/persons.aspx?id=605>

وقصفِ مرکز
يهيل جميع النواحي إلى هذه الناحية"

ويتابع قائلاً:
"أبي.. سيموت ونحيا،
لأننا نموت بضربة طيش،
وقاتلنا يا أبي سيموت بعزلة شهوته القاسية
يموت بحكم القضاء،
ولكن بضربتنا القاضية"

The expressions written in bold in the above section represent the technique of the Oxymoron that is based on *superficial contrast between the words and unfamiliar integration of opposites*. It is a contrast that puts the reader in front of a sequential query, wonder and need for search. So, what is the meaning of the Father being 'alive and dead'? How does the human being die and live at the same time? How can Fate be the cause of death and premeditated murder (our knockout) at the same time?

There is no doubt that the reader of this text needs a tool to decode its symbols, and elucidate the ambiguity that results from the combination of the situation and its contrast simultaneously. Thus, the dead living Father is either really 'dead' but 'living in heart and soul', or is 'living' bodily but 'dead' spiritually for some reason (such as sickness, a state of war, etc., ...). Most probably, the Father here is still alive but what surrounds him and his son, and ultimately his society, makes him feel 'dead' instead of 'living', which is emphasized by the phrases of war such as "consolidated advance" and "concentrated shelling", that "pull down" everything.

However, the feeling of the 'surrounding death' does not make the first-person speaker "I" lose his determination and his trust that 'death' does not mean 'death' or the 'end of life' but 'resurrection' and 'rebirth'. Probably, the poet here, who is a Druze, is relying on the religious belief of the Druze community in the reincarnation of souls from one body to another after death. If so, 'death' has no place and it is not fearful because, ultimately, it does not happen. However, the enemy will die physically and spiritually by Fate and Destiny but also by the strike of the first-person speaker "I", who speaks in the name of the poet and his Father, and ultimately, his whole society, and emphasizes that both of them, together, have become 'Fate and Destiny'. They are the 'inevitable' death that will follow the 'enemy' till it punishes him. Thus, decoding the oxymoronic 'metaphor' in this section helps the reader to understand the special poetic image of this text.

In another section from *'Aḡā'ibu Qānā l-Ġadīda / Miracles of New Cana (2006)*, we read:

"The **residing foreigner** shaped the maps
And we learned them by heart
We learned the words of the **accursed enemy friend**.
And we walked a lot. And walked long
But there is no straight path.
Horses and fire threaten our doorsteps
And we, as the centuries have known us,
Meet our enemies with roses

And slay our loved ones with cordiality.

Here is the enigma

Here is the enigma

Here Death gets angry at our death

The wind and the spirit and the song

Explode at our silence and appalling obedience

And the details remain, the tricks remain and the gossip remains

The falsehoods remain and the folk songs remain **sad and funny**. (al-Qāsim 2006: 26)

"صاعها الأجنبيّ الغريب المقيم
ونحنُ حفظنا الخرائطَ عن ظهر قلبِ
حفظنا كلامَ الصديقِ العدوِّ الرجيمِ
وسرنا كثيرًا. وسرنا طويلاً،
وما من صراط بنا يستقيم.
خيلاً ونار تهتد أعتابنا
ونحن كما عهدتنا القرونُ
نواجه بالوردِ أعداءنا
ونذبح بالودِّ أحبابنا

...

هنا الأحجية

هنا الأحجية

هنا يغضب الموت من موتنا

وتنفجر الريح والروح والأغنية

على الصمت والسمع والطاعة المزرية

وتبقى التفاصيل تبقى الأحابيل تبقى الأقاويل

تبقى الأباطيل تبقى المواويل **مضحكةً مبكيةً**

The expressions “the accursed enemy friend”, “the sad and funny folk songs” and many others are also oxymoronic expressions that are based on the *surface contrast between two words or the integration of two opposite words*. One wonders: How can a ‘friend’ be an ‘enemy’ and be given the attributes of “accursed Satan”? How can a “stranger” be a “resident” and on what grounds? Are we really facing an “enigma”, as al-Qāsim says? How come that the ‘stranger’ who has come to this land turns into the owner of the property, who controls the maps and redraws them? The people of the land are not ignorant of these changes and they have learned the maps by heart, but they are accustomed to deal with others with kindness and cordiality and extend their hands to assist.

Here, the reader understands that the ‘stranger’ is the ‘occupier’ who was welcomed with roses when he was persecuted but he did not keep that friendship and good treatment of hospitality and sacrifice, and substituted friendship and hospitality with threats and fires of enmity. The Palestinians continue to resist with roses and cordiality, which characterizes them as hospitable and sacrificing people. They die with a smile, which surprises ‘Death’ itself and anger it, too, instead of being happy about the harvest. Here, too, there is an oxymoronic phrase: how can death be angry at the death of the victims? Doesn’t death feel

happy at the death of people? How can death explode the song? How can the folk songs cause tears and cause laughter simultaneously?

In order for the reader to get out of this unfamiliar paradoxical context, he tries to decode these unfamiliar combinations and find an exit for himself. For example, he tries to find aspects that cause laughter and cries in the folk songs (*mawāwīl*). He supposes that their momentum, glory and accompanying memories send feelings of calmness, joy and smiles, while thinking about the change of conditions arouses sorrow and cries in his soul. If al-Qāsim implies that the oxymoronic expressions make the reader feel he is in front of an enigma, let us read the following section from Maḥmūd Darwīš's poem *Qillī Kawkaban/Get Less Planet* and see how his oxymoronic expressions constitute an enigma due to the unfamiliar contrasts that they introduce:

Is all that you?

Vague and clear

Both present and absent

Your eyes are a deep night... and lighten me

And your hands are cold and shiver

But they kindle the embers in my body

Your voice is a watery tone...

And melts me in the glass

You are dense and transparent, rebellious and amiable

A virgin and a mother of two daughters (Darwīš 2008: 159)

هل كل هذا أنت؟
غامضة وواضحة
وحاضرة و غائبة معا...
عينك ليل حالك ... ويضيئني
ويداك باردتان ترتجفان
لكن، توقدان الجمر في جسدي
وصوتك نغمة مائية ... و تذبيني في الكأس
أنت كثيفة و شفيفة، و عصية و أليفة
عذراء، أم لابنتين

It seems to me that the poet is asking the readers: "Do you know who she is?" She is the one who is vague and clear simultaneously, the one who is present and absent simultaneously, the one who has dark and lighting eyes simultaneously. She is the one who has two cold hands that shiver and set fire in the embers of the body of the speaker, the one who is thick and transparent, the one who is rebellious and amiable, and she is the virgin and the mother who has two daughters.

This employment of the oxymoronic combinations turns the text into an 'enigmatic' metaphor, another language that challenges the reader and leaves him facing interconnectivity of opposites and wondering: Can she be the beloved one with all her whimsicalities, her contradictions and tricking of her sweetheart? Can it be the 'poem' with all its revolutionary alterations, metaphors and gaps?

Let us continue reading the next two lines in the section:

عذراء، أم لابنتين:
قصيدتي
وقصيدة أودى بصاحبها خيال قاصر!

A virgin and a mother of two daughters:

My poem

And another poem whose writer was killed by his impoverished imagination.

(Darwīš 2008: 159)

We understand here that we are dealing with a text that circumvents itself. This dodge of ‘vague-unclear’, ‘transparent-thick’, with all its contradictory attributes, is the metaphorical language that gives birth to the poems, if we may say so.

In his poem *Qātil wa barī’/ A Murderer and Innocent* Darwīš introduces the riddle and its solution. He describes the concept of ‘love’ with all kinds of contradictions, e.g., Love is ‘fast and slow’, ‘innocent and bawdy’, ‘dark and shining’, ‘empty and full of opposites’. It is ‘one master’ and ‘numerous masters’; it ‘does good’ to us and ‘harms’ us when it surprises us; it is the ‘animal and the angel’. There is no doubt that each expression that is graded as a description of love emphasizes instability of love, control of the feeling of the mental presence, sanctification of the beloved to the degree of self-humiliation and the fear and confusion that accompanies that feeling.

Love is like waves

Repetition of our happiness about the ancient-new

Fast, slow

Innocent like a deer that races with a bicycle

And **nasty** ... like a bold cock

Who has a need,

Nervous and bad

Calm like a knight that organizes his words,

Dark, black... and shines,

Empty and full of its opposites,

It is the **animal/angel**

With the power of one thousand horses and the lightness of a spectrum,

Ambiguous, **fierce, smooth**

Whenever it escapes, it assaults

It does good to us...and hurts

It surprises us when we forget our emotions

And comes...

It is the anarchist/ the selfish/

The master/ the only one/ the multiple,

Once we believe, once we disbelieve

But it does not care for us

When it hunts us one by one

And knocks us out with a cold hand

It is an **innocent... murderer** (Darwīš 2008: 2016-2017).

هو الحب، كالموج
تكرار غبطننا بالقديم _ الجديد
سريع ، بطيء
بريء كظبي يسابق دراجة
ويذيع ... كديك
جريء كذي حاجة
عصبي المزاج رديء
هادئ كخيال يرتب ألفاظه
مظلم، معتم ... ويضيء
فارغ وملئ بأضداده
هو الحيوان / الملاك
بقوة ألف حصان، وخفة طيف
وملتبس، شرس، سلس
كلما فرَكَرَ
ويُحسِن صنْعًا بنا ... ويسيء
يفاجئنا حين ننسى عواطفنا
ويجيء ...
هو الفوضوي/ الأناني /
والسيد /الواحد /المتعدد

نؤمن حينًا ونكفر حينًا
ولكنه لا يبالي بنا
حين يصطادنا واحدًا واحة
ثم يصرعنا بيد باردة

إنه قاتل ... بريء

If Darwīš is introducing the riddle and its solution, what we read in the following section from al-Qāsim's poem 'Aḡā'ibu Qānā l-Ġadīda / *Miracles of New Cana* leaves the reader in front of a state of unconsciousness and no-solution. He says:

You lose your consciousness for long... I give you water, you say 'I'm full'
I give you bread, you say, 'I'm saturated'. I gift you roses, you say 'I'm killed'.
I gift you wakefulness, you say 'I'm drunk'. And I know
That I lose my consciousness for long; you bring me back, I go away, you kill me
I live; you feed me, I die. And who are you to make yourself lose your consciousness for long?
long? Who are you to make myself lose my consciousness for long?
Are you the one who I was? Or are you what I have become?
Or we are the one who you were so that we lose our consciousness!
Tell me but there are no words
Peace be upon you (al-Qāsim 2006: 44).

تغيب طويلاً عن الوعي... أعطيك ماءً تقول شبعنُ
وأعطيك خبزاً تقول ارتويتُ. وأهديك ورداً تقولُ

قُتِلْتُ وأهديك صحواً تقول سكرتُ. وأعلم أنني
 أغيب طويلاً عن الوعي تُحضرني فأغيبُ وتقتلني
 فأعيش وتطعمني فأموت. ومن أنت حتى تغيب
 طويلاً عن الوعي؟ من أنت حتى اغيب طويلاً عن
 الوعي؟ هل أنت من كنتُ أم أنت ما
 صرتُ أم نحن من كنتُ حتى نغيب عن الوعي
 قل لي وما من كلام
 عليك السلام.

We see in this section the evasiveness of the poetic contextual structure that is not formed of a stable linear system, but we see a structural undeclared overlapping, as if we were in front of a state of absence of context that is revealed in the absence of consciousness. In this way, a parallel between two worlds takes place: the world of the dream and the world of reality. Each verb in this section is met with an adverse reaction and things are mixed up as in a dream and as in the world of the unconsciousness. Water leads to satiation; bread leads to saturation; the rose turns into a tool of murder; wakefulness causes intoxication; presence leads to absence; murder leads to life and feeding leads to death.

The reader is mixed up with these oxymoronic expressions. He is also mixed up due to this overlapping between the speaker and the addressee in the poem. Are they ONE person or TWO persons? Probably what helps the reader a little is the two expressions by the speaker, who says “you lose your consciousness” and then “I lose my consciousness”. By doing so, the speaker gives legitimacy to his expressions and indications because the dream is the wide space in which all the paradoxes meet at the same place and moment. Through reading, the reader perceives that the two persons who “lose their consciousness” might be the same persona, the speaker “I” himself, the Palestinian who woke up one day to find out that the conditions are turned upside down and felt that he was still out of consciousness. Probably, the Palestinian is debating with his homeland. Both are in a state of shock and astonishment; both lost their consciousness and are in a state of refusal, and anything that is introduced to them is met with refusal and they see in it a reason for murder.

This confusion and disturbance in the character of the first person speaker “I” is also noticed in the following section from Darwīš’s poem *Lā ‘ibu nard / Dice player*:

Fear walked with me and I walked with it
 With bare feet, forgetting my little memories of what I want
 From my tomorrow- there is no time for tomorrow –
 I walk/ I hurry/ I run/ I ascend/ I descend/ I shout/ I bark/ I howl/ I call/ I wail/ **I hurry up/ I slow/ I fall/ I hasten/ I dry/ I go / I fly/ I see/ I don’t see/ I stumble/ I whistle/ I turn green/ I turn blue/ I split/ I cry/ I feel thirsty/ I get tired/ I starve/ I fall/ I get up/ I run/ I forget/ I see/ I do not see/ I remember/ I hear/ I see/ I babble/ I hallucinate/ I whisper/ I shout/ I cannot/ I moan/ I go mad/ I get lost/ I decrease/ I increase/ I fall/ I rise/ I land/ I bleed/ and I faint/**
 And, luckily, the wolves disappeared from there
 Accidentally, or in escape from the army (Darwīš 2009: 41-42).

ومشى الخوف بي ومشيت به
 حافياً، ناسياً ذكرياتي الصغيرة عما أريدُ
 من الغد- لا وقت للغد-

THE ENIGMATIC LANGUAGE AND THE OXYMORONIC ABSENT RELATIONSHIPS
IN THE POETRY OF SAMĪH AL-QĀSIM AND MAHMŪD DARWĪŠ

أمشي / أهروُلُ / أركضُ / أصعدُ / أنزلُ / أصرخُ / أنبجُ / أعوي / أنادي / أولولُ / أسرعُ / أبطنُ / أهوي / أخفُ /
أجفُ / أسيرُ / أطيُرُ / أرى / لا أرى / أتعزُّزُ / أصفرُ / أخضرُ / أزرقُ / أنشقُ / أجهشُ / أعطشُ / أتعبُ / أسغبُ /
أسقطُ / أنهضُ / أركضُ / أنسى / أرى / لا أرى / أتذكرُ / أسمعُ / أبصرُ / أهذي / أهلوسُ / أهمسُ / أصرخُ / لا
أستطيعُ / أننُ / أجنُ / أضلُ / أقلُ / وأكثرُ / أسقطُ / أعلوُ / وأهبطُ / أدمىُ / ويغمى عليَّ /
ومن حسن حظِّ يأن الذناب اختفت من هناك
مُصادفةً، أو هروباً من الجيش

The reader, however, certainly realizes through his reading that the speaker is not the Palestinian person but the poetic text itself or the poet or the poem. When he writes his poem, the poet lives a state of pain and fluctuations. He hurries to write some phrases and slows in others. Sometimes he moves and other times he flies; he sees and does not see; delusions and hallucinations surround him; he feels tired; he goes mad and moans and falls and rises and lands and bleeds and then he, too, loses his consciousness after the poem settles down on its final form and his emancipation from it, as if it were the stone of dice that rolls several times before it settles on a patch of darkness.

I might be unlucky with revelation
And revelation is the luck of the unique
"The poem is a roll of a stone dice"
On a patch of darkness
That shines and probably does not shine,
And therefore, the words fall
As feathers that fall on the sand (Darwīš 2009: 43)

"كان يمكن أن لا يحالفني الوحي
والوحي حظ الوحيين
"إن القصيدة رمية نرد"
على رُقعة من ظلام
تشع، وقد لا تشع
فيهوي الكلام
كريش على الرمل"

Summary and Conclusion

The oxymoron is one of the important linguistic features in the modernist poem. It transcends the *majāz* / metaphor in its traditional form and constitutes a kind of absent-relationships within the text. This device invites the critical reader to discuss the meaning that floats on the surface and the present prominent expressions without being satisfied with them, and to attempt to dive into the depth in order to reach the invisible relationships and the parallel meanings that are hidden from the reader's eyes.

We notice that the two poets, al-Qāsim and Darwīš, employ the oxymoron in their poetry in a noticeable way, and make it a pillar on which their poems are established. This confirms their full awareness of its role in the structure of the poem and in making it an infinite text, though writing is a difficult mission. Actually, it is the most difficult mission (as Darwīš hints), especially in our time, in which unobserved and uncensored writing has prevailed:

“The poem in the hard time
Is a beautiful flower in a cemetery.” (Darwīš 2009: 143).
"القصيدة في الزمن الصعب
زهر جميل على مقبرة!"

He also says:

“The poem is incomplete and the butterflies complete it.” (Ibid.)
القصيدة ناقصة... والفرشات تكملها

This shortage in the poem is the deviation and the metaphors which deviate from the contextual meaning of the words and the clear structures, and which makes them more deeply effective and makes their associations like the effect of butterflies that does not vanish, but why the ‘butterflies’? Because butterflies have an invisible effect that does not perish. This term reminds us of the physics theory that employs the term “Butterfly Effect” as a metaphorical term that describes those phenomena that have mutual successive connections and effects that result from the occurrence of a first event, which might be simple in itself but generates a series of successive results and developments, whose size exceeds their size in the beginning stages unexpectedly, and in places that can be far from expectation. Darwīš simplifies this theory in his deep far-reaching words and declares that he does not want his poem to end:

I don't want this poem to ever end
I don't want it to have a clear purpose
I don't want it to be a map of exile
Or a country
I don't want this poem to end with happiness or with death
I want it to be what it wishes to be:
A poem of someone else. A poem of someone who is against me
A poem of my rival.
I want it to be a prayer of my brother and my enemy
As if the addressee in it were the absent I who is the speaker in it
As if the echo were my body. And as if I were you or another.
As if I were my other one. (Darwīš 2009: 74-75).

لا أريدُ لهذه القصيدة ان تنتهي ابداً
...لا أريد لها هدفاً واضحاً
لا أريد لها ان تكون خريطةً منفي
ولا بلداً
لا أريد لهذه القصيدة أن تنتهي
بالختم السعيد، ولا بالردى
أريدُ لها أن تكون كما تشتهي أن
تكون:
قصيدةً غيري. قصيدةً ضدّي. قصيدةً
نِدّي...
أريد لها أن تكون صلاة أخي وعدوّي.

كَأَنَّ الْمُخَاطَبَ فِيهَا أَنَا الْغَائِبَ الْمُتَكَلِّمَ فِيهَا.
كَأَنَّ الصَّدَى جَسَدِي. وَكَأَنِّي أَنَا
أَنْتَ، أَوْ غَيْرِنَا. وَكَأَنِّي أَنَا آخِرِي!

Darwīš does not want his poem to be limited by time and place or be written for a specific person but to every human being, whether he is a friend or an enemy; he does not want it to be limited by one point of view; he does not want the end to be happy or sad; he does not want it to have a clear purpose; he does not want to be its owner or be in the center of what it reflects; he wants it to talk about others, about his antagonists and rivals. Darwīš creates an identity for his text in which contrasts melt and indications expand to the farthest extent or infinitely. This is what he declares openly in the above section, which confirms my argument that the employment of oxymoronic language and other linguistic techniques in his poetry and the cited samples from al-Qāsim's poetry are based on the destruction of the linguistic sets and systems and recreation of the language in new forms that are open onto semiotic indications that are subject to various interpretations, and are established on a net of relationships that make the text more eloquent, more indicative and requires a more experienced and proficient reader to decode its metaphors.

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COMPLEX PREPOSITIONS IN CONTEMPORARY MODERN STANDARD ARABIC

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Abstract. In this synchronic study we scrutinize multi-word sequences of different structure and complexity that fulfil the function of prepositions in contemporary Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Many of these structures such as *bi-sababi* “because of”, *naṭīġatan li-* “as a result of”, *‘alā r-raġmi min* “in spite of”, *bi-ġaḍḍi n-naḍari ‘an* “regardless of” and *ġanban ‘ilā ġanbin ma‘a* “side by side with”, which occur especially in more formal registers of MSA (including Media Arabic), underwent the process of grammaticalization and became a part of the Arabic lexicon. We gathered 230 multi-word sequences of this type and analyzed them as to their structure, syntax and semantics using a large corpus of newspaper texts. The complex prepositions in question, representing Prep-N, Prep1-N-Prep2 and _{indef}N^{acc}-Prep structural types, are used mainly as heads of prepositional phrases functioning as adjuncts, which express miscellaneous semantic relations.

Keywords: *Modern Standard Arabic, Media Arabic, prepositions, complex prepositions, syntax, semantics.*

1. Introduction¹

In the traditional linguistic dichotomy between autosemantic and synsemantic word classes, prepositions (or postpositions) are usually classified together with conjunctions, particles and interjections as belonging to the latter group. In this view, prepositions have only relational meaning and link their governing syntactic units with prepositional complements, prototypically nouns. Thus, prepositions cannot be used without a following autosemantic complement; it is regarded as ungrammatical.

It is mostly agreed upon among linguists that besides simple prepositions such as *in*, *for*, *under* or *before* in English and *fī*, *li-*, *taḥta* or *qabla* in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) a number of multi-word sequences may also be used similarly with a prepositional function. It is assumed that a great number of these recurring and more or less idiomatic multi-word sequences are lexicalized, i.e., part of the lexicon (and language system), therefore they should be listed in dictionaries as separate lexical entries. As an example of the so-called complex prepositions (CP) of different structure and complexity we may mention *because of*, *in spite of*, *as a result of*, *without regard to* or *side by side with* in English and *bi-sababi*, *‘alā r-raġmi min*, *naṭīġatan li-*, *bi-ġaḍḍi n-naḍari ‘an* or *ġanban*

¹ I would like to thank my colleague Adam Pospíšil for his valuable comments and stimulating discussion over the draft of this paper.

'ilā ḡanbin ma'a in Arabic. In order to support this assumption, consider the following two examples:

(1) ... *fa-li-māḏā lā taf'alīna ḏālika li-Maḡḏi d-dīni*?²

“... so why don't you do that for Majduddin?”

(2) *wa-fa'altu hāḏā min 'aḡli-ka*!³

“and I did it for your sake!”

In (1) the simple preposition (SP) *li-* “for” is used, representing the head of the prepositional phrase (PP) functioning as a facultative adverbial complement (adjunct) with the benefactive meaning. In (2), on the other hand, the two-word sequence *min 'aḡli* “for the sake of” introduces the PP conveying the final meaning. We assume that the latter example represents a prototypical case of the CP, i.e., a grammaticalized construction and a fixed multi-word lexical item with the same prepositional function as the SP in (1).

In our synchronic study we will address the following questions:

- What distinguishes CPs in contemporary MSA from free multi-word sequences of the same structure?
- Which formal properties do CPs have?
- What are their syntactic functions?
- What are their semantics?

The structure of the study is the following: First, we present the methodology we used and outline lexical resources and corpora we employed for our analysis (Section 2). Then we evaluate some important studies on CPs in some languages, particularly in English, focusing in detail on the relevant works dealing with Classical Arabic (CLA) and MSA (Section 3). In the following section (Section 4) we discuss general properties of prepositions in Arabic (4.1) and propose a synchronic classification of prepositions in MSA based on their formal and functional properties (4.2). In the next section, which is the core of our study (Section 5), we address possible criteria of prepositionality regarding Arabic multi-word sequences (5.1), present structural types of CPs (5.2) and also discuss some of their syntactic functions (5.3). The last part is dedicated to their semantic properties (5.4). In Conclusions (Section 6) we evaluate our results.

2. Methodology, resources, and corpus data

Our synchronic study is based on corpus analysis of 230 multi-word sequences (variants are included in the overall number). We gathered some of the sequences in question from the monograph on MSA syntax by El-Ayoubi *et al.* (2003) numbering 156 items. Other candidates were intuitively added to the list based on excerpts from two large bilingual dictionaries of MSA by Wehr (1994) and Arts (2014), as well as on the basis of extensive reading of contemporary texts. In addition, we also consulted two large Arabic monolingual dictionaries of contemporary usage, *al-Mu'ḡamu l-'arabī l-'asāsī* (2003)

² ArabiCorpus, modern literature subset. For more information on the used corpus see the next section.

³ ArabiCorpus, modern literature subset.

and *al-Munğidu fī l-luğati l-‘arabīyati l-mu‘āšira* (2001). Afterwards, we further refined the set of prepositions and selected out ambiguous or somehow unclear cases.

For our analysis we used the large newspaper subset of the unannotated on-line corpus ArabiCorpus⁴ (abbreviated as ACNews), representing the written form of Media Arabic. This subset contains more than 135 thousand words⁵ covering the time span between 1996 and 2011. In some cases, we also used the smaller modern literature subset of the same corpus (ACLit) comprising over 1 million words.⁶ Corpus searches also helped us in assessing the frequency of individual word sequences, i.e., their potential position in relation to the center or periphery of the language system. Even though we are aware of the limited reliability of searching large raw (unannotated) data for frequency, we assume that even rough information on frequency may be still considered valuable.

After further refinement and corpus testing, we excluded those sequences with a frequency lower than one hundred occurrences. Finally, we arrived at a set of 230 sequences and analyzed them regarding their structural, syntactic and semantic features. Our study is not anchored in any particular theoretical framework and we are trying to use as much general linguistic terminology as possible.

3. Previous research on complex prepositions

In this section we will briefly outline some relevant studies on CPs, paying special attention to works related to Arabic (both CLA and MSA). It is worth mentioning that the particular status of CPs has not been generally recognized in Arabic linguistics and only very few works, which have been mostly appearing recently, during the last two decades or so, are addressing such a category explicitly and on more solid theoretical grounds. In contrast to this, the category of CPs has been established in linguistic works on many Western languages, especially English, although their status as syntactic units has been challenged by some linguists. In general, the most often scrutinized type is Prep1-N-Prep2, which has obvious structural equivalents in many languages (e.g., English, French, German). From a contrastive point of view, we may say that in Arabic these structures correspond with Prep1-N-Prep2 and Prep-N structural types. The latter corresponds with similar structures in languages that mark the genitive case (e.g., Czech and other Slavic languages).

3.1. Complex prepositions in some Western languages

As for English,⁷ CPs have been treated by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 669-673). “In the strictest definition, a complex preposition is a sequence that is indivisible both in terms of syntax and in terms of meaning” (ibid: 671). The authors assume that there is no clear-cut distinction (a binary classification) between highly interdependent multi-word grammatical units (i.e., CPs) and freely dissociable sequences (i.e., free syntagms).

⁴ <http://arabiccorpus.byu.edu/>

⁵ The exact number is 135,306,804 orthographic words.

⁶ The exact number is 1,026,171 orthographic words.

⁷ Hoffman (2005: 26-33) outlines the treatment of CP in English since the 19th century.

“Rather, there is a scale of cohesiveness running from a sequence which behaves in every way like a simple preposition, *eg: in spite of (the weather)*, to one which behaves in every way like a set of grammatically separate units, *eg: on the shelf by (the door)*.” (ibid: 671 – italics in the original). The authors introduced the “cohesiveness test” (originally in Quirk & Mulholland (1964)) that may serve as a tool for determining the position of multi-word prepositional sequences on such a scale (or a continuum). The test is based on a set of morpho-syntactic, syntactic and lexical transformations; the more transformations a particular construction enables, the further away it is situated from the grammatical pole of the scale (for further details see section 5.1).

A critical view towards the plausibility of establishing the category of CPs as such on syntactic grounds has been put forth by Seppänen *et al.* (1994) and also Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 617-623). In sum, their skepticism results from the discrepancy between the surface syntactic analysis of the sequences in question and their more or less idiomatic (i.e., non-compositional) semantics. Although these sequences resist some types of manipulations and transformations, they exhibit a transparent surface syntactic structure, i.e., syntactic boundaries within their structure, and thus, according to these authors, cannot be considered as units of syntax. In reply to these syntactically grounded views, Hoffman (2005), on the other hand, provided a number of arguments supported by corpus data advocating the status of CPs as an autonomous grammatical category functionally corresponding to SPs. He concludes: “Irrespective of their internal syntactic structure, the sequences under consideration were overwhelmingly used in a way which is compatible with an analysis of complex prepositions as grammatical units. It seems reasonable to assume that these units are stored in the memory as whole entities rather than individual segments which are later assembled according to the rules of syntax.” (Hoffman 2005: 167).⁸

Another synchronic study of the Prep-N-Prep sequences in English is Klégr (2002), who also presents a semantic classification of CPs (25 classes). His study is accompanied with a dictionary (English-Czech) containing 989 sequences in question.

The phenomenon of CPs has been studied in other languages as well; in Czech (a comprehensive synchronic study by Blatná (2006)), Dutch (e.g., Moirón & Bouma (2002)), French (e.g., Adler (2001; 2008)), German (e.g., Trawiński *et al.* (2006)) and in Swedish contrastively with English (e.g., Sigurd (1993)), to mention a few of them. Especially Adler (2001) in her study on multi-word sequence in prepositive function (“locutions prépositives”) in French raises a number of methodologically important questions regarding their syntactic, semantic and lexical status and also discusses diagnostic methods that are very similar to those introduced by Quirk & Mulholland (1964) for cohesiveness testing in English. She states: “[L]es locutions sont un état intermédiaire entre le mot et le syntagme libre. La différence entre mot et locution est essentiellement d’ordre syntaxique. Alors que pour les prépositions on parle d’un seul mot syntaxique, les locutions prépositives, constructions figées, sont des groupes de deux mots syntaxiques ou plus, fonctionnant en bloc similairement à une préposition simple et unique.” (Adler 2001: 160). In Adler (2008) the author proposes another test for

⁸ Hoffman (2005) in his otherwise diachronic study of 30 frequent CPs addresses major arguments raised by Seppänen *et al.* (1994) against the syntactic unity of CPs, namely their stability/cohesiveness in syntactic manipulations such as fronting, coordination, ellipsis, and interpolation (i.e. parenthesis and the like). He brings counter-arguments based on corpus data.

distinguishing CPs and free syntagmas of the type Prep1-(def/undef)-N-Prep1. In sum, this test, which should be applied prior to other morpho-syntactic diagnostic tests, is based on the deletion of Prep1 (and adding the definite article, if necessary); “If both combinations remain semantically equivalent, the prepositional sequence does not enter into the category of lexicalization or idiomaticity, and is treated as a regular prepositional phrase, i.e., a free prepositional composition syntactically and semantically predictable.” (Adler 2008: 20). E.g. *à la fin de* “at the end of” → *la fin de* “the end of” (≠ CP) vs. *à l’instar de* “like” → **l’instar de* (= CP).

3.2. Complex prepositions in Arabic

As far as Arabic is concerned, most of the reference works on both CLA and MSA treat CPs only tangentially and usually not in a very systematic and theoretically grounded way in chapters dedicated to prepositions and preposition-related issues. As for CLA, Wright (1996 II: 188-190) discusses only the combination of two prepositions in a sequence in the subsection entitled “compound prepositions” where he focuses merely on the combinations with *min* as the first member of the sequence (e.g., *min ba’di* “after”, *min warā’i* “from behind”). In these cases, the second member of the sequence shows overtly the genitive case marking, behaving like any regular noun after a preposition.

Perhaps the most detailed treatment of what we regard as CPs can be found in Reckendorf’s reference work on syntax of CLA (Reckendorf 1921); in the subsection on “auxiliary words” (“Hilfswörter”) he addresses several instances of prepositions followed by a specifying noun (e.g., *min ’ağli* “for the sake of”, *fī baṭni* “inside”, *bayna ḍahrānay* “among”, *ka-miṭli* “like”) that somehow strengthens the meaning of the preposition (ibid.: 216-218). Moreover, in the section on “double prepositions”⁹ he provides a detailed list of sequences of two prepositions beginning with *min*, *’ilā*, *bi-*, *’alā*, and *fī* (ibid.: 221-223). Some of these instances, especially those beginning with *bi-*, *’alā*, and *fī*, in fact represent multi-word (i.e., more analytical) variants of otherwise simple (i.e., more synthetic) prepositions (eg. *bi-ḥidā’i* for *ḥidā’a* “opposite”, *’alā ’itri* for *’itra* “immediately after”, *fī wasaṭi* for *wasṭa* “in the midst of”).

Fischer (2002: 152), on the other hand, in the section on prepositions mentions only the possibility of combining two prepositions in a sequence, the first one being *min* or *’ilā* and the following one some other preposition (e.g. *’ilā fawqi* “over”).

As regards specifically MSA, an attentive reader might notice a short remark in Cantarino’s work on syntax (1975) referring to sequences as *fī ’atnā’i*, *’alā naḥwi* or *bi-wāsiṭati*. Cantarino intuitively points to similar phenomena as Reckendorf did before him: “Frequently the governed noun appears to depend not upon the preposition but upon another noun which is not entirely necessary but which adds a special stress to the construction” (Cantarino 1975: 259). Subsequently, he also mentions instances with two prepositions in a sequence, “in which one preposition governs the other” (ibid.: 260), usually the preposition *min* being on the first position. For these instances he uses the term “compound prepositions” similarly to Wright, for instance.

In the reference grammar of Badawi *et al.* (2004) the authors mention examples of what they call “compound prepositional phrases” of different structural types alongside

⁹ “Doppelpräpositionen”.

instances of “(true) prepositions” occurring in the given compound (e.g., *‘alā ‘asāsi* “on the basis of”, *‘an tarīqi* “via”; *bi-l-qurbi min* “near”, *bi-n-nisbati li-* “with regard to”; *bi-qaṭ‘i n-naḍari ‘an* “irrespective of” (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 175-198)). They also enumerate other CPs as multi-word variants or modifications of SPs within a category that they call “prepositionals” (e.g., *bi-ḥasabi* vs. *ḥasaba* “according to”, *fī ḥilāli* vs. *ḥilāla* “during”, *raġman ‘an* vs. *raġma* “in spite of”, *ṭibqan li-* vs. *ṭibqa* “in accordance with” (ibid.: 198-219)).¹⁰ One may notice that the authors try to base their treatment of preposition-related issues on classificatorily more solid grounds. Nevertheless, they deal with some CPs that begin with an indefinite noun in the accusative case (e.g., *badalan min* “instead of”, *‘idāfatan li-* “in addition to”) within the section on adverbial phrases, which they only loosely relate to the class of prepositions in general (ibid.: 167-170).¹¹

Hitherto, the most systematic and comprehensive synchronic treatment of CPs in MSA has been presented in the reference syntactic work of El-Ayoubi *et al.* (2003), in which the authors provide a truly admirable list of the prepositions in question. What we perceive as CPs in our study forms together with “simple secondary prepositions” two subcategories of the “secondary prepositions”; the first subcategory, “expanded prepositions”¹², (El-Ayoubi *et al.* 2003: 574-584) represents the structural type of Prep-N (e.g., *min bābi* “out of”, *fī sabīli* “for the sake of”), whereas the second subcategory, “complex constructions in prepositional function”,¹³ (ibid.: 584-592) is dedicated to the constructions beginning with an indefinite noun in the adverbial accusative followed by a preposition (_{indef}N^{acc}-Prep, e.g., *ibtidā‘an min* “starting from”). In addition to this, a number of CPs of both structural types are also discussed together with simple prepositions as their variants or extensions (ibid.: 466-568).

A valuable contribution to the discussion from a diachronic viewpoint is Esseezy (2010). In his monograph several CPs of the type Prep1-N-Prep2 (“complex prepositional phrases”) and Prep-N (“compound-like prepositions”) are analyzed within the theoretical framework of grammaticalization. Generally speaking, grammaticalization is a complex process in language development, in which lexical items (typically major classes such as verbs, nouns, adjectives) undergo a categorial shift from the domain of content words to that of function words marking various grammatical relations. This process usually involves semantic change (usually from concrete towards increasingly abstract denotations), reduction of morpho-syntactic autonomy of the given lexemes, their removal from the original discourse context of use (and generalization), and often also reduction in syntagmatic size. Furthermore, the degree of grammaticalization may vary from item to item.¹⁴ As an example we can mention the concessive CP *‘alā/bi-r-raġmi min* “in spite of”,¹⁵ in which the noun element *raġm*, originally “dust”, underwent a semantic change (losing its lexical meaning altogether) and also lost some of its noun properties: it cannot change its definiteness, cannot be modified by an adjective, and does

¹⁰ The term “prepositionals” is used as a denotation of the sub-class of prepositions that are derived from trilateral nouns as opposed to the seemingly underived sub-class of “(true) prepositions”. For terminological questions see the section 4.2. below.

¹¹ It is to be mentioned that in Ryding’s reference grammar of MSA (2005) no explicit notion referring to the concept of CPs is ever mentioned.

¹² “Erweiterte Präpositionen”.

¹³ “Komplexe Gefüge in präpositionaler Funktion”.

¹⁴ Major points of the grammaticalization process are summarized by Esseezy (2010: 51-52).

¹⁵ Adapted after Esseezy (2010: 50).

not permit other variation in prepositions; it was also removed from the original discourse context (connected with humiliation and forced submission) and was generalized to be employed in a broader variety of contexts. The reduction in syntagmatic size may be represented in this case by a more grammaticalized one-word form *raġma*.¹⁶ In the analysis of selected Prep1-N-Prep2 and Prep-N sequences Esseesy applied “the cohesiveness test” put forth by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 671-2), indicating the degree of their internal cohesiveness, which also correlates with the degree of grammaticalization. Moreover, the degree of grammaticalization may also correlate with the frequency of use. To conclude, Esseesy’s study of CPs, in our opinion, supports the justifiability of establishing the category of complex prepositions in Arabic; especially the analyzed instances of the Prep-N type exhibited a high degree of internal cohesiveness, whereas the instances of the Prep-N-Prep type were distributed with varying degrees of cohesion along the cohesiveness continuum.

4. Prepositions in MSA

4.1. General characteristics of the prepositional phrase in MSA

Before scrutinizing idiosyncrasies of the CPs, it would be appropriate to set the scene and summarize properties of the class of prepositions in general. Among the properties that apply to PPs in MSA (and also in CLA) are the following (based on El-Ayoubi *et al.* (2003: 593-596), Cantarino (1975: 253-255) and Procházka (2008: 699)):

- i) Prepositions always precede the element they govern, usually a noun or its syntactic substitute (pronominal suffix,¹⁷ demonstrative, interrogative, and relative pronoun¹⁸).
- ii) All Arabic prepositions require the genitive case of their complements (*al-ġarr*).
- iii) Prepositions may also govern adverbs¹⁹ (including interrogative adverbs²⁰ and relative adverbs in the adverbial relative clauses²¹).
- iv) Prepositions may be strongly associated with verbs that govern their object complements indirectly through prepositions (indirectly transitive verbs - *'af'āl muta'addiya bi-ħarf ġarr*).²²
- v) A PP may be syntactically dependent on a verb, noun (including the verbal noun), adjective (including the active and passive participles) or a clause as a whole.

¹⁶ Behind this development there is an idiomatic expression *raġama 'anfū-hu* (lit. “he has his nose in dust”) referring to having one’s nose in the dust as manifestation of humiliation and forced submission. During the evolution resulting in the form *'alā r-raġmi min* and the like, the reference to the nose (*'anf*) disappeared. For detailed analysis see Esseesy (2010: 87).

¹⁷ Four prepositions cannot be combined with pronominal suffixes – *ħattā* “until”, *munḍu/muḍ* “since”, *ka-* “like”, *bi-lā* “without” (Procházka, 2008: 699).

¹⁸ *mā*, *man*, and *al-laḡī* (and its inflectional forms).

¹⁹ E.g., *min hunāka* „from there“ or *ħattā l-āna* „up to now“.

²⁰ E.g., *ħattā matā?* “until when?” or *'ilā 'ayna?* “where to?”.

²¹ A directional preposition precedes the locative relative adverb *ħaytu*, e.g., ... *wa-ya'ūdūna 'ilā ħaytu 'ataw* “... and they are coming back to where they came from” (ACNews).

²² Verbs such as *bahaḡa 'an* „to look for sth“, *ħaṣala 'alā* „to get/receive sth“ or *naḡara fī* “examine sth” may serve as examples of these indirectly transitive verbs or verb-preposition idioms (the latter term borrowed from Ryding (2005: 367)). A particular preposition is selected by the valency of a given verb.

- vi) A PP may also function as a predicate in equational (nominal) sentences as well as it may serve as a quasi-subject in a specific type of the passive construction.²³
- vii) The subordinating particles *'an* and *'anna* may be annexed to prepositions, forming various types of subordinate clauses (both complement and adverbial).

4.2. Synchronic classification of prepositions in MSA

In the scholarly literature on both CLA and MSA a lot of confusion prevails concerning the terminology, classification and inner structuration of functionally similar phenomena that we call prepositions in our study. This confusion, in our opinion, is caused to a great extent by mixing the diachronic perspective with the synchronic one and possibly also by relying on categories established by the early Arab grammarians that are based on rather formalistic and static grounds and affected by their prescriptivist views on CLA.²⁴ In sum, we may say that in the traditional Arabic grammatical theory the class of prepositions in the stricter sense (*ḥurūfu l-ğarr* – literally “particles of the genitive case”, a subtype of the particle word class *ḥarf*)²⁵ comprises only a limited repertoire of elements that are regarded as underived (i.e., lying outside the derivational system of trilateral roots)²⁶ and invariable in form. Their number vary from one grammarian to another, but in a comprehensive account we may mention *bi-* “with/in”, *li-* “for”, *fi* “in”, *ka-* “like”,²⁷ *ma'a* “with”, *min* “from”, *'an* “away from”, *'alā* “on”, *'ilā* “to”, *ḥattā* “until”, *ladā* “at”, *ladun* “at”, *mud/mundu* “since”.²⁸ Some elements that we may, from a functional standpoint, rather call particles are also usually treated within this category.²⁹ The rest of preposition-like elements is usually classified in the Arabic grammatical tradition as *ḍurūf* (space and time qualifiers), a subcategory of the class of nouns (*'asmā'*).³⁰ These elements such as *ba'da* “after”, *'amāma* “in front of”, *dūna* “without”, and *qurba* “close to”, to name but a few, are morphologically nouns derived from trilateral roots; they show accusative case marking indicating their originally adverbial function. They are considered to be in the annexation construction (*'idāfa*) with a following noun

²³ If a verb governing its object complement(s) through a preposition is used in the passive diathesis, the logical subject stands after the given preposition and the passive verbal form is in the default impersonal form (3rd masc. sg.) regardless of gender and number of that logical subject and VS or SV word order (e.g., *wa- 'ufriġa 'ani l-mustawṭinīna...* “and the settlers were released...” (ACNews)).

²⁴ Part of this confusion is aptly summarized by Badawi *et al.* (2004: 57): “Arabic has two categories of words which map on to the Western class of prepositions, though they have different origins and should not be equated. There are true prepositions [...] and there are pure nouns with adverbial inflection and prepositional function [...] Syntactically both behave identically, i.e., they form an annexation unit with their nouns, which accounts for the two types often being classed as undifferentiated ‘prepositions’.”

²⁵ Alternatively *ḥurūf al-ḥafḍ* “particles of lowering” or *ḥurūf al-'idāfa* “particles of annexation”, depending on the given grammarian (Wright 1996 I: 278).

²⁶ The only exception may be the preposition *'alā*, obviously derived from the highly productive trilateral root 'L W.

²⁷ The monosyllabic *bi-*, *li-*, and *ka-* are, due to their idiosyncratic orthography, usually called “inseparable prepositions”, because they are written together with the following word.

²⁸ In Western reference works terms such as “true prepositions” (Badawi *et al.* 2004; El-Ayoubi *et al.* 2003; Ryding 2005) or “primary prepositions” (Fischer 2002) are used for this category.

²⁹ For an outline of the theoretical foundations and their shortcomings regarding the treatment of prepositions and preposition-like elements in the Arabic grammatical tradition see especially Esseesy (2010: 17-25).

³⁰ Three word classes are usually distinguished: noun (*ism*), verb (*fi'l*), particle (*ḥarf*).

in the genitive case.³¹ Besides differences in functional distribution of these two categories, i.e., *hurūfu l-ġarr* and *durūf*, some Arab grammarians have also postulated differences in their specific semantics.³²

As regards what we call CPs in this study, “such constructions have not been universally recognized as syntactic and semantic units in Arabic linguistic research” (Esseesy 2010: 76). In Western linguistic research, on the other hand, they have been usually treated, if recognized, under various headings as a subclass of prepositions in the broader sense.³³

In the following paragraphs we will refine the aforementioned classificatory tendencies and propose a synchronic classification of the class of prepositions in MSA, taking into consideration the number of their constituents as well as their functional distribution, disregarding their morphological/derivational aspects (see Table 1).

1) simple prepositions		2) complex (secondary) prepositions (open set) e.g., <i>bi-ḥuṣūṣi, min 'aġli, 'alā r-raġmi min, 'iwaḍan 'an, bi-ġaḍḍi n-naḍari 'an...</i>
1a) simple primary prepositions (closed set) <i>bi-, li-, fī, min, ma 'a, 'an, 'ilā, 'alā</i>	1b) simple secondary prepositions (open set) e.g., <i>ḥattā, munḍu, ba 'da, 'amāma, natīġata, muqābila...</i>	

Table 1: Synchronic classification of prepositions in MSA

As to their form, we differentiate between simple (i.e., one word/stem) prepositions and complex (i.e., multi-word/multiple-stem) prepositions. As regards their functional properties, we propose to establish two categories, primary (1) and secondary (2) prepositions, taking into account differences in their functional load in relation to verbs. We have singled out a closed sub-class of “simple primary prepositions” (1a), since only this set is used with indirectly transitive verbs (*'af'āl muta'addiya bi-ḥarf ġarr*) to govern their object complements (arguments). Consider example (3) with the verb *i'taḍara* “to apologize to sb for sth”, which governs its two objects through prepositions *li-* and *'an*.

(3) *rāḥa ya'taḍiru l-ī 'an-intiḍār-ī* (ACLit)
“he started apologizing to me for keeping me waiting”

Another feature of this sub-class (1a) is its broad polysemy; this applies particularly to the prepositions *bi-*, *li-* and *'alā*.

The open sub-class of “simple secondary prepositions” (1b), on the other hand, comprising all the remaining one-word prepositions, cannot be used with indirectly transitive verbs to govern their object complements (arguments); they generally represent heads of adverbial PPs usually functioning as adjuncts when dependent on verbs (i.e., denoting rather circumstantial environment of the verbal action). Nevertheless, PPs with this type of prepositions may also function as adverbial complements (arguments); they

³¹ In the reference grammars terms as “derived prepositions/semi-prepositions” (Ryding 2005), “prepositionals” (Badawi *et al.* 2004) or “secondary prepositions” (El-Ayoubi *et al.* 2003; Fischer 2002) are used.

³² For a detailed discussion on the differences between the two categories in works of Arab grammarians see Kasher (2016).

³³ See section 3.2. above.

may be required by the valency of some semantic classes of verbs such as verbs of motion, which require various directional complements (4).

(4) *wa-ttağaha’adham nahwa l-bābi* (ACLit)
 “and Adham headed towards the door”

As to the formal properties of this sub-class (1b), we may say that a trilateral noun in the accusative case may be considered to be their paradigmatic form.³⁴ Regarding the semantics of these prepositions, it may be emphasized that they convey much more specific meanings contrary to the highly polysemous class (1a).

As for the sub-class of “complex (secondary) prepositions” (2), they represent multi-word sequences with an abstract noun (mostly a verbal noun) and internal syntactic structure, ranging from two to four constituents. As will be shown in the following sections, they usually contain one or two “simple primary prepositions” (1a), depending on the number of constituents. In general, CPs share functional properties with the “simple secondary prepositions” (1b).

5. Complex prepositions in MSA

It is worth pointing out that CPs are not a phenomenon that would be exclusively restricted to MSA; they are also attested in earlier stages of Arabic including Middle Arabic varieties.³⁵ They could possibly be found in modern Arabic dialects as well. We may assume, though, that in CLA the number of CPs was rather limited. It seems that this phenomenon started occurring gradually only in the post-classical and modern periods. In MSA we find relatively frequent occurrences of these phenomena, especially in its formal registers. CPs are massively used particularly in the register of the media discourse (Media Arabic) and in administrative language (El-Ayoubi *et al.* 2003: 574). However, detailed studies revealing their distribution in different registers and textual types are needed.³⁶

In general, the emergence of new prepositions in Arabic, CPs included, may be induced by several factors. “The older prepositions become semantically blurred, they become polysemic and they become reduced in size” (Blau 2010: 201); CPs, just as “simple secondary prepositions”, convey more accurate semantic relations than simple primary prepositions, especially *bi-*, *li-* and *‘alā* with their broad polysemy. Another significant factor may be also language contact. It seems very probable that at least some

³⁴ We intentionally include into this sub-class also the unparadigmatic prepositions *ka-*, *hattā*, *munḍu/muḍ*, *ladun*, and *ladā* (cf. the previous section 4.2.), since they share major functional properties with other prepositions of this class.

³⁵ Blau (2010) lists a number of complex prepositions from medieval Middle Arabic (namely its Judaeo-Arabic variety) and one can notice that some of them found their way into the lexical stock of MSA (e.g., *min ġihati* “on behalf of; as to”, *bi-ḥukmi* “because of”, *bi-ḥuṣūṣi* “as to”, *bayna yaday* “in front of”).

³⁶ As for English, Hoffman’s study (2005) suggests that the majority of the Prep-N-Prep constructions in Present-day English that were subject to his investigation (30 the most frequent CPs) are favored in formal contexts and clearly dispreferred in “imaginative prose” (Hoffman 2005: 118). In Czech, a corpus-based study by Blatná (2006) has revealed the following textual distribution of CPs in three domains: technical and specialist texts 43 %, journalist discourse 34 %, belles-lettres 23 % (Blatná 2006: 312).

CPs are loan translations (calques) of prepositional idioms in Western languages, most commonly English or French (Blau 1973: 218). According to Esseesy, “[m]ost, but not all, of these constructions appear to be calque translations, primarily from the increasing influence of, if not direct replication from, European language sources in recent decades.” (Esseesy 2010: 78). It is especially the case of Media Arabic, where terms, collocations and idioms are coined after foreign linguistic models due to massive translation of the media content. Subsequently, some of these elements come into everyday use (Holes 2004: 315).

5.1. Prepositionality of multi-word sequences

As has been already pointed out (Section 3), distinguishing between CPs as lexicalized units of grammar on the one hand, and free syntagms of the same structural types, on the other, may be a nontrivial task; there is rather a continuum between considerably frozen, internally cohesive and grammaticalized sequences with non-compositional semantics and sequences with both syntactically and semantically fully autonomous components on the opposite poles. Drawing a dividing line somewhere between the two poles and deciding which sequence is to be considered as CP (i.e., a lexicalized item) and which not may be influenced by arbitrary decisions made by the linguist. Besides available diagnostic tests, also frequency of use may be a helping factor for making such decisions. However, all these diagnostic criteria seem not to be fully satisfactory and therefore must be left open to further revision and refinement.

For distinguishing CPs from other sequences functioning as free syntagms we take into account the following properties:

1) **Structural types:** Only sequences pertaining to three particular structural types (with a few exceptions) may be considered as candidates for CPs. These types are: i) Prep-N (e.g., *min ‘aġli*), ii) Prep1-N-Prep2 (e.g., *bi-l-‘iḏāfati ‘ilā*) and iii) _{indef}N^{acc}-Prep (e.g., *naṭīġatan li-*) (see Section 5.2).

2) **Syntactic function:** Only sequences with apparently adverbial and/or adnominal syntactic function may be regarded as candidates for CPs (see Section 5.3). Other structurally similar sequences such as *fi ḥāġatin li-‘ilā* “in need of” and *‘alā ṭīqatin min* “of confidence in”, which syntactically function solely as predicates in nominal sentences, may not be considered as prepositions.

3) **Functional correspondence/interchangeability with another preposition:**

i) with a “simple primary preposition” (e.g., *li-muddati ‘usbū ‘ayni* “for two weeks” vs. *li-‘usbū ‘ayni*),

ii) with “simple secondary prepositions” (e.g., *‘iwaḍan ‘an* “as a substitute for” vs. *‘iwaḍa*) or even

iii) with another stabilized CP (e.g., *‘ilāwatan ‘alā* „on top of” vs. stabilized *‘iḏāfatan ‘ilā* „in addition to”).

4) **Sufficient frequency:** The vast majority of sequences that we selected for further analysis have a frequency between 500 and 97.000 in ACNews. Nonetheless, we have set the frequency threshold to 100 occurrences (with only few exceptions).”

5) **Relative frozenness:** “Cohesiveness test” (e.g., Quirk *et al.* 1985: 671-672) may be applied for testing a particular sequence as to its degree of syntactic “frozenness” (and possibly also grammaticalization). As has been mentioned, the more manipulations it permits the further away it is from the grammatical pole. We may use a set of indicators of syntactic separateness that was slightly adjusted for Arabic Prep1-N-Prep2 and Prep-N structures by Esseesy (2010: 77-78; 106).

For the Prep1-N-Prep2 type eight indicators may be used (Esseesy 2010: 77-78): a) variation in P2, b) pluralization of N, c) variation in definiteness, d) addition of a possessive pronoun to N, e) modification by a demonstrative, f) replacement of N by a semantic equivalent, g) modification by an adjective, h) variation of P1. We will perform the test on these examples: *bi-l-muqāranati ma’a* “in comparison to”, *’alā maqrabatin min* “close to”. According to our results (Table 2) *bi-l-muqāranati ma’a* seems to be the least cohesive structure (three positive indicators) from the tested sample whereas *’alā maqrabatin min* (only one positive indicator) may be found on the cohesiveness continuum somewhere very close to its grammatical pole.

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
<i>bi-l-muqāranati ma’a</i> “in comparison to”							
+ ³⁷	-	-	-	-	+ ³⁸	-	+ ³⁹
<i>’alā maqrabatin min</i> “close to”							
-	-	-	-	-	-	+ ⁴⁰	-

Table 2: Cohesiveness test of the Prep1-N-Prep2 sequences

Regarding the Prep-N sequence, Esseesy proposes only five indicators of cohesiveness (ibid: 106): a) substitution of Prep, b) substitution of N, c) variation in definiteness, d) pluralization of N, e) insertion of a modifier between Prep and N. If we perform the test on the sequences *min ’aġli* “for the sake of” and *fī ḥālāti* “in case of”, we will arrive at the following results (Table 3): All the sequences exhibit a high degree of cohesiveness, only the sequence *fī ḥālāti* also permits pluralization.⁴¹

a	b	c	D	e
<i>min ’aġli</i> “for the sake of”				
+ ⁴²	-	-	-	-
<i>fī ḥālāti</i> “in case of”				
+ ⁴³	-	-	+	-

Table 3: Cohesiveness test of the Prep-N sequences

³⁷ *bi-l-muqāranati bi-*.

³⁸ E.g., *bi-l-qiyāsi ma’a* (ACNews).

³⁹ *fī l-muqāranati ma’a* (ACNews).

⁴⁰ E.g., *’alā maqrabatin nisbīyatin min* (ACNews).

⁴¹ We may consider the possible plural *fī ḥālāti*, triggered by morpho-syntactic factors, as part of the paradigm of the given CP.

⁴² *li-’aġli*.

⁴³ *bi-ḥālāti*.

As for the third structural type $\text{indef}N^{\text{acc}}$ -Prep, no cohesiveness tests have been proposed in the literature yet. This type of structure with the indefinite noun in the adverbial accusative seems to be considerably resistant to most manipulations and thus, in general, it exhibits a high degree of “frozenness”. However, we may perform the cohesiveness test on sequences such as *natīġatan li-* “as a result of” and *badalan min* “instead of” using a slightly modified set of indicators as with the previous type: a) substitution of Prep, b) substitution of N, c) variation in definiteness, d) pluralization of N, e) modification with an adjective. The results would be as follows (Table 4): Both sequences exhibit a high degree of internal cohesiveness; the first one enables the substitution with a near synonym, the second allows variation in Prep.

a	b	c	D	e
<i>natīġatan li-</i> “as a result of”				
-	+ ⁴⁴	-	-	-
<i>badalan min</i> “instead of”				
+ ⁴⁵	-	-	-	-

Table 4: Cohesiveness test of the $\text{indef}N^{\text{acc}}$ -Prep sequences

5.2. Structural types

As we have already seen and as the following list indicates, we may distinguish three paradigmatic (i.e., productive) types of CPs (A, B, C), the first two being further divided into subtypes. In addition, we can also find some exceptional (non-paradigmatic) sequences (D). In general, CPs in MSA represent multi-word sequences ranging from two to four constituents. We classify the structural types as follows:

- A) Prep-N (e.g., *min 'aġli* “for the sake of”) with three subtypes
- B) Prep1-N-Prep2 (e.g., *bi-n-nisbati 'ilā* “with regard to”) with two subtypes
- C) $\text{indef}N^{\text{acc}}$ -Prep (e.g., *'iḍāfatan 'ilā* “in addition to”)
- D) Exceptional structural types with four constituents (e.g., *bi-ġaḍḍi n-naḍari 'an* “regardless of”, *ġanban 'ilā ġanbin ma'a* “side by side with”)

A) Prep-N⁴⁶ (148 analyzed sequences)

As to its form, this paradigmatic type consists of a simple primary preposition and an abstract noun⁴⁷ in the annexation construction with the following noun phrase.⁴⁸ This

⁴⁴ E.g., *'āqibatan li-*.

⁴⁵ *badalan 'an*.

⁴⁶ For a general treatment of this structural type see El-Ayoubi *et al.* (2003: 574- 584).

⁴⁷ Formally it can also be a substantivized participle (e.g., *ḥāriġun*) or adjective (e.g., the elative form *'a 'lā*).

⁴⁸ From a contrastive perspective, the Prep-N structure in Arabic corresponds with many Prep1-N-Prep2 CPs in languages that mark the genitive case analytically with a preposition, as is the case of English or French for instance (cf. *in case of*, *by means of* in English; *à côté de* “besides”, *au sujet de* „concerning” in French).

type is the most numerous among the analyzed types and seems to be by far the most productive. It may be also because of the fact that such structures exhibit a high degree of internal cohesion. We also included in this group of CPs instances of two prepositions in a sequence where the second preposition behaves in the same way as a regular noun (e.g., *min taḥti* “from below”, *min warā’i* “from behind”).⁴⁹ It is worth pointing out that some prepositions of this type may be regarded as more analytical variants of more grammaticalized simple secondary prepositions (e.g., *bi-ḥasabi* vs. *ḥasaba* “according to, ‘alā ‘aksi vs. ‘aksa “contrary to”, *fī wasaṭi* vs. *wasṭa* “in the middle of”).⁵⁰

Three subtypes can be established according to variation in number of the noun, structures with dual or plural being rather marginal.

A1) Prep-N_{sing} (138 sequences)

CP	English gloss	Frequency ⁵¹
<i>min ‘aḡli</i>	for the sake of	96.621
<i>bi-sababi</i>	because of	68.887
<i>fī ‘iṭāri</i>	in the framework of	33.968
<i>fī ḍilli</i>	in/at	28.747
<i>bi-hadaḑi</i>	aiming at	27.033
<i>‘ilā ḡānibi</i>	next to	25.073
<i>‘an ṭarīqi</i>	by means of	23.498
<i>li-ṣāliḥi</i>	in the benefit of	22.681
<i>bi-hadaḑi</i>	with the aim of	22.514
<i>bi-ḥasabi</i>	according to	17.773

A2) Prep-N_{dual} (3 sequences)

CP	English gloss	Frequency
<i>bayna yaday</i>	in front of	2.251
<i>‘alā yaday</i> ⁵²	with the help of; by	691
<i>bayna ḍahrānay</i>	among, amid	259

⁴⁹ This type seems to be also the most attested in CLA (see Reckendorf 1921: 221-223). We included these sequences into the Prep-N type, but it may be more appropriate to create a special (sub)class of the Prep-Prep sequence.

⁵⁰ As Esseeys states in connection with this structural type: “[C]ompound-like prepositionals may offer semantic equivalents to single, prototypical prepositions.” (Esseeys 2010: 106).

⁵¹ Information on the absolute frequency comes from the newspaper subset of ArabiCorpus. We only list up to ten most frequent CPs. We were not able to include the frequency of the sequence *mn qbl* because in the unannotated corpus we couldn’t distinguish between its possible readings: *min qablu* “before” (adverb), *min qabli* “before” (CP), and *min qibali* “on the part of” (CP). Several other readings would be possible as well.

⁵² Prepositions *‘alā yaday* and *‘alā ‘aydī* reflecting congruence with dual and plural form of their prepositional complement may be regarded as inflected forms of the preposition *‘alā yad*.

A3) Prep-N_{pl} (7 sequences)

CP	English gloss	Frequency
<i>min ḥilāli</i>	by means of; through	93.337
<i>fī ḡudūni</i>	during	6.992
<i>fī 'a 'qābi</i>	immediately after	5.939
<i>fī ḥudūdi</i>	within	3.151
<i>'alā 'aydī</i>	with the help of; by	1.770
<i>fī ḥilāli</i>	during	1.037
<i>fī tanāyā</i>	inside	598

The distribution of primary prepositions in all subtypes of the analyzed sample is as follows: *bi-* (43), *fī* (30), *'alā* (29), *min* (25), *li-* (10), *'ilā* (9), *bayna*⁵³ (2).

B) Prep1-N-Prep2 (21 analyzed sequences)

This paradigmatic type is composed of three elements; two prepositions and either a definite or indefinite noun (abstract or verbal) in between them. In general, these sequences exhibit a lower degree of internal cohesion. Prep1 comes from the set of “simple primary prepositions” as well as Prep2, which is selected by the valency of a particular abstract or verbal noun (e.g., *'alā maqrabatin min* “in the vicinity of”, *bi-l-istinādi 'ilā* “on the basis of”). Among the idiosyncrasies of this structural type we may count a distributional restriction on Prep1 and Prep2, which are never the same.⁵⁴ Some CPs of this type have also variants in other structural types, especially in type (C) (e.g., *bi-l-qiyāsi 'ilā* vs. *qiyāsan 'ilā* “in comparison to”).

Within this type we may discern two subtypes that differ in determination of the noun.

B1) Prep1_{-indef}N-Prep2 (5 sequences)

CP	English gloss	Frequency
<i>bi-ma 'zilin 'an</i>	in isolation from	1.581
<i>fī 'iṭārin min</i>	within the framework of	912
<i>'alā maqrabatin min</i>	in the vicinity of	700
<i>fī ma 'zilin 'an</i>	in isolation from	285
<i>bi-dāfi 'in min</i>	on the strength of	285

⁵³ *Bayna* is the only simple secondary preposition in the list. It may be due to strongly idiomatic character of the sequences *bayna yaday* and *bayna ḡahrānay*, since other CPs contain only simple primary prepositions.

⁵⁴ It is worth noticing that the very same restriction applies to CPs in other languages as well (e.g., in English and Czech). From a contrastive viewpoint, we may say that the Prep-N-Prep sequences represent a common (paradigmatic) structure of CPs in many languages (at least in English, French, Dutch, and German).

B2) Prep1-defN-Prep2 (16 sequences)

CP	English gloss	Frequency
<i>bi-n-nisbati li-</i>	in relation to	35.029
<i>bi-l-'iḏāfati 'ilā</i>	in addition to	13.041
<i>bi-n-nisbati 'ilā</i>	in relation to	12.065
<i>'alā r-raḡmi min</i>	in spite of	10.916
<i>bi-t-ta'āwuni ma'a</i>	in cooperation with	10.854
<i>bi-r-raḡmi min</i>	in spite of	6.587
<i>bi-l-qurbi min</i>	near	4.323
<i>bi-l-muqāranati ma'a</i>	in comparison to	2.873
<i>bi-n-naḏari 'ilā</i>	in view of	2.163
<i>bi-l-'iḏāfati li-</i>	in addition to	1.279

The distribution of primary prepositions in all subtypes of the analyzed sample is the following: Prep1: *bi-* (7), *'alā* (2), *fī* (1); Prep2: *min* (5), *'ilā* (5), *ma'a* (4), *li-* (3), *'an* (3).

C) indefN^{acc}-Prep⁵⁵ (53 analyzed sequences)

Members of this paradigmatic type, consisting of a verbal or abstract noun (usually the former) followed by a preposition, may be regarded as lexicalized instances of adverbial constructions with the adverbial accusative denoting time, location/direction, manner, extent, cause, aim or regard.⁵⁶ The preposition is either selected by the valency of a particular verbal noun (e.g., *istinādan 'ilā* “on the basis of”) or the preposition *li-* is used as a sort of default means for the genitive case periphrasis (e.g., *natīḡatan li-* “as a result of”⁵⁷). *Li-* may be also used as a default substitute for the accusative case government after verbal nouns that are derived from directly transitive verbs (e.g., *tamhīdan li-* “in preparation of” from *mahhada* “to prepare sth”). Some prepositions of this type have a corresponding variant from other paradigmatic types, especially from type (B) (e.g., *'iḏāfatan 'ilā* vs. *bi-l-'iḏāfati 'ilā* “in addition to”) or even a more grammaticalized variant from the class of simple secondary prepositions (eg. *badalan min* vs. *badala* “instead of”). This paradigmatic type, in general, exhibits a high degree of internal cohesion.

CP	English gloss	Frequency
<i>'iḏāfatan 'ilā</i>	in addition to	35.520
<i>badalan min</i>	instead of	21.633
<i>waḡḡan li-</i>	in accordance with	19.766
<i>fadlan 'an</i>	aside from	17.358
<i>naḏaran li-</i>	in view of	13.732
<i>binā'an 'alā</i>	by virtue of	11.855

⁵⁵ This type of sequences is discussed in El-Ayoubi *et al.* (2003: 584-592) and Badawi *et al.* (2004: 167-170).

⁵⁶ For the accusative case in an adverbial function see e.g., Ryding (2004: 173-176) and Cantarino (1975: 171-186).

⁵⁷ Cf. its more grammaticalized variant from the set of single secondary prepositions *natīḡata*.

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<i>wuṣūlan 'ilā</i>	up to	9.923
<i>muqāranatan bi-</i>	in comparison to	8.553
<i>tibqan li-</i>	corresponding to	6.988
<i>inṭilāqan min</i>	starting from	6.459

The distribution of prepositions in this type is as follows: *li-* (15), *min* (8), *'alā* (8), *'ilā* (7), *'an* (6), *bi-* (3), *ma'a* (2), *'inda* (1), *warā'a* (1).

D) Exceptional structural types (8 analyzed sequences)

Besides the three aforementioned paradigmatic types we may also find few sequences consisting of four elements. We can distinguish two different patterns of these considerably idiomatic CPs. Some of them are of low frequency in the corpus, however we included them in the analyzed sample. The first subtype (D1) represents a structurally and semantically coherent group of near synonyms. Members of the second subtype (D2) resemble prepositional idioms in some Western languages.

D1) Prep1-N-N-Prep2 (3 analyzed sequences)

CP	English gloss	Frequency
<i>bi-ḡaḍḍi n-naḍari 'an</i>	regardless of	5.309
<i>bi-ṣarfī n-naḍari 'an</i>	regardless of	2.019
<i>bi-qaṭ'i n-naḍari 'an</i>	regardless of	66

D2) _{indef}N^{acc}-Prep1-N-Prep2 (5 analyzed sequences)

CP	English gloss	Frequency
<i>ḡanban 'ilā ḡanbin ma'a</i>	side by side with	806
<i>waḡhan li-waḡhin ma'a</i>	face to face with	117
<i>yadan bi-yadin ma'a</i>	hand in hand with	56
<i>yadan fī yadin ma'a</i>	hand in hand with	24
<i>ḡanban li-ḡanbin ma'a</i>	side by side with	5

Distribution of primary prepositions in both subtypes: Prep1: *bi-* (4), *li-* (2), *'ilā* (1), *fī* (1); Prep2: *ma'a* (5), *'an* (3).

5.3. Syntactic function

In this section we will briefly focus on some issues related to the functional distribution of PPs with CPs as their heads. Apart from various adverbial functions (mostly adjuncts), they may also bear a number of pragmatic functions contributing to the organization and cohesion of discourse. Such functions, which are anyway worth paying attention to, are out of the scope of this paper.

As it has been already mentioned, PPs with CPs share syntactic functions with those PPs with “simple secondary prepositions”. Thus, a PP with a CP as its head may have the following functions:

i) It may be dependent on a noun, functioning as its postmodifier (incongruent attribute) (5); this noun may be also a verbal noun (6).

(5) *an-nāṭiqu r-rasmiyyu **bi-smi** wizārati l-ḥāriḡiyyati l-maḡribiyyati...* (ACNews)
 “...the press secretary (on behalf) of the Moroccan ministry of foreign affairs...”

(6) *bi-tuhmati t-ta’āmuri wa-sti ‘māli wasā’ili l-ittiṣāli **li-ḡaraḡi** l-iḡtiyāli* (ACNews)
 “...with a charge of criminal conspiracy and misuse of communication means for the purpose of fraud”

ii) As an adverbial phrase it may be dependent on a verb or on a clause as a whole, functioning prototypically as an adjunct (7), but it may also be a conjunct (8).

(7) *wa-**bi-munāsabati** ftiitāhi hādā l-ma’riḡi ‘aqāma s-safīru l-ḡayṣ wa-qarīnatu-hu ḡafla ‘aṣā’in...* (ACNews)
 “and on the occasion of the opening of this exhibition the ambassador al-Ghais and his wife organized a dinner party...”

(8) *‘iḡāfatan ‘ilā dālīka, hunāka ‘amaliyyatu salāmin fī l-būsinati ‘ayḡan.* (ACNews)
 “In addition to this, there is a peace process in Bosnia too.”

iii) CP is usually not the head of PPs functioning as object complements (arguments) of verbs. Based on our analysis it seems that opposite cases are very rare as it is the case of the verb *ṣawwata li-ṣāliḡi/didda* “to vote for/against”, which governs its obligatory object complement with a CP (9).

(9) *...wa-lākin sa-na‘malu bi-kulli ‘iṣrārin ‘alā ‘an yuṣawwita ṣ-ṣa‘bu **li-ṣāliḡi** l-muraṣṣaḡīna l-laḡīna yurīdu-hum* (ACNews)
 “...but we will insist that the people vote for the candidates that they want”

iv) CP may be the head of PPs that function as obligatory adverbial complements (e.g., directional (10) or locative adverbials (11)).

(10) *‘a‘taḡidu ‘anna l-ḡarakata lan tataqaddama **bi-ttiḡāhi** ‘āṣimati l-ḡanūbi ḡūbā...* (ACNews)
 “I think that the movement will not advance towards the southern capital Juba...”

(11) *wa-taḡa‘u l-mi’danatu l-malwiyyatu ‘alā maḡrabatin min-a l-ḡidāri ṣ-ṣamāliyyi li-l-maṣḡidi...* (ACNews)
 “and the twisted minaret is situated close to the southern wall of the mosque...”

v) Some CPs may be the head of PPs that are surface representations of the agent semantic role in the passive diathesis (12) and even in the passive periphrasis (13).⁵⁸

(12) *al- 'iğrā'ātu l-latī ttuḥiḍat min ḡānibi l-ḥukūmati...* (ACNews)
 “the measures which were taken by (lit. from the side of) the government...”

(13) *wa-yatimmu taršīḥu l-muḥtī min qibali l-ittihādi l-'usturāliyyi li-l-maḡālisi l-'islāmiyyati...* (ACNews)
 “and the muḥtī is (being) nominated by (lit. from the side of) the Australian Union of the Islamic Councils...”

v) PPs with CPs may function as predicates of nominal sentences (14).

(14) *as-sufunu bi-muḥāḍāti r-raṣīfi...* (ACNews)
 “the boats are alongside the pier...”

vi) As is the case with other types of prepositions, some CPs may form subordinate complex conjunctions (functioning as adjuncts) with annexed particles 'anna (15) or 'an (16);⁵⁹ a number of these sequences may be considered lexicalized (e.g., 'alā/bi-r-raḡmi min 'anna “although”, naḍaran li-'anna “in view of the fact that”, li-daraḡati 'anna “to the extent that”; min 'aḡli 'an „in order to”, bi-muḡarradi 'an “immediately upon”, bi-ṣarḡi 'an “on the condition that”).

(15) *wa-mā nu'ānī-hi l-'āna kāna bi-sababi 'anna ḥāḍihi l-'āfata 'aṣābatnā min ba'īdin.* (ACNews)
 “And what we suffer from at the moment happened because this disaster had afflicted us from a distance.”

(16) *li-māḍā yantahibu l-waladu 'iwaḍan 'an 'an yatakallama bi-ṣawtin 'ādiyyin?* (ACNews)
 “Why does the boy wail instead of talking normally?”

It is worth pointing out that the distribution of those CPs that combine with the particle 'an in complex subordinators is otherwise restricted to the use with verbal nouns as is shown in (17a) and (17b).

(17a) *wa-kullu ḥāḍā bi-hadafi 'an tatanaffasa Dimaṣqu* (ACNews)
 “and all this is with the aim of letting Damascus breathe” (*bi-hadafi* in the annexation with 'an)

(17b) *zidnā r-rusūma bi-hadafi taḥqīqi tawāzunin fī mīzāni l-munāfasati...* (ACNews)
 “we raised the fees aiming at achieving balance on the scales of competition...” (*bi-hadafi* in the annexation with the verbal noun)

⁵⁸ It seems that the agentive interpretation of the semantic role with CPs such as *min qibali*, *min ḡānibi*, *min ṭarafī* and *'alā 'ayḍī* in the passive diathesis and passive-like constructions still remains controversial in Arabic linguistics despite the fact that such constructions are evidently in current usage, especially in Media Arabic (e.g., Badawi *et al.* (2004: 385-386). Such constructions are predominantly attributed to the foreign influence on MSA (e.g., Holes (2004: 319-320)).

⁵⁹ For CPs with 'anna see (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 609-610), with 'an (ibid: 602-603).

5.4. Semantics

In this section we aim to classify the analyzed set of CPs as to their semantics. Possible approaches to such classification may vary depending on the degree of abstraction. There have been some attempts to semantically classify the class of prepositions in general (e.g., Quirk *et al.* (1985: 695-713) in English and Saint-Dizier (2006) in French); some authors have focused on CPs in particular (e.g., Klégr (2002) in English and Blatná (2006) in Czech).

As for Arabic, the semantics (and function) of simple prepositions is usually treated in all reference works on MSA as well as CLA, but to the best of our knowledge El-Ayoubi *et al.* (2003) is the only work that also provides more systematic information on the semantics of CPs in the form of semantic glosses. It has been already mentioned that CPs are much less polysemous than “simple primary prepositions”. However, in some cases CPs may be polysemous as well, but such cases are rather rare. Consider at least two different senses of *bi-n-nisbati li-* as the head of PPs in the following examples (18a) and (18b):⁶⁰

(18a) *wa-yuḍīfu 'anna t-turāta 'aṣḥaḥa bi-n-nisbati la-nā 'amran muqaddasan... (ACNews)*
 “and he adds that the cultural heritage has become for (lit. with respect to) us a sacred matter...” (conveying “regard”)

(18b) *wa-hāḍihi l-'as 'āru taḍā'afat qiyāsiyyan bi-n-nisbati li-s-sanati l-māḍiyati... (ACNews)*
 “and these prices doubled at a record level in comparison to the last year...” (conveying “comparison”)

Our semantic classification of CP is a syncretic model, which has been mostly inspired by tectogrammatical functors used for the annotation of the Prague Dependency Treebank⁶¹ (Mikulová *et al.* 2006). Nonetheless, classifications used in all the aforementioned works have also been taken into consideration. The proposed classification is based on the semantics of the whole PP and its syntactic function. Only semantic categories relevant to the set of CPs under investigation are listed. Due to polysemy, some CPs may occur more than once in different categories.

Number of semantic classes: 27; Overall number of sequences (CPs): 230; Number of classified CPs (= different senses): 274.

Class (number)	Type	CPs with English glosses
accompaniment ⁶² (18)	A1	'ilā ḡānibi “on the side of”, <i>bi-ḥudūri</i> “in the presence of”, <i>fi ḥudūri</i> “in the presence of”, <i>bi-dūni</i> “without”, <i>min dūni</i> “without”, <i>bi-ḡayri</i> “without”, <i>'alā ḡayri</i> “without”, <i>min ḡayri</i> “without”, <i>bi-lā</i> ⁶³ “without”, <i>bi-riḡqati</i> “in the company of”, <i>bi-ṣuḥḃati</i> “in the company of”, <i>fi ṣuḥḃati</i> “in the company of”, <i>bi-ma'yyati</i> “in the company of”

⁶⁰ Besides “regard” and “comparison” senses, PPs with *bi-n-nisbati li-* as their head may also function as a topic introducer in the domain of textual organization (Essees 2010: 82).

⁶¹ <http://ufal.mff.cuni.cz/prague-dependency-treebank>

⁶² This category comprises accompaniment “with” as well as its absence “without”.

⁶³ The preposition *bi-lā*, originating from CLA, may be rather regarded as a relatively rare case of a compound word than CP.

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	D2	<i>ḡanban 'ilā ḡanbin ma'a</i> “side by side with”, <i>ḡanban li-ḡanbin ma'a</i> “side by side with”, <i>waḡhan li-waḡhin ma'a</i> “face to face with”, <i>yadan bi-yadin ma'a</i> “hand in hand with”, <i>yadan fī yadin ma'a</i> “hand in hand with”
addition ⁶⁴ (9)	A1	<i>'ilā ḡānibi</i> “besides”, <i>bi-ḡilāfi</i> “besides”
	B2	<i>bi-l- 'iḡāfati 'ilā</i> “in addition to”, <i>bi-l- 'iḡāfati li-</i> “in addition to”
	C	<i>'iḡāfatan 'ilā</i> “in addition to”, <i>'iḡāfatan li-</i> “in addition to”, <i>ziyādatan 'alā</i> “besides”, <i>'ilāwatan 'alā</i> “on top of”, <i>faḡlan 'an</i> “aside from”
agency ⁶⁵ (7)	A1	<i>min ḡānibi</i> „from the side of/by”, <i>min ṭarafī</i> “on the part of/by”, <i>min qibali</i> „on the part of/by“, <i>min laduni</i> “from the side of/by”, <i>'alā yadi</i> “by hand of/by”
	A2	<i>'alā yaday</i> „at the hands of/by”
	A3	<i>'alā 'ayḡī</i> “at the hands of/by”
aim (11)	A1	<i>li- 'aḡli</i> “for the sake of”, <i>min 'aḡli</i> “for the sake of”, <i>'alā ḡimmati</i> “for the purpose of”, <i>bi-rasmi</i> “intended for”, <i>fī sabīli</i> “for the purpose of”, <i>li-ḡaraḡi</i> “with intend to”, <i>bi-qaṣḡi</i> “with intent to”, <i>bi-hadaḡi</i> “with the aim of”
	C	<i>tamhīdan li-</i> “for the purpose of”, <i>sa 'yan 'ilā</i> “in pursuit of”, <i>sa 'yan warā 'a</i> “in pursuit of”
benefactor ⁶⁶ (6)	A1	<i>'alā ḡisābi</i> „on the account of”, <i>li-ḡisābi</i> „to the advantage of”, <i>fī ṣāliḡi</i> „for the benefit of”, <i>li-ṣāliḡi</i> „for the benefit of”, <i>fī maṣlahati</i> „for the benefit of”, <i>li-maṣlahati</i> „for the benefit of”
cause (19)	A1	<i>bi-smi</i> “in the name of”, <i>min bābi</i> “out of”, <i>min ḡarrā'i</i> “due to”, <i>bi-ḡukmi</i> “by virtue of”, <i>bi-dāfi</i> “on the strength of”, <i>bi-sababi</i> “because of”, <i>'alā ṣarafi</i> “in honour of”, <i>bi-faḡli</i> “thanks to”, <i>bi-fī 'li</i> “due to”
	B1	<i>bi-dāfi 'in min</i> “on the strength of”
	B2	<i>bi-n-naḡari 'ilā</i> “in view of”, <i>bi-n-naḡari li-</i> “in view of”
	C	<i>taḡassuban li-</i> “in anticipation of”, <i>ḡaḡaran min</i> “out of caution towards”, <i>ḡaṣyatan min</i> “from fear of”, <i>ḡawfan min</i> “from fear of”, <i>naṡḡatan li-</i> “as a result of”, <i>naḡaran 'ilā</i> “in view of”, <i>naḡaran li-</i> “in view of”
comparison (19)	A1	<i>bi-ḡilāfi</i> “unlike”, <i>'alā ḡilāfi</i> “unlike”, <i>bi- 'aksi</i> “contrary to”, <i>'alā 'aksi</i> “contrary to”, <i>bi-maṡābati</i> “as”, <i>bi-muḡābili</i> “contrary to”, <i>fī muḡābili</i> “contrary to”, <i>'alā naḡīḡi</i> “contrary to”
	B2	<i>bi-l-qiyāsi 'ilā</i> “in comparison to”, <i>bi-l-muḡāranati ma'a</i> “in comparison to”, <i>bi-n-nisbati 'ilā</i> “in comparison to”, <i>bi-n-nisbati li-</i> “in comparison to”
	C	<i>ḡilāfan li-</i> “unlike”, <i>qiyāsan 'ilā</i> “in comparison to”, <i>qiyāsan li-</i> “in comparison to”, <i>qiyāsan 'alā</i> “in comparison to”, <i>muḡāranatan bi-</i> “in comparison to”, <i>nisbatan 'ilā</i> “in comparison to”, <i>nisbatan li-</i> “in comparison to”
compensation (2)	A1	<i>bi-muḡābili</i> “in return for”, <i>fī muḡābili</i> “in return for”
concession (5)	A1	<i>bi-raḡmi</i> “in spite of”, <i>'alā raḡmi</i> “in spite of”
	B2	<i>bi-r-raḡmi min</i> “in spite of”, <i>'alā r-raḡmi min</i> “in spite of”
	C	<i>raḡman 'an</i> “in spite of”
condition (3)	A1	<i>fī ḡalati</i> “in case of”, <i>bi-ṣarṡi</i> “on condition”, <i>'alā ṣarṡi</i> “on condition”

⁶⁴ Members of this category usually function as conjuncts.

⁶⁵ PPs with these CPs introduce agents in the passive diathesis and passive-like constructions (with verbal nouns) and they also co-occur with passive participles.

⁶⁶ This class comprises both benefit and detriment.

criterion ⁶⁷ (28)	A1	' <i>alā 'asāsi</i> "on the basis of", ' <i>alā ḥaddi</i> "according to", ' <i>bi-ḥasabi</i> "according to", ' <i>alā ḥasabi</i> "according to", ' <i>alā ḥilāfi</i> "in contradiction to", ' <i>alā girāri</i> "in the manner of", ' <i>alā miṭāli</i> "after the model of", ' <i>bi-mūḡibi</i> "by virtue of", ' <i>bi-muqtadā</i> "pursuant to", ' <i>alā minwāli</i> "in the manner of", ' <i>alā nasaqi</i> "in the manner of", ' <i>alā namaṭi</i> "in the manner of"
	B2	<i>bi-l-istinādi 'ilā</i> "on the strength of"
	C	<i>istinādan 'ilā</i> "on the strength of", ' <i>istinādan li-</i> "on the strength of", ' <i>'uswatan bi-</i> "in accordance with", ' <i>i'timādan 'alā</i> "depending on", ' <i>binā'an 'alā</i> "on the basis of", ' <i>ta'sīsan li-</i> "based on", ' <i>ḥilāfan li-</i> "in contradiction to", ' <i>taba'an li-</i> "according to", ' <i>taṭbīqan li-</i> "in accordance with", ' <i>tamaššīyan ma'a</i> "in conformity with", ' <i>ḡaryan 'alā</i> "according to", ' <i>ṭibqan li-</i> "corresponding to", ' <i>nuzūlan 'inda</i> "in compliance with", ' <i>naqlan 'an</i> "on the authority of", ' <i>wafqan li-</i> "in accordance with"
direction-from (17)	A1	<i>min 'asfali</i> "from the bottom of", ' <i>min 'amāmi</i> "from in front of", ' <i>min bayni</i> "from among", ' <i>min taḥti</i> "from below", ' <i>min ḡānibi</i> "from the side of", ' <i>min ḡihati</i> "from the direction of", ' <i>min ḥawli</i> "from the vicinity of", ' <i>min ḥāriḡi</i> "from the outside of", ' <i>min ḥalfi</i> "from behind", ' <i>min dāḥili</i> "from within", ' <i>min ṣawbi</i> "from the direction of", ' <i>min ṭaraḡi</i> "from the part of", ' <i>min fawqi</i> "from above", ' <i>min 'alā</i> "from the surface of", ' <i>min 'indi</i> "from", ' <i>min laduni</i> "from the side of", ' <i>min warā'i</i> "from behind"
direction-to (10)	A1	<i>bi-ttiḡāhi</i> "in the direction of", ' <i>fī ttiḡāhi</i> "in the direction of", ' <i>'ilā 'asfali</i> "to the bottom of", ' <i>'ilā taḥti</i> "under", ' <i>'ilā ḥāriḡi</i> "to the outside of", ' <i>'ilā ḥalfi</i> "to the back of", ' <i>'ilā dāḥili</i> "inside"
	C	<i>intihā'an bi-</i> "up to", ' <i>wuṣūlan 'ilā</i> "up to", ' <i>wuṣūlan li-</i> "up to"
direction-which-way (3)	A1	<i>'an ṭarīqi</i> "through"
	A3	<i>min ḥilāli</i> "through"
	C	<i>murūran bi-</i> "through"
exception (1)	A1	<i>bi-stiṭnā'i</i> "with the exception of"
extent (4)	A1	<i>'ilā ḥaddi</i> "to the extent of", ' <i>li-ḥaddi</i> "to the extent of", ' <i>'ilā daraḡati</i> "to the extent of", ' <i>li-daraḡati</i> "to the extent of"
location (26)	A1	<i>bi-'izā'i</i> "opposite", ' <i>fī 'iṭāri</i> "within", ' <i>fī 'asfali</i> "below", ' <i>fī 'alā</i> "at the top of", ' <i>'alā mtidādi</i> "along", ' <i>min 'amāmi</i> "in front of", ' <i>min bayni</i> "among", ' <i>bi-ḡānibi</i> "next to", ' <i>'ilā ḡānibi</i> "next to", ' <i>bi-ḡiwāri</i> "next to", ' <i>min ḥawli</i> "around", ' <i>bi-dāḥili</i> "inside", ' <i>fī dāḥili</i> "inside", ' <i>min ḡimmi</i> "among", ' <i>'alā ṭūli</i> "along", ' <i>bi-qurbi</i> „close to“, ' <i>'alā qaydi</i> "in the phase of", ' <i>bi-muḥādāti</i> "along", ' <i>bi-muwāzāti</i> "parallel to", ' <i>fī wasaṭi</i> "in the middle of"
	A2	<i>bayna ḡahrānay</i> "among", ' <i>bayna yaday</i> "in front of"
	A3	<i>fī ṭanāyā</i> "inside", ' <i>fī ḥudūdi</i> „within“
	B1	<i>'alā maqrabatīn min</i> "close to"
	B2	<i>bi-l-qurbi min</i> "close to"
manner (10)	A1	<i>bi-ḥuḡḡati</i> "on the pretext that", ' <i>bi-da'wā</i> "on the pretence of", ' <i>'alā sabīli</i> "by way of", ' <i>fī ṣakli</i> "in the form of", ' <i>fī ṣūrati</i> "in the form of", ' <i>'alā ḥay'ati</i> "in the shape of", ' <i>fī ḥay'ati</i> "in the shape of", ' <i>'alā waḡhi</i> "in the manner of"
	B2	<i>bi-l-ištirāki ma'a</i> "in collaboration with", ' <i>bi-t-ta'āwuni ma'a</i> "in cooperation with"
means (7)	A1	<i>bi-lisāni</i> "through the mouth of", ' <i>'an ṭarīqi</i> "by means of", ' <i>min warā'i</i> "through", ' <i>bi-wāsītati</i> "by means of"

⁶⁷ Criterion expresses manner by providing a measure or criterion essential for measuring, evaluating, classifying or recognizing the event (state) (Mikulová *et al.* 2006: 536).

COMPLEX PREPOSITIONS IN CONTEMPORARY MODERN STANDARD ARABIC

	A2	' <i>alā yaday</i> „with the help of”
	A3	' <i>alā 'aydi</i> “with the help of”, <i>min hilāli</i> “by means of”
origin (4)	A1	<i>min ġānibi</i> “from the side of”, <i>min ʔaraʔi</i> “from the part of”, <i>min qibali</i> “on the part of”, <i>min laduni</i> “from the side of”
regard ⁶⁸ (22)	A1	<i>bi-'izā'i</i> “towards”, <i>fi 'iṭāri</i> “within the framework of”, <i>min ġihati</i> “regarding”, <i>fi ḥālāti</i> “in case of”, <i>bi-ḥuṣūṣi</i> “with regard to”, <i>fi ḥuṣūṣi</i> “concerning”, ' <i>alā daw'i</i> “in the light of”, <i>fi daw'i</i> “in the light of”, <i>bi-ša'ni</i> “concerning”, <i>bi-ṣadadi</i> “with respect to”, <i>fi ṣadadi</i> “with respect to”, <i>min nāḥiyati</i> “from the perspective of”
	B1	<i>bi-ma'zilin'an</i> “in isolation from”, <i>fi ma'zilin'an</i> “in isolation from”
	B2	<i>bi-n-nisbati 'ilā</i> “in relation to”, <i>bi-n-nisbati li-</i> “in relation to”
	C	' <i>aṭfan 'alā</i> “in connection with”, <i>nisbatan 'ilā</i> “in relation to”, <i>nisbatan li-</i> “in relation to”
	D1	<i>bi-ṣarʔi n-naḍari'an</i> “regardless of”, <i>bi-ġaḍḍi n-naḍari'an</i> “regardless of”, <i>bi-qaṭ'i n-naḍari'an</i> “regardless of”
substitution (7)	A1	<i>bi-smi</i> “on behalf of”, <i>bi-lisāni</i> “on behalf of”
	B2	<i>bi-n-niyābati'an</i> “on behalf of”
	C	<i>Badalan'an</i> “instead of”, <i>badalan min</i> “instead of”, ' <i>iwaḍan'an</i> “as a substitute for”, <i>niyābatan'an</i> “on behalf of”
time-for-how-long (1)	A1	<i>li-muddati</i> “for a period of”
time-how-long (3)	A1	<i>fi darʔi</i> “within”
	A3	<i>fi hilāli</i> “within”, <i>fi ġuḍūni</i> “within”
time-since (6)	C	<i>ibtidā'an min</i> “starting from”, <i>ibtidā'an bi-</i> “starting from”, ' <i>i'tibāran min</i> “starting from”, <i>bad'an bi-</i> “starting from”, <i>bad'an min</i> “starting from”, <i>bidāyatan min</i> “starting from”
time-until (7)	A1	' <i>ilā haddi</i> “up to”, <i>li-haddi</i> “up to”, ' <i>ilā ġāyati</i> “up to”, <i>li-ġāyati</i> “up to”
	C	<i>intihā'an bi-</i> “up to”, <i>wuṣūlan'ilā</i> “up to”, <i>wuṣūlan li-</i> “up to”
time-when (19)	A1	' <i>alā 'iṭri</i> “immediately after”, <i>fi 'iṭri</i> “immediately after”, <i>fi 'a'qābi</i> “immediately after”, ' <i>alā mtidādi</i> “during”, <i>min ba'di</i> “after”, ' <i>alā ṭūli</i> “along”, <i>fi dilli</i> “in/at”, <i>min qabli</i> “before”, <i>bi-muġarradi</i> “at the very moment of”, ' <i>alā madā</i> “during”, <i>murūran bi-</i> “through”, <i>bi-munāsabati</i> “on the occasion of”, <i>bi-muwāzāti</i> “in parallel with”
	A3	<i>fi 'aṭnā'i</i> “during”, <i>fi ḥuḍūdi</i> “around”, <i>fi hilāli</i> “during”, <i>fi ġuḍūni</i> “in the course of”
	B2	<i>bi-t-tazāmuni ma'a</i> “simultaneously with”
	C	<i>tazāmunan ma'a</i> “simultaneously with”

6. Conclusions

Complex prepositions have gained attention in Arabic linguistics only recently despite the fact that in MSA one may find, as our study has proved, at least two hundred instances of this phenomenon (but there may be even more), especially in more formal registers such as Media Arabic.

⁶⁸ This category comprises both regard and disregard.

In our study we addressed some questions concerning the class of Arabic prepositions in general, attempting to classify them from the synchronic perspective according to their form (simple vs. complex) and functional distribution (primary vs. secondary). The existing classifications suffer from more or less unsystematically defined classificatory criteria.

In this study we carried out a corpus analysis of 230 complex prepositions. We may conclude that there are three paradigmatic types, namely Prep-N (e.g., *min 'ağli*), Prep1-N-Prep2 (e.g., *bi-l- 'idāfati 'ilā*) and _{indef}N^{acc}-Prep (e.g., *natīğatan li-*), the first one being the most productive among them. Their nominal element is always an abstract noun, usually a verbal noun. Some of these complex prepositions have also semantic equivalents in the prepositional subclass of “simple secondary prepositions”.

As we have pointed out, one may face certain difficulties in distinguishing lexicalized complex prepositions from other structurally similar sequences, such as *fī hāğatin 'ilā* “in need of”, which may not be regarded as complex prepositions, since they can only function as predicates in nominal sentences, being functional equivalents of adjectival or verbal predicates. Prepositional phrases with complex prepositions as their heads may be only adnominal or adverbial; they may function as prepositional (incongruent) attributes when depending on nouns, or as adjuncts or to a lesser extent adverbial complements, when depending on verbs. We assume that it is due to their predominantly monosemic semantics why they are mostly excluded, in contrast to highly polysemous “simple primary prepositions”, from the government of object complements of indirectly transitive verbs; this agrees with the general observation that the less polysemous a preposition is the less functional capacity it has and vice versa. To capture semantic properties of the complex prepositions in our sample we provided a semantic classification comprising 27 classes.

Another diagnostic method for distinguishing a complex preposition may be also testing its interchangeability with a simple preposition or even with another stabilized complex preposition. Also, frequency of use, in our case tested on the newspaper subset of ArabiCorpus, may serve as an indicator of potential lexical stability of a particular complex preposition.

As we have shown, there has been a wide discussion in the scholarly literature concerning the syntactic status of complex prepositions and the plausibility of establishing them as specific lexical items with grammatical function. The concept of a continuum, as our study has proved, is useful for dealing with the phenomenon in question, since it allows to capture different degrees of syntactic “frozenness” (grammaticalization), which may be tested by means of the “cohesiveness test”. This test may be a useful tool, but its design described in the literature is sometimes too vague and therefore its application is not as trivial as it would appear; also, the hierarchy of the individual indicators is not very clear. Thus, each prepositional sequence must be considered individually and every decision about its status still necessarily bears a certain tinge of arbitrariness. Consequently, the diagnostic methods should be reconsidered and refined.

It is to be pointed out, based on our observations, that MSA in general (and it may be partly due to the idiosyncrasies of its root-and-pattern derivational system and partly because of the relative linguistic conservatism of the speech community) exhibits considerable reluctance to form compound words, thus innovations accompanied by the process of gradual “freezing” (or “petrification”) and grammaticalization usually never

leave the domain of syntagmas with regularly behaving surface syntactic structure. If we accept Adler's remark saying that multi-word prepositional constructions ("locutions prépositives") may be a middle (or perhaps transitional) stage between "the word and the free syntagma" (Adler 2001: 160), we may add that these complex prepositions, no matter what the internal cohesiveness of their components is, remain in the realm of surface syntactic structures.

Abbreviations:

ACNews – ArabiCorpus, newspaper subset
 ACLit – ArabiCorpus, literature subset
 CLA – Classical Arabic
 CP – complex prepositions
 MSA – Modern Standard Arabic
 PP – prepositional phrase
 SP – simple preposition

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BREAKING THE HOOK OF METAPHOR: TOOLS OF PRODUCING INDICATIONS IN MAḤMŪD DARWĪŠ'S POETRY

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Abstract. This study deals with the absent-relationships between the words of the poem, which create a meaning from the symbol that they carry and the indications that hide behind the words. The study also tries to prove that the language is the most important elements of the poem and that the sounds of the words and their formation create the rhythm of the poem. Besides, it shows that the rhythm of the poem is different from its meter. Rhythm gives the poem its musical tone, and that is achieved by the words. 'Language' here does not mean 'rhetoric' and 'figures of speech', but simple words that constitute deviations in their indications through the relationships that grow between them, which require an alert reader who, by his analysis and exploration of those relationships, becomes a partner in producing the text. The study chooses samples of Maḥmūd Darwīš's poetry to illustrate these relationships that include his attitude about the Arabic prose-poem and how he expressed his opinions by the meta-poetry and the absent-relationships between the words.

Keywords: *classical poem, taf'ila, prose-poem, rhetoric, poetic image, structure, absence-relations, present-relations, semiotics.*

1. Introduction

Adūnīs ('Alī 'Aḥmad Sa'īd) said: "Inside any great poem, there is another poem, which is the 'language'." (Adūnīs, apud. al-Fiqqī 2017: 129). This view raises a number of questions. Can the language create a new poem? Does the linguistic level change the meaning? or does he mean by 'language' the poetic language and its load of figures of speech or metaphorical language, imagistic language? or is there another level of language that this study will reveal!? What kind of poem is hidden behind the words in Maḥmūd Darwīš's poetry?¹ What are the meanings that the poet hangs on the hanger of metaphor? What are the other tools that he employs to break the hanger?

¹ It is worthwhile mentioning that the paper deals with the palestinian poet Maḥmūd Darwīš's (1941-2008), one of the most important palestinian, arab and international poets, whose name is associated with the poetry of revolution an homeland. Darwīš's is also considered one of the most prominent poets who contributed to the development of modern Arabic poetry and introducing the techniques of symbolism in it. Darwīš's poetry integrates love of homeland with love of the woman. Darwīš's participated in writing the document of Palestinian Independence that was declared in Algeria.

What are the present-relationships and absence-relationships that the poet uses in his poems, on the understanding that “the present-relationships are relationships of formation and structure, and they, with this level, are at the level of the surface structure of the text? The absent-relationships are relationships of meaning, symbolism, and indication, which are represented in the level of the *deep structure* of the text through their variety, coloration and multiplicity, whose textual and lexical utilization achieves formations and structures of the text and its semantic deviations, and its partial and total penetrations.” (Mrāḥ 2013)

The Arabic classical poem depended on the traditional structure of the line (*bayt*) of poetry of two hemistiches (halves) called *ṣadr* (forepart), and *ʿağuz* (rear part); same end rhyme and same meter, which consists of “a specific “number of *tafāʿil* (feet) in each half, that vary according to the number of syllables; such as: *tawīl* (long), *wāfir*, *basīt* (spread out), *kāmil* (complete), which are strophic meters (*buḥūr*) that are very common in Arabic poetry, as if the poets made their employment a prevailing norm and familiar tradition.” (Diyāb 2003: 241) This classical structure remained the basis of the Arabic poem (*qaṣīda*) till the appearance of the *tafʿīla* poem and the prose poem in the seventies of the 20th century. The new form broke the familiar forms and created a lot of controversy.

“Modern poetry introduced a revolutionary contribution to the process of artistic creation, and to unlocking and unleashing the hidden potentials and more conscious of the nature of the freedom of the human being; it did not only try to destroy the unity of the line of poetry, but to destroy the unity of the italics (foot) itself; the unity of italics is no more the only measurement and condition that expresses its tensions, tendencies and constant revelation in its calls. Therefore, the development that was taking place in the Arabic poem became, not only a renewed attempt that contradicts the ancient but also a test through necessity – a necessity in which the feeling, music and language are equalized in one unity” (Ġāsim 1995:165).

Debates on the question whether the poet can do without *tafʿīla* that is taken from the meters of Arabic poetry is still on till today. These meters are called the meters of al-Ḥalīl because they are ascribed to al-Ḥalīl bin ʿAḥmad al-Farāhīdī, who established their rules in the 8th century (718-786).

The poem that is written by the modern poet is considered a ‘poem’ even if they ignore the rhyme, though “the rhyme is the consistent tune that ties the partial literary image to the total general image of the poem or passage in a tight way, which confirms the unity of music in the image and its harmony with the partial meanings and their purpose. The rhyme of each line serves as a stop (caesura) in which the poet’s breath takes a break to renew its activity in other gushes of impressions with the same power and richness.” (Ṣubūḥ 1996: 255).

To overcome the crisis of the structure of the classical poetry, poets have made several attempts. Some poets replaced the meter, rhyme and the classical form of the poem by the employment of intertextuality, metaphors, and rhythmic structures as compensatory tools. They leaned on the poetic image as an alternative technique. “The poetic image has always been an aspect that received praise and appreciation. It is the only element that gained such a high place that other tools of expression could hardly reach. The strange thing is that this is a unanimous attitude of critics that belong to different periods and different languages and cultures. Therefore, it is possible to say that the poetic image is an entity that is above history.” (al-ʿAmmārī 1999).

2. Semiotic Relations in Maḥmūd Darwīš's Poetry

This study aims to prove how the innovative poetic image (Abū Ġihġah 1995: 231) is: "Thus, the poetic image is precedent to thought, without which poetry is not created", through present-relationships, which are relationships that give the abstract thing a specific form, and the absent-relations, which are the invisible relations between the words, contributes to generating indications. These semiotic relationships constitute "an attempt to reveal indicative invisible relationships in the literary texts; they train the eye to pick the implicit meaning and what is beyond the implicit meaning, and not to be satisfied with naming things and indicating contents of the main body of the text." (Benkrad 1994). These are the relationships that create new textual spaces that form a new poem that does not depend on meter and rhyme because "the text itself introduces only superficial calligraphic manifestations through which the aesthetic subject of the text might appear, while the actual production takes place through the action of investigation. Hence, we can conclude that the literary work has two poles that can be called: the *artistic pole* and the *aesthetic pole*. The first is the text of the writer and the second is the achievement that the reader achieves." (Wolfgang 1994: 13).

Let us look at the following lines and their simple language. They don't have unfamiliar words and there is no difficulty in their linguistic structure, but in spite of that, the hidden meanings beyond the words are the elements that give the lines their beauty:

“جار الصغيرات الجميلات”
 هُنَّ يستعجلن
 الزمن ليصيغن أظافرهنَّ بالأحمر المتحرّش
 بثيرانٍ خفية، ولينتعلن الكعب العالي لكسر
 ثمار الجوز وإيقاظ النائم.

The Neighbor of the Beautiful Little Girls

They want Time to hurry up
 So that they can paint their nails with the red that harasses
 Hidden bulls, and put on high heels to break
 The coconuts, and wake up the sleeping.

The poet Darwīš expressed the feelings of his little beautiful neighbors who arouse men's desires and fire their feelings by implicit rather than explicit hinting through erotic sexual description in which the absent-relationships and indicative deviations are hidden behind the simplicity of the words.

Men are like berserk bulls. If they see red nails, the 'coconuts' in them wake up and the sleeping desire in them rises if they see the high heel of the girls. By the use of the word 'bulls', he expresses the sexual outburst that hits the men when they see the girl's red nails. By the use of the word 'wake up' and its relationship with the other words, he hints at the bodily changes that happen to the men when they see the "high heels" of the girls. Rhetorically, the poet uses a 'perfect metaphor', in which the compared-element and the compared-to-element in the phrase "the coconut fruit" are implied. The scene also suggests

a scene and color that helps the reader to guess the absent word. The simplicity of the language and the hidden relationships between them give the lines their beauty.

Now, let us move from this simple example, which clarifies the idea of the absent relationships between the words to the general movement of the Prose-Poem to see how Maḥmūd Darwīš expressed it, and discuss his attitude about it through his meta-poetry.

3. Maḥmūd Darwīš's Attitude towards the Prose-Poem

The subject of the Prose-Poem aroused Maḥmūd Darwīš, who was requested to adopt modernism in poetry to prove his distinction. Darwīš had his own distinctive attitude about this issue and he expressed it in a number of poems, which are actually 'meta-poetry', namely, poems that talk about the structure of the poem. His meta-poems constitute answers to questions about the art of poetry such as:

Is the *taf'īla* (foot) an indispensable foundation for the poem? Is metaphor an alternative to it? Is the metaphor the element that makes the innovative poetic image? "Poetry in its essence depends on imagery and imaginative images that the poet creates or talks about, or on the degree of the richness of these images in their novelty and the attempt to make the remote closer by the employment of *maḡāz*/figures of speech in the form of a comparison, metaphor, metonymy, and allusion." (aṭ-Ṭāhir 2007). Does the success of the poet depend on the extent and manner of his employment of metaphor? Is the symbol and the concretization of the abstract meaning in tangible forms the element that guarantees the quality of poetry? In 'metaphor', the poet intends to embody the abstract meanings in concrete forms in such a way that they can also be explained in an abstract way.

Are *maḡāz* figures of speech and *balāḡa* rhetoric in their different kinds the hanger on which poets hang their poetic creativity, excellence and genius? "Metaphor is the origin in the development of the language because it is the basis in the employment of words in a new way because the human being, and the poet, too, when he develops in his realization of the meaning aspects, or the poet sees reality in his aesthetic vision, he is obliged to express his realization or describe his vision with the same words that indicate tangible things because language in this case is short of meeting his needs and respond to his the requests of his realizations and aesthetic vision. Therefore, he uses the same words in new contexts in a metaphorical way, and thus, language develops." (al-Ġayyār 1995).

Can the poem celebrate its creativity without having figures of speech in it? Can figures of speech be considered an instrument of compensation for the modernist poem, which has lost in the course of its development some of its meter, rhyme and rhythm?

Maḥmūd Darwīš says: "I am my language, I am what the words said: Be my body! And I became a body for its tone." We see in the sentence "I am my language" that Maḥmūd Darwīš equalizes between the human "I", the body, the mind, the soul and the "Language". He implies that the words themselves insisted on him to be their body, their speaker, and the "language" is the poet in his thoughts, experience, education, speech and message.

He became an embodied body to speak in the literal apparent seen, literal meaning, but in the invisible absence-relationship between the words, we see that the poet leans on religious intertextuality, on what John the Baptist said in his gospel: The 'word' became 'a body' and this leaning moved the sentence onto its indicative meaning, and got it out from

its being an 'ordinary sentence', whose meanings are apparent, visible and understood, into a sentence that bears new indications and dimensions. The role of the poet becomes like the role of the prophets and messengers. The poet carries an invitation to his people for their salvation, because, through his employment of religious intertextuality, he turns the role of the poet into someone who is carrying prophecy and holiness. This is likely to drag us, as readers, to the Abbasid poet, with whom Darwīš meets a lot, al-Mutanabbī, who was given this nickname because he claimed to be a prophet.

But, what prophecy did Maḥmūd Darwīš carry for us in his poems and what kind of language did he hide behind the words, considering the absent semiotic relationships? "The word is not only a symbol that refers to a sign and a meaning but a texture that branches from images and feelings produced by the human experience that settled in the word, and increased its meaning with fertility and livelihood." (al-'Ammārī 1999).

4. Absent-Relationships in Maḥmūd Darwīš's Poetry

The following section illustrates the absent-relationships through dealing with the poet's attitude towards the Prose-Poem in which he points out the significance of the poetic extension and continuity from the days of Imru' u l-Qays, one of the most well-known poets of *mu'allaqāt* in the Pre-Islamic period, and the beginning of the poetic Arab memory, till the modern period. To explain the difference between 'meter' and 'rhythm', Maḥmūd Darwīš relies on the well-known line:

“مَكَرٌ مَفْرٌ مُقْبِلٌ مُدْبِرٌ مَعًا---- كَجَلْمُودٍ صَخْرٍ حَطَّهَ السَّيْلُ مِنْ عَلٍ”

Swift to attack, to flee, to turn, yet firm as a rock swept down by the torrent

Darwīš says: "The prose-Poem consumed itself quickly. This implies that the inability is in them, in its poets and not in the poem. He adds that "there is confusion between meter and rhythm."

For example, is the rhythm/ cadence in the first half of Imru' al-Qays' line (*mikarrin, mifarrin...*) above the same as the rhythm of the second half? He answers sharply, "No!" He meant that every meter is a rhythm but not every rhythm is a meter! (al-Bargūtī 1999)

In order to be sure of his tools, the poet has to be able to distinguish between the 'rhythm' that exists in the absent-relationships between the onomatopoeic words *mikarrin, mifarrin, muqbilin, mudbirin* which convey the sound of the rhythm of the steps of fast horses, and the meter *tawīl* in the 'aḡuz/ rear/ second half of the line.

The poet has to recognize the difference between 'rhythm' and 'meter' and the impact that the language makes by its sounds, because "some of the necessities of the poetic language at the time of employing the word and its structure in a nominal or verbal sentence is to receive a specific tone or ring of the words in order to imitate the movement of an object, and the reliance here is on the vowels and consonants, but if we can bridge over this language, especially when we define the poetic language, which produces the element of ordinary surprise and the shocking surprise, it will have the actual impact after bridging over the imagistic language." (*Maḡallatu Ru'ya*) The poet who recognizes the impact of rhetoric with its paronomasia/*ḡinās*/ alliteration) *mikarrin, mifarrin* (and antithetical

parallelism/ *tibāq mikarrin, mifarrin, muqbilin, mudbirin* can realize that the poem is more than one meter and one rhyme, and that the poem is the structural and sound relationships that exist between the words, and inside every poem, there is a greater poem than the one that appears to one's eyes. "Complete harmony between the particles of the whole image and its general idea, and the feeling that runs in its cells; it does not accept a stray meaning, neither a rare thought; it is not weak in one aspect and strong in the other, but full harmony between the thoughts, and continues harmony between the feelings and then, tight symmetry between all this and all the sources of the image and its elements." (Ṣubūḥ 1996).

Let us follow together this rhythm of the horse-steps that is heard in the relationships between the words, this onomatopoeic musical cadence that hits the hearer with a shocking surprise, as if he heard the horse-steps, but how does Maḥmūd Darwīš express these relationships in modern poetry?

لم يَبْقَ في اللغة الحديثة هامشٌ
للاحتفاء بما نحْبُ
فكُلُّ ما سيكونُ... كانُ

سقط الحصان مُضْرَجًا
بقصيدتي
وأنا سقطتُ مُضْرَجًا
بدم الحصان...

No margin has remained in the modern language
To welcome what we love
Everything that will be
Has already been

The horse fell stained
With the blood of my poem
And I fell stained
With the blood of the horse

How did the horse in his poems turn from a real physical ordinary horse into a symbolical non-physical one?

The horse in his long poem "Why Did You Leave the Horse Alone, Father," is a witness to the 1948 evacuation of the people from his homeland, Palestine. The horse that was waiting for the return of the evacuees turned here from a clear symbol into a hidden symbol when his "swift" attack became an expression of the rhythm of the poem and its language, isn't he implying clearly that the Prose-Poem is void of this beautiful musical rhythm?

The horse that was running swiftly to attack fell down stained with its blood. We see him say in the two above stanzas that poetry is the language itself, but "no margin was left in the modern language to celebrate what we love. Everything that will be, has already been before."

In other words, the language that the poets used in their modern poems consumed all the meanings; all the expressions have been used, and he does not want to repeat himself nor imitate others or be a “stealer of meanings”, as other poets were accused of, in the past and in the modern period.

In an interview with Darwīš, he said: “I am extremely bored of what I produce, and when I read something new that I wrote, and see it resembles me too much, I feel that it is unpublishable.” (From an interview with Darwīš in Morocco, which was published in *al-Qudsu l-'Arabī* on 21/07/2003.)

He also said: “I guarantee to destroy myself and rebel against it.” (Āšūr 2004).
He says in his poem:

أفكر ماذا لو أتى تباطأْتُ، ماذا
لو أتى توقفتُ؟ هل أوقفُ الوقتَ؟
هل أربكُ الموتَ؟ أسخرُ من فكري،
ثم أسأل نفسي: إلى أين تمشينَ مثلَ النعامِ؟ أمشي
كأنَّ الحياةَ تعدلُ نقصانها بعد حين.
ولا أتلفُ خلفي، فلن أستطيع
الرجوعَ إلى أيِّ شيءٍ، ولا أستطيع
التماهي

I think what if I slowed down,
What if I stopped? Will I stop the Time?
Will I confuse Death? I make fun of my thought,
Then I ask myself: Where are you going like an ostrich?
I walk as if life would modify its decrease after a while.
I do not look back; I cannot go back,
To anything, neither can I identify. (Darwīš 2005:110).

The query is clear. If he stops writing poetry, will the time stop? He is in conflict with time, with precedence and pioneering. He does not want to repeat himself as this is ‘death’ for the poet, and he is ready to destroy his achievement if it resembles him. He cannot retreat or identify with.

But how can he rebel against himself and his poetry? How was he bewildering us with shocking surprises and how was he circumventing the meaning and rhythm? What was he doing when the dictionaries and encyclopedias could not help him? Did he resort to the present elements or the absent ones? Or to figures of speech and rhetoric? What was he doing “when poetry became narrower than language and broader than it at the same time?” did he ask for help from the dictionaries, encyclopedias and the tricks of rhetoric?

ولوصف زهر اللوز، لا موسوعة الأزهار
تسعفني، ولا القاموس يسعفني...
سيخطفني الكلام إلى أحابيل البلاغة
والبلاغة تجرح المعنى وتمدح جرحه،
كمذكّر يُملّي على الأنتى مشاعرها /

فكيف يشعُّ زهر اللوز في لغتي أنا
وأنا الصدى؟

To describe the almond flowers,
No encyclopedia of flowers
Can help me, neither can the dictionary...
The words will kidnap me to the tricks of rhetoric
And rhetoric injures the meaning and praises its injury
Like a male dictating the female her feelings/
So, how can the almond flowers shine in my own language
While I am the echo?

Darwīš resorts to rhetoric as a savior, but why to rhetoric?

Because the encyclopedias write in a scientific language far from being poetic, and because the word has no meaning in itself; it derives its meaning from the units or the adjacent words to it in the context that it appears in, and because “a single word in the poem imposes its active presence in producing a lot of indications in addition to enriching the rhythm and raising the degree of its performance.”(al-Quṣayrī).

As we can see, rhetoric imposes itself on the poem as the male imposes on the female his feelings and as a result, she falls in love with him, not because she really loved him but because he imposed his love on her, and when rhetoric imposes itself, the poem falls in love with it.

He turns to rhetoric as a savior, and rhetoric is nothing but ‘tricks’ and ‘deception’, because it changes the meaning, injures it, and praises its injury, as if it were the forceps of a plastic surgeon, who injures in order to improve and praise, but did Maḥmūd Darwīš resort to the forceps of the surgeon?

The more important question is “Why almond”? Does the description of almond flowers need encyclopedias and dictionaries?

Is it possible that a poem cannot describe the almond flowers? Why did he choose almond rather than other flowers to shine in his poems and language, while he becomes the echo of the shining, of this inspiration?

The answer, in my opinion, is that the almond is the first to blossom among the trees, and it reminds us of the revival of life. The popular proverb says in our country: “*Yā lōzī l-maḡnūn, btizher fī kānūn/O, crazy almond, you bloom in January!*”. Well, which meaning does Maḥmūd intend in *Almond Flowers or Further?*

Besides being a pioneering poet, the madman whose meanings bloom first before the others, the poet who invents new images before others, produces poems that are ‘like almond flowers or further’ (Darwīš 2005 *K-zahri l-lawzi 'aw 'ab 'ad*)

But, why “further”? The answer is: Because the almond trees give their fruit before the flowers fall and the “almond flowers continue shining in my language”, which implies that he continues producing the new, flowering, transparent and light fruit because he cannot be satisfied to be like anyone else, and because he cannot be satisfied to be even like himself. He complains saying:” I am extremely bored of what I produce...” but the critics assassinate him, and he states that in his poem “Assassination” (*iḡtiyāl*):

يغتالني النقاد أحياناً:
يريدون القصيدة ذاتها

والاستعارة ذاتها...
 فإذا مَشَيْتُ على طريقِ جانبيّ شاردًا
 قالوا: لقد خان الطريقَ
 وإن عثرتُ على بلاغةِ عُشْبَةٍ
 قالوا: تحلّى عن عنادِ السنديانِ

The critics sometimes assassinate me:
 They want the same poem, the same metaphor...
 If I walk on a side road, wandering,
 They will say: he betrayed the way
 And if I find the rhetoric of a grass,
 They will say: he gave up the obstinacy of oaks.

وإذا نظرتُ إلى السماء لكي أرى
 ما لا يُرى
 قالوا: تَعَالَى الشِعْرُ عن أغراضه...
 يَغْتَالِنِي النُّقَادُ أحيانًا
 وأنجو من قراءتهم،
 وأشكرهم على سوء التفاهم
 ثم أبحثُ عن قصيدتي الجديدة!

And if I look up at the sky to see
 What cannot be seen
 They will say: poetry is above his objects...
 The critics sometimes assassinate me
 And I survive their reading,
 And thank them for the misunderstanding
 And then, I look for my new poem!

5. Maḥmūd Darwīš's Vision-Poem

Darwīš's new poem is the one that depends on symbolism, and which was called the 'Vision-Poem', because, as Adonis says, the modern poem bears a vision and its new prophecy; "poetry assumes a generative motion, which is the motion of creating the world and not expressing it. The symbolic model constitutes a referential source for understanding the modern Arabic poetry movement of what is known today by the name, "the Vision-Poem" as it is expressed in *šī'r* magazine that saw the Vision-Poem as a creation of the world rather than expressing it. What the Symbolic School called "the Dynamic Symbol" (Nāsir 2001:147) is what *šī'r* magazine called the "Vision-Poem." (Bārūt n.d.).

Thus, the poetic language moves from its being a figurative language into an internal and external sensory language because "the linguistic structure and the activity of the dynamic movement of imagination, through language, have an effective impact on the authority of the text, which is a partner in the act of the receiver. After the appearance of the 'sender', the 'receiver' has no choice but to disappear. This disappearance is enough to lead us to the state of appearance and disappearance" (*Mağallatu Ru'ya*) guarantees that

the poet will destroy what he used to do, and convey a new special state. We see him in his collection *Like Almond Flowers or Further* talk about his concern about writing a meta-poem and express his fear about leaving the poetic meter and moving to writing a new poem:

... ولا أحفظ الكلمات، أدندن لحنًا
بطيئًا كما يفعل العاطلون عن العمل:
"النهرُ كالمهرٍ يجري إلى حتفه/البحر
والطيرُ تختطفُ الحَبَّ من كتفِ النهرِ"
أهجسُ، أهمسُ في السرِّ: عشْ
غدك الآن!

I do not remember words by heart, I croon a tune
Slowly as unemployed people do:
"The river, like a pony, runs to its death/ the sea
And the bird picks the grains from the shoulder of the river"
I'm obsessed, I whisper in secret:
Live your tomorrow, now!

At the opening of this poem "*Nahāru t-tulātā*" / Tuesday", the speaker (Darwīš) says: "as if I were at a date with one of my poems"! He walks thinking about writing a poem. He croons a tune slowly, and then mentions what he is thinking about and puts it in brackets, comparing the words to a pony (which immediately creates an association between Imru' u l-Qays and Maḥmūd's relationship with the horse). However, the 'river' is a 'pony', that is still young and small, and "she" is the *taf'īla* poem that walks and runs to its death, to the sea, to the poetic meter (*baḥr*/sea). The speaker (Darwīš) implies that the poem, no matter how much it tries, will return to its inevitable end; it will return to the poetic sea /*bḥr*, the birds that fly freely picking the grains from the shoulder, stand on the shoulder of the poem to pick the grains in order to live. The talented poet is like a bird who stands on the shoulder of the poem and picks the grains/ words and with *taf'īla* (foot) and rhythm to write a new free, flying, soaring experience. Darwīš does not want to wait, thinking and whispering secretly: "Live, namely, write what you like; live your tomorrow now, namely, precede your time in writing a new type, far from the Prose-Poem; if it is the modernism of Arabic poetry, days will not wait for you to ripen?"

تمشي كأنك غيرك
لو أستطيع الحديث إلى أحدٍ في
الطريق لقلتُ: خصوصيتي هي ما
لا يدلُّ عليّ، وما لا يُسمَى.
(Darwīš *Ka-zahri l-lawzi 'aw 'ab'ad*).

You walk as if you were another one
If I could talk to someone on my way
I would say: my particularity is in what
does not tell about me, and in what cannot be named.

He walks lightly because he has freed himself from the complex of modernist poetry that is limited to the Prose-Poem. He walks as if he were another person, with a desire to reveal that his particularity is not in the poetry that identifies him; it is a particularity that cannot be named due to what he innovated and shook the world; "my particularity is in what does not tell about me, and in what cannot be named." He wants us to see him in his meta-poetry – writing about how to write poetry, and the heroism of *māḡāz*/ figures of speech/ metaphor in which poets competed. Regarding the heroism of rhetoric, Darwīš criticizes it, leaning on absent matters from which he makes up a distinctive poem, including the tools of 'religious intertextuality'

"The circle of sources of intertextuality expands to include everything that the poet's eye sees or the creator's mind remembers from his early years, through the periods of his elementary and higher education, and all his local and international readings, and the majority of what his memory stores about the world and its history, myths and heritage." (al-Ġa'āfirah 2003:13).

ولكني
أدمنت، ربما أكثر مما ينبغي، بَطُولَةَ المجاز:
التهمني الوحش ولم يهضمني. وخرجتُ سالمًا
أكثر من مرّة. كانت رُوحِي التي طارت شِعَاعًا
مني ومن بطن الوحش تسكن جسدًا آخر
أخفّ وأقوى،

(Darwīš's poem)

I probably got over-addicted to the heroism of metaphor:
The monster swallowed me but did not digest me.
I survived more than once. My bewildered soul that flew
From me and from the abdomen of the monster dwells another body
Which is lighter and stronger

Beyond the text, we find another hidden text that intertwines with the story of Prophet Jonas, who stayed in the abdomen of the whale for few days.

Darwīš compares *māḡāz*/ metaphor to the whale that swallowed him and his poetry, but he survived and is safe. The poem, without a metaphor, dwells in a lighter and stronger body.

Darwīš moves to another religious intertextuality. As Prophet Muḡammad felt cold when he had the revelation and said: "Dattirī yā Ḥadīḡa" (Wrap me, Ḥadīḡa) Maḡmūd compares his poetry to a 'revelation':

دَثَّرَني بصوفِكِ يا لغتي، ساعديني
على الاختلاف لكي أبلغ الانتلاف. لديني
الذِك. أنا ابنُك حِينًا، وحيثُ أبوك
وأُمك. إن كنتِ كنتُ، وإن كنتُ
كنت. وسَمِي الزمانَ الجديدَ بأسمائه
الأجنبيّة يا لغتي، واستضيفني الغريب
البعيد ونثر الحياة البسيط ليُنصَح شعري.
فَمَنْ إن نطقتُ بما ليس شعراً - سيفهمني؟

Wrap me with your wool, my language, help me
 To be different in order to achieve harmony. Give birth to me,
 And I'll give birth to you. I am your son once, and once your father
 And mother. If you are, I will be, and if I am, you will be.
 Call the new age by its foreign names, my language,
 And host the strange, the remote, and the simple prose of life,
 So that my poetry can ripen
 But who, if I utter something that is not poetry, will understand me?

Darwīš asks rhetoric to wrap him because this inspiration is like the prophetic wrapped revelation. He asks his language to make him different; to give birth to him as a different poet so that he will give birth to it as a different language that shakes the space. He also asks it to name things by their names and accept the strange and remote from our culture and poetic taste and traditional khalilian meters. He wants to move from the meter, and move from the large issues that can be subjects for literature to “objectification”, as Maḥmūd Taīmūr put it. Each object and each simple event becomes an acceptable material for poetry. He also wants to raise the level of language by returning to the simplicity of the ordinary event and simplicity of meter and rhythm. Darwīš says: “Between me and the Prose-Poem, there is a hidden implicit dialogue, but I find my solutions within the meter, but ‘meter’ is not one, even if it has its prosody.” In view of this, and returning to the relationships of ‘absence’ between the words, what is the wool that he wanted to wrap his poem with?

Is it its metaphor and rhetoric, or that linguistic intelligence in which the roles are exchanged between him and the language? Should he give birth to a new language or should the language give birth to him to become a distinguished poet? Or is it the exchange of the roles between him and the language in the hierarchical relationship between father and son? We see him asking the language to step down from its ivory tower to host the new words and break the relationship of rhetoric and welcome the simple prose of life. Does that mean that Maḥmūd Darwīš accepted the Prose-Poem because prose is easier for the reader/ receiver than poetry?

We know Darwīš’s refusing attitude towards the Prose-Poem, but why did he refuse the modernist Prose-Poem? How come that he produces new things and refuses modernity? With what does he compare the Prose-Poem? He compares it to an autumnal summer on the hills, yellowness of leaves, dryness, heat, austere images, and lifeless leaves that tempt rhetoric to imitate them and their cunning deeds. Rhetoric, then, does not do its right deed but falls like yellow austere leaves. Thus, Maḥmūd Darwīš breaks the hanger of *Māḡāz*/ metaphor and takes us through the absent lexical relationships to build new formations of meaning: that prose-poem that has no clear season for it, nor distinguishing signs, which is neither autumn nor summer and we call it ‘light rhythm’.

He feels that it has a meter and a rhythm but he does not hear it, and he is the one who said: “The Arab ear shouldn’t leave its musical homeland” but because the poem here left its musical homeland, we see it trying cunningly to tempt rhetoric, but rhetoric with a Prose-Poem does not turn the poem into ‘poetry’ and it is merely an activity that ranges between futility and meaning:

صيفٌ خريفٍ على التلال كقصيدةٍ نثريةٍ. النسيم
إيقاعٌ خفيفٌ أحسُّ به ولا أسمعُه في تواضع
الشجيرات. والعشب المائل إلى الاصفرار صُورٌ
تتقشَّفُ، وتُعري البلاغةً بالتنشُّبِ بأفعالها
الماكرة. لا احتفاءً على هذه الشعاب إلا
بالمُتاح من نشاطِ الدُوري، نشاطٍ يراوح
بين معنى وعبث.

An autumnal summer of the hills is like a prose-poem.
The breeze, a light rhythm that I feel but do not hear in the modesty of the bushes. The
yellowish grass is images
That lead an austere life, and tempt rhetoric to imitate their cunning deeds. No celebration
on these reefs except what is allowed
Of the sparrow's activity; an activity that ranges
Between meaning and futility.

As we see, Darwīš states his attitude towards the Prose-Poem: "I love poetry that has the spontaneity of prose and the hidden image" (the absent-relationships), but how did he employ the 'spontaneity of prose and the hidden images'? and how did he circumvent the meaning and activate the indicative and linguistic deviations in order to create new structures of meanings?

In *Like Almond Flowers and Further*, he surprises us by his poetic objectification technique. He turns something simple/ a simple comparison between the goldenness of the Sun and the orange into a poetic theme and the moment of illumination takes place at the end of the poem shyly, hinting rather than stating that the goldenness is the 'Classical Poem' and the 'Orange' is the Prose-Poem.

- a. Like an orange, the sun enters the sea

برتقاليةً، تدخلُ الشمسُ في البحر

(In the absent-relationships/ beyond the words, Darwīš means the poetic meter)

- b. And the orange is a water candle light on cold trees

والبرتقالُ قنديلٌ ماءٍ على شجرٍ باردٍ

(He compares the Prose-Poem to an 'orange' that was emptied and within it, a wick was lighted to be a candlelight, but it cannot be like the Sun. It is a water candlelight on cold trees – a poem without heat that does not inflame the feelings and thoughts).

- c. Like an orange, the Sun gives birth to the godly sunset baby

برتقاليةً، تلدُ الشمسُ طفلَ الغروبِ الإلهيِّ

(A generative movement which is the movement of creating the world rather than expressing it)

- d. The Orange, one of its maids, meditating its unknown

والبرتقالُ، إحدى وصيفاتها، تتأملُ مجهولها

(The Prose-Poem is the maid of the Queen, the Classical Poem, still does not know its fate and meditates on its unknown)

- e. Like an orange, the Sun pours its liquid in the mouth of the sea

برتقاليته، تسكب الشمس سائلها في فم البحر

(The classical poem pours its meters and rhymes in the mouth of the sea, a sexual intercourse and generation)

- f. The Orange is afraid of a hungry mouth

والبرتقاله خائفه من فم جائع

(The modernist poem is afraid of innovation, of hungry mouths = prose, no meter, no frame)

- g. Like an orange, the Sun enters in the circle of eternity

برتقاليته، تدخل الشمس في دورة الأبدية

(The classical poem is survival and stability)

- h. The Orange gains the glorification of its murderer: that is a fruit like a grain of Sun

والبرتقاله تحظى بتمجيد قاتلها: تلك فاكهته مثل حبة شمس

(The Prose-Poem enjoys the glorification of its poet who wrote it/ killed it, and he compares it to fruits and a grain of sun. He tries to say that it is a sweet poem that has a taste and a color)

- i. It is peeled by hand and mouth, with a husky voice

تُقشر باليد والفم، مجوحه الطعم

(The Prose-Poem is not limited and not limiting)

- j. Its perfume is talkative and it is intoxicated by its liquid...

ثرثارة العطر سكرى بسائلها...

(Its sound and meters give it another taste, and it depends on chattering to convey its idea; it adopts perfume, which is parallel here to the tools of compensation for meter).

لونها لا شبيهة له غيرها،

(وفوحا آخر ولوناً آخر)

لونها صفة الشمس في نومها.

لونها طعمها: حامض سكري،

غني بعافية الضوء والفيتامين C

وليس على الشبر من حرج إن

تلعنم في سرده، وانتبه

إلى خلل رابع في الشبه! (Darwiš 2005: 38)

Its color is unlike any other,

Its color is the quality of the sun in its sleep
 Its color tastes: sugar acid
 Rich in light wellness and vitamin C
 And there is no embarrassment on the poem
 Stutter in his narration, and be careful
 To a wonderful defect in the li

So, it is not rhetoric or metaphor that create new meanings but indicative relations of absent lexical utterances and linguistic deviations.

The structure of the poem and its formations depend on the level of the structure, indication, imagery, and rhythm and on the two operations of deviation and stylistic transformation and their reflections besides poetic techniques and tools that gain the poem its particularity and uniqueness; "the single word has no meaning in itself, but it derives its meaning from the units or the adjacent collocating words that occur in the context that it exists in." (Ricoeur 2006) First and foremost, Maḥmūd Darwīš wants the poem to be inlaid with rhythm and with prose, and not merely prose that claims to be poetry.

He wants it a poem that has a sweet and sour taste, rhythm and metaphor, a husky taste, something that is neither prose nor poetry, rich with the health of light, and streaming swiftly without being hindered by the meters and rich with Vitamin C, namely, provides the reader with what protects him from diseases/from the poetic fault. Thus, the poem does not appear like bad poetry which Maḥmūd compares to translated poetry that "the ear cannot recognize its musical homeland." (Darwīš 2005: 229)

When Maḥmūd took his abstaining attitude from the Prose-Poem, he tried to introduce alternatives to his faithful beloved one, the *taf'ila* poem. Therefore, we sometimes see him, especially in his collection *Sarīru ġarībin The Stranger's Bed*, employing one *taf'ila* throughout the collection, which closes the gap between the *taf'ila* choice and the prose choice in poetic writing. "For the first time, he introduces an intermediate choice which is closer to "Prose-*taf'ila*" or *taf'ila* – Prose", if we may say so." (Ḥadīdī 1999: 60).

"الشيء الناقص في القصيدة، ولا أعرف ما
 هو، هو سرُّها المُشعُّ. وهو، ذلك
 الناقص، ما أسَمَّيه "بيت القصيد"" (Darwīš 2008: 224)

"The missing thing in the poem, and I do not know
 What it is; it is its shining secret. It is that missing thing,
 What I call "The Main Point.""

This missing thing that constitutes the "main point" for Maḥmūd Darwīš is the absent-relationships, the indicative deviations, and the linguistic transference. Roland Barthes (Barthes 1999:166) summarized the poetics of literature in one element which he made equal to rhetoric. It is "language" itself. Maḥmūd Darwīš resorted in an unprecedented poetic intelligence to the technique of hitting the reader with "surprising shocks" using ordinary simple understood familiar words, connecting between the words in a way that is far from the ordinary comparison and far from the trick of metaphor and its

cunning. As Todorov said: "The metaphorical language can be outside the poetic area, and poetry can also be written without relying on the figurative images." (Todorov 1996: 114)

Māḡāz Metaphor is a type of the potential store in the language, while poetry is a structure, generation, employment of the raw material, and reconstruction of the world. This is where Maḥmūd Darwīš succeeded when he played outside the field of metaphor. He employed the linguistic structures that encourage you to imagine and thus, new images appear to you and make you expect, think, be surprised, and become an active participant in the process of producing the text, which is the secret of the success of these poems, and this is the secret of his immortality. Maḥmūd Darwīš summarized the chemistry of the poem in the following poem:

قُلْ ما تشاء. ضَعِ النِّقَاطَ عَلى الحُرُوفِ.
 ضَعِ الحُرُوفَ مَعَ الحُرُوفِ لَتُؤَلِّدَ الكَلِمَاتُ،
 غامِضَةً وواضِحَةً، وبيِّنَدِيَّ الكَلَامِ.
 ضَعِ الكَلَامَ عَلى المِجَازِ. ضَعِ المِجَازَ عَلى
 الخِیالِ. ضَعِ الخِیالَ عَلى تَلْفُتِهِ البَعِيدِ.
 ضَعِ البَعِيدَ عَلى البَعِيدِ.... سَيُؤَلِّدُ الإِيقاعَ
 عَندَ تَشابُهِكَ الصُّورِ الغَربِیَّةِ مَن لِقائِ
 الواقِعِ مَعَ الخِیالیِّ المُشاکِسِ/
 هَلْ كَتَبْتَ قَصيدَةً؟
 كَلا!

Say whatever you like. Put the records straight.
 Put the letters with the letters so that the words can be born
 Ambiguous and clear, and the speech will begin.
 Put the speech on metaphor. Put the metaphor
 On imagination. Put the imagination on its remote turning around.
 Put the remote on the remote... the rhythm will be born
 At the intertwinement of the strange images
 Out of the meeting of the realistic with the feisty imaginative/
 Did you write a poem?
 No!

لَعَلَّ هَناكَ مَلحًا زانِدًا أو ناقِصًا
 في المِفراداتِ. لَعَلَّ حادِثَةً أُخَلِّتُ بِالتَوازِنِ
 في مُعادِلةِ الظلالِ. لَعَلَّ نَسْرًا
 ماتَ في أَعلى الجِبالِ. لَعَلَّ أَرْضَ
 الرِمزِ حَفَّتْ في الكِنايَةِ فاستَباحَتِها
 الرِياحُ. لَعَلَّها تَقَلَّتْ عَلى ريشِ الخِیالِ.
 لَعَلَّ قَلبِكَ لَم يَفكِّرُ جَيِّدًا، فالقَصيدَةَ،
 زَوجَةً الغَدِ وابنةَ المَاضِی، تَحيمَ في
 مَكانِ غامِضِ بَينِ الكِتابَةِ وِالكَلامِ/
 فَهَلْ كَتَبْتَ قَصيدَةً؟
 كَلا!

Probably there is more or less salt
In the words. Probably an episode
Upset the balance
In the formula of shadows. Probably an eagle
Died on the top of the mountains. Probably the land of
Symbolism abated in its metonymy and the winds desecrated it
Probably, it became heavy on the feathers of imagination.
Probably, your heart did not think properly, as the poem
zawġatu l-ġadi wa-bnatu l-māḍī,
It camps in *fī makānin ġāmiḍin* between writing and speech/
Did you write a poem?
No!

إذن، ماذا كتبت؟
كتبتُ درساً جامعياً،
واعترلتُ الشعر منذ عرفتُ
كيمياء القصيدة..... واعترلتُ! (Darwiš 2004:96).

So, what did you write?
I wrote an academic study
And gave up poetry
Since I knew the chemistry of
the poem... and I retired!

Thus, the poem continues achieving its special poesy leaning on the language through its deviations and absent-relationships that arouse the imagination without without relying much on metaphor or figures of speech. It reaches its end but does not settle, unlike what Barbara Herstein Smith (Smith1968:101) mentioned as "the need for settlement", which pushes the reader to think about the poem which reaches its (End) but there is no end (Closer) to it. The surprise that took you from the title continues beyond, beyond reading.

6. Summary

To sum up, this study confirmed that the 'language' is the most important element in the poem, whether from the perspective of its rhythm, sound effects, the impact of its sounds and morphological structure of the words, or the aspect of its meanings and indications that the words bear. The word 'employment' in this study does not refer to the employment of rhetoric but to the discovery of those invisible or absent-relationships, between words, in Todorov's words. What is meant by 'relationships' is those relationships that make the reader an active partner in the poem and a producer of its meanings according to his/ her education, experience, and readings during his search about the symbols, indications, and allusions that the poet leaves in his vision-poem, that does not only reflect reality but goes beyond to the attempt of formulating a vision of a new reality.

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DIALECTAL CONDITIONAL CLAUSES IN ACADEMIC ARABIC IN ISRAEL

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Abstract: Conditional clauses (CCs), which specify hypotheses regarding something that could have taken place or will take place, consist of aprotasis (condition) and an apodosis (governor) (Arabic: *šarṭ/jawāb*). Different types of CC are recognized cross-linguistically along a logical continuum from real to impossible conditions. In Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Arabic dialects, different CCs are distinguished by conditional markers and verbal patterns. Distinctive strategies characterize each variety. The use of CCs from local dialectal types in high-standard spoken and written Arabic is therefore striking, yet frequent, alongside standard forms. I analyze dialectal Muṭallaṭ, Northern Galilean, and Galilean Bedouin CCs and their use in academic language. Six elderly speakers for each traditional variety constituted the control groups. For each variety, I selected highly educated women/men, bilingual in their dialect/MSA and educated in the humanities/sciences: six senior academic staff members over age fifty-five and six university students up to age thirty-five. Following Grigore (2005a; b), the CC corpus for the present study is yielded by both spontaneous interactions among members of the same dialectal variety and age group and controlled individual speech production. Different dialectal conditional systems have emerged from this analysis. Traditional dialectal systems show a distribution of verbal patterns and conditional markers similar to those in Damascene Arabic (Jalonen 2017). Nonetheless, they express two real subtypes ('more possible', 'less possible') and two irreal subtypes (hypothetical, counterfactual), similarly to Baghdadi Arabic (Grigore 2005a; b). Each traditional conditional system expresses the four semantic categories through different morpho-syntactical means. Dialectal structures persist in the conceptual background of educated speakers, producing different perceptions of the MSA conditional system. The pluricentricity of Arabic and fleeting boundaries between 'norm' and 'spoken-word' are reaffirmed, which is not surprising in a dialectal area with substantiated ancestral traditions of linguistic independence from the models of the Arabian Peninsula.

Keywords: *Clauses; Contact between Modern Standard Arabic and Palestinian Dialects; Arabic Pluricentricity; Muṭallaṭ Arabic; Galilean Bedouin Arabic; Galilean Arabic Varieties.*

1. Introduction

1.1. Conditional Clauses: Definition and Classification

Conditional clauses (CCs) specify hypotheses regarding something that could have taken place, can take place, or will take place upon the realization of some condition. Conditional structures are, in fact, constituted by two clauses: the protasis (P, or conditional clause), which expresses the condition, and the apodosis (A; also 'governor', or 'main clause'), which expresses the consequence. In Arabic grammars, the protasis is called *šarṭ* and the apodosis *jawāb* (Ryding 2005: 671).

In general, the conditional clause is followed by the main clause (Traugott *et al.* 1986), so conditional structures follow the formula “if P, [then] A” (Grigore 2005 a, b; Biṭună 2015). Nonetheless, in many languages, including several Arabic varieties, the conditional marker is not necessary, so protasis and apodosis correlate directly, asyndetically, or paratactically (Al-Hilal 2017; Biṭună 2015; Grigore 2005 b; Lawler 1975; Peled 1987; Thumm 2000). The asyndetic CC seems to correlate in Baghdadi and Siirti with the real conditional type (Biṭună 2015; Grigore 2005), and was probably introduced through Classical Arabic (Larcher 2000). In some languages the clause order can be reversed, with the apodosis coming first and the protasis second (Comrie 1986).

Regarding the many attempts to classify CC types across languages, Jalonen (2017) aptly summarizes the state of art as follows: “CC[s] have an extensive variety of linguistic forms, and an even greater variety of interpretations – for this reason, they have been a puzzle to philosophers since Aristotle” (following Dancygier 1998). Indeed, conditionals “interact so extensively with other domains that they pose enormous difficulties for analysis” (Xkrakovskij 2005). In general, CC types are classified formally on the basis of two elements: conditional markers (e.g., conjunctions) and verbal patterns (Danks 2011; Jalonen 2017).

Languages may use conditional markers for the protasis, the apodosis, both, or neither (Comrie 1986). Languages may also differ with regard to the number of markers (of protasis) employed. English prototypically employs only the conjunction *if* (Traugott *et al.* 1986), but also *unless*, while Arabic varieties can generally employ different markers, according to conditional meaning (Wright 1986).

Regarding verbal morphology in conditional constructions, Comrie (1985) refers to tenses as context-independent meaning of verbal categories, and to hypotheticality as context-dependent meaning in the condition. According to Comrie (1986), conditionals of high hypotheticality are usually formed with a verb in the past tense (i.e., ‘backshifting’) (Comrie 1986; Dancygier 1998).

Following seminal studies by Comrie (1976; 1985; 1986), Traugott *et al.* (1986), Dancygier (1998), and Dancygier & Sweetser (2005), the research on CC increasingly focused on the semantic interpretation of conditional types. Comrie (1986) observes that the basic oppositions among real, possible (or hypothetical), and unreal (or counterfactual) conditional types do not account for the complexity of choices witnessed cross-linguistically. He assumes instead that hypotheticality is a continuum of degrees, from lower to higher probability, whose choice depends on subjective evaluation (1986) and, probably, on socio-cultural conventions.

1.2. Conditional Clauses in Modern Standard Arabic and Arabic Dialects

In comparison to the semantic complexity of Classical Arabic extensively exemplified by its grammarians (Kinberg 1977; Socin 1895; Thackston 1994; Wright 1996), the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) conditional system is sketched in a more systematic way, based mainly on formal features (Fischer 2002; Ryding 2005). But the typological classification varies considerably between Fischer and Ryding. Fischer (2002: 227–236) divides CCs into real and unreal. To summarize, according to Fischer, perfect and jussive forms in the protasis indicate the general validity of the utterance, without temporal implications. *Kāna*

before the entire protasis marks the utterance as past. The conditional marker *ʔin* generally correlates with reality and *law* with possibility and irreality, while *ʔidā* is associated with temporal conditional meanings. The apodosis may be marked by *fa* and *la*, whereby *la* correlates with irreality.

Ryding (2005: 671–676) provides the following classification of CCs:

1. Possible Condition: *ʔidā* + past tense; *ʔin* + perfect or jussive
2. Impossible Condition: *law* + past tense (to disambiguate the use of ‘tense,’ see in particular Cuvalay 1994).

From this basic comparison, it is clear that formal criteria cannot completely capture the complex interplay of MSA verbal patterns and conditional markers in CCs. Exceptions to the basic rules stated in both classifications are indeed numerous. One of the most controversial points in question seems to be what Mithun defines as: “the relativity of irreality” (1995), or, in other words, what is to be considered real, possible, and unreal, respectively, if ever these types could be neatly defined (Johnson-Laird 1986; see also Versteegh 1991). Many dialectological studies follow the semantic methodology (Al-Hilal 2017; Biṭunā 2015; Grigore 1999; 2005 a, b; 2008; 2014; Henkin 2000; Ingham 1991; Jalonen 2017; Roth 2002; Sartori 2008-2009; Vanhove 2002; among others), with some exceptions for Classical Arabic (Larcher 2003; Peled 1992; Sartori 2010). For example, in Baghdadi Arabic, Grigore (2005 a, b; 2008) distinguishes real possibility, likely possibility, possible hypothesis, and unreal hypothesis. In 2008, Grigore subdivided Mardini CCs according to an even more complex system of semantic criteria, describing real, open, generic, habitual, past, unreal, hypothetical, counterfactual, and temporal CCs. Jalonen (2017) proposes a system divided into impossible and possible CCs, with three subdegrees of possibility (high, open, low) for Damascene Arabic. Biṭunā (2015) individuates two main types in Siirti Arabic – real and unreal CCs – subdividing each type into semantically nuanced subtypes. Open, generic, habitual, and temporal CCs are real subtypes, while hypothetical and counterfactual CCs are unreal subtypes. Interestingly, only one conditional marker is used in Siirti Arabic for all types.

The connection between temporal and conditional sentences individuated by Grigore (2005 a, b; 2008) and Biṭunā (2015) is well documented in the Bedouin dialect studied by Ingham (1991) as well as in other Arabic varieties. What are generally considered pure types of CCs exist, in fact, within a broader semantic network of contiguous meanings, including temporal, causal, and concessive relations (Gohl 2000; Grigore 1999; 2014; Lewin 1970).

1.3. Aim of the Present Analysis

As the literature mentioned above – focused primarily on eastern and Arabic varieties and Egypt for areal consistency – clearly demonstrates, conditional clauses present themselves with a striking diversity of strategies across Arabic varieties. Different temporal and modal verbal patterns, preverbal particles, and conditional markers – taken from the Arabic morpho-lexical core or based on foreign linguistic materials (Grigore 2008) – appear to be variously combined, and specific morphological and syntactic strategies are even devised

to express dialect-specific conditional types. Such variation of conceptual structures and forms is highlighted wherever different varieties coexist, conflict, and eventually mix in speakers' thought and language. Such is the case of the different conditional systems found in Palestinian Arabic varieties in contact with MSA.

In this article, I explore the development of CCs that has resulted from the interaction between different Palestinian dialectal systems and MSA in Israel. I analyze Muṭallaṭ, Northern Galilean, and Galilean Bedouin CCs and their emergence in academic speaking and writing. The use of CCs from local dialectal types in high-standard spoken and written Arabic is striking, yet frequent, alongside standard forms. Furthermore, new mixed types emerge from the contact. My analysis is based on a cross-generational investigation, comparing data from the speakers of traditional dialects, which are available in their purest forms today only among the elders, and from highly educated, younger, native speakers of the same varieties. The selection of the informants and the data collection are detailed below, in the methodology section.

The three dialects under observation represent different Palestinian Arabic linguistic identities in Israel. Muṭallaṭ Arabic is a sedentary, rural variety spoken in the homonymous region by the local Muslim population (Jastrow 2004). For this study, I have data from Jaljūlya, Taybe, Baga al-Ġarbiyya, and Umm al-Faḥm. Northern Galilean is a koine of communal varieties (Blanc 1953; Palva 1984). In this study, I consider Muslim and Christian varieties from Šhāb, Kfar Manda, and ʕAylabūn. Galilean Bedouin (Rosenhouse 1984) is a cluster of strictly correlated Bedouin varieties spoken in Wādī Sallāma, Buʕeyne-Nujidāt, Bīril-Maksūr, and by some families in Jisriz-Zarqa.

2. Methodology

In the present study, I consider three Palestinian Arabic dialects spoken in Israel: Muṭallaṭ, Northern Galilean, and Galilean Bedouin. I consider speakers from three age groups for each variety: 1. six elders, representing the traditional variety, in minimal contact with MSA; 2. six senior academic staff members (from the humanities and sciences) over age fifty-five and bilingual in their dialect/MSA; 3. six university students (from the humanities and sciences) up to age thirty-five and bilingual in their dialect/MSA. Each group of six has three female and three male members (but gender-based biases are not analyzed in the present study). Fifty-four people were involved in total, grouped by dialect and age into the nine groups detailed here.

According to the methodology suggested by Grigore (2005b; 2008), the data considered in this study have two different, yet comparable, sources for each dialect and age group. The first is a sample of **one hundred eighty** CCs that I recorded during fieldwork sessions aimed at sampling spontaneous conversations between members of the same dialectal and age group. Each group is thus represented by twenty CCs.

The second is a set of twenty CCs produced by speakers within each group and manipulated at my request, for a total of **one hundred eighty** selected CCs. From this second set, standardized examples given by all groups are reported on here.

In order to keep the data comparable across different age groups, written language is not considered here. According to my data, habitual and temporal conditional meanings

are generally associated with the marker *ʔida/ʔida* (dialectal counterparts of *ʔidā*) in all varieties, with different degrees of possibility expressed by perfect and imperfect verbal forms. Many other observations regarding conditional systems of different Palestinian varieties could be carried out. For example, real interrogative and negative CCs show verbal patterns of unreal hypotheses and conditional markers of reality (Jisriz-Zarqa). However, further enquiries on each dialectal system remain outside the limited scope of this paper.

3. Data

The presentation of the data in a schematic form requires a basic, preliminary classification of CCs in the three dialects under observation, as they appear in both traditional and educated varieties. My classification is based on the interaction of condition markers and verbal patterns in protasis and apodosis. In agreement with former dialectal CC classifications, I devised a basic distinction between real and unreal conditions that seems to be valid across all varieties investigated here. Whenever grammatical criteria show the emergence of a subtype, I adapt the schema.

3.1. CCs in Traditional Varieties

Data from the three dialectal groups of the elders are reported in Table 1.

The examples follow the order of the English sentences listed below.

Real CCs:

1. "If I have time, we go out."
2. "If you arrive at seven, we go out."
3. "If you say it again, I go away."

Irreal CCs:

1. "If I had wings, I could fly."
2. "If I had a palace, I would be a princess."
3. "If you had told me about the problem, I could have helped you."

	Real Condition		Irreal Condition	
	Less Possibility	More Possibility	Counterfactual	Hypothetical
Muṭallat	1. <i>ʔida ʕindī wakit, niṭlaʕ;</i>		1. <i>law bakā lī jinḥān, ʕirit;</i>	2a. <i>law bakā lī kaʕir, ʕān ʔana ʔamīra;</i> 2b. <i>ʔida bakā lī kaʕir, ʔinʕān ʔana halkēt ʔamīra;</i>
	2. <i>ʔida wasalit bi-sēʕa sebʕa, niṭlaʕ;</i>	3a. <i>tihčēt maʕay hēča kamān marra, ʔana ʔarūḥ;</i> 3b. <i>ʔida tihčēt maʕay hēča kamān marra, ʔana ʔarūḥ;</i>	3. <i>law hačēt-lī saʕādīt-ak;</i>	ʕanil-muškilē, ʕunt
Northern Galilean	1. <i>ʔida maʕay waʔt, niṭlaʕ;</i>		1a. <i>law kān ʕindī jinḥān, kunt ʕirit;</i> 1b. <i>law kān ʕindī ʔajniḥa, kān ʕiret;</i> 1c. <i>kān ʕindī jinḥān, kunt ʕiret;</i>	2a. <i>ʔida ʕindī ʔaʕir, suret ʔamīra;</i> 2b. <i>ʔida kān ʕindī ʔaʕir, suret ʔamīra;</i>
	2. <i>ʔida ʔajīna ʕa-sēʕa sēbiʕa, bniṭlaʕ;</i>	3a. <i>tihkī maʕay hēk marra ʔoxra, ʔarūḥ ʔani/ ʔana ʔarūḥ;</i> 3b. <i>ʔida tihkī maʕay hēk marra ʔoxra, ʔarūḥ ʔani/ ʔana ʔarūḥ;</i>	3a. <i>law hačēt-lī ʕanil-muškilē, la kunt saʕādet-ak;</i> 3b. <i>hačēt-lī ʕanil-muškilē, la kān saʕādet-ak;</i>	
Galilean Bedouin	1. <i>ʔida liyya wagt, niṭliʕ;</i>		1. <i>law kān liyya janaḥāt, ʔin kān ʕirət;</i>	2a. <i>ʔin kān liyya gaʕir, kunt rāyḥa ʔakūn ʔamīra;</i> 2b. <i>law liyya gaʕir, ʔin kān surt ʔamīra;</i>
	2. <i>ʔin wuʕilna ʔis-sēʕa sabʕa, niṭliʕ;</i>	3. <i>ʔin tihkī maʕay kaḏā kamān marra, ʔarūḥ;</i>	3. <i>law gult-liyya saʕādīt-ak;</i>	ʕanal-muškilih, kunt

Table 1. CC Types in Traditional Varieties

3.2. CCs among Senior Academic Staff Members

Data from the three dialectal groups of senior academic staff members are reported in Table 2. The examples follow the order of the English sentences listed at the beginning.

	Real Condition		Irreal Condition	
	Less Possibility	More Possibility	Counterfactual	Hypothetical
Muṭallat	1. <i>ʔida ʕindī wakī, niṭlaʕ;</i>		1. <i>law bakā lī jinḥān, ʔirit;</i> 2. <i>law bakā lī qaʕīr, ʕunt ʔamīra;</i> 3. <i>law ḥačēt-lī ʕanil-muškile, ʕunt saʕādit-ak;</i>	
	2. <i>ʔida tīji bi-sēʕa sebʕa, bniṭlaʕ;</i> 3. <i>ʔida tiḥčī maʕay hēča kamān marra, barūh;</i>			
Northern Galilean	1. <i>ʔida maʕay waʔt, niṭlaʕ;</i>		1. <i>law kān ʕindī janāḥīn, kunt aṭīr;</i>	2. <i>ʔida kān ʕindī ʔaʕīr, kunet ʔamīra;</i>
	2. <i>ʔida ʔajīnaʕa-sabʕa, bniṭlaʕ;</i>	3. <i>ʔida tiḥkī maʕay hēk marra ʔoxra, ʔarūh ʔani/ ʔana ʔarūh;</i>	3. <i>law ḥakēt-lī ʕanil-muškile, kunt ʔasaʕdek-l-ak;</i>	
Galilean Bedouin	1. <i>ʔida liyya waḡt, niṭliʕ;</i>		1. <i>law kān liyy ajanaḥāt, kān ʔirit;</i>	2. <i>ʔin kān liyya gaʕīr, kān kunt ʔamīra;</i>
	2. <i>ʔin wuʕilna ʔis-sēʕa sabʕa, niṭliʕ;</i>	3. <i>ʔin tiḥkī maʕay kaḏā kamān marra, ʔarūh;</i>	3. <i>law gult-liyya ʕanil-muškilih, kunt saʕādit-ak;</i>	

Table 2. CC Types in the Varieties of Academic Senior Staff

3.3. CCs among Students

Data from the three dialectal groups of the students are reported in Table 3. The examples follow the order of the English sentences listed at the beginning.

	Real Condition		Irreal Condition	
	Less Possibility	More Possibility	Counterfactual	Hypothetical
Muṭallat	1. <i>ʔida ʕindī wakī, niṭlaʕ;</i> 2. <i>ʔida bīji bi-sēʕa sebʕa, bniṭlaʕ;</i> 3. <i>ʔida btiḥčī maʕay hēča kamān marra, barūh;</i>		1. <i>law bakā lī jinḥān, ʔirit;</i> 2. <i>law bakā lī qaʕīr, ʕunt ʔamīra;</i> 3. <i>law ḥačēt-lī ʕanil-muškile, saʕādit-ak;</i>	

Northern Galilean	1. <i>ʔida maʕay waʔt, niʔlaʕ;</i> 2a. <i>ʔida btiʔi ʕa- sabʕa, bniʔlaʕ;</i> 2b. <i>tʔi ʕa- sabʕa, bniʔlaʕ;</i> 3a. <i>ʔida btiʔkī maʕay hēk marra ʔoxra, barūh;</i> 3b. <i>tihkī maʕay hēk marra ʔoxra, barūh;</i>	1. <i>law kān ʕind ʔjanāhīn, kunt aʔir;</i>	2. <i>ʔida kān ʕindī ʔaʕir, kunet ʔamīra;</i>
		3. <i>law ʔakēt-lī basaʕdek-l-ak;</i>	<i>ʕanil-muʕkile, kunt</i>
Galilean Bedouin	1. <i>ʔida liyya wagt, niʔliʕ;</i>	1. <i>law kān liyya janaʔāt, kān ʔirī;</i>	2. <i>ʔin kān liyya gaʕir, kunt ʔamīra;</i>
	2a. <i>ʔida jūt is-sēʕa sabʕa, bniʔliʕ;</i> 2b. <i>rāh tʔi is-sēʕa sabʕa, niʔliʕ;</i>	3. <i>ʔida tihkī maʕay hēk kamān marra, barūh;</i>	3. <i>law gult-liyya ʕanil-muʕkilih, kunt saʕādit-ak;</i>

Table 3. CC Types in the Varieties of the Students

4. Conclusions

The traditional varieties present a quadripartite CCs system in which reality and irrealty are both divided into two subtypes. The domain of irrealty distinguishes between counterfactual and hypothetical CCs, while the domain of reality distinguishes between two fields, which I simply label: ‘less possibility’ and ‘more possibility.’ Regarding the domain of possibility/reality, the traditional Palestinian systems are similar to Damascene (Jalonen 2017), with both *ʔida* and *ʔin*. Regarding the domain of irrealty, they are similar to the eastern and *qaltu* varieties described by Grigore (2005; 2008) and Biṭunā (2015).

Over the three generations, the quadripartite system changes, becoming progressively closer to the bipartite system described in MSA (Ryding 2005). Protasis with *ʔida*+ imperfect is prevalently associated with real hypotheses of the habitual and temporal types (also in nominal clauses, example 1 in reality), but it also penetrates the domains of decreasing possibility (examples 3 and 2 in reality), even in the Galilean Bedouin dialect, clearly the most conservative, as this comparison demonstrates. In traditional systems, protasis with *law* + perfect indicates counterfactual CCs, and in time also becomes generalized to hypothetical types, originally marked by protasis in *ʔida* + perfect. Here *ʔin* is exclusively present in Galilean Bedouin, marking the distinction between habitual real CCs and other real CCs. The use of *kāna*, almost completely grammaticalized in all traditional dialects under observation here, changes over the generations: the generic use of *kān* (3 m.s.) is substituted by the inflected forms, which are regularly used with the verb in the perfect in irreal apodoses.

The striking *ʔinčān* in traditional Muṭallaṭ nominal sentences of the hypothetic type, which brings to mind the data on Siirti (Biṭunā 2015), is noteworthy. Among the Galilean Bedouin students, *rāh* (3 m.s.) accompanies verbs inflected in the future in real conditional sentences.

The use of the b-prefixed future conjugation enters the protasis of real CCs even in academic discourse and writing among the students. In this and other respects, the most innovative variety seems to be the Muṭallat dialect.

Asyndetic CCs are present in traditional varieties, while their use is very restricted in the intermediate group. They appear in students' spoken varieties, even in formal contexts, but are avoided in writing.

Some strong evidence for the discriminant role of the verbal pattern in the apodosis is provided by the Palestinian varieties under observation here. Within the domain of irreality, apodoses are strongly marked. In traditional Galilean dialects, *la* introduces some counterfactual apodoses. In Galilean Bedouin dialects, *ʔin* marks unreal apodoses. Unreal apodoses are also characterized by the presence of the double perfect (*kāna*, inflected or in 3 m.s., + the regent verb). CCs as described here for senior academic staff and students are used in academic speech and found, with some exceptions, in their written production. The use of dialectal structures in official occasions proves that conceptual categories cannot be easily modified by external, learned systems. Furthermore, Palestinian Arabic dialects have a long history of independence from the peninsular models, both in written and spoken forms. In this particular situation, the presence of Hebrew as the language of education, media, and public arenas in Israel preserves the dialectal structures from deeper contacts with foreign, educated Arabic models.

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ASPECTS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN DAILY CONVERSATIONS AMONG THE TURKS OF DOBRUDJA

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Abstract. The present work aims at exposing the patterns of language behavior and bringing to light the way the bilingual Turks of Dobrudja insert words, phrases and sentences from Romanian into everyday conversations in Turkish, using both redundant and complementary code-switching, a linguistic phenomenon which has attracted increasing attention. In order to demonstrate this, I made individual and group recordings in the autumn of 2018 with several interlocutors who live in Constanța, Cernavodă and Făurei (the Turkish names of these localities are Köstence, Boğaz-Köy and Kalaycı, respectively). They are women and men, aged between 60 and 70 who have declared their belonging to the ethnic Turkish people. I mention that in the last locality, a village on the Romanian-Bulgarian border, there are almost 500 Turkophones. According to the hodja of the locality, most of them are Roma people, who declare themselves Turks.

Keywords: *code-switching, bilingual, Turkish, Romanian, Dobrudja.*

Introduction

The presence of Turks in Dobrudja dates back hundreds of years ago, as historian Mustafa Ali Mehmet argues in an article included in the volume *Istorie și identitate la turcii din Dobrogea*. According to him, following the Mongolian invasion in the Middle East, towards the middle of the 13th century, an important group of Seljuk Turks from Anatolia, around 10,000 to 12,000 families, ran away from the Mongols to first shelter in Byzantium. Under the leadership of the Seljuk prince Izzeddin Keykavus and the famous dervish Sarı Saltuk Baba, this group was later placed in Dobrudja in the years 1262-1264 by the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus, in order to defend the Byzantine interests in that part of the Empire at the time (Mehmet 2017: 17). Currently, the number of the Romanian citizens who have declared themselves Turkish people is almost 28,000, representing a small percentage of the country's population, as shown by the latest census in 2011¹. Nowadays, compact Turcophone communities are found mostly in rural areas, such as the villages of Bașpinar or Cobadin. Throughout the centuries, the Turks of Dobrudja have sought to preserve their cultural heritage, habits, and last but not least language. As in the case of many other ethnic communities in the country, bilingualism is a widespread phenomenon in the case of Turks of Dobrudja, as well.

¹ recensamantromania.ro/rezultate-2/

The speakers I recorded had learnt Turkish at home, in the family sphere, as their mother tongue and they had studied Romanian during the school years as a second language.

In Dobrudja, as in many other parts of the world, bilingualism inevitably leads to some linguistic phenomena, among which the code switching, the bilingual speaker often oscillating between Turkish and Romanian, usually due to pragmatic reasons. Even when all the participants in a discussion are Turks, they resort, according to their linguistic skills, involuntarily and habitually, to code-switching.

According to Penelope Gardner-Chloros:

“By analysing code-switched speech, we can find out which combinations of words or morphemes from different languages can be easily combined and which are more resistant, or perhaps even impossible. Since grammar consists of rules regarding such combinations, CS acts as a signpost, pointing at where the different issues may arise, and paving the way towards a better understanding of grammar”. (2009: 5)

At the same time, Peter Muysken and Rene Appel state that analyses of the speech of bilinguals have shown that code switching takes place at natural breaking points in the sentence, not just anywhere. There appear to be a number of structural constraints on code switching, they say, as it is hard to switch between an article and a noun, for example (Muysken, Appel 2005: 80). At the same time, Suzanne Romaine underlines that the more different two languages are, the fewer the places at which grammatical switches can occur (Romaine 2000: 58).

Code-switching speech of the Turkish - Romanian Bilinguals of Dobrudja

The Turkish variety spoken in Dobrudja does not differ too much from the standard Turkish in respect to phonology, morphology or syntax. The only notable difference is that, in terms of conjugations in the present tense of the indicative mood, they are accomplished by agglutination to the verb root of the suffix *-yor* followed by personal suffixes. In the Turkish spoken in Dobrudja, this suffix is reduced to *-y*, preceded, according to the vowel harmony rules, by one of the vowels */i/*, */ı/*, */u/*, */ü/*.

In this research, we will see how and under what conditions the code-switching occurs, given that the two languages are totally different from the point of view of word order. If Romanian is an SVO language, Turkish, a member of the Oghuz branch of Turkic and, on the other hand, the dominant language in this case, has an SOV structure. However, the Turks of Dobrudja sometimes use SVO-like sentences, as in Romanian.

In *L'arabe parlé à Mardin: monographie d'un parler arabe périphérique*, George Grigore distinguishes between redundant and complementary code-switching, both linguistic phenomena being encountered in the speech of the Turks of Dobrudja (Grigore 2007: 332).

1. Redundant code-switching

Redundant code-switching occurs when the bilingual speaker repeats the information he has uttered in his / her mother tongue in another language. Depending on his linguistic skills, he introduces equivalents to reinforce the information previously mentioned in Turkish, sometimes with a wave of regret in the voice, sometimes as a firm demand. The following examples are gathered from recordings made in Kalaycı and Constanța:

Oğlumta² evlenmedi, încă nu s-a căsătorit³. Sabırsızlıkla bekliyoruz.
 “My son has not got married yet. We look forward to it”.

Otur, otur iskemleye, stai pe scaun! Ayağa kalkma! Şimdi gitmeyeceğiz!
 “Wait, sit down! Do not stand up! We're not leaving now!”

As a result of the fact that they are bilingual, the Turks of Dobrudja are often tempted to utter in Romanian what they said earlier as a kind of echo:

Komşumdan bir kilo un aldım, kek yapayım, să fac un chec!
 “I took a pound of flour from my neighbour, to make abun cake”.

Aman aman, niçin bu kadar acele ediyorsun, ce te grăbești așa, kıyamet mi kopacak?
 “Aman, aman, why are you in such a hurry? Is this the end of the world?”

Vay halime, zorlama beni, nu mă forța! Gideceğim dedim!
 “Woe, do not force me! I said I would go!”

We note, therefore, that conversation in Turkish is often complemented with Romanian synonyms in order to express the different moods of the speaker: from anxiety or a kind of unfulfillment to astonishment or a promise made itself.

2. Complementary code-switching

George Grigore (2007: 334) states that the complementary code-switching is the insertion in a mother tongue of words, syntactical features, alloglots that do not have equivalents, in order to specify something, to clarify certain parts of the discourse, to express new notions. Sometimes, in the absence of a correspondence of the inserted words in the mother tongue, code-switching is the only way to render some ideas. The Turks of Dobrudja often use code-switching when they can't express themselves fluently in Turkish and use the Romanian language to render entirely what they want to convey.

² Adv. *taa*<Tk. *daha* “yet”.

³ I underlined the code-switched utterances both in Romanian and English for an easier recognition.

Complementary code-switching may be:

- inter-sentential;
- intra-sentential;
- tag switching.

2.1. Inter-sentential code-switching

Inter-sentential code-switching is switching from one language to another outside the sentence or the clause level. This type of CS can be of two kinds. On the one hand, it is about inter-sentential code-switching, on the other hand, about intra-sentential code-switching. In the first case, we are talking about insertions, sentences or even independent phrases expressed in Romanian, which come in continuation of the Turkish speech and are not syntactically dependent on one another. These insertions do not resume the above-mentioned idea, but bring a novelty into the conversation. It is about the ability of the speaker who chooses this mode of expression, juggling with the two languages. Many times, he does not find the appropriate words in his mother tongue and calls for the continuity of speech in the second language.

From the recordings I made, it can be seen that, as far as the independent clauses are concerned, they do not have a fixed place but can appear in the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the speech. I, hereafter, render a dialogue that took place between a man and his wife who were expecting, in Constanta, their daughter:

–*Neriman’la konuştum. A zis că vine mâine.*

“I spoke to Neriman. She said she will come tomorrow”.

–*Gelsin, özledim onu. Bir şeyler hazırlayım. Ce să fac: baklava mı, mercimek çorbası mı? O mercimek çorbasını çok sever. E şî usor de facut.*

“Let her come. I miss her. I’ll get ready with something. What shall I cook: baklava, lentil soup? She likes lentil soup very much. Moreover, it’s easy to make”.

–*Yurtta yiy, yemiy, n-avem de unde să ştim. N-o să ne spună. Zayıfladı son aylarda.*

“Whether or not she eats at the hostel, there’s no way for us to know. She won’t tell us. She has lost weight in the recent months”.

Another Turkish lady from Constanta talks about the moment when she was asked to marry her future husband and, in her speech, she also inserts both clauses and phrases in Romanian:

–*Tamam, kendi düğünümüzü yaptık. Dar să ştii că fiecare face altfel, câte bordeie, atâtea obiceie. Deci noi ne-am luat, birbirimizi aldıktan sonra, nikâhımızı yaptık. Nasıl tanıştık? Yengesi gelirdi, tanışırdı annemle, babamla. O geldi, beğenmiş. Geldiler, isterdi, biraz çatışma oldu, ayrıldık, aşa şî biraz geçti. O zaman kaçtım, eşimle kaçtım. Yoktu, annesi, babası yoktu şî, nasıl, nikâhımızı yaptık. Deci, çalgı tuttuk. Hoca nikâhı. Yüzüme bir çember mi, acum, örtümüm örtümü, örtüldü. Bir yenge Kuran’ı çevirdi. Deci, hocalar, erkekler, mevlit yaptılar. Aşa, geldiler, sonra bittikten sonra mevlit, hoca efendi geldi, izin istedi. Adet. Kızlar kapıya durdu. Verdi ona birkaç para, girdi içeri şî... adet yerine gelsin de. Geldi, benden sordu üç defa istiy mi evlenmek. Oldu, bitti. Bu kadar nikâhımız. Sonra düğünümüz de oldu. Deci, bu kış aydı. Yazın düğünümüz oldu. Çalgıyla, yemekle. Salona*

gittik akşam. Akrabalar, arkadaşlar oradaydı. Naşii au fost români. Deci, asta cu naşii nu-i obiceiul nostru. Bizde vekil anne, vekil baba var.

“Okay, we did the religious wedding. But you should know that everybody does things differently, there are as many customs as areas. So we got married, after we had our wedding ceremony. How did we meet each other? His sister-in-law came in, she met my mother, my father. He came, he liked me. They came, they asked me, there was a little hassle, we split up and it took a while. Then I ran away, ran with my husband. He did not have a mom or dad, and we had the religious wedding. So, we hired musicians. Hoca made the religious ceremony. They put a kerchief on my face. A sister-in-law opened the Coran. So, hoca and the men performed the ceremony. So, they came, after they had prayers, the hoca came, asked for my consent. That's the custom. The girls stood at the door. They gave them some money; they went in and ... to accomplish the custom. He came and asked me three times if I wanted to get married. There it was, it was over. This was our religious celebration. Then we did the wedding. So, it was in a winter month. In the summer we had the wedding. With musicians, with food. In the evening we went to the salon. There were relatives there, (...) friends. The godfathers were Romanians. So, this thing with the godfathers is not our custom. We have religious wedding godfathers”.

Another lady from Constanța reported the following:

–Pek akrabalarımız yok. Anne tarafından dedem nereden geldi bilmiyorum. Probabil a fost cu grupul acela care a venit, s-a aşezat. Înainte de război, nu cu războiul. Nici eu nu eram lămurită mult timp. Măi, cum ne-am aşezat noi aici. Çoluk çocuk getirmediler buraya. Nu eram lămuriti şi am citit tot pe internet. Aşa a fost să fie. În război nu puteau să fie familii întregi aici. Ana annem buralı, dar çok akrabaları var Bulgaristan'da. Deci, Pazarcik'te. Çocuklarımdan taa yakınım. Adică discutăm orice problemă. Eskiden annebabalar öyle değildi. Misafir geldiği zaman evimize, biz çocuklar çıkmıyorduk, oturuyorduk bir odada. Ben öyle büyüdüm.

“We do not have many relatives. I don't know where my maternal grandfather came from. It probably happened with that group that came and settled down. Before the war, not with the war. This has been unclear for me as well for a long time. Similar to how we've settled up here. They did not bring their children here. We were not clear about this and read it all on the Internet. That's how it was meant to be. During the war there could not be whole families here. My maternal grandmother is from here, but she has many relatives in Bulgaria. So, in Pazarcik. I'm closer to my children. I mean, we discuss any problem. Parents were not like that in the past. When guests came to our house, we the children would not come out, rather stayed away in a room. That's how I grew up”.

The same lady brings into discussion the mealtime observance:

–Ultima masă la noi nu se mănâncă seara târziu. Cel târziu la şapte. Yedide. Öyle alıştık. Nu prea respectăm noi orele de masă. Şey, birisi geliy dörtte, birisi geliy beşte, altıda. “We don't have dinner late in the evening. No later than seven. At seven (that's how we are used to). We don't really respect the meal times. One comes at four o'clock, another at five, at six”.

Another lady speaks about neighborly relations:

–*Ben anlıyım Tatarca'yı, dar ben konuşamıyım. Ce se vorbește, înțeleg. Tatar komşularımız vardı. Am stat pe Ion Rațiu. Vreo șase ani am stat și pe Dobrogei și acolo sunt mulți. Și în Tomis II. Mama era foarte primitoare cu toată lumea: Tatar, gâvur, Çingene. İyi geçiniyorduk. Şimdi durum başka. Blokta oturursanız, bilirsiniz. Kapı kapandı, bitti. Şimdi komşuluk artık yok. Yok, yok. Eskiden vardı.* “I understand Tatar, but do not speak it. I understand what's being said. We used to have Tatar neighbors. I lived on Ion Rațiu Street. Another six years I lived on Dobrogei Street where also many Tatars live. In Tomis II district, too. My mother was very welcoming to everyone: Tatars, Giaours, Gypsies. We used to get along well. Now things are different. If you live in a block of flats, you know, once you've shut your door behind you, it's all over. Nowadays we no longer pay visits to our neighbors. We don't. In times past we used to visit one another”.

The same lady speaks about wedding customs:

–*Mă uit la ei [turcii din Turcia] cum fac nunta. Bizde mevlit okunuyor. Onlarda yok. N-am văzut pe niciunul care să facă ca noi. Ei s-au modernizat mai mult ca noi. Erkekler bir tarafta okuy, kadınlar bir tarafta. Bir yere gelmiy.* “Look at the Turks in Turkey, at how the wedding is done there. With us wedding prayers would be read. With them is not like that. I haven't seen anyone do it like we do. They are more modern than we are. Men read prayers in one room, women in another. They do not sit together”.

This record is another example of intersentential code-switching:

Hem Türkçe, hem Romence konuşuyuz. Karışık. Să ne exprimăm mai bine. Karıştırırız. Asta e. Toată lumea vorbește așa, amestecat. “We speak both Turkish and Romanian. Mixed up, to better express ourselves. We mix them up. That's how it is. Everybody speaks like that, mixed up”.

Often, in the case of sentences that reproduce direct speech, the Turkish speaker no longer translates into Turkish the speech of the dialogue partner:
Komşumla görüştim dün, o dedi ki mâine se opresc gazele câteva ore “I met my neighbor yesterday, she said tomorrow the gas stops for a few hours”.
Alina uğradı bize, dedi ki Marius a luat examenul “Alina dropped by, she said Marius passed the exam”.

The following story belongs to a Turk who lives in Cernavodă and who tells a group of friends how his daughter learned years ago when she went to school to study Romanian. In this case, the speaker chooses to complete his speech in Romanian and also to quote the observations made by his daughter's teacher in Romanian, and not to translate them into Turkish:

Ne kadar mektebe gidiyeler bilsin Mokanca⁴ da, să se descurce mai ușor. Beş yaşında geldi uşak, bilmiy Mokanca. Orada sade Türkçe, Tatarca konuşulurdu. Türkçe biliy. Getirdik buraya, Școala 3'e verdik. Bir şey bilmiy. Çağırđı bir gün învătătoare: <Doamnă, ce mă fac eu cu fata asta a dumneavoastră? O boabă nu știe.> Vina este a noastră. Yaa, alıştı sonra. Ama zor oluy. Bakıyım kızıma şimdi sade Mokanca konuşuy: fã cutare, fã cutare.
 “When they go to school, they have to know Romanian too, so as to get on more easily. The five-year-old came, she does not know any Romanian. Only Tartar and Turkish were spoken there. She knows Turkish. We brought her here, she went to School No. 3. She does not know anything. The teacher called my wife someday: <Madam, what am I going to do with this girl of yours? She can't speak any [Romanian] words.> The fault is ours. (...) She got used to it then, but it's difficult. I am now looking at my daughter, she only speaks Romanian: Do this, do that.”

2.2. Intra-sentential code-switching

Intra-sentential code-switching takes place inside the sentence, and the speaker uses Romanian words, although he knows their correspondent in Turkish. Nouns and adjectives are usually inserted.

2.2.1. Nouns

Common nouns receive, when appropriate, the Turkish indefinite article *bir*, when using the singular form, as in the example:

Bir bec tak buraya! “Put a light bulb here!”
Ver bir cana su! “Give me a mug of water!”

In the second example, *cana* “mug” takes the indefinite article, *bir*, although the word takes the definite article in Romanian.

In other cases, Romanian common nouns receive various suffixes such as those of the locative, respecting the law of Turkish vocal harmony:

Aşağı cartierde Tatarca konuşuyalar “They talk Tatar in the lower neighbourhood”.

When the inserted noun is a subject, it takes the definite article as in the examples:

Revoluția geldi “The revolution came.”
Bazı zaman mașina doluy, bazı zaman yok insan “Sometimes the car is full, sometimes there are no people”.

⁴ *Mocan*, Transylvanian shepherd who takes the sheep up to the mountains in the summer months and returns to the plains in the winter. Turks from *Dobrudja* use *mokanca* for referring to the Romanian language: n. *Mokan* + suf. *-ca*.

Mutfakta robinet boz uldu “The kitchen tap is broken”.
Pensia geldi “The pension has arrived”.

In the next dialogue, along with the collective noun *restul* “the rest”, which is a subject, the copulative verb “to be” is also inserted in the sentence, at present tense, the third person, plural.

–*Kalaycı’da çok Türk var mı?* “Are there many Turks in Kalaycı?”
 –*Kalaycı’da kaldı on iki-on üç tane. Restul sunt milletlerden şimdilik. Restul kasabalarda* “twelve-thirteen Turks remained in Kalaycı. The rest are Roma people. The rest of them live in the cities”.

2.2.2 Adjectives

The adjectives inserted in the sentences built in Turkish always have the form of a singular masculine. It should be mentioned that if in Romanian the adjective agrees in case, number and gender with the noun it modifies, in Turkish this agreement does not occur. The next dialogue, which took place in Cernavodă after the mosque service on Friday, is eloquent:

–*Deştept onlar, hocam, milletler*⁵ “They are smart, hoca, the Roma people”.
 –*Yaşamayı beceren herkes akıllıdır* “All those who manage to make a living are smart”.
 –*Mecidiye’ye gitsen, şey, aşağı cartierde Tatarca konuşuyorlar*” If you go to Medgidia, in the lower neighborhood, they talk Tatar”.
 –*En kârlı insan onlar: Türkçe konuşur, Tatarca konuşur, Romence bilir, Çingene cebilir. Dört dil konuşuyorlar* “These are the most advantaged people: they speak Turkish, they speak Tatar, they know Romanian, they know the Rromani language. They speak four languages”.

It is worth mentioning that although one of the participants in the conversation uses a noun in Romanian, respectively *deştept* “smart”, another responds using the same word in Turkish. Another aspect that is noteworthy is that during conversations taking place in Turkish, both Turkish of Dobrudja and standard Turkish are used. As a matter of fact, young people, in particular, speak the standard language, influenced by the frequent travels to Turkey or the television broadcasts of Turkish TV stations that can be watched by cable TV services.

2.2.3 Adverbs

The Turks of Dobrogea introduce in their speech adverbs or adverbial phrases in Romanian, which can be placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence.

⁵ *Millet* “nation” < Ar. *milla*, term which designates a non-Muslim community in the Ottoman Empire. The Turks of Dobrudja use it nowadays when they refer to the Gypsies who declare themselves Sunni Muslims and pretend to be Turks.

Canım tatlı çekiy uneori “Sometimes I want to eat something sweet”.
In trecut, orada mektep vardı “In the past, there used to be a school there”.

2.2.4. Conjunctions and conjunctive phrases

Conjunctions and conjunctive phrases are often used in the speech of the Turks in Dobrogea, as in the following examples:

a) conclusive coordinating conjunctions:

Yarın Köstence’ye gideceğiz, deci erken kalkacağız “Tomorrow we’ll go to Constanta, so we’ll get up early”.

b) adversative coordinating conjunctions:

Ablama da uğrayacaktım, dar vaktim yoktu “I was going to stop by my elder sister, but I had no time”.

Bazen Türkçe, bazen Mekanca konuşuyum, dar kızım sade Mekanca konuşuy
“Sometimes I speak Turkish, sometimes Romanian, but my daughter only speaks Romanian”.

Aysel’i aramayacağım, dar mesaj göndereceğim. “I will not call Aysel, but I will send her a message”.

c) concessive subordinate conjunction:

Neriman’ın paketini hazırlayacağım, deşi ne zaman gidecek bilmiyorum “I will prepare Neriman’s package, although I do not know when she leaves”.

d) concessive conjunctive phrase:

Torunlarım Türkçe konuşmuy, cu toate că onlarla sade Türkçe konuşuyum “My grandchildren do not speak Turkish, although I only speak Turkish with them”.

e) time subordinating conjunctive phrase:

Până să vin eu, gitti kız “By the time I came, the girl left”.
Ori de câte ori îl văd, hatırlıyorum oğlumu “Every time I see him, I remember my son”.

2.3. Tag-switching

Tag-switching includes interjections or idiomatic expressions. Sometimes these are used as if a confirmation from the interlocutor would be expected, sometimes denoting surprise,

astonishment, as in the following examples selected from several conversations with the Turks of Dobrudja:

Torunun hiç Türkçe bilmiy, nu?

“Your grandson does not know any Turkish, does he?”

Cum adică, siz şimdiye kadar tanışmadınız mı?

“What do you mean, you have not met up to now?”

Aoleo, pilavım pişmedi mi?

“Woe to me, the pilaf isn’t ready yet?”

Conclusions

The use of the native language is one of the pillars of the ethnic identity of the Turkish minority in Dobrogea, a multicultural land of Romania and a region that was under Ottoman rule for hundreds of years. In the past, the mother tongue was taught at home in the early years of life, and after the child integrated into school, he began to learn the Romanian language, too. Nowadays, however, the learning of the Romanian language occurs even before the beginning of school, as the parents speak both Turkish and Romanian at home. As a result of bilingualism, Turkish ethnics in Dobrogea use code-switching, which has become a reality in the everyday conversations of community members, both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code switching being used. They insert clauses, as well as nouns, adjectives or conjunctions and conjunctive phrases, respecting the grammar rules. Defined as the ability of a bilingual or multilingual to use more than one language within the same speech, CS, a worldwide phenomenon, can be sometimes an advantageous skill, showing that the speaker is capable of flexibly speaking languages. But in the Turkish community of Dobrudja it can be a sign that the speaker is fluent neither in the mother tongue nor in the second language. So, one could consider that it is about the lack of ability to fill in the blank with the appropriate word and use a Romanian word or sentence instead of a Turkish one and, on the other hand, some concepts are easier to be rendered in the second language than in the first one. The Turks of Dobrudja easily switch from Turkish to Romanian, as they say, to better express themselves.

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VARIATION LEXICALE DANS L'ARABE MODERNE STANDARD

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Abstract. Comme la variation linguistique est un phénomène commun pour toutes les langues on suppose qu'elle pourrait affecter même une langue qui fonctionne comme variété standard. La situation linguistique de la langue arabe est caractérisée par la diglossie, un phénomène qui se manifeste par l'existence, en même temps, d'une variété standard utilisée pour des fonctions écrites et orales à caractère formel et des variétés locales, les dialectes. La variété standard que nous souhaitons prendre en considération est l'arabe moderne standard et notre hypothèse est que celle-ci n'est pas la même partout, qu'elle varie d'un pays à l'autre ou d'une région à l'autre surtout en ce qui concerne le lexique. Si, par exemple, l'arabe standard d'Égypte diffère de celui du Maroc on considère que les variétés locales, les dialectes ont un rôle dans ce processus. Dans sa qualité de variété standard, l'arabe moderne standard est très bien normé et l'un de ses lieux de manifestations le plus représentatif est la presse écrite. De plus, comme de nos jours chaque pays détient et produit sa propre presse écrite, c'est, peut-être, le meilleur lieu pour observer comment les dialectes peuvent influencer l'arabe standard. En même temps, on connaît le fait que la communication réelle entre individus prend souvent place dans un arabe intermédiaire, une combinaison entre le dialecte spécifique de chaque personne et l'arabe standard. Ainsi, on a pu observer le développement d'un autre niveau d'arabe, un arabe propre aux échanges formels qui se manifeste surtout à l'oral. Il s'agit de l'arabe éduqué standard dont Mitchell affirmait qu'il pourrait fonctionner comme un koiné, avec le rôle d'aider tous les arabes à communiquer. Alors, si la variation existe dans l'arabe standard et si les dialectes ont une influence importante dans ce phénomène, on pourrait supposer qu'on observe le développement de plusieurs arabes éduqués locaux ou régionaux qui seraient un mélange entre les arabes dialectaux spécifiques pour chaque région et l'arabe moderne standard.

Mots-clés : *variation linguistique, variété standard, arabe éduqué standard.*

Le phénomène de la diglossie qui caractérise la situation linguistique de la langue arabe représente déjà un aspect très connu et très étudié par les linguistes. L'arabe connaît une variété standard utilisée pour des fonctions écrites et orales à caractère formel et des variétés locales, les dialectes. Si c'est quelque chose de normal d'observer des différences entre ces variétés locales, l'idée que l'arabe moderne standard pourrait aussi manifester de la variation n'est pas si répandue surtout étant donné sa qualité de variété standard. Donc l'hypothèse qu'on souhaite prendre en considération dans cette étude est le fait que l'arabe moderne standard pourrait ne pas être le même partout, étant, donc, susceptible de variation.

Jean-Marie Klinkenberg affirme dans son livre, *Des langues romanes*, que le fait d'employer le singulier lorsqu'il s'agit de langue (le français, le chinois) n'est pas en fait une bonne pratique car le français ou le chinois n'ont guère d'existence et ce qui existe, ce sont des français, des chinois (Klinkenberg 1999 : 29). Ce que l'auteur souhaite souligner

est le fait que les langues varient, que la variation représente une réalité pour toutes les langues. Il y a trois dimensions à prendre en considération quand on parle de variation linguistique : l'espace, la société et le temps, mais celles-ci se trouvent dans une relation d'interdépendance. Par exemple la variation espace peut être corrélée avec la variation sociale ; comme Jean-Marie Klinkenberg indique dans le même livre, « le latin qui s'est implanté dans la péninsule ibérique n'était pas le même que celui qui s'était répandu dans le Nord de la Gaule : la colonisation ne s'étant pas faite sur les mêmes modèles sociaux, le latin ibérique était beaucoup plus proche que celui de Gaule de ce qui était alors considéré comme la norme. » (Klinkenberg 1999 : 31) La dimension espace donne la différence entre les dialectes comme variétés régionales et les langues standard comme variétés suprarégionales, mais pour bien définir une variété standard on a besoin aussi d'une dimension de codification ou d'une norme, des normes. Le besoin de normes de n'importe quel type est en relation avec le développement d'une société. Comme langue obtenue si on prend en considération la dimension codification, une variété standard apparaît aussi dans des situations où la société éprouve une nécessité de communication dans un espace large, où l'interprétation des variétés serait difficile. Donc les besoins communicatifs seraient le premier stimulus pour l'apparition d'une variété standard, mais celle-ci peut répondre aussi à d'autres besoins, comme la domination d'une classe sur les autres. Ce que Jean-Marie Klinkenberg remarque aussi est le fait que toute langue standard est sujette à se diversifier, de sorte qu'elle peut donner naissance à des dialectes. En ce qui concerne la langue arabe, les dialectes sont déjà développés et on a une seule variété standard qui, en tant que variété standard, manifeste un certain contrôle envers ces dialectes et représente aussi un cadre normatif pour les membres de la communauté linguistique. Mais, étant donné que c'est difficile pour une langue de résister dans un espace géographique si grand, l'hypothèse de cette étude est que l'arabe littéraire pourrait développer un certain degré de variation surtout en ce qui concerne le lexique.

Si on parle de la variation dans l'arabe moderne standard on devrait prendre en considération aussi la dimension temps, qu'on a déjà mentionnée comme l'une des trois dimensions spécifiques pour la variation linguistique. La question serait si au début de l'islam il y avait de la variation dans la langue arabe. Si on regarde les textes arabes anciens on observe que les différences entre les dialectes des tribus arabes étaient considérées comme des différences entre des « langues » (le terme *luġa* était utilisé, connu aujourd'hui surtout avec le sens de « langue » mais qui peut signifier aussi « dialecte » ou d'autres faits de la langue) (Ibrahim 2009 : 11). Cela n'est pas nécessairement surprenant car ces « langues » ont donné naissance aux dialectes. Quand même, ce qui est à remarquer est la tendance de minimaliser les emprunts, un désir de maintenir la variation lexicale arabe. Cela étant dit, la variation qu'on peut déjà considérer dialectale a contribué à la création de beaucoup de mots qui ont le même sens mais dont la forme est différente. En même temps, c'est difficile de parler d'une variété standard dans cette période, mais Ferguson (1959) parle de la *koiné* arabe, qui fonctionnait comme une lingua franca parmi les Arabes et les non-Arabes pour les aider à communiquer. Cela indique que depuis cette période il y avait un besoin de l'existence d'un arabe qui représenterait un moyen de communication pour tous les Arabes et aussi cela nous fait demander si maintenant l'arabe moderne standard fonctionne comme une lingua franca. La réponse à cette question serait plutôt négative, surtout étant donné la rigidité de cette langue à l'oral, dans la communication quotidienne,

et le fait que le concept de lingua franca tourne essentiellement autour de ce besoin de faciliter la communication.

En 1959 Ferguson disait « some sort of Classical Arabic will impose itself with the spread of literacy and mass media » (cf. Miller Catherine 2012) et cela prend place, les médias participent au développement de l'arabe moderne standard (MSA) mais plutôt pas dans le sens anticipé car, selon le même Ferguson, mais cette fois-ci en 1990, on remarque le fait que l'arabe se trouve dans une situation particulière, causée non seulement par la diglossie, mais par le manque d'un centre qui serait la place d'émergence et de propagation. Ferguson dit que dans la plupart des cas où la diglossie contient une seule variété standard, il y a un centre culturel, économique ou politique ou une combinaison entre ces facteurs, qui devient la source principale de cette variété standard. Ce n'est pas le cas pour l'arabe, donc Ferguson met en évidence le fait qu'on peut assister à une situation similaire avec ce qui s'est passé entre la langue latine et les langues romanes (Ferguson 1990 : 49). Holes indique en 1995 que la situation linguistique de la langue arabe est maintenant peut-être pas aussi complexe que celle des périodes plus anciennes, très peu documentées, mais ce qui est assez clair est le fait que le comportement linguistique des locuteurs est caractérisé par l'alternance entre un arabe standard « pur » et un dialecte « pur », qui sont vus plutôt comme des constructions idéalisées et pas comme des réalités objectives, car la communication réelle (surtout celle parlée, mais parfois celle écrite aussi) est réalisée à l'aide d'une langue arabe intermédiaire, une combinaison entre ces deux formes idéalisées (Holes 1995 : 6). Dans ce contexte, on a observé aussi l'apparition d'un arabe éduqué standard (ESA) représentant plutôt un style propre aux échanges formels, qui se manifeste surtout à l'oral mais qui semble gagner du terrain dans l'écrit aussi. Il s'agit d'un mélange entre les dialectes et l'arabe standard qui contient des caractéristiques spécifiques pour chaque région linguistique. L'âge du développement, de la technologie et du progrès dans le domaine de l'éducation a conduit à l'apparition d'une nouvelle élite, pour laquelle l'arabe moderne standard par sa rigidité à l'oral n'était plus convenable et, d'autre part, les dialectes n'étaient plus adéquats pour leur niveau, donc on a pu observer le développement d'un arabe éduqué standard surtout pour l'oral, dont le rôle est très important dans le contexte actuel (Mahmoud Youssef cité par Ibrahim 2009 : 17). En 1978 Mitchell affirme le fait que cet arabe éduqué standard est une *koiné* qui a le même rôle que celle dont Ferguson a parlé en 1959, il aide les arabes à communiquer. Mais, comme le locuteur est influencé par les caractéristiques de la langue parlée, on peut supposer que celle-ci va se développer dans une variante écrite aussi.

En même temps la place de manifestation de l'arabe littéraire est aussi difficile à établir. Normalement celui-ci est utilisé dans des situations à caractère formel, que ce soit à l'oral ou à l'écrit, et la presse serait un lieu représentatif de manifestation pour cette variété, quand même, de plus en plus, on remarque des influences orales provenant soit des langues européennes, soit des dialectes. Bien que les médias soient parfois considérés comme des modèles normatifs pour le reste de la société, leur évolution reflète aussi des pratiques linguistiques plus générales de la société. Catherine Miller indique le fait que, après les années 1990, on peut observer des rapprochements entre l'arabe littéraire et les vernaculaires arabes. Les dialectes semblent gagner du terrain dans des domaines considérés comme réservés à l'arabe standard. L'autrice remarque la période 1990-2000, marquée par l'irruption des nouvelles technologies, quand on assiste à l'élargissement des

audiences et donc à un renforcement des expressions nationales/régionales surtout dans un contexte mondial qui soutient l'expression des droits linguistiques de chaque communauté. On a vu, par exemple, une tendance de passer en syntaxe de plus en plus fréquemment de VSO à SVO surtout dans les titres des journaux. On a aussi remarqué l'emploi de nouvelles formules passives périphrastiques, à savoir l'utilisation des structures comme *tamma* + nom verbal, qui ne sont pas spécifiques à l'arabe classique. En même temps il y a les calques des langues européennes comme l'anglais (each other – *ba 'duhum al-ba 'du*) ou le français (l'un l'autre – *aḥaduhum al-'aḥaru*) (Miller Catherine 2012). Ces influences peuvent avoir des implications sociolinguistiques et pragmatiques aussi. Le choix linguistique peut avoir comme motivation un sentiment d'appartenance régionale, une identité nationale. De plus on peut parler d'un usage conscient du dialectal pour servir à certaines intentions ou d'un usage inconscient qu'on trouve plutôt dans la syntaxe où l'on peut observer des formes dérivées de l'usage dialectal.

Zeinab Ibrahim constate la présence de trois facteurs qui contribuent à cette variation : a) la diglossie, b) les académies de langues et les media et c) l'arabe parlé éduqué (ESA). Son étude part de la même idée, qu'il y a de la variation dans le lexique de l'arabe littéraire, et elle prépare des questionnaires en utilisant des titres de journaux. Des personnes de trois pays représentatifs ont été choisies : le Liban pour la partie linguistique de l'est, le Maroc pour la partie nord-africaine et l'Égypte comme pays du milieu. Pour le Liban le journal est Al-Hayat (*al-Ḥayāt*), pour l'Égypte, Al-Ahram (*al-'Ahrām*) pour le Maroc, Al-Anba (*al-'Anbā'*). L'étude a voulu vérifier si c'est difficile pour les Égyptiens de comprendre des journaux libanais, ensuite la capacité de compréhension des Égyptiens pour des journaux marocains et la compréhension des Marocains des journaux d'Égypte. Avant de présenter quelques exemples trouvés par Zeinab Ibrahim il vaut mieux prendre en considération l'opinion de Quine qui indique le fait que le sens d'une expression est l'idée transmise (Quine 1985 : 48). Donc si deux personnes qui connaissent la même langue lisent un certain mot, les deux devraient en comprendre le sens. Cela représente une vérité, mais, comme Ferguson l'indique en 1959, on apprend l'arabe moderne standard à l'école tandis que la langue maternelle des Arabes est leur dialecte, donc l'intuition pour l'arabe moderne standard est moins précise que celle pour leur propre dialecte (Ferguson 1959 : 239). Ça veut dire que les locuteurs natifs ont plus de confiance quand ils doivent faire une supposition pour le sens d'un mot de leur dialecte que pour le sens d'un mot de l'arabe standard. Cette opinion de Quine pourrait représenter l'une des raisons pour le premier aspect remarqué dans l'étude de Ibrahim. Celle-ci remarque une préférence morphologique. Il y a des mots, presque toujours de la même racine, dont les locuteurs évitent l'utilisation dans l'arabe littéraire, s'ils existent dans leur dialecte aussi. Dans l'exemple de l'arabe moderne standard du Liban, *Bilyūnu dūlārin kulḥatu 'awdati l-muḥaḡḡarīna* « un milliard de dollars le coût pour le retour des personnes déplacées », on observe l'utilisation de *kulḥa* avec le sens de « coût », mais l'utilisation de ce mot est spécifique pour cet arabe standard car, en Égypte, on utilise le mot *takliḥa* avec ce sens. Selon Ibrahim cela pourrait venir du fait que le mot *kulḥa* dans le dialecte égyptien a le sens de « garniture ». La vérification de ces mots en utilisant l'outil ArabiCorpus nous donne la statistique suivante : on trouve *kulḥa* dans le journal Al-Ahram 85 fois et dans le journal Al-Hayat 2582 fois, et, en même temps, on trouve *takliḥa* dans le journal Al-Ahram 2958 fois et dans le journal Al-Hayat 306 fois (Ibrahim 2009 : 53, 54). Comme c'est peut-être déjà évident les deux mots sont les produits

de la même racine *k-l-f* mais, selon la région, ils sont utilisés différemment. Un autre exemple concerne *z-h-r* : les mots *taḏāhurāt* et *muḏāharāt* proviennent de cette même racine et ont le même sens « démonstrations » mais le premier est plutôt utilisé au Liban et le deuxième plutôt utilisé en Égypte et aussi au Maroc avec le sens « expositions d'art, concerts, festivals de cinéma ». L'exemple donné par Zeinab Ibrahim est *hudū 'un fī ṣan'ā'a ba'da taḏāhurātīn* « tranquillité en Sanaa après des manifestations » et vient de l'arabe moderne standard du Liban. L'outil ArabiCorpus nous montre le fait que *muḏāharāt* a été utilisé 902 fois dans le journal égyptien Al-Ahram et 121 fois dans le journal libanais Al-Hayat. En même temps *taḏāhurāt* apparaît 71 fois dans le journal Al-Ahram et 792 fois dans le journal Al-Hayat. (Ibrahim 2009 : 54) Dans cette même catégorie des choix linguistiques différents, on peut ajouter aussi les cas où on trouve l'utilisation des verbes avec une certaine préposition dans un pays et avec une autre ou sans aucune préposition dans un autre pays. L'exemple donné dans la même étude est celui du verbe *baḥaṭa* : *Rābīn wa-Mayḡūr yabḥaṭānī fī masīrati s-salāmi* (Rabin et Major discutent du chemin vers la paix). Cet exemple est de l'arabe moderne standard du Liban et on observe le verbe avec la préposition *fī* mais la situation pour l'Égypte est différente. Là on le trouve sans aucune préposition ou on trouve le verbe de la sixième forme de la même racine (*tabāḥaṭa*) avec cette préposition (Ibrahim 2009 : 62). D'un point de vue morphologique une autre différence de préférences peut être identifiée entre l'arabe moderne standard du Maroc et celui d'Égypte. Tandis que celui d'Égypte préfère les structures avec *'idāfa* (« la construction génitive »), celui du Maroc manifeste une préférence pour les groupes nominaux comprenant un substantif et un déterminant adjectif. Ainsi, dans l'arabe du Maroc on trouve *at-tasāquṭātu l-maṭariyyatu l-maṣḥūbatu bi-r-riyāhi* (« les chutes des pluies accompagnées par les vents ») ou *Mu'addātun ḡadīdatun li-maṣālihi l-murāqabati ṭ-ṭuruqiyati* (« nouvel équipement pour les secteurs de la surveillance routière »). Pour le premier exemple on doit observer le groupe nominal *at-tasāquṭātu l-maṭariyyatu*, qu'on pourrait traduire littéralement en français par « les chutes pluvieuses », mais en Égypte on préférerait la structure génitive *tasāquṭu l-maṭari*, qu'on pourrait traduire, de la même manière, par « la chute de la pluie ». Dans le deuxième exemple on observe la structure nominale *al-murāqabatu ṭ-ṭuruqiyatu*, qui est proche de la structure française « la surveillance routière », mais, de nouveau, dans l'arabe moderne standard d'Égypte on aurait préféré la structure génitive *murāqabatu ṭ-ṭuruqi*, qu'on pourrait comparer avec la structure française « la surveillance des routes » (Ibrahim 2009 : 65, 66, 68).

D'un point de vue sémantique les travaux d'Ibrahim et Parkinson ont mis en évidence l'utilisation du même mot dans des contextes différents par la polysémie. Il y a deux phénomènes sémantiques qui contribuent à ce développement : le rétrécissement sémantique et l'élargissement sémantique. Le rétrécissement sémantique suppose la spécialisation du sens d'un mot. Ce phénomène se manifeste quand un mot a un sens plus générique et qu'on l'utilise pour dénommer quelque chose de spécifique. Quant à l'élargissement sémantique, c'est le phénomène inverse, qui suppose la généralisation du sens d'un mot, surtout quand celui-ci a un sens trop spécifique ou limité. Un cas de rétrécissement sémantique peut être observé pour le mot *'iḡāzatun*, qui signifie « permission, autorisation d'enseigner, diplôme qui la confère, brevet ». Si au Liban c'est ce mot qui est utilisé avec le sens de « diplôme », en Égypte on utilise *ṣahādatun*. Le mot *'iḡāzatun* est un faux ami car dans le dialecte égyptien celui-ci est utilisé pour « vacances » et pas seulement dans

le dialecte car celui-ci a trouvé sa place dans les média aussi dans des structures du type *'iğāzaturun ṣihhiyyaturun* (« congé médical »). Étant donné cette situation on peut considérer qu'il s'agit d'un cas de rétrécissement sémantique car en Égypte ce mot est utilisé seulement avec le sens de « vacances » peut-être pour ne pas conduire à des confusions. Conformément aux investigations faites par Ibrahim et Parkinson, *'iğāzaturun* apparaît avec le sens de « diplôme » en Égypte seulement quand il s'agit de licenciés de l'Université Al-Azhar (Ibrahim 2009 : 73). Une autre situation où on peut observer le rétrécissement sémantique d'un mot est le verbe *idda'ā*, qui se trouve dans la huitième forme et qui signifie « prétendre que, soutenir que, exiger, demander, être l'accusé ou le défendeur d'un procès », mais qui est utilisé dans la presse du Liban avec la préposition *'alā* avec le sens de « intenter un procès à, poursuivre en justice », comme dans l'exemple *Fayrūz tadda'ī 'alā Madona* (« Fayruz poursuit Madona en justice »). On suppose que le sens de « prétendre » a été combiné avec le sens « contre » de la préposition *'alā* pour arriver à ce sens en Liban, et donc pour l'Égypte il y a de nouveau un cas de rétrécissement sémantique car seulement un sens a été gardé. Pour « intenter un procès à » existe la structure *rafa'a da'wā*. De plus, le verbe *idda'ā* avec la préposition *'alā* peut avoir en Égypte le sens de « accuser fausement » (Ibrahim 2009 : 72, 73).

En ce qui concerne le phénomène d'élargissement sémantique, on a l'exemple donné par Ibrahim *takrīsu l-qaṭī'ati dāhila 'aqdami 'ahzābi l-mu'araḍati* (stabilisation de l'hostilité à l'intérieur des plus anciens partis d'opposition), où le sens du mot *takrīs* est de « stabilisation, continuation » mais les Égyptiens comprennent ce mot avec le sens de « dévouement, consécration », qui est aussi le sens qu'on trouve dans le dictionnaire Hans Wehr. Alors, on peut considérer que c'est un cas d'élargissement sémantique dans les média du Liban car le dévouement, la consécration demande un travail continu. Ce qui est important est le fait qu'après son utilisation dans les média du Liban avec ce sens, on le trouve aussi dans les médias d'Égypte : *huṭṭatu ra'īsi l-wuzarā'ī l-'isrā'īliyyi takrīsun li-l-iḥtilālī taḥta lāfitati s-salāmi* (« le plan du premier ministre israélien est une stabilisation de l'occupation sous le signe de la paix ») (Ibrahim 2009 : 75, 76). Une autre situation d'élargissement sémantique est celle que l'on peut observer dans l'exemple *wa-man yunqīḍu sitta mi'ati 'alfi miṣriyyin min 'aḥṭāri s-ṣar'i* (« qui sauverait 600.000 Égyptiens de l'épilepsie ») où on a le mot *ṣar'* utilisé pour l'affection neurologique qui s'appelle épilepsie. Le verbe *ṣara'a* signifie « jeter, abattre quelqu'un par terre » et, à la forme passive, « avoir un accès d'épilepsie ». Malgré cela, dans le dialecte marocain on utilise *ṣara'* avec le sens de « folie », ce qui peut être considéré un cas d'élargissement sémantique, car on peut supposer que si quelqu'un se jette par terre, il/elle devrait être fou / folle (Ibrahim 2009 : 74).

Ce que ces exemples peuvent montrer est que l'utilisation d'une manière différente de certains mots ou racines conformément au lieu où ceux-ci sont utilisés n'est pas par hasard. C'est évidemment un signe que même l'arabe moderne standard, dans sa qualité de variété standard, peut varier et doit varier. En effet, un manque de variation représenterait un arrêt de l'évolution. En même temps, la question qui se pose est : est-ce que cette évolution qu'on peut observer dans l'arabe moderne standard peut être une marque du développement, en écrit, d'un arabe éduqué standard spécifique pour chaque région ? On considère que le développement d'un nouvel arabe, qu'on puisse considérer intermédiaire, serait vraiment difficile car, par sa nature, ce type d'arabe est trop subjectif. C'est vrai que l'arabe moderne standard d'un côté et les dialectes de l'autre côté sont des formes idéalisées

et que la vraie conversation prend place dans un arabe intermédiaire, mais cela se passe surtout à l'oral et, de plus, cet arabe intermédiaire est formé par négociation entre les participants. Étant donné cela, l'arabe qui résulte est la création propre des personnes engagées dans la communication ; d'autres personnes développeraient un autre arabe, spécifique à eux. Si cela se passe à l'oral on considère que la situation à l'écrit n'est pas assez différente, chaque personne va utiliser son arabe propre, qui peut avoir des influences dialectales ou non. Ce qui est à remarquer est qu'on s'attend à une tentative de masquer ces influences, d'une part parce que la norme imposée par l'arabe littéraire est assez stricte, donc, surtout dans la presse, on devrait trouver une forme élevée d'arabe et, d'autre part, l'utilisation du dialecte peut démasquer des informations sur l'écrivain comme son origine ou son niveau d'enseignement et on connaît le fait que dans la presse cela est quelque chose à éviter. Il y a la peur que le texte ne soit pas subjectif ou trop subjectif. Alors, on peut supposer que les exemples trouvés par Ibrahim sont seulement des particularités générales qui ont survécu au filtre conscient des écrivains, qui les empêche de laisser trop de traces de subjectivité dans leurs textes. Tout cela rend très difficile une évolution rapide de la variation dans l'arabe littéraire, surtout jusqu'au niveau de pouvoir créer des arabes éduqués standard locaux ou régionaux. De plus, d'un point de vue purement linguistique, il s'agit seulement d'une variation lexicale, qui est une variation plutôt de surface, et il lui serait difficile de provoquer des impacts à un niveau trop profond. Toutefois, l'existence de la variation est quelque chose de très important qui montre, comme on a déjà remarqué, le fait que la langue ne cesse pas d'évoluer. Alors, malgré le fait que les réactions des personnes interviewées par Ibrahim n'ont pas été les meilleures au contact de cette variation qui apparaît dans l'arabe moderne standard (beaucoup d'entre eux ont considéré que les exemples étaient écrits en dialectes et pas en arabe standard), on devrait l'accepter car elle représente un indicateur très précieux pour le fait que cet arabe littéraire, considéré très rigide et très difficile à changer, demeure vivant.

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ON THE TENDENCY OF OPTIMIZATION IN MODERN ARABIC: THE DERIVATION SYSTEM

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Abstract. The system of derivative forms, as one of the most functional, shows in the modern language corresponding dynamics. The present paper describes some contemporary phenomena related to derivative forms, particularly, the general tendency towards optimization, manifestation of the traditional Arabic principle *ziyādat* "l-mabnā tufīd" *ziyādat* "l-ma'nā" زيادة المبنى تفيد زيادة المعنى, some occurrences connected with denoting the so called high style, some functions of derivative forms that are not usually described in grammars, etc.

Finally, on the basis of analysis of these features confirmed in the modern language, two directly proportional relationships are observable:

a) In the sociolinguistic vertical *Classical Arabic – Standard Arabic – dialects* the degree of economy of the derivational system is in directly proportional relationship with the increase of the oral communication function of the spoken language. Against this background the productivity of the remaining derivational forms increases further.

b) In the derivational system the increase of a construction is directly proportional to the increase of a function, which sometimes acquires a psycholinguistic coloring

Keywords: *Modern Arabic, derivational system*

The system of derivative forms, which may be said to have central meaning in Arabic morphology, as one of the most functional ones, shows in the modern language corresponding dynamics. In the present article an attempt is presented to describe some modern phenomena related with this system.

1. **Classical Arabic and Modern Literary Arabic** – a semi-spoken form of Literary Arabic – differ from each other in not so very numerous characteristics. This difference, as is known, first of all finds expression in the dropping of external inflexion, as well as the extinction of the functions of some derivatives (e.g., such as the energetic). If we follow, on the one hand, the diachronic, and, on the other, the sociolinguistic (from Classical language to Spoken) vertical, it will also be easy to note that in the system of derivative forms the tendency towards optimization is observable. A manifestation of this tendency is that on the vertical *Classical Arabic – Standard Arabic – Arabic dialects*, the higher the spoken function of a language form, the greater the degree of economy (some derivative forms are defunct fully or partially), on the one hand, and – the greater the functional load on the remaining derivative forms on the other.

In particular, we have 15 derivative forms in Classical Arabic. In the Modern Literary and Standard language there are only 10. XI-XV derivative forms have fallen into disuse. The meaning which was rendered by them is expressed in the Modern language by

alternative means, mostly – descriptively. The language rejected them as redundant units. Proceeding from their specific meanings, they were rarely used in Classical Arabic as well. The degree of economy is even higher in modern dialects: IV derivative form has become extinct (in all dialects), whereas the use of VII (and sometimes – VIII) form are in fact minimized (See, e.g., Nishio 1994:72), especially in verbs. Verbal nouns and participles of VII and VIII forms especially in case of their lexicalization occur comparatively often.

As it was noted, IV form is defunct in all modern Arabic dialects (see, e.g., Chikovani 2001:65; Ахвледiani 1985:58; Завадовский 1962: 83; Кямилев 1963: 50; Крапива 1972: 84; Ejibadze 2010: 111-112, etc.). Firstly, the formant of IV form is initial *hamza*, which is lost in dialects. At the same time, this form is redundant for dialects as its function is only to render the causative. There is another, much more productive form II in the language, one of the functions of which is to express the causative. In dialects the function of form IV was undertaken by form II. However, here the disuse of form IV is more significant, whereas which other form will render the same function in this case is secondary. In dialects a corresponding word for a verb given in the literary language with the IV form can be in forms I or III as well:

Literary language, IV form meaning dialect (e.g., Egyptian)

أصبح *'aṣbah^a* “to become, turn” *ṣabaḥ* (form I)

أطاع *'aṭā^a* “to obey” *ṭā* (form I)

أشار *'aṣār^a* “to make a sign” *ṣāwir* (form III), etc.

Here one more related question is noteworthy. In the literary language form II as well as IV express the causative meaning. As is known, the Arabs said: *ziyādat^a l-mabnā tufīd^a ziyādat^a l-ma' nā* زيادة المبنى تفيد زيادة المعنى *zīyādat^a l-ma' nā*, which denotes that the more complex a construction, the more complicated the meaning it renders. The construction of form IV, as compared with form II, is “more complex”, as IV form contains a consonant in addition to the root consonants – formant initial *hamza*, unlike II form, which is formed only by the gemination of R₂, which, inter alia, is not at all expressed in an unvoiced text). Thus, according to the above-mentioned quotation, the causative of IV form must be “more” than the causative rendered by II form. Indeed, in the literary language, a causative of IV form, derived from one and the same root, often has a more large-scale, global meaning than that rendered by form II:

صلح الرجل الجهاز المعطل *ṣallaḥ^a r-raġul^a l-ġihāz^a l-mu'aṭṭal^a* (form II)
“the man repaired the broken device”,

but

أصلح الرئيس الجديد العلاقات بين الدولتين *'aṣlaḥ^a r-ra'īs^a l-'alāqātⁱ bayn^a d-dawlatayinⁱ* (form IV)
“the new president remedied the relations between two countries”;

or

سلم الرجل الجهاز لصاحبه *sallam^a r-raġul^a l-ṣāhibihⁱ* (form II)

“the man handed the device to its owner”,

but

أسلم الرجل *'aslam^a r-raġul^u* (form IV)
 “the man was converted to Islam” (handed himself over to Allah, God).

In cases when we are not dealing with such a distribution of meanings, the following is observable: the causative in the literary language in certain cases is formed by means of form IV and not II (causatives expressed by II form sound to a certain extent “clumsy” for the literary language): *'adħal^a* and not *dahħal^a*.

It is another matter that if we take into account the evidence of the dialects, the following correspondences will result: lit. *'adħal^a* = dialect./spoken *dahħal*, lit. *'ahraġ^a* = dialect./spoken *ħarraġ*, and so on.

It is obvious that as compared with II form, IV appears as the form of a higher style. We should not leave without attention as well:

a) the cases when in the language with a given root only II or only IV form is realized with the causative function; e.g.,

lit. خَبَأَ (“to hide”) is realized only in II form (corresponds to dialect. *ħabba*);

lit. أَخْبَرَ (“to notify”) is realized only in IV form (in the dialect, taking into account the lack of IV form, the corresponding word is *ħaṭṭar*);

b) the cases when one root forms both II and IV form, but with different meanings. Here it is more frequent when with II form not the causative, but some other function, characteristic of it, is activated:

رَسَّلَ *rasal^a* II form (“to send in a large number, to many persons”, intensive), lit. IV form أَرْسَلَ *'arsal^a* (“to send”, corresponds to dialect. *ba‘at < بعث ba‘aṭ^ʔ*);

c) the cases when the meaning rendered by form IV proper cannot be perceived as the causative: IV أَخْطَأَ (“to make a mistake”; dialect. I *ħaṭa*). Meaning of the Form II of the same root: lit. خَطَأَ (“to regard smth. as a mistake”, “to accuse smb. of making a mistake”), in the dialects a parallel form of this root does not occur.

More frequently in the dialects in the cases similar to those described in paragraphs a) and b) the meaning of the disused IV form is assumed by some other form, and not II (often – I).

2. **The issue of form IV** falling into disuse in the dialects is related to the expression of the voice as well. As is known, in modern Arabic dialects for verbs the internal passive is no longer used, whereas the passive meaning is rendered by the derivational system. It is also known that forms with the prefixes *t-* and *n-* in Arabic (and in Semitic, in general) express the passive and reflexive meaning. Having rejected the flexional variant of the passive (for verbs), the dialects offered a totally unified version of expressing the same meaning: for every verb which according to its semantics can be used with the passive meaning the passive is formed by adding the prefix *t-*. The above-mentioned is a simple statement of the already existing phenomenon in the dialects. To elucidate the question, the following postulation is also possible:

As is known, the passive and reflexive meaning of II form can be formed by means of V form:

'*allama* ("to teach") – *ta'allama* ("to learn").

For form III as well there exists in the language the form with the prefix *t-* – form VI, one of the functions of which is to denote the reflexive of III:

'*ālaġ* ("to treat (medically)") – (*i*)*t'ālaġ* ("to be treated medically").

As regards I form, the dialect solved the problem of rendering the passive of I form by means of creating of a "new" derivative form, alien for the literary language. By the analogy with forms V and VI, in the dialects a form with the prefix *t-* was created, the basis of which is I form – the form (*i*)*tfa'al*. Thus a unified system is created:

from I (*fa'al*) form passive is rendered by (*i*)*tfa'al*.
 from II (*fa'al*) – by V, (*i*)*t-fa'al*, form.
 from III (*fā'al*) – by VI, (*i*)*t-fā'al*, form.¹

In most cases in these forms denoting the passive, the prefix *t-* is represented with a vowel (both in the literary language and the dialects). As is known, Arabic hardly accepts the complex *CC-* at the beginning of a word. This complex is relieved by the addition of a vowel: *CC-* > *VCC-*, or *CVC-*. This applies to every case, whether it be a borrowing from a foreign language with an initial cluster *CC-* or Arabic derivative proper (e.g., Imperative). For the forms of our present interest the literary language chooses the *CVC-* variant (*tafa'al*, etc.), while the dialect – the (*V*)*CC* variant, which are in essence one and the same. The prefix *t-* should be considered as a formant, *and* not *Vt-* or *tV-*. This is what denotes a passive and reflexive function, while a vowel has only the function of averting the gathering of consonants.

As regards other derivative forms (VII-X), it is exactly the above-mentioned phenomenon that can be regarded as one of the reasons for the reduction of VII (and VIII) form in the dialects. These forms having the reflexive meaning with the formants (*-*)*t-*, *n-*, the basis of which is I form, are somewhat redundant for the dialects, as the question of expressing the passive and reflexive of I form is already solved by means of the form *itfa'al*. E.g.:

lit. انقطع (VII, "to be cut up") – dialect. (e.g., Egyptian) *it'aṭa'* (form *itfa'al*), or – in some cases – *'aṭa'* (I): es-silk *'aṭa'* ("the wire snapped"), *el-kahraba byi'ta'* ("The electricity is going off") (see Badawi, Hinds 1986: 707);

lit. *in'akas* (VII, "to be reflected") > dialect. (e.g., Egyptian) *it'akas* (form *itfa'al*), etc.

It can be noted that in the dialects those words of forms VII and VIII occur in which a) the passive and reflexive meaning of the form I is not observable, in any event, expressly: انتظر ("to wait for"), احترم ("to respect smb").

¹ In these forms of the reflexive meaning narrowing of vowel of R₂ is possible (a > e, i).

b) the meaning denoted by forms VII or VIII is reflexive, but differs from the reflexive meaning of form I (which, in its turn, is expressed by the form *itfa'al*): لزم (“to be necessary”) – التزم VIII (“to undertake an obligation, to adhere”); or form I is absent from the given verb, and accordingly, form VII does not denote its reflexive counterpart, but expresses a different meaning: *intaḥam* (“to become regular”). Cf: form II *nazzam* (“to organize”), V *itnazzam* (“to be organized”).

c) and/or, they are lexicalized. In other words, those derivatives of VII and VIII forms are used in which the speaker does not derive grammatical forms during speech but has a vocabulary of these ready-made words. Among these are adjectivized or more often substantivized verbal nouns: *iḥtirām* (“respect”), *muḥtaram* (“respected”), *muntašir* (“widespread”), *inqilāb* (“coup”), etc.

The form IX, as a very specific one, does not cause awkwardness in this aspect, similar to the form X, in which, in case of need Spoken Arabic describes the meaning: lit. أُسْتُخِدِم > dialect. *kān mistahdam* (“was used”) or *yistahdimūn* (“they use”), etc.

3. As far as is known to me, **one function of the form V** in the literary language is not described in grammars: the form V is used to denote carrying out an action through overcoming some inner obstacle.² In this case the form V semantically opposes not with the form II (as in other cases), but with I.

Examples:

fahima (“to understand”) – *tafahhama* (“to try to understand, come to understand”), e.g.,

إِنِّي تَفَهَّمْتُهُ رَغْمَ أَنَّهُ أَخْطَأَ

“I understood him, in spite of the fact that he made a mistake”.

nazala (“to go, step down”) – *tanazzala* (“to yield, retreat”).E.g.,

أَنَا تَنَزَّلْتُ فَعَفَوْتُهُ

“I yielded, retreated/ and forgave him”. Or:

تَنَزَّلْتُ فِي السُّعْرِ

“I lowered the price”.

Other examples:

taḥarraḡa (fi) “to complete smth”, e.g., studies at school, higher educational institution, etc.

tadarraḡa – “to change step by step, gradually“, etc.

Certain attention could also be attached to form VI and its opposition with form III. The functions of these forms are known, it can only be added that in the verbs of III and VI

² Nothing is said about this, e.g., in the following works: Fischer 2002; Wright 1997; Badawi, Carter and Gully 2005; In the context of our present interest, Grande describes only the meaning of intensiveness, carrying out of an action with great attention: نَوَسَمَ “to scrutinize, watch closely”, or the meaning of carrying out an action slowly and diligently: تَجَرَّعَ “to drink in small sips” (Grande 1963 :128).

forms of one and the same root, the distribution of meanings is the following: in case of III form the initiator of the action is obvious, which is not so in VI. Examples: *ḥāṣama* – “to quarrel with smb”, *taḥāṣama* – “to be quarreled with each other” (it is not clear who was the initiator).
ḡālasa – “to sit down by smb”, *taḡālasa* – “to be sitting next to each other”.

M. Andronikashvili (Andronikashvili 2014 :142) quite fairly describes one more function of the form VI, which as a rule is not mentioned in grammars: carrying out an action gradually, step-by-step.³ The abundance of examples of such a meaning in Modern Arabic indicates that this function of the form VI is quite productive. E.g.: تناقص (“to decrease gradually”), تصاعد (“to rise, lift gradually”), تزايد (“to increase gradually”), etc.

It may also be added that sometimes this function of the form VI directly derives from the form III and represents reflexive correspondent, e.g., in such cases: III ساقط (“to throw one after another”) – VI تساقط (“to fall one after another, in large numbers”).

4. The principle *ziyādat^a l-mabnā tufīd^a ziyādat^a l-ma‘nā* زيادة المبنى تفيد زيادة المعنى is to a certain extent reflected in one more phenomenon which can be classified as a modern tendency of the Standard language. When there are forms of one and the same meaning (or almost synonymous) which are formed in a “simpler” and a “more complex” way, the “complex” variants appear in the role of forms of higher style.

Such statement is also possible that some words which are “trite” and require certain renewal, renovation, may be rehabilitated in two ways:

a) the given word will be replaced by a synonymous/almost synonymous word of the same root, represented by a “more complex” formation: “educated” متنور (form V), but during high-flown speech an Arab uses مستنير (form X).

طلب “to request” (form I), but تطلب (form V) – for a more formal style, such as in the language of press, political texts, etc. (where the trace of the function of derivative form V is also observable, as it was described above in paragraph 2 of the article).

Other examples:

متخصص – مختص “specialist, specialized”.

تعود – اعتاد “to get accustomed to smth, turn smth into one’s habit”,

متواجد – موجود “existing”,

تضمن – ضمن “included”, etc.

³ See, e.g.: Fischer 2002: 99, only the reflexive, communication action and simulation functions of the form II are described; this function is not qualified in this way either in Wright 1997: 38-40, however, some examples given here may be regarded as an illustration of exactly this function. Grande notes that sometimes the form VI expresses repetition of an action by several actors one after another, i.e. carrying out actions in turns, and in fact considers this function as a variant of “communication action” (Гранде 1963: 129). S. Badawi, M. Carter and A. Gully confine themselves to citing only one example of our present interest, without giving a qualification: توالى (“to follow in succession”, see Badawi, Carter and Gully 2005:82.

b) The given word will be substituted by a synonymous/almost synonymous word of another root, which is again represented in a “more complex” formation: آسف (active participle of the form I, “sad”, resp. “I am sorry”) is replaced by: *muta’āsif* (form VI), *mutahassir* (form V). It may also be added that in similar cases, by means of an expression which is approximated to the literary form, and not the dialectal one, also the high style is marked; such forms sometimes also have a certain shade of the intensive: *muta’āsif* may be perceived as more intensive apology than *mitāsif* (dialectal variant).

Sometimes, in the Modern spoken language a variant of a “more complex” formation also demonstrates a wider semantics, related to the same basic meaning, as compared with that of a “simpler” formation.

irtāḥa – “to have some rest”, but *istarāḥa* – “to have some rest, sit down, go to sleep”.

Finally, two directly proportional relationships are observable:

1. An illustration of the optimization announced at the beginning in the sociolinguistic vertical of Arabic (*Classical Arabic — Standard Arabic — dialects*) is the directly proportional relationship of the degree of economy of the derivational system with the increase of the function of the spoken language. Against this background the productivity of the remaining derivational forms increases further. In particular, functions of the reduced forms IV, VII and VIII are added to the forms I, II or, more rarely, III.

2. In the derivational system the increase of a construction is directly proportional to the increase of a function (e.g., the disused forms XI-XV were more complex according to construction and, hence, had a more complex meaning), which sometimes acquires a psycholinguistic coloring (see forms of the high style).

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قَصِيدَةٌ غَيْرُ مَنْشُورَةٍ مِنْ جَبَلِ نَفُوسَه فِي مَكْتَبَةِ سُرْمَانِي - مِيلَانُو
AN UNEDITED POEM FROM ĠABAL NAFŪSA IN SORMANI LIBRARY-MILAN

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Abstract. Italian libraries and museums house a large number of Arab and Islamic manuscripts, but only a few of them have *Ibādī* collections.

The central municipal library Biblioteca Sormani, located in Milan, retains a group of *Ibādī* Islam manuscripts, known as Griffini. I have selected, among the others, a poem written by 'Alī b. al-Ḥāḡḡ Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Nalūtī, whose script I have studied, focusing on the vocalization. I have analyzed each verse, deciphering as much as possible and providing a commentary.

This poem is composed of thirty-eight verses, mostly about *ḥamāsah* (war poetry) and *madīḥ* (praise) and is written in semi-classical Arabic. The introductory verse is composed in *al-raḡaz* metre: *mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun*.

Keywords: *Ibādī Islam manuscript, al-Nalūtī, Griffini, Biblioteca Sormani, al-Barūnī.*

المُقَدِّمَةُ

تَحْطَى المَكْتَبَاتُ وَالمَتاحِفُ الإِيطَالِيَّةُ بِعَدَدٍ كَبِيرٍ مِنَ الأَثَارِ العَرَبِيَّةِ الإِسْلَامِيَّةِ المَكْتُوبَةِ، أَلَا أَنهَآ تَفْتَقِرُ لِلْمَوْأَفَاتِ الإِبَاضِيَّةِ الَّتِي تَشْعَلُ حَيْرًا صَغِيرًا فِيهَا، وَلَعَلَّ مَكْتَبَةَ بَلَدِيَّةِ مِيلَانُو (Biblioteca Sormani)¹ هِيَ الأَوْفَرُ حَظًّا فِي احْتِفَاطِهَا بِمَجْمُوعَةٍ مِنَ التَّرَاثِ الإِبَاضِيِّ تُعْرَفُ بِاسْمِ مَجْمُوعَةِ أُوجِنِيُو غْرِيفِينِي (Eugenio Griffini)، إِذْ اخْتَرْنَا عَمَلًا، مِثَالًا، لِهَذِهِ المَجْمُوعَةِ وَهِيَ قَصِيدَةٌ نَظْمَهَا (عَلِي بنِ الحَاجِ إِبْرَاهِيمِ مُحَمَّدِ النُّلُوتِيِّ²) وَبَادَرْنَا بِدِرَاسَةٍ رَسْمٍ وَضَبْطٍ وَقِرَاءَةٍ كَلَّ بَيْتٍ تَحْلِيلًا وَوَصْفًا وَشَرْحًا لِلأَلْفَافِ وَفَكَأ لَرْمُوزِهَا وَنُصُوبِيًّا لِمَا كَانَ فِيهِ غَلَطٌ قَدَّرَ الإِمْكَانَ. نُظِّمَتِ غَالِبُهَا بِالعَرَبِيَّةِ الفُصْحَى، مَرْتَبَةً بِوَأَقِعِ ثَمَانِيَّةٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ بَيْتًا، أَوَّلُهَا، بَعْدَ البِسْمَلَةِ وَالصَّلَاةِ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ، مَا يَلِي: (نَسْتَفْجِحُ عَن شَيْخِنَا المَقَالَا * * * لِمَنْ يُطِيعُ رَبَّهُ تَعَالَى) وَهُوَ، عَلَى الأَرَجِحِ، مَن بَحْرِ الرَّجَزِ وَتَفْعِيلَاتُهُ هِيَ (مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ).

الغرض من هذه الابيات هو وطني حماسي ديني دعائي للتأثير في نفوس المجتمع الذي كان خاضعا تحت الاحتلال الإيطالي يومذاك، فهي مناشدة لأهل تونس، على الأرجح، وإن المخاطب شيخ له مكانة اجتماعية ووطنية في مقاومة الاحتلال الإيطالي لبلاده في ذلك الزمان وهو سليمان (باشا) بن عبد الله بن يحيى الباروني الطرابلسي اللبيبي الإباضي المذهب. تبيّن تاريخ القصيدة في آخرها، كما يلي (تمّت بتاريخ يوم الخميس محرم الحرام سنة ثلاثين بعد ثلاثمائة وألف) 1330 هجرية، الموافق لشهر كانون الأول من سنة 1911 أو لشهر كانون الثاني من سنة 1912.

¹ تضم مكتبة بلدية ميلانو (Biblioteca Sormani) مجموعة كبيرة من المجلدات فيبلغ عددها أكثر من 650.000 كتابًا ومخطوطًا مفهرسًا؛ التي تتنوع تنوعًا يكاد يشمل كافة المجالات الموضوعية، فمنها - على سبيل التمثيل - الجغرافيا والأدب والفنون والعلوم والقانون والفن.

² حول مدينة نالوت، يُنظر: بغني، عيسى مسعود. 2017. نالوت ريحانة الجبل. طرابلس - ليبيا: الجمعية الليبية للدراسات الأمازيغية.

بعد أن اقترح عليّ زميلي فيرمونديو بروناتيلي (Vermondo Brugnatelli) أستاذ اللغات السامية والامازيغية، أن أقتف على النصوص الإباضية المحفوظة في مكتبة البلدية المركزية في ميلانو (Biblioteca Sormani) المعروفة باسم مجموعة كريفيني (Griffini) داعياً إيايَ التحقّق منها ودراستها وبيانَ حالها، فطفقت أدقّق النظر فيها، فكانت الوقفة الأولى حينما أعطاني الزميلُ (برونياتلي)، مشكوراً، نسخة مصورة من قصيدة كانت من نظم (علي بن الحاج إبراهيم محمد النلوتي) الذي استهلّ قصيدته بالبسملة، واضعاً إياها على رأس العمود الأيمن (الصدر). ثمّ أضاف في أعلى قائمة العمود الأيسر (العجز) جملةً (الصلاة على محمدٍ واله)، توسطهما عنونها (إلى الحرب). ومحاورُ هذه القصيدة الرئيسية هي: سليمان (باشا) بن عبد الله بن يحيى الباروني واهل تونس والاحتلال الإيطاليّ وجبل نفوسه، وفي نهايتها اسم الناظم (علي بن الحاج إبراهيم محمد النلوتي) الذي لم تهتد إلى معرفته أو معرفة شيءٍ من أحواله وسيرته في معجم أعلام الإباضية ولا من أهل نالوت وشيوخها الحاليين، وعليه - فعلى الراجح - هو رجلٌ له علمٌ بالعربية وهو من أهل نالوت، وما ظهور الأغلط النحويّة الأ بسبب من كتب هذه القصيدة عندما كان ناظمها يُملئها عليه أو على الملا آنذاك. مفردات القصيدة غيرُ مشكّلة، حيثُ قمنا بتشكيلها زيادةً في الايضاح. لاحظنا أنّ الناظم يأتي - أحياناً - في أجزاء كلامه أو بعضها بأسجاع غير متّزنة بزنة عروضية.

ولعلّ القصيدة لها وزنها الخاصُّ بها، حيثُ يُعطيها إيقاعها الشعبيّ المقبول وحسب البيئة التي قيلت فيها، فهي لا تخلو من الاختيار السليم للرؤية الإبداعية وتوظيفها بشكلٍ هادفٍ فاعلٍ. نرجح أنّ ناظم الابيات لم يكن شاعرًا متمكّنًا، بل كان - على الراجح - منكلّمًا أو خطيبًا أو جيهًا يُسمع له في محفلٍ أو مناسبةٍ وطنيّة.

ألزم الناظم نفسه في أن تكون نهاية الشطر الأول - غالباً - بدالٍ أو ضادٍ مفتوحين مختومين بالهاء المتطرفة. وجعل جُلّ تفتيته لاميةً بألف الاطلاق.

أستخدم في القصيدة رسم النقاط الثلاثية في سياق الكلمات، الغاية منها - على الأرجح - هي الفصل بين المفردات الضاعية. يُلاحظ أنّ الفاء تُقُطت بوحدةٍ من أسفل، والقاف تُقُطت بوحدةٍ من أعلى وهو أسلوب المغاربة، وأهل المشرق ينقُطون الفاء بوحدةٍ من فوقها، والقاف باتنتين من فوقها.³

أوجينيو كريفيني (Eugenio Griffini) ومجموعته في مكتبة سُرمانى

هو المستعرب الأكاديمي الجامعي الإيطالي المعروف أوجينيو كريفيني، وُلد بمدينة ميلانو في 26 من كانون الأول، عام 1878. تخرّج في جامعة جنوة في مجال القانون، ثمّ بدأ بدراسة اللغات الشرقية بمفرده، كان قويّ الذهن، حتى نال في حزيران من عام ألفٍ وثمانمائة وثمانية وتسعين على شهادة الدبلوم في اللغة العربية من المعهد الملكي الشرقي في مدينة نابولي، وساعده عاملان مهمان شكّلا دوراً حاسماً مهمًا في تكوين مسيرته الدراسية العلمية وتوجيهها نحو دراسة اللغة العربية، العامل الأول: تعرّفه على المستعرب النمساوي إدوارد غلاسر (Eduard Glaser)، أمّا العامل الثاني فهو: تعرّفه على الاخوين لويجي وجيوسبي كابروتى (Caprotti) اللذين أتاحا لكريفيني مادةً دراسيةً غنيّةً جدًا تتكون من مجموعة كبيرة من المخطوطات العربية. كانوا قد اشتروها وجمعوها من اليمن.⁴ وبسبب حرص كريفيني ورغبته في الحفاظ على هذه المجموعة القيمة، وخشيته من قيام كابروتى (Caprotti) ببيعها أو ضياعها، وجدّ كريفيني في عام 1909 فكرةً مع أقاربه لأمة السيناتور لوكا بلترامى (Luca Beltrami)، والأب راتي (Ratti) محافظ مكتبة الأمبروزيانا، الذي أصبح البابا بيوس الحادي عشر فيما بعد، فكرةً مفادها، البحث على عدد من الممولين، وبالفعل، تمكّنوا من العثور على 25 مُمولاً من مدينة ميلانو، إذ جمعوا مبلغاً قدره 30 ألف ليرة لشراء المخطوطات التي أهديت بعد ذلك إلى مكتبة الأمبروزيانا في ميلانو⁵ التي تُعرف حالياً باسم (المجموعة الجديدة (Nuovo Fondo).

لعب حدثُ الاحتلال الإيطاليّ للبيبا، الذي بدأ في الخامس من شهر تشرين الأول، سنة 1911، دوراً مهمًا في نشاط كريفيني العلمي، ففضل درايته باللغة العربية وإتقانها لها، تولى عمَل المترجم المسؤول في المكتب السياسيّ العسكريّ في طرابلس، وهو عمل يسرّ له فرصة جمع المواد الخطية وغيرها من المعطيات حول القبائل العربية والامازيغية في إقليم طرابلس أو المُسمّى بـ "تريبوليتانيا"، التي كانت مادةً أعانته على تأليف كتابه ونشره باللغة الإيطالية في عام

³ يُنظر: الداني، عثمان بن سعيد أبو عمرو. المحكم في نقط المصاحف. تحقيق عزة حسن. 1960. دمشق: وزارة الثقافة، مطبوعات مديرية أحياء التراث، ط. الأولى، ص 37 - 38.

⁴ Beltrami, Luca / Codazzi, Angela. 1926: 9-11.

⁵ Beltrami, Luca / Codazzi, Angela. 1926: 29-31.

1913، عنوانه (الثَّقَفَةُ اللُّوبِيَّةُ فِي العَامِيَّةِ الطَّرَابِلِسِيَّةِ)⁶، نصٌّ مختصرٌ، تَعَرَّضَ فِيهِ لِبَعْضِ القَوَاعِدِ وَمَسَائِلِهَا، وَضَعُ فِي نَهَائِيَتِهِ مَسْرَدًا لِمَفْرَدَاتِ مِنَ اللُّغَةِ الإِيطَالِيَّةِ وَمَا يَقَابِلُهَا مِنَ اللُّغَةِ العَامِيَّةِ فِي طَرَابِلِسِ وَالغَرْبِ. عَمِلَ كَذَلِكَ عَلَى جَمْعِ المَعْلُومَاتِ الطَّبِوِغَرافِيَّةِ وَخَرَائِطِ المَسَارَاتِ وَالمَعَابِرِ المَارَّةِ فِي مَنَاطِقِ طَرَابِلِسِ وَغَرِيَانِ وَتَرْهُونَةَ وَذَلِكَ لِصَالِحِ بَعْتَةِ المَعْدِ الجُغْرَافِيِّ العَسْكَرِيِّ العَامِلَةِ فِي لِيْبِيَا يَوْمِنَدِ.⁷

بَعْدَ عَوْدَتِهِ إِلَى إِيْطَالِيَا، وَفِي عَامِ 1915 اشْتَعَلَ فِي تَعْلِيمِ اللُّغَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ وَأَدَابِهَا فِي الجَامِعَةِ المَلِكِيَّةِ فِي رُومَا، بَعْدَهَا انْتَقَلَ لِيَعْمَلَ فِي الأَكَادِمِيَّةِ المَلِكِيَّةِ العِلْمِيَّةِ الأَدَبِيَّةِ فِي مِيلَانُو، حَيْثُ عَمِلَ مُحَاضِرًا هُنَاكَ حَتَّى عَامِ 1920، لَكِنَّهُ لَمْ يَسْتَمِرَّ فِي هَذَا العَمَلِ، إِذْ رَحَلَ مَتَوَجِّهًا هَذِهِ المَرَّةَ إِلَى القَاهِرَةِ حَيْثُ عَمِلَ فِيهَا عَلَى مَدَى عَامٍ كَامِلٍ أَمِينًا عَلَى مَكْتَبَةِ وَأَرْشِيفِ السُّلْطَانِ آنَذَاكَ، ثُمَّ المَلِكِ أَحْمَدِ فُؤَادِ الأَوَّلِ، الَّذِي عَيَّنَهُ أَمِينًا عَلَى مَكْتَبَتِهِ وَمَنَحَهُ وَسَامًا - يُسَمَّى - (وَسَامِ إِسْمَاعِيلِ). وَبَعْدَ مَرَضٍ أَصَابَهُ، تُوفِّيَ فِي القَاهِرَةِ فِي الثَّلَاثِ مِنْ أَيْارِ مِنْ عَامِ 1925.

مِنْ بَيْنِ أَعْمَالِهِ الأَكْثَرُ قِيَمَةً، تَحْقِيقُهُ وَتَعْلِيْقَاتُهُ عَلَى مَخْطُوطَاتِهِ يُنْسَبُ إِلَى الإِمَامِ زَيْدِ بِنِ عَلِيٍّ، المَعْرُوفِ بِـ (المَجْمُوعِ الفَقْهِيِّ لَزَيْدِ) وَهُوَ مِنَ التَّشْرِيعَاتِ العَقْدِيَّةِ الإِسْلَامِيَّةِ الزَيْدِيَّةِ الَّتِي يَعودُ تَارِيخُهَا إِلَى القَرْنِ السَّابِعِ.⁸ أَمَّا العَمَلُ الأَخْرُ فَهُوَ فَهْرَسُ المَخْطُوطَاتِ الِيمَنِيَّةِ - الَّذِي ظَلَّ غَيْرَ مَكْتَمَلٍ - نُشِرَ تَبَاعًا فِي مَجَلَّةِ الدِّرَاسَاتِ الشَّرْقِيَّةِ (Rivista degli Studi Orientali)، وَيَشْكُلُ هَذَا فَهْرَسُ مَصْدَرًا قِيَمًا لِلْمَعْلُومَاتِ حَوْلَ تَارِيخِ وَأَدَبِ جَنْوَبِ الجَزِيرَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ، فَضْلًا عَنِ دِرَاسَةِ الفَقْهِ الزَيْدِيِّ وَعَقَائِدِهِ.⁹

أَخْتِيرَ عَضْوًا فَخْرِيًّا فِي مَجْمَعِ اللُّغَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ بِدَمَشَقَ وَكَانَ مِنَ الأَعْضَاءِ المُؤَسِّسِينَ لِجَامِعَةِ الرِّابِطَةِ الشَّرْقِيَّةِ وَكِلَاهُمَا فِي القَاهِرَةِ. قَامَ أَقَارِبُهُ لِأَمِّهِ لُوكَا بِلْتْرَامِي (Luca Beltrami) بِنَشْرِ رِسَالَةٍ فِي تَرْجُمَتِهِ بِالِإِيطَالِيَّةِ، أَلْحَقَتْ بِهَا السَيِّدَةُ أَنْجِيلا كُودَازِي (Angela Codazzi) وَصَفًا لِمَكْتَبَتِهِ المَحْتَوِيَّةِ عَلَى الكُتُبِ وَالمَخْطُوطَاتِ العَرَبِيَّةِ وَمُعْطَمُهَا حَوْلَ الشَّرْقِ العَرَبِيِّ،¹⁰ أَوْصَى بِهَا كُلَّهَا لِمَكْتَبَةِ الأَمْبُرُوزِيَانَا (Ambrosiana) بِمَدِينَةِ مِيلَانُو حَيْثُ وُلِدَ فِيهَا وَنَشَأَ.

تَمَدَّنَا مِيولا (Miola) أَنَّهُ أَثْنَاءَ فَهْرَسَتِهَا لِمَجْمُوعَةِ أَنْجِيلا كُودَازِي (Angela Codazzi)، المَحْفُوظَةِ فِي خَزَانَتَيْنِ فِي مَكْتَبَةِ سُرْمَانِي (Sormani) بِمِيلَانُو، وَجِدَتْ فِي حَالَةٍ مِنَ الفَوْضَى الكَامِلَةِ، إِذْ عُثِرَ بَيْنَهَا عَلَى العَدِيدِ مِنَ الأَوْرَاقِ الخَاصَةِ بِالمَسْتَعْرَبِ كَرِيفِينِي (Griffini) - عَلَى مَادَةٍ بِحَثٍ رِسَالَتِهَا لِنَيْلِ شَهَادَةِ البِكَالُورِيُوسِ¹¹ - فَهِيَ تَتَصَفَّ بِعَدَمِ تَجَانِسِ مَوَاضِعِهَا ذَلِكَ لِأَصْلِهَا المَكَانِيِّ المَتَبَايِنِ، وَحَقِيقَةُ أَمْرِهَا، أَنَّهُ أَوْرَاقٌ شَخْصِيَّةٌ وَمَلاحِظَاتٌ كَتَبَهَا وَجَمَعَهَا عِبْرَ مَسِيرَةِ حَيَاتِهِ وَاسْفَارِهِ الَّتِي قَضَاهَا بَيْنَ إِيْطَالِيَا وَتُونِسَ وَلِيْبِيَا وَمِصْرَ.

لَا يُعْرَفُ السَّبَبُ مِنْ وَرَاءِ ظَهْوَرِ بَعْضِ أَوْرَاقِ كَرِيفِينِي (Griffini) ضَمَّنَ مَجْمُوعَةَ كُودَازِي (Codazzi)، حَيْثُ لَا تَتَوَفَّرُ خُطَابَاتٌ أَوْ وَثَائِقٌ خَاصَةٌ أُخْرَى تَتَبَّنُ إِهْدَاءَ هَا لِكُودَازِي (Codazzi)، وَلَكِنْ مِنَ المَفِيدِ أَنْ نَذَكُرَ أَنَّهُ بَعْدَ وَفَاةِ كَرِيفِينِي (Griffini) فِي عَامِ 1926، وَهَبَتْ وَالدَّتْهُ مَارِيَا رِيْنَا كَرِيفِينِي (Maria Reina Griffini) مَعَ ابْنِ عَمِّهِ لُوكَا بِلْتْرَامِي (Luca Beltrami) جَمِيعَ كُتُبِهِ وَمَخْطُوطَاتِهِ إِلَى مَكْتَبَةِ الأَمْبُرُوزِيَانَا فِي مِيلَانُو وَأَوَّكَلُوا مَهْمَةَ فَهْرَسَتِهَا إِلَى كُودَازِي (Codazzi) تَلْمِيذَةَ كَرِيفِينِي (Griffini) آنَذَاكَ.¹² تُعَلَّلُ لَنَا مِيولا (Miola) سَبَبَ وَجُودِ الأَوْرَاقِ الشَخْصِيَّةِ لِكَرِيفِينِي (Griffini) ضَمَّنَ مَجْمُوعَةَ كُودَازِي (Codazzi) إِلَى إِحْتِمَالِيَّةِ اسْتِلَامِهَا لَهَا لِتَكُونَ عَوْنًا يُسَهِّلُ عَمَلَ فَهْرَسَتِهَا الإِسْاسِيَّةِ فِيمَا بَعْدَ، وَيَبْدُو، أَنَّهُ بَعْدَمَا انْتَهَتْ مِنْ عَمَلِهَا هَذَا قَامَتْ بِالإِحْتِفَاطِ بِهَا.

وَبَعْدَ وَفَاتِهَا عَامَ 1972 وَاسْتِنَادًا لِوَصِيَّتِهَا الَّتِي أَوْصَتْ فِيهَا بِإِهْدَاءِ جَمِيعِ مَكْتَبَتِهَا بِمَا فِيهَا مِنْ أَوْرَاقِ شَخْصِيَّةٍ تَعودُ إِلَيْهَا وَكَذَلِكَ إِلَى كَرِيفِينِي (Griffini) لِمَكْتَبَةِ بَلَدِيَّةِ مِيلَانُو (Biblioteca Sormani) الَّتِي قَامَتْ بِفَهْرَسَةِ الكُتُبِ حِصْرًا، بَيْنَمَا حُفِظَتْ الأَوْرَاقُ الأُخْرَى بِخَزَانَتَيْنِ فِي هَذِهِ المَكْتَبَةِ.

⁶ Griffini, Eugenio. 1913. *L'arabo parlato della Libia*. Milan, Hoepli.

⁷ Griffini, Eugenio. 1914. *I nomi indigeni di luogo nella regione libica. Studi, esperienze, proposte* (dattiloscritto), Milano, pp. 16-17, in Istituto per l'Oriente C.A. Nallino, Archivio Carte private di Carlo Alfonso e Maria Nallino, I-Toponomastica della Libia, II/1.

⁸ Griffini, Eugenio. 1919. *Corpus Iuris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, Milano, Hoepli; Beltrami, Luca e Codazzi, Angela. 1926: 58.

⁹ Beltrami, Luca / Codazzi, Angela. 1926: 58.

¹⁰ Codazzi, Angela. 1926. *Eugenio Griffini Bey MDCCCLXXVIII-MCMXXV: Catalogo dei libri a stampa ed elenco sommario dei MSS. dal Dr. Griffini legati alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Milano.

¹¹ Miola, Alessandra. 1994/95.

¹² Miola, Alessandra. 1994/95: 24.

بفضل دراسة ميولا (Miola) المتأنيّة للغاية لترجمة حياة كريكيني، قُسمت الوثائق بأكملها إلى "مجموعات" تمثّل المراحل ذات الأهميّة الزمنيّة في حياته ومسيرته العلميّة والعملية. السلسلة كما يلي:

- تونس: 9
مكتبة الأمبروزيانا (Ambrosiana): 10
ليبيا: 11
الأكاديمية العلميّة الأدبيّة: 12
مصر: 13
الترجمة أو السيرة الذاتية والدراسات المُبكرة: 14

أما مجموعة ليبيا فتقتصر لنا - وعلى الترتيب الآتي - يوميّاته، دراساته، منشوراته، رسائله، أوراقه الشخصية، ترجماته، مطبوعاته المتعلقة بالحقبة التي قضّاها في طرابلس أثناء الاحتلال الإيطاليّ لليبيّا، عندما كان مترجماً في المكتب السياسيّ العسكريّ. تضمّ هذه المجموعة ملفاً في العدد 139 بعنوان "إعلانات مترجمة إلى العربيّة. أغانٍ شعبيّة" إذ تم العثور في ثنايا هذا الملف، في العدد الفرعيّ 5، على موضوع بحثنا هذا، وقد فهرست على النحو الآتي: "قصيدة كتبها شاعرٌ من جبل نفوسه".¹³

سليمان بن عبد الله بن يحيى البارونيّ (الباشا)

تصفه المصادر بالمؤرخ والأديب والمجاهد بالسيف والقلم. إباضيّ المذهب، من مواليد مدينة (جادو) من جبل نفوسه عام 1870 يعود أصله إلى القبيلة البروانيّة. وقد نشأ البارونيّ في مدينة (جادو) وفترة عاشها في (يفرن)، وهو من عائلةٍ اشتهرت بالجهاد والعلم، إذ كان والده عالماً أزهريّاً. وفي عام 1887 شدّ رحاله - طلباً للعلم - إلى جامع الزيتونة بتونس إذ تتلمذ على شيوخ أجلاء، من أبرزهم عثمان المكيّ، ومحمد النخليّ.¹⁴ وفي عام 1892 قصد القاهرة، للدراسة بالجامع الأزهر، وبقي فيها مدة ثلاثة أعوام.

وفي عام 1895 توجه إلى (بني يزقن) من وادي ميزاب جنوب الجزائر، ليأخذ العلم من قطب الأئمة الشيخ اطفيش، وكان الشيخ اطفيش مرجع الإباضيّة في العلم الشرعيّ واللغويّ، وقد توطدت علاقته برجال العلم، وأعيان الفضل بميزاب. وأقام هناك حتى عام 1897م.

تأثر البارونيّ بشيخه اطفيش تأثراً علمياً وسياسياً، وقد حزن عند وفاته عام 1914. جاية ملمات الحياة ونوائبها منذ فاتحة شبابه، ففي عام 1902 قصد جنوب مدينة طرابلس، وتحديداً إلى (يفرن) مركز الجبل الغربيّ، وبها أسس مدرسته عام 1904 التي سماها بالمدرسة البارونيّة، إذ أشرف عليها والده الشيخ عبد الله البارونيّ، وفيها درّست العلوم الشرعيّة واللغويّة، وألحقت بها المكتبة البارونيّة التي ضمّت نواذر المخطوطات والكتب، ألف في هذه الحقبة كتاب الأزهار الرياضيّة، وبعد مضايقة السلطات الحاكمة له التي أجبرته على مغادرة بلاده منجهاً إلى مصر، وفي القاهرة لقي فرصاً واسعة للتأليف والنشر، فضلا عن لقاء العلماء والإفادة منهم، استطاع عام 1906 تأسيس مطبعته التي أطلق عليها (مطبعة الأزهار البارونيّة)، حيث طبع أعماله فيها، عقبها تأسيس جريدة (الأسد الإسلاميّ) غايته - منها - جمع كلمة المسلمين وتوحيدهم.¹⁵

¹³ Miola, Alessandra. 1994/95:103-104.

¹⁴ يُنظر: بابا عمي، محمد بن موسى. 2000. معجم أعلام الإباضيّة. الاستشارة والمراجعة: محمد صالح ناصر. دار الغرب الإسلاميّ، بيروت: ص 2006-2008.

¹⁵ يُنظر: الجبوري، أحمد حسين عبد. 2018. سليمان البارونيّ دوره في ميدان الجهاد وتأسيس الجمهوريّة الطرابلسيّة - 1940-1873. جامعة تكريت: مركز صلاح الدين الايوبيّ للدراسات التاريخيّة والحضاريّة. ص 1-15.

الباروني مجاهدًا

هو سليمان بن عبد الله بن يحيى الباروني (الباشا). تُلخّص حياته الجهادية ضد الإيطاليين في ثلاث حقَب، هي: الحقبة الأولى: بدايتها يوم السادس والعشرين من أيلول عام 1911 عندما أعلنت إيطاليا الحرب على الدولة العثمانية في طرابلس الغرب. نهايتها عند آخر معركة له يوم الثاني عشر من آذار عام 1913. الحقبة الثانية: بدايتها من منتصف عام 1914، نهايتها في أوائل عام 1916. الحقبة الثالثة: بدايتها تشرين الأول 1916. نهايتها إعلان اعتراف إيطاليا بحكومة طرابلس بوصفها جمهورية وطنية، وذلك في الحادي والعشرين من نيسان عام 1919. أجبره الإيطاليون على ترك بلاده عام 1922، وغادر وطنه بسبب المؤامرة والتهديد مضطراً دون أن يودع أهله وأولاده، حيث الاغتراب في (الأسنانة)، ثم أنقرة، ولم يلق الاستقرار فيها، إذ حاول السفر إلى الشام أو مصر أو تونس أو الجزائر، إلا أن البريطانيين والإيطاليين والفرنسيين عملوا على منعه وحصاره، حينئذ، سافر بجواز سفر مُخالف لإسمه، فقصد باريس، وما إن علّم الفرنسيون به، قرروا مراقبة الشديدة، ومنعه من مغادرة فرنسا. وبعد مرور عامين، أدن له بالسفر لأداء فريضة الحج. أراد الباروني زيارة عُمان، حينها، وبعد وساطات، أدن له بدخولها عام 1926. إذ رُحِب به معزراً مكرماً، ومكث فيها عامين أنسته شفاء الغربية وويلات الدهر. زار العراق للعلاج من حمى الملاريا واستقر به مدة، ثم توجه بعدها إلى الهند لإكمال العلاج، إلا أنه توفي في إحدى مستشفيات بومباي عام 1940.¹⁶

القصيد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله

إلى الحرب

- 1 نَسْتَفِيحُ عَنْ شَيْخِنَا الْمَقَالَا * * * لِمَنْ يُطِيعُ رَبَّهُ تَعَالَى
- 2 نَحْوُهُ عَنِ الْعُمُومِ قَصِيدِهِ * * * مَفْهُومَةٌ نَحْوَهُ عَنِ الْإِسْتِقْلَالَا
- 3 الْكُفْرُ نَحْوُهُ يُغْيِضُ (هـ) * * * هِيَ لِلْإِسْلَامِ ثَدْلَا
- 4 رَبُّنَا مِنْ عِلْمِهِ يُزِيدُهُ * * * تَسْتَوِي الْعِبَادُ فِي الْعَدَالَا
- 5 مَنْ يَنْهَضُ لِلْحَرْبِ مِنْ عِبِيدِهِ * * * يَفْتَحُ لَهُ أَبْوَابَ الْجَنَّةِ رَبَّنَا جَلَالَا
- 6 مَنْ يَغْرُ عَنِ الْحَرْبِ نَهِيضِهِ * * * انْغَلَقَتْ عَلَيْهِ أَبْوَابُ الْجَنَّةِ مَعْوَالَا
- 7 يَا شَيْخِنَا أَجْبِوشْنَا عَدِيدَةً * * * لَا تَقْبَلْ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوْنَا أَعْمَالَا
- 8 عَنِ الرَّمْحِ لَا تَقْعُدْ حَتَّى تُفْنَى فِي يَدِهِ * * * الصَّلْحُ لَا تَقْبَلُ تَنْهَضُ أَعْلَالَا
- 9 لَوْلَا الْعَدُوُّ جَانَهُ مِنْ بِلَادِ بَعِيدِهِ * * * فَيَطْمَعُ فِي حِيزِنَا ٲ جِيَالَا
- 10 فَيَخْدِمُ خِدْمَتَهُ الْبَغْضُ تَكِيدُهُ * * * فَيَشْرَبُ شَرَابَ الْغَشِّ لَا يُصِيبُ مَاءً زَلَالَا
- 11 لَا تَسْتَطِيعُ لِلْعَدُوِّ مَحِيدُهُ * * * وَتَكُونُ بَيْنَ الْجُنُودِ فَأُو اللَّهُ
- 12 وَمَنْ مُيْلِعُ دَوْلَتِنَا مَشْعِيلًا مَقِيدُهُ * * * وَمِنْ بَرَكْتِ جَدْنَا الْبِرُونِي سَلَالَا
- 13 إِنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِي الْأَوْطَانِ وَجِيدُهُ * * * أَهْلُ الشُّطِّ جُنُودُ اللَّهِ جَلَالَا
- 14 لَا تَقْهَمُ مِنَ الطَّلِيَانِ بَعِيدِهِ * * * النَّصْرُ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ ٲ هَذَا لَا
- 15 فِيهِمْ أَيُّهَا الشَّيْخُ تَوْعَى نَفْسِكَ وَحِيدُهُ * * * مِنْ سِحْرِ الْعَدُوِّ وَمِنْ كُفْرِهِ وَاقْوَالَا

¹⁶ للاستزادة حول آثار الشيخ سليمان بن عبد الله بن يحيى الباروني والمناصب التي تقلدها، يُنظر على سبيل المثال: أبو اليقظان، إبراهيم. 1959. سليمان الباروني باشا في أطوار حياته. جزءان، الجزائر: المطبعة العربية 1959؛ جبران، محمد مسعود. 1991. سليمان الباروني، آثاره. ليبيا: دار العربية للكتاب؛ جمعية التراث. 2000. معجم أعلام الإباضية. بيروت: قسم المغرب ج2، ص: 206-208، دار الغرب الإسلامي؛ الباروني، سليمان. 1908. ديوان الباروني. مصر: مطبعة الأزهار البارونية.

- 16 نستمطي الأهوال في عظمة شديده * * * لا يُخلنا حربُهُ واموالا
 17 ان الرعية تسمع قول الجريده * * * تحمينا بجوابكم * وما تُنالا
 18 فالمست افواههم عنيده * * * تموج عليه النار * كسالا
 19 لا تخفق قلوبهم لديده * * * وفي الحرب يموت * حلالا
 20 في الدنيا نعيش * سعیده * * * ومن يستطعم الكفر حياته موبلا
 21 يغني علينا أهل تونس حَيِّده * * * يحموا المسلمين بالمال طلالا
 22 لآكن جرت نكبة الرياح نضیده * * * اوطاننا للحرب تغدو * جدالا
 23 ربُّنا اعطانا سنَّة جديده * * * فاستغارت اهل المصلين رجالا
 24 فثَّهَّبُ الارزق من تُبيده * * * تفرقا للمجاهدين طلالا
 25 الله يحفظ المسلت من حديده * * * ويحفظ الشيخ الباروني احوالا
 26 وفي جنة رضوان خليده * * * وليجعلنا من شفيع محمد احوالا
 27 لا يقطع فينا نوره ولا حديده * * * ويجعل أيديهم في عنوقهم غلالا
 28 يا ربُّنا من فضلك * تنقيده * * * ومن بركت السلطان علالا
 29 ومن والدين تقوه وتنجيه * * * ومن حسنه * وجمالا
 30 ومن علم بحره وعلم سيده * * * ومن تقدير * ربه وافضالا
 31 وما ينطق من لسانه حلو لديد (ه) * * * قهرته * للطلبان وامثالا
 32 فتھوي جيوشنا على جنده * * * فيسفك دماؤهم في أرضنا حلالا
 33 غدت ترتمي فيها من تغنده * * * فمضت جنوده بالسيف عن قتالا
 34 وما قصد الطليان للصلح يؤيده * * * من شددت الحرب وانكالا
 35 فاشتدت جيوشنا معيده * * * عن حرب كُفْره * غلالا
 36 فانهزمت جنودُه وتقريضه * * * فانخفق من العربان عقولهم خلالا
 37 وقد علم ان العدوين تقليده * * * فيجري عليه الحرب شكالا
 38 يا ربُّنا اغفر لناظم القصيده * * * وتغفر للمسلمين ولمن علمه احوالا

اللَّهْجَةُ الْعَرَبِيَّةُ اللَّيْبِيَّةُ وَأَهْمُ مَلَامِحِهَا

تُدرَجُ الْعَرَبِيَّةُ اللَّيْبِيَّةُ، بِلَهْجَاتِهَا، فِي الْمَجْمُوعَةِ الْمَغَارِبِيَّةِ، فَهِيَ تُقَسَّمُ كَذَلِكَ، عَلَى أَسَاسِ جُغْرَافِيٍّ إِلَى مَنطِقَةِ شَرْقِيَّةِ، وَغَرْبِيَّةِ وَوَسْطِيَّةِ وَجَنُوبِيَّةِ. أَمَّا مَوْسِكَاتِي (Moscati) فَيُضَعُّهَا تَحْتَ الْمَجْمُوعَةِ السَّامِيَّةِ الْحَامِيَّةِ،¹⁷ وَهَذَا رَأْيٌ ضَعِيفٌ. ذَهَبَ اللُّغَوِيُّونَ الْغَرْبِيُّونَ عَلَى أَنَّهَا بَدْوِيَّةٌ صِرْفَةٌ، وَوَضَعُوهَا فِي مَجْمُوعَةٍ مَا بَعْدَ الْهَلَالِيَّةِ، تُعْرَفُ عِنْدَهُمْ، أَيْضًا، بِلَهْجَةِ بَنِي سُلَيْمٍ، نَسَبَةً إِلَى قِبَائِلِ بَنِي سُلَيْمٍ بِنِ مَنصُورِ الَّتِي اسْتَوْطَنَتْ لِيْبِيَا.¹⁸

(1) إِبْدَالُ الْقَافِ، غَالِبًا، إِلَى كَافٍ مَعْجَمَةٍ، وَتَسْمَى بِالْكَافِ اللَّاتِيْنِيَّةِ (ك) أَوْ مَا تُعْرَفُ بِالْقَافِ الْبَدْوِيَّةِ، مِثْلُ: كَعْدُ *ga* 'd بِقَابِلِهَا فِي الْفَصْحَى: قَعْدُ، مِثَالُ آخَرَ: *gahwa* كَهْوَه، وَيَقَابِلُهَا فِي الْعَرَبِيَّةِ الْفَصْحَى (قَهْوَةٌ).¹⁹

(2) يَتَمَيَّزُ تَصْرِيْفُ الْفِعْلِ الْمَضَارِعِ لِشَخْصِ الْمَفْرَدِ الْمَتَكَلِّمِ بِزِيَادَةِ (ت) فِي الصَّدْرِ لِلأَصْلِ الْمَجْرَدِ، مِثْلُ: *naktab* وَيَقَابِلُهُ فِي الْعَرَبِيَّةِ الْفَصْحَى (أَكْتُبُ). أَمَّا تَصْرِيْفُ الْفِعْلِ الْمَضَارِعِ مَعَ الْجَمْعِ الْمَتَكَلِّمِ بِزِيَادَةِ (ت) فِي الصَّدْرِ لِلأَصْلِ الْمَجْرَدِ، وَلَكِنْ بِكَسْعٍ يَتَمَثَّلُ بِإِلْحَاقِ ضَمِيرِيَّةِ هِيَ الضَّمَّةُ (ـُ) مِثْلُ: *naktbu* وَيَقَابِلُهَا فِي الْعَرَبِيَّةِ الْفَصْحَى (نَكْتُبُ).

¹⁷ Moscati, Sabatino. 1964: 16.

¹⁸ Ritt-Benmimoun, Veronika. 2014.

¹⁹ Dickinson, Eerik. 2004: 392a; Griffini, Eugenio. 1913: 36.

وتعدُّ هذه الظاهرة نقطةً فارقةً رئيسةً تُميِّزُ بين اللهجات المغاربية وتلك الشرقية.²⁰ مثال آخر هو الفعل (نُسْتَفْتِحُ) في البيت الأول من القصيدة مادة هذا البحث.

(3) تُعدُّ، العربية الليبية - نسيباً - نسيباً لغوياً متجانساً ذا ملامح بدوية محافظة²¹، تتضح عبر مخارج الأصوات الصافية وبناء جملتها ومفردات معجمها. إلا أننا نرى أنَّ اللهجات الليبية الشرقية تختلف عن اللهجات الليبية الغربية وذلك فيما يتعلق ببعض الملامح اللغوية. بينما تتسمُّ اللهجات الليبية الوسطية بخصائصها المستقلة بلامح شرقية وغربية.²²

(4) يُبدلُ العديدُ من القبائل الصَّحراوية/البدوية، القاف غيناً،²³ مثل: *gereš* غرش: (غملة)، يقابلها في العربية الفصحى (قرش).²⁴

(5) إبدالُ الظاءِ بالضادِ ظاهرةٌ مألوفةٌ، مثل: عضمته: يُقابلها في الفصحى: عظمتَه. يُنظر البيتُ الخامسُ من هذه القصيدة.²⁵

وكذلك كتابة: يغيضه بدلاً من يغيظه في الفصحى، يُنظر البيتُ الثالثُ من هذه القصيدة. أو كتابة الظاء بدل الضاد، مثل: ضلال، وهي في العربية الفصحى: ضلال (البيت 24).

التعليق

البيت 1:

نُسْتَفْتِحُ عَنْ شَيْخِنَا الْمَقَالَا * * * لِمَنْ يُطِيعُ رَبَّهُ تَعَالَى

إذا أخضعنا هذه القصيدة إلى التحليل اللغوي والعروضي وقواعدهما، فستجدُّ أنَّ الناظم قد مزج العامية بالفصحى، وهذا ما يسمَّى بـ (القصيدة الملمعة)، ومن جانب التحليل العروضي فهي ليست على بحر متسق ثابت واحد من بحور الشعر العربي إلا فاتحة القصيدة فهي من بحر الرَّجَز وتفعيلاته هي (مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ).

البيت 2:

نَحْوُهُ عَنِ الْعُمومِ قَصِيدِهِ * * * مَفْهُومُهُ نَحْوُهُ عَنِ اسْتِقْلَالَا

نَحْوُهُ: ربما من الاصل [ن ح و]، ويُقال: نَحَوْتُ نَحْوًا كقولك قَصَدْتُ قَصْدًا،²⁶ المقصود هنا (الباروني). لم يلتزم الناظم في هذا البيت والأبيات الأخرى، بوزن البيت الأول.

عن العموم: لعله يريد: نيابة عن القوم أو الناس. فهو باستخدامه (استقلالاً)، يكون قد صرح بأنه قصد الممدوح (الباروني) دون الآخرين. وعليه، نَحْوُهُ عَنِ اسْتِقْلَالَا: بمعنى أخصُّهُ بالمدح مستقلاً.

البيت 3:

الْكَفْرُ نَحْوُهُ ٲِغْيِضُهُ * * * هِيَ لِلْإِسْلَامِ ذُلَالَا

كُفْرُ الْغَازِي الْمَحْتَلِّ، فِي نَظَرِ الْبَارُونِيِّ، فِيهِ غَيْظٌ لَهُ
المتوقَّع حسب سياق القصيدة: يغيضه: المقصود يغيظُ الباروني.
ذلالا: تعود إلى فكرة الصلح مع العدو ووصفها بالذلِّ للإسلام.

²⁰ Marçais, Philippe. 1977: VI.

²¹ Marçais, Philippe. 1977: IX.

²² Pereira, Christophe. 2008. "Libya", *EALL*, vol. III: 53.

²³ Marçais, Philippe. 1977: 11.

²⁴ Griffini, Eugenio. 1913: 213.

²⁵ Pereira, Christophe. 2012: 168.

²⁶ ابن منظور، جمال الدين محمد مكرم الانصاري. 1955-1956. لسان العرب. بيروت: دار صادر، المجلد الخامس عشر، ص310؛ العلمى، عبد الحميد. 2001. منهج الدرس الدلالي عند الشاطبي. المغرب: مطبعة وزارة الاوقاف والشؤون الإسلامية، ص 304.

بناء البيت غير مستقيم، ونلاحظ أنَّ كلمة: ذللاً، قد يكون المقصودُ بها (إذلالاً)، وقد يكون الغلطُ بسبب الاملاء المنقول، فلم يعتنِ بنهاية القافية المتفقة مع حال الكلمة وفقاً لقواعد اللغة العربية الفصحى، لأنَّ (ذللاً) أو (إذلالاً) خبر مرفوع للمبتدأ (هي)، ولا نعلم ما هو المقصود بـ (هي)، وتقدير الكلام: هي للإسلام إذلالاً. نلاحظ أنَّ قائل الابيات يزيد حرف الالف في نهاية الشطر ليوحد القافية (حسب رأيه) وهذا في كل أبيات القصيدة.

البيت 4:

رَبُّنَا مِنْ عِلْمِهِ يَزِيدُهُ * * * تَسْتَوِي الْعِبَادُ فِي الْعَدَالِ

العدالا: ينبغي أن تكون مجرورةً (في العدلِ أو العدالة).

البيت 5:

مَنْ يَنْهَضُ لِلْحَرْبِ مِنْ عَيْدِهِ * * * يَفْتَحُ لَهُ أَبْوَابَ الْجَنَّةِ رَبَّنَا جَلالاً

ويقصد: من ينهض للحرب من عبيد الله يجازيه الله بدخول الجنة إجلالاً لتضحيتِهِ في سبيل الله.

البيت 6:

مَنْ يَغْزُ عَنِ الْحَرْبِ نَهِيضُهُ * * * انْغَلَقَتْ عَلَيْهِ أَبْوَابُ الْجَنَّةِ مَعَالَا

من يَغْزُ: هي في العربية اللببية (كما أفادنا الأستاذ توفيق عباد الشقروني) تأتي بمعانٍ عدة، وأصلها: عَزَّ الشَّيْءُ لندرتِهِ أو لغلاء ثمنه. وفي البيت، يقصد من صَعُبَ عليه التَهْوُضُ للحرب. وفي الشطر الثاني يذكر جزاءه، بأنَّ أبواب الجنة سَتُغْلَقُ دونَهُ إذا كان يزوم دخولها. يَغْزُ: من الفعل عَزَّ [ع ز ز]، إذا امتنع من أداء شيء،²⁷ أي من يمتنع عن المشاركة في الحرب، واحتمال قراءة الفعل: يَفْزُ تتسجم أكثر مع سياق المعنى. نهيضه: لعلها من: نُهَضُّه أي: قيامه للمشاركة في الحرب وتقديره (أَنَّ مَنْ يَتَقَاعَسُ عن المشاركة بالدفاع عن وطنه وتُغْلَقُ دونه أَبْوَابُ الْجَنَّةِ). معوالاً: ربما من الفعل: عال، يعول: الغوث والملجأ والمأوى، أي: تنغلق الجنة عن إغاثته، من الجذر [ع ول].²⁸

البيت 7:

يَا شَيْخَنَا أَجْيُوشْنَا عَدِيدُهُ * * * لَا تَقْبَلْ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُونَا أفعالاً

يقصد أنَّ عدد جيشنا كبيرٌ ولا نقبل أفعال عدوِّ الله وعدونا. أجْيُوشْنَا: وهي على احتمالين، الأول: أجْيُوشْنَا؟ أن يكون أسلوباً استفهامياً، وثبات ألف الاستفهام هنا يُخَلُّ بالوزن الشعري. أما الثاني: أنها لهجة عربية لبيبية! (لا تقبل عدو الله وعدونا أفعالاً): التقدير: انَّ لدينا جيوشنا كبيرة العدد، وعلية نحن لا نَرْضَى بَعْدُ الله وأفعاله.

البيت 8:

عَنْ الرَّمْحِ لَا تَقْعُدُ حَتَّى تَفْنَى فِي يَدِهِ * * * الصَّلْحُ لَا تَقْبَلُ تَنْهَضُ اَعْلالاً

هنا يؤكد على الحرب وعدم القبول بالصلح فيقول موصياً الشيخ الباروني أن يظل ممسكاً برمح الحرب حتى يفنى آخرنا ولا تقبل بالصلح. حتا: ويريد في العربية الفصحى: حتّى.

البيت 9:

لَوْلَا الْعَدُوُّ جَانَهُ مِنْ بِلَادِ بَعِيدِهِ * * * فَيَطْمَعُ فِي حِيزِنَا َجِيالاً

²⁷ ابن منظور. المجلد الخامس، ص 376.

²⁸ ابن منظور. المجلد الحادي عشر، ص 482-483.

جانه: لهجة عربيّة لبيّنة، أي أتاناً، والفعل (جانه) مستخدم في العربيّة العراقيّة أيضاً، يقابلها (جاءنا) في العربيّة الفصحى. بعيدة: القراءة بتسكين الباء (بُعَيْدَه)، فإرن في العربيّة الفصحى: بُعَيْدَة.²⁹ حيز: من الحوزة ويحوز الشيء، وحيزنا هنا بمعنى أملاكنا أو أرضنا. جيّالاً: (صيغة مبالغة، لهجة عربيّة لبيّنة)، أي جوال، جوالاً، من الفعل: جال يجول واجتال إذا ذهب وجاء، ومنه الجولان،³⁰ وعليه: يصول ويجول ويسطو على الخير كيف يشاء. ولعلها: جبال، اسم جمع لـ: جبل: أبناء، ذريّة، وعليه: أبناء العدو وأجياله القادمة.

البيت 10:

فيخدم خدمته البغضُ تكيده * * * فيشرب شراب الغش لا يُصيبُ ماءً زلالاً

المراد: أنّ الخائن الغشاش لا يمكنه إصابة الماء النقي، وهنا استعارة، أي أنّ الذي يشرب الماء المغشوش لا يصل إلى الماء الصافي.

البيت 11:

لا تستطيع للعدو محيده * * * وتكون بين الجنود فاو الله

محيده: (لهجة عربيّة لبيّنة)، يُوصي ناظم هذه الابيات، بعدم الحياد والميول عن مواجهة العدو حذر الموت. فاو: فاو، فالجأ إلى الله في هذه المواجهة.

البيت 12:

ومن مُبلِّغُ دولتنا مشعيلاً مقيده * * * ومن بركت جدينا البروني سلالاً

مشعيلاً: لعلها لهجة عربيّة لبيّنة بمعنى (مشعل) في العربيّة الفصحى. مقيده: لهجة عربيّة لبيّنة، يقابلها في الفصحى: (موقدة ومُوقّدة) من الأصل الفصحى: [وق د] الشائع في اللهجات المغاربيّة والشرقيّة.³¹ يقصد: أنّ مشعل دولتنا يتّقد ببركة جدينا الباروني العريق في النسب.

البيت 13:

إنّ المسلمين في الأوطان وجيدة * * * اهل الشط جنود الله جلالاً

أفادنا الأستاذ توفيق عياد الشقروني بأن المقصود هنا باهل الشط هم من قطن الساحل بصفة عامة، وهو تمييز لهم عن أهل الجبل. وجيدة: لهجة لبيّنة، تعني الكثرة فيقال (عرب واجدة) أي بكثرة، وعن الشيء أنّه (واجد) إذا كثر وعم، أي حاضرة قائمة جاهزة، ومنهم أهل الشط مثلاً. واللفظ (واجد) مُستخدم في اللهجات العربيّة الشرقيّة، منها، على سبيل التمثيل، في الكويت، بصيغة (واجد، وايد) بذات المعنى الظرفيّ والوصفيّ.³²

البيت 14:

لا تفهم من الطليان بعيدة * * * النصر للمسلمين هذا الله

²⁹ Dickinson, Eerik. 2004: 386a.

³⁰ ابن منظور. المجلد الحادي عشر، ص 131.

³¹ Behnstedt, Peter / Woidich, Manfred. 2014: 188a, b.

³² Holes, Clive. 2001: vol. I: 552a, b.

البيت 15:

فيهم أيها الشيخ توعى نفسك وحيدة *** من سحر العدوين ومن كفره واقوالا
ينصح القائل الشيخ الباروني بتوخي الحرص والحيطه والحذر من كيد الأعداء ومكرهم ضده وتقولهم عليه.

البيت 16:

نستطي الأهوال في عظمة شديدة * لا يخجلنا حربيه واموالا**

عضمته: يُقابله في الفصحى: عظمته، إبدال الظاء بالضاد ظاهرة - تكاد أن تكون شائعة - في اللهجات العربيّة، فأما الظاء فهو: ساكن، احتكاكي مهموس، مفخم، يُلفظ من بين الأسنان، واما الضاد فهو: ساكن احتكاكي مهموس مفخم، مجهور، إطباقِي، يُلفظ جانبياً من بين الأسنان. تعود بداية ظهور هذا الأرباك بين هذين الصوتين، وكذلك سائر الأخطاء الإملائيّة الأخرى، حسب رأي أولفير دوراند (Olivier Durand) إلى حقبة كتابة النصوص العربيّة خلال العصور الوسطى.³³

وعليه، فالضاد، في معظم اللهجات، اختلفت مع الضاد العربيّة في المخرج، وتشابهت معها في الرخاوة والجهر والإطباق. هنا يمدح الناظم الشيخ الباروني ومن معه وشجاعتهم أمام الاهوال ويصفهم بالشجاعة فلا مخافة عدو ولا خجلاً من حربيه ولا طمعاً في أمواله.

البيت 17:

ان الرعية تسمع قول الجريده * تحميننا بجوابكم * وما تنالا**

من الراجح، أنّ يكون المعنى الظاهر من المفردات أنّ حرباً إعلاميّة كانت دائرة حينذاك، فتولى الشيخ (الباروني) الجواب في الجريدة جواباً وطنياً كان له أثره الوطني ومثار اعجاب الجماهير آنذاك. ولعله يقصد: أولاً: أنّ الرعية تسمع ما تنشره جرائد العدو، وأنّ جواب الشيخ عليه يحمي الناس ولا ينال العدو مبتغاه. الثاني: أنّ المراد بالجريدة هنا الغزو فنقول (تجريدة حبيب)³⁴ فيكون مقصده أنّك أيها الشيخ إذا ناديت للحرب فإن الرعية تجيبك وتطيعك وتحملك ولا ينال العدو مراده.

البيت 18:

فالمست افواههم عنيده * تموج عليه النار * كسالا**

لمس: السمس: الجس، وقيل: السمس المس باليد، لمسّه. لعلّ الناظم يريد أنّ يكّم أفواه العدو بعناده على الحق فأخرسهم، فلا قدرة لهم على الجواب كالكسالى.

البيت 19:

لا تخفق قلوبهم لديده * وفي الحرب يموت * حلالا**

لديده: اسم، جمعها: اللدد: الخصومة الشديدة مع الميل عن الحق وهي صفة العدو. لا تخفق: أي لا تنبض قلوبهم بالمحبة لامتلانها بالخصومة والحق.

البيت 20:

في الدنيا نعيش * سعیده * ومن يستطعم الكفر حياته موبلا**

³³ Durand, Olivier. 2018: 232.

³⁴ أخبرني متفضلاً الباحث الأستاذ توفيق عياد الشقروني، ان (تجريدة حبيب) اسم لمعارك وغزوات حصلت بين قبائل أدت إلى نزوحها إلى مصر. بمعنى تجردت القوات وخرجت للحرب. للمزيد، يُنظر: جبريل، صلاح الدين، محمد. 1995.

موبلاً: من الوَيْال. قال تعالى: ﴿فَدَأَوْا وَيَالَ أَمْرَهُمْ﴾ [التغابن: 5].
والاصح في نهاية البيت كلمة (ويالا) بدلا من (موبلا).

البيت 21:

يعني علينا أهل تونس حَيِّدَه * * * يحموا المسلمين بالمال ظلالا

يعن: يعنى المعنوي: المتكفل، الدافع للضرر، قارن: ﴿فَهَلْ أَنْتُمْ مُعْتُونَ عَنَّا مِنْ عَذَابِ اللَّهِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ﴾ [إبراهيم: 21]، أي: الدافعون الصرَّ عَنْ غَيْرِهِمْ. يدافعون عَنَّا. حَيِّدَه: يرى الأستاذ توفيق عياد الشقرونِّي، المقصود هو بهذه المفردة هو: الساحل المواجه للعدو الإيطالي عن طريق تونس.

طلالا: الاطلال، آثار.

لعل الناظم يشير هنا إلى لجوء المجاهدين إلى تونس، بعد أن اضطرتهم الايطاليون - آنذاك - إلى دخول الحدود التونسية. وعليه، يمدح الناظم أهل تونس لحمايتهم المسلمين وضيافتهم.

البيت 22:

لاكن جرت نكبة الرياح نضيده * * * اوطاننا للحرب تغدو جدالا

نَضِيدَةٌ: الأصل [ن ض د]. (صِبْغَةٌ فَعِيل). وهو ما دلَّ على الاتساق والترتيب، أي ان وقوع النكبات جاء بصورة متتابعة متواليّة، أي بشكل مُرْتَبِّ مُنْسَقٍ، قارن: ﴿وَالنَّخْلُ بَاسِيفَاتٌ لَهَا طَلْعٌ نَضِيدٌ﴾ [ق: 10]. نكبة الرياح: المُصِيبَةُ، دائما تُسَبِّه بالرياح العاتية جدالا: وَهُوَ شِدَّةُ الْخِصَامِ وَمُرَاجَعَةُ الْكَلَامِ، قارن: ﴿وَلَا جِدَالَ فِي الْحَجِّ﴾ [البقرة: 197]، أي: تحت الخصام المستمر.

البيت 23:

ربنا اعطانا سنّة جديده * * * فاستغارت اهل المسلمين رجالا

اسْتَعَارَتْ: من الاصل [غ ي ر]. أغار. شَنَّ غَارَةً على العدو، أي هجم عليهم. المراد: كنا نظن أن السنة الجديدة سنة خير وسلام ولكن الحرب غارت علينا واستغارت ودعت أهل المسلمين، وربما تقرأ (المصلين)! وهنا لا يتغير المعنى.

البيت 24:

فثهبّ الارزق من تبيده * * * تفريقا للمجاهدين ظلالا

فثَهَبُّ: قارن في العربية الفصحى: فتوهب. الأرزق: قارن في العربية الفصحى: الأرزاق، جمع رزق وأرزاق. وكأَنَّ الناظم أرادَ القول: إنَّ الذين قبلوا أن يأخذوا أموالاً وعطايا من يد العدو فإنها لهم كالموت الذي سيبيدهم بدليل أن أثر هذا المال الحرام هو تفريق المسلمين عن مواجهة العدو، وإن وقع المجاهد في مثل هذا الفعل ففيه ضلاله. وكلمة: (ظللال) في العربية الفصحى: ضلال. ملاحظة عامة: الامالة الصغيرة عند نهاية كتابة كلمة الأرزاق، على سبيل التمثيل، لا تعني أنها حرف هاء أو تاء مربوطة؛ إنما هي طريقة كتابة الناسخ. ونجدها مكررة في النص.

البيت 25:

الله يحفظ المسلت من حديده * * * ويحفظ الشيخ الباروني احوالا.

المسلت: لعلَّ الناظم أرادَ من رسم هذه المفردة: (المسلمين)؛ أو لعله قصد: (المسلت بالسيف) يُسَلُّ من غمده. تحتمل المفردة الرابعة قراءتين، الأولى أن تكون: حديده، وفيه يبدو صاحب الأبيات يدعائه إلى الأسرى المكبلين بالحديد بأن يحفظهم الله كما يدعو للشيخ بالحفظ كذلك.

أما القراءة الثانية، فربما تكون: صديده: من صَدَّدَ يَصِدِّدُ، تصدِّدًا، فهو مُصَدِّدٌ، صَدَّدَ الْجُرْحُ: نَفَّحَ، أَي صَارَ فِيهِ الصَّدِيدُ. شَبَّهَ النَّاظِمُ عَطَايَا الْعَدُوِّ كَأَنَّهَا الْجِسْمَ الْمَتَعَفْنَ بِالصَّدِيدِ وَالْقَبِيحِ. وَهَذَا يَدْعُو النَّازِمَ لِصَالِحِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْبَارُونِيِّ بِالسَّلَامَةِ.

البيت 26:

وفي جنة رضوان خليفة*** وليجعلنا من شفيح محمد احمالا

خليفة: (لهجة عربية ليبية)، المراد: خالدة، دائمة باقية. شفيح: [ش ف ع]، (صِبَغَةُ فَعِيل). وهو اسم جمع كثرة مثل: حبيح³⁵. وفي النهاية أن ننال شفاعة محمد ويغفر لنا الذنوب التي هي كالأحمال على أعناقنا. احمالا: كناية عن الانتقال التي هي في الأصل: الأحمال، أستعيرت للذنوب والاوزار.³⁶

البيت 27:

لا يقطع فينا نوره ولا حديده*** ويجعل أيديهم في عنوقهم غلالا

يقطع فينا: المراد: أن يا رب: لا تتخلى مِنَّا وتمنع عنا نورك وعزتكَ. حديده: كناية عن السلاح الخفيف أو الثقيل. فهو يدعو الله ألا تصيبهم أو تضربهم القنابل والأسلحة التي يلقيها العدو عليهم. وأن يكبل أيدي العدو في أعناقهم فالمخاطب هو الله بالدعاء في طلب انارة القلوب وزيادة القوة. عنوقهم: (لهجة عربية ليبية)، المراد: أعناق، [ع ن ق]، قارن: ﴿إِنَّا جَعَلْنَا فِي أَعْنَاقِهِمْ أَغْلَالًا﴾ [يس: 8]، غلالا: أَغْلَالًا.

البيت 28:

يا ربنا من فضلك تنفيذة*** ومن بركت السلطان علالا

تنفيده: تنفيذه أو تحقيقه. علالا: ربما يريد بها العلو والسمو.

البيت 29:

ومن والدين تقوه وتنجيه*** ومن حسنه وجمالا

تقوه: أَرَادَ الْفِعْلَ مَعَ ضَمِيرِ الْمَفْعُولِ بِهِ (هُوَ): تَقَوَّيْهِ. دَعَاءٌ لِلشَّيْخِ الْبَارُونِيِّ بِالْقُوَّةِ وَالنَّجَاةِ وَالسَّلَامَةِ. تنجيه: أَرَادَ بِاللَّهْجَةِ اللَّيْبِيَّةِ: تُنَجِّدُهُ: تُنَجِّي هَذَا وَهُوَ الْبَارُونِيُّ.

البيت 30:

ومن علم بحره وعلم سيده*** ومن تقدير ربه وافضالا

يشيد بعلم سليمان باشا البارونوي وعلم والده الشيخ عبد الله البارونوي ويُباركُ تقدير الله وفضله عليه.

البيت 31:

وما ينطق من لسانه حلو لذيد*** قهرته للطلبان وامثالا

لذيد: أَرَادَ بِاللَّهْجَةِ اللَّيْبِيَّةِ: لَذِيذِهِ، أَي حَلَاوَتِهِ مُسْتَطَابَةً. يقصد ما ينظمه لسانه من كلام أو شعر جميل فهو قهر الايطاليين، يومذاك، وأمثالهم من الأعداء.

³⁵ يُنظَر: شرح الفارضي على الفية ابن مالك 1-4 ج 4 ص 245.

³⁶ يُنظَر: التونجي، محمد. 2003. المعجم المفصل في تفسير غريب القرآن الكريم، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، ص 94.

البيت 32:

فتهوي جيوشنا على جنده *** فيسفك دماؤهم في أرضنا حلالا

جنده: (جُنَيْدَه)، في العربية الفصحى: جنوده.
المراد بأن جيش الباروني يهوي على جيش الطليان ويسفك دماءهم، ويعدّ هذا حلالاً طالما هم على أرض بلادهم محتلين غازين.

البيت 33:

عدت ترمي فيها من تغنده *** فمضت جنوده بالسيف عن قتالا

من تغنده: (تغميده)، ابدال الميم نونا. لعله يريد: من تَعْمُدُهُ والمقتول يكون غمداً للسيف فعملت عملها وفعلها بالجنود، أي: قامت بعملها نيابة عنّا.

البيت 34:

وما قصد الطليان للصلح يؤيده *** من شدت الحرب وانكالا

أنكال: جمع نكل و هو القيد الشديد من أي شيء كان، قارن: (إِنَّ لَدَيْنَا أَنْكَالًا) [المزمل: 12]، أي: عندنا قيود الحديد الثقيلة. لعل المراد: أن الشيخ الباروني لم يؤيد نية الايطاليين إرادتهم في إقامة الصلح، بل إنهم قصدوه لشدة القتال وأصاباتهم الشديدة.
شدت: قارن في العربية الفصحى: (شدة).

البيت 35:

فاشتدت جيوشنا معيده *** عن حرب كُفْره غلالا

مُعِيده: راجعه، الكر والعود. ولعله يقصد: أنها عادت لجمع قتلاهم كجمع الغلال.

البيت 36:

فانهزمت جنوده وتقريضه *** فاتخفق من العريان عقولهم خلالا

انهزمت جنود العدو واصابهم التقريض التقطيع بدليل البيت السابق الذي أشار للجنود بالرزم كما ترزم الغلال، فلم يتصوروا العريان (المحايدين، ما يحيط بهم من الجوار) وفتنّ شدة فعل الجنود الليبيين بأعدائهم.
انخفق: ارتبك وذهل.
خلالا: الخلل والفساد والضعف والعطل، والتفرق في الرأي.

البيت 37:

وقد علم أنّ العدوين تقليده *** فيجري عليه الحرب شكالا

أي: علم السلطان الباروني بأنّ خطر العدو الإيطالي يقع في المقام الأول، أما الخونة العريان فهم في المقام الثاني، ولهذا فمن الواجب محاربتهم على شاكلة واحدة. ونرجح أنّ المراد من (شكالا) هو أشكال: صور، هينات. أي: ينبغي محاربتهم على كافة الأشكال والصور.

البيت 38:

يا ربنا اغفر لناظم القصيدة *** وتغفر للمسلمين ولمن علمه اعمالا

تمت

<p>و صلى الله على سيدنا محمد و آله المشركين و طيقتهم و ربه و تعالى مجتمعة فمعه فمعه عن ذلك استفلا هي من سلا صلاح و د سلا تستوي في العباد في العباد بافتح له ابواب الجنة من باب انقلقت عليه ابواب الجنة من باب لا تقبل عدو الله وعدوته ابعث له الصالح لا تقبل تقبضني اعلم بوطهم في حبيرتنا و جيا جيشه فزاد الفتح لا يحيط و تكلمه بين الجنود يسا و ومن بركته جعلنا الير و اهل التنظ جنود الله النصر المصلين و هذا من صمى العدم و من كبره و لا يجزئنا حربه و رسو خميننا في و الير و شجع عليه الفار و وفي الحرب يسوت و ومن استطاع الكبر حيلة ثموا المسلمين بالمال او طافنا للحرب تقدر جاستغارفه اهل الصلي تبس بقا للجهاد و جبط الشيخ البنا و و جبطنا من تنقيب و جبطنا من تنقيب ومن بركته السلطان</p>	<p> اجسم الله الرحمن الرحيم فتستفتح عن شيخنا في فمعه عن العموم فضيحه العجر فمعه و ما يقبضه ربه من علمه و ما يقبضه من يقبض الربه من عبده من يقبض عن الحربه يا شيخنا اجيبونا عن عن الرواج لا تقبضنا لولا العدو جان من بلاد ويبذع خذفته اليه لا استطيع العدو و يقبضه ومن مبلغ دولتنا مستفلا ان المسلمين في الاوطان و لا تقبض من الطمان و ينتج اهل الشاي من نستطع الاحوال من علة ان الرجز فسرجم بالستف ابواهم عبيده لا تقبض فلو تبهر لذيده في الدنيا يعيش و سعيده يقبض علينا اهل لا كنه حربه تلمبه ربه اعطانا سعة و بنهيم الارزفه من الله بوطه المسلمه وفي حبه رضوانه لا يقبض بيننا يارضا من و تنبيهه </p>
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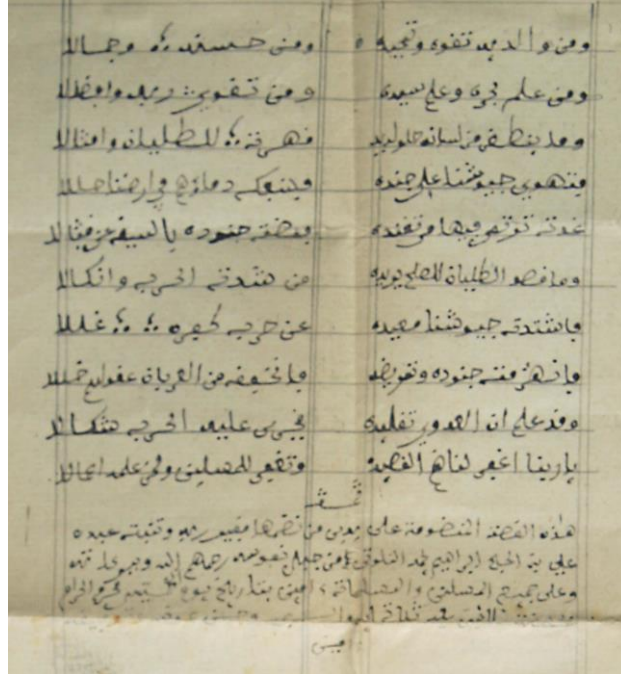


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يَخْتَمِ الناظم قصيدته بالتعليق الآتي:

تمت

هذه القصيدة المنظومة على يدين (يَدَيَّ) من نظمها فقير ربه، وتقيت (تقية) عبده علي بن الحاج إبراهيم محمد (لعله (يحمد) النلوتي من جبل نفوسة رحمهم الله، وبركاته تمت وعلى جميع المسلمين والمسلمات أمين، بتاريخ يوم الخميس محرم الحرام في سنة ثلاثين بعد ثلاثمائة وألف وحسن عاقبتهم وتوفيقه أمين

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اللغة وجمالياتها في الرواية العربية الرائجة
THE LANGUAGE AND ITS AESTHETICS IN THE ARABIC
"BESTSELLER" NOVEL

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Abstract. This article aims mainly to analyze four models of the Arabic novel that can be described as "Bestseller". These novels have been selected according to two specific criteria, achieving the popularity and representing the linguistic state in the Arab world. The article does not discuss the theoretical problematics related to the Bestseller novel, but it only deals with two axes; the first focuses on the critical problematic which is about the concept of "Bestseller Novel" and the relationship between language and popular text. The second traces the aesthetics of the four studied novels. The article treats with four novels belongs to the big domains of the Arab world: the Maghreb, Al-Sham, Gulf, Egypt. It analyzes Ahlam Mostaghanmi's novel *Dākīratu l-gasad* 1993, the Syrian writer Moustafa Khalifa's *al-Qawqa'a* 2008, the Saudi writer Athear Al-Nashmy's *Aḥbābtuka 'aktar mim mā yanbaḡt* 2009, and the last novel is *Mawsimu ṣaydi l-ḡizlān* 2017 by the Egyptian writer Ahmed Morad.

Keywords: Language, Aesthetics, Arabic, Arabic Novel, Bestseller.

مقدمة

عُرِفَت الرواية العربية في مرحلة متأخرة عن نظيرتها في أوروبا وأمريكا ظاهرة الرواية المعروفة بـ "الأكثر مبيعاً"، أو ما أُطلق عليه "الرواية الرائجة"، وتعني الروايات التي حققت نسبة كبيرة في مقروئيتها وحضورها بين الكُتُب العربية. وليس من اليسير في هذا المقام التأطير التاريخي لهذه الظاهرة التي ربّما عادت إلى أعمال روائية مبكرة صاحبت مرحلة التأسيس للرواية العربية، وهو أمرٌ لا تهدف هذه الورقة إلى مناقشته؛ إذ نهدف هنا بصورة أساسية إلى تحليل أربعة نماذج من الرواية العربية التي يمكن أن ينطبق عليها وصف "الرائجة"، للوقوف على جمالياتها اللغوية التي صنعت رواجها على نحوٍ خاص. وتهدف هذه الورقة إلى الكشف عن العلاقة الإشكالية بين اللغة و"الرواج"؛ فاللغة -وهي المادة المجردة للأدب- قد تسهم في صناعة الرواج أو تحد منه، بما تمنحه للأديب من مقومات تصنع أدبية النص الراجح؛ فالمقاربة تهدف إلى محاولة الوقوف على الظواهر اللغوية المتعلقة بالنص الروائي الذي اكتسب رواجاً، ويمكن بصيغة أخرى القول بأنها تهدف إلى توضيح دور بعض العناصر اللغوية في كل نص على حدة في الإسهام في تحقيق الرواج، ومن ثمّ فإننا سنكون بصدد الإجابة الضمنية عن ثلاثة أسئلة تُطرح على كل نصّ، وهي: ما الخصوصية اللغوية التي تحققت بها صفة الرواج للنص المدروس؟ وما الإسهام الذي يمكن أن تقوم به اللغة في تحقيق هذا الرواج؟ وهل هناك مساحة جمالية للغة التي تحقّق بها الرواج؟

اشتملت العينة المدروسة على أربعة أعمال روائية، تم اختيارها وفق معيارين أساسيين؛ المعيار الأول: أن تحقق الرواية المختارة الرواج بقرائن دالة وجازمة. والمعيار الثاني: تمثيلها الجغرافي لقطاع من قطاعات العالم العربي، وتمتعها بدرجة من المقدرّة على تمثيل الحالة اللغوية لهذا القطاع الذي تنتمي إليه؛ ولذلك كانت الروايات المختارة ممثلة بدرجة كبيرة للعالم العربي بقطاعاته الأربعة الكبرى -إن صح هذا الوصف- وأعني بهذه القطاعات: المغرب العربي -

الخليج العربي- الشام- مصر. فجاءت رواية "ذاكرة الجسد" سنة 1993م لأحلام مستغانمي ممثلة للغة في المغرب العربي، ورواية "القوقعة" سنة 2008م لمصطفى خليفة ممثلة للحالة اللغوية في الشام، أما رواية "أحببتك أكثر مما ينبغي" سنة 2009م لأنثى النشمي (1) فكانت ممثلة للحالة اللغوية في الخليج، بينما جاءت الرواية الرابعة والأخيرة "موسم صيد الغزلان" سنة 2017م لأحمد مراد (2) ممثلة للحالة اللغوية في مصر. وعلى الرغم من أن هذه الورقة تتعد عن الإشكاليات النقدية النظرية حول الرواية الرائجة، فإنه تحتمّ التعرّض لمفهوم الرواية الرائجة وإشكالية العلاقة بين اللغة والنص الروائي الرائج، ولذلك جاء البحث في محورين، الأول عن مفهوم الرواية الرائجة والعلاقة بين اللغة والرواج، والآخر عن الجماليات اللغوية الخاصة للنصوص الرائجة المختارة. ثم أعقبهما مستخلص ختامي متضمن أهم النقاط التي أمكن بلورتها من خلال العرض والتحليل. وقبل الدخول في معالجة هذين المحورين أشير إلى أن مصطلح "الجمالية" مستخدم في هذا البحث بمعنى "الأدبية" أو "الشعرية"، بمعنى المحصول الجمالي المستخلص من النص.

أولاً: الرواية الرائجة: مفهومها ودور اللغة في صنعائها:

ما تزال الدراسات حول الرواية الرائجة في العالم العربي محدودة لم تتجاوز بعد الإشارة إلى الظاهرة ورصدها، وهي جهود تكاد تنحصر في مقالات محدودة لكل من تينتز روكي وروجر آلن وجابر عصفور وأماني فؤاد وشريف حنينة وسامح فايز (3). وتهتم جميعها بالسياق الثقافي والاجتماعي الذي أنتج هذه الظاهرة إلى جانب العلاقة بين نوعية المتلقي وهذا النمط من الكتابة.

يُعدُّ المستشرق السويدي تينتز روكي Tetz Rooke أول من توسّع في رصد الظاهرة في الأدب العربي الحديث، وقد حاول تتبعها تاريخياً وثائقياً أيضاً، محاولاً تقديم تفسير نقدي لشبوع روايات بعينها وحضورها على رأس قوائم الأكثر مبيعاً في دور النشر الرئيسية في العالم العربي التي استطاع أن يحصل منها على وثائق تؤكد موقعها في هذه القوائم. و"تينتز روكي" يؤصّل ابتداءً لظهور مفهوم Bestseller في العالم، وكيف أنه انتقل إلى العالم العربي في

1 أنثى عبدالله النشمي – كما جاء على الغلاف الخلفي للرواية- سعودية مقيمة في الرياض، من مواليد يونيو 1984م، صدر لها : "في ديسمبر تنتهي كل الأحلام"، دار الفارابي، طبعة أولى 2011، وطبعة سابعة 2013م، و"فلتغفري"، دار الفارابي، طبعة أولى 2013م.

2 أحمد مراد – كما كتب على الغلاف الخلفي للرواية – روائي وسيناريست مصري، صدر له ست روايات: فيرتيجو، وتراب الماس، والفيل الأزرق، وأرض الإله، وموسم صيد الغزلان، وحصلت روايته الأولى فيرتيجو على جائزة البحر المتوسط الثقافية من إيطاليا في عام 2013م، وتم تحويلها إلى مسلسل تلفزيوني، فازت روايته الفيل الأزرق ضمن القائمة القصيرة لجائزة البوكر العربية عام 2014م، وتم تحويلها إلى عمل سينمائي.

3 الجهود المشار إليها هي:

Rooke, Tetz: The Emergence of the Arabic Best Seller, in Stephan Guth, Gail Ramsay (eds). From New Values to New Aesthetics Turning Point in Modern Arabic Literature Proceeding of the 8th EURAMAL Conference 11-14 June, 2008. Vol. II, Postmodernism and thereafter. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitzverlag. 2011, pp.201-14.

Allen, Roger: Criteria for Translation: The Case of the Arabic Best Seller, State of the arts in Middle East, Series, No.1.29/5/ 2009.

Allen, Roger: Criteria for Translation: The Case of the Arabic Best Seller, Revisited. In Sobhi Boustani, Isabella Camera D'afflito, Rasheed El-Enany and William Granara (eds). From Desire, Pleasure and The taboo: New Voices and Freedom of Expression in Contemporary Arabic Literature. Supplement ON 1. Allarivista Degli Studi Orientali Nuvva Serie.V.LXXXVII. Pisa. Roma. Fabrizio Serra Editore. 2014. pp 103-14..

ولجابر عصفور عدة مقالات في صحيفة الحياة اللندنية أهمها "الرواية الرائجة والقيمة"، مايو 2010م، وفي صحيفة الأهرام المصرية أهمها "هذا زمان الرواية الرائجة"، فبراير 2014م، وقد قام بدمج هذه المقالات وتحريرها بالحدف والإضافة ونشرها مرة أخرى في كتابه "زمن القصص". شعر الدنيا الحديثة"، الدار المصرية اللبنانية، الطبعة الأولى، القاهرة، 2019م، الصفحات من 215-239، ولأماني فؤاد مقالة طويلة تحت عنوان: "الرواية الرائجة، مقتضيات الفن وثقافة الاستهلاك"، صحيفة الرأي، أكتوبر، 2015م. ولشريف حنينة الصافي بحث تحت عنوان: "سلطوية المتلقي. قراءة في نصوص من الرواية المصرية الرائجة Bestseller"، ضمن كتاب النص بين الإنتاج والتلقي، دار كنوز المعرفة، الأردن، 2018م. كما أن لسامح فايز كتاب صدر مؤخراً عن الدار المصرية اللبنانية بالقاهرة 2019 عنوانه: "Best Seller حكايات عن القراء".

مرحلة متأخرة؛ فهذه الظاهرة تعود في رأيه إلى سبب تسويقي تجاري وليس إلى دافع فني، يقول في ذلك: "إن الكتاب في أوروبا وأمريكا هو منتج في سوق تجارية بحتة، والنجاح الأدبي يُقاس بشكل أساسي بحجم المبيعات، وهذا أنتج ظاهرة البيست سيلر "الأكثر مبيعاً". فالبيست سيلر هو الكتاب الذي يُعرف بأنه شديد الشعبية بإدراجه في قائمة الأعلى في المبيعات، ووظائف هذه القائمة أنها مؤشر للذائقة الأدبية الشعبية، ولحكم الناقد، ودليل للقراءة للمستهلك. ويعود أصل هذا المفهوم إلى شمال أمريكا. ففي سنة 1895 كانت صحيفة بوكمان Bookman أول من أطلق قائمة بالأكثر مبيعاً، وقد تم تجميع هذه القائمة الأصلية من تقارير المبيعات من محلات بيع الكتب في أنحاء الولايات المتحدة"⁽⁴⁾. وقد تأخر ظهوره في سوق النشر العربية إلى عام 2007م حين نشرت دار الشروق قائمة بالكتب الأفضل مبيعاً لذلك العام. وسبب هذا التأخر في رأيه يعود إلى حالة القراءة في العالم العربي بشكل عام، فنسبة القراءة ضعيفة، ويعود أيضاً إلى اعتبارات تجارية لدى الناشرين العرب جعلتهم يخفون حجم مبيعاتهم ربما عن الكاتب نفسه⁽⁵⁾. وقد رأى أيضاً أن تأخر وجود الظاهرة في صورتها التجارية لا يعني أنه لم تكن هناك روايات عربية تحقق الرواج من قبل، وخصوصاً داخل مصر، فقد كانت هناك أعمال ذات حضور كبير بين المتلقين مثل أعمال جورجي زيدان وإحسان عبد القدوس ويوسف السباعي، فهي أعمال يمكن أن ينطبق المفهوم عليها ليس بالمعنى المقصود للمصطلح، وإنما للتعبير فقط عن انتشارها الكبير⁽⁶⁾. ويقدم باحث آخر تاريخاً أقرب إلى ما قدمه روكي في ظهور المصطلح في مصر وبالتحديد في مصر وبالتحديد في العالم العربي، إذ يقول سامح فايز: "حتى عام 2005 لم تعرف مصر مصطلح قوائم الأعلى مبيعاً بيست سيلر"⁽⁷⁾.

وتعود تسمية الرواية الأكثر مبيعاً في النقد العربي بـ "الرائجة" إلى موقف حكاة الناقد جابر عصفور بينه وبين المستشرق البريطاني الكبير روجر آلن، إذ أعد الأخير بحثاً عن الرواية العربية الأكثر مبيعاً، وقد سأل جابر عصفور عن المصطلح العربي المقابل لكلمة Bestseller فأخبره بأن المصطلح المناسب هو "الرواية الرائجة"، لأنها – على حد قوله: "تتضمن معنى الذبوع الجماهيري ومعنى الأكثر مبيعاً على السواء"⁽⁸⁾. ومن المفارقات أنه حين تمت ترجمة بحث آلن الذي كان يشير إليه في الحديث السابق، لم يتم ترجمة المصطلح فيه بأي صورة، وإنما أبقى مترجمه على تعريب المصطلح حرفياً فقط، فجعله "البيست سيلر"⁽⁹⁾.

إن العلاقة بين اللغة والرواج تبدو منطقية وبديهية؛ فاللغة هي وعاء الأفكار والمضامين، وبها تنتقل الرسائل بين المبدع والمتلقي، وأي تكبير في تحقيق رواج لأي نص مكتوب لابد أن تكون اللغة هي أول وسيلة يمكن الاعتماد عليها في سبيل تحقيق هذا الهدف. ولعل العلاقة بين اللغة والرواج تكون أوثق عند الحديث عن النص الروائي، لأن جنس الرواية بمساحتها النصية الواسعة، وبقوله التعددية اللغوية بتعدد شخصه وتعدد ثقافتهم ومستوياتهم، يمثل عينة نصية قابلة للفحص والخروج بنتائج تتنوع بالصلاية، فثمة خصوصيات يتنوع بها النص الروائي في التعبير عن الثابت والمتغير في الاستعمالات اللغوية، وذلك لاستيعابه أشكال التعبير اللغوي ومحركاته اللغوية الشفهية أيضاً، والحوار ووسائل الاتصال اللفظية وغير اللفظية.

وعلى الرغم من هذه الأهمية التي تبدو بديهية كما ذكرنا سابقاً فإن ثمة إهمالاً لدور اللغة في صناعة الرواج، فلم يلتفت أحدٌ ممن تناولوا النص الراج إلى دورها؛ فتنبئ روكي حاول فك لغز الرواية الرائجة أو ما أسماه Secret فيتساءل عن هذا السر ويقدم إجابة لنفسه على سؤاله، فيقول: "ما السر وراء ما حققته هذه الكتب؟ إن الإجابة كما أتصور تعود إلى وجود مزج بين العوامل الأدبية الجوهرية داخل النصوص والتقنيات الخارجية بالإضافة إلى أثر التطورات الاجتماعية في الرواية بشكل عام، وأتصور أن المؤثرات الجوهرية في الأمر هي: 1- الإثارة والجدل. 2- الجاذبية ومخاطبة فئة واسعة. 3- التوافر المادي للرواية. 4 – العولمة"⁽¹⁰⁾. لكنه لم يلفت إلى أن اللغة هي التي تصنع الإثارة

⁴ Rooke, Tetz: The Emergence of Arabic Bestseller. Arabic fiction and world literature, Ibid, P.201.

⁵ تُنظر هذه المناقشة في:

Rooke, Tetz: The Emergence of the Arabic Best Seller, Ibid: P.201-202.

وهذا الكلام الذي قال به روكي هو نفسه المنفق عليه لدى كثير من المتابعين لسوق النشر في الغرب، فالمصطلح خرج من رحم السوق، ولم يخرج من رحم النقد. ويمكن العودة في ذلك إلى: مندليسون، دانيال، وآخرون: قضايا أدبية: نهاية الرواية وبداية السيرة الذاتية وقضايا أخرى مترجمة، ترجمة: حمد العيسى، تقديم صلاح عيسى، الدار العربية للعلوم ناشرون، بيروت، الطبعة الأولى، 2011م. وتحديداً: الفصل الثامن "البيست سيلر.. مصطلح سيئ السمعة"، الصفحات من 175- 187. والفصل الحادي عشر "أسرار صنع البيست سيلر"، الصفحات من 221 – 244.

⁶ Rooke, Tetz: The Emergence of the Arabic Best Seller, Ibid: P.202.

⁷ فايز، سامح: Best Seller حكايات عن القراءة، ص 24.

⁸ عصفور، جابر: دنيا القص، ص 216

⁹ البحث هو: "البيست سيلر في الرواية العربية"، ضمن كتاب نهاية الرواية وبداية السيرة الذاتية، الصفحات من ص 83 إلى ص 93.

¹⁰ Rooke, Tetz: The Emergence of the Arabic Best Seller, Ibid, pp. 204-205.

وهي التي تثير الجدل وهي التي تستطيع أيضاً مخاطبة فئات متنوعة من الجماهير، وأن مظاهر العولمة لا يمكن أن تتجاوز اللغة أيضاً، فكل ما تنطوي عليه الرواية من مضامين أو أفكار يتمظهر لغوياً في النهاية. ولعلّ هذه إشكالية نقدية كبرى يتسع الحديث إذا ما ولجنا بابها، ألا وهي وقوع النقد الروائي العربي والاستشراقي لفترة طويلة أسيراً لمناقشة المضمون الروائي والسياقات الثقافية والاجتماعية والسياسية التي أحاطت بإنتاجه دون العناية الكافية بمادته الأولى: اللغة.

غير أن الناقد جابر عصفور ألمح إلى علاقة اللغة بالرواج في تعليقه على رواية *بنات الرياض* لرجاء الصانع، إذ رأى أن لغتها كانت عاملاً من عوامل رواجها، شأنها شأن الصحافة الرائجة والكتاب الرائجين أيضاً. يقول: "فالرواية لها بلاغة ولغة تمضي في المجرى الذي تجري فيه لغة أنيس منصور التي تقول لنا: (عندما تصاب المرأة بحالة يأس فإن قلبها يصبح كأكرة الباب، أي إنسان يديرها يميناً وشمالاً). ويمكن أن تمضي مع هذه اللغة التي لا شك في تلقائيتها وعفويتها وتأثرها بالكتاب الرائجين في الصحافة العربية، فإذا غاب نزار يمكن أن يحل محله الذي تبعه: فاروق جويده... ولا بأس لو ترصعت لغة الرواية التي لا تفترق عن لغة الصحافة الرائجة بعبارات أو جمل بالإنجليزية مكتوبة باللغة العربية... ولا بأس باللحن والركاكة..."⁽¹¹⁾. وهذا ما يكاد يكون خصيصة من خصائص النص الروائي الرائج، على أن منه ما يكشف عن جماليات تنطوي عليها هذه الانتهاكات وهذا الترخص في الصحة اللغوية.

وثمة ملمحاً آخر قد وقفتُ أمامه في تحليلي لأربعة نصوص من الروايات المصرية الرائجة، منها رواية "الفيل الأزرق" لأحمد مراد كاتب رواية "موسم صيد الغزلان"، ويتمثل في العلاقة الوثيقة بين غرائبية اللغة المستخدمة وعدم تقليديتها وجسارتها في النص الروائي الرائج وطبيعة المضمون الروائي؛ إذ تعتمد الرواية على "خاصية نزع الألفة عن لغتها، فتعتمد على صناعة عوالم غريبة تكسر المؤلف لدى القراء، وهو ما يُعرف بالتغريب أو نزع الألفة Defamiliarization"⁽¹²⁾. وهي من الآليات التي تصنع جماليات النص الروائي الرائج، وسنجدّه ينطبق بصورة كبيرة في روايتي "القوقعة" و"موسم صيد الغزلان"؛ فلغتهما تمثل انتهاكاً للعرف اللغوي.

ثانياً: اللغة وجمالياتها في الأعمال المختارة:

يتوقف البحث في هذا السياق أمام الجماليات اللغوية الخاصة المتعلقة أساساً بتحقيق الرواج من وجهة نظرنا، فليس الغرض هنا التحليل اللغوي أو تحليل الجماليات اللغوية، وإنما فقط تحليل ما يرتبط ارتباطاً وثيقاً بتحقيق صفة الرواج للرواية المختارة، ويمكننا أن نقف على هذه السمات مع كل نص روائي على حدة على النحو الآتي:

شعرية اللغة في رواية "ذاكرة الجسد":

يُعدُّ اللجوء إلى اللغة ذات الطابع الشعري وسيلة من الوسائل الرئيسية التي يتخذها بعض الكُتاب لمخاطبة أكبر عدد من القراء، وهذه المخاطبة هي في حقيقتها مخاطبة لأذواق المتلقين في المقام الأول، ورغبة من الكُتاب في السيطرة الكاملة على القارئ والاستحواذ عليه بكتابة نص منفتح على الأجناس الأدبية، مستفيد من مقومات كل جنس. ومن ثمّ تتجاوز الرواية الشكل النثري الواقعي أو التقريري، أو حتى المُطعم بالصور الجزئية إلى بناء لغوي قائم على الأدوات الشعرية كالمجازات والإيقاع والتكثيف الدلالي والمفارقات. وتأتي رواية "ذاكرة الجسد" لأحلام مستغانمي⁽¹³⁾ سنة 1993م عن

نقلًا عن: الصافي، شريف حنينية: الرواية العربية من منظور استشراقي، ص 410 .

11 عصفور، جابر: دنيا القص: شعر الدنيا الحديثة، ص 228 .

12 الصافي، شريف حنينية: سلطوية المتلقي، قراءة في نصوص من الرواية المصرية الرائجة Bestseller، ص 348 ونزع الألفة "مصطلح صاغه الشكلانيون الروس الذين نادوا بأن اللغة الأدبية تختلف بالضرورة عن اللغة العادية، لأنها تستعطي على مالوف الصياغات اللغوية ومن ثم تكتسب طاقة تعبيرية جديدة تساعد على نزع الألفة عن الأشياء المألوفة المراد تصويرها وإحداث التغريب المطلوب لنراها في صورة جديدة غير معتادة". كويل، مارتن وآخرون: موسوعة الأدب والنقد، ص 53 .

13 أحلام مستغانمي رواية وشاعرة وكاتبة صحفية جزائرية، ولدت في 13 / 4 / 1953 بتونس. كان والدها محمد الشريف (أصيل منطقة مستغانم) مناضلاً ضد الاستعمار الفرنسي، عملت بالإذاعة الجزائرية والتحقّت بكلية الآداب في الجزائر وتخرجت فيها سنة 1975م، وسافرت إلى فرنسا وأعدت رسالة دكتوراه في الاجتماع سنة 1982م بجامعة السوربون بباريس وأشرف عليها المستشرق الراحل جاك بيرك، من مؤلفاتها في الشعر "على مرفأ الأيام" 1972م، و"الكتابة في لحظة غري"

دار الآداب ببيروت، ممثلة للنموذج الرائج الذي قلما يتأني لرواية من المغرب العربي فتستطيع أن تفرض حضورها الطاعي على القراء المشاركة، وهذا هو دافع رئيس كان وراء اختيارها على الرغم من التباعد الزمني بين الرواية الرائجة الحالية وبينها، وهي رواية استفادت بامتياز مما هو شعري، فحققت نجاحاً كبيراً مرده في المقام الأول في رأينا إلى هذه السمة، وأقصد بها الاعتناء باللغة. ولا يمكننا حصر الدراسات النقدية التي عالجت رواية "ذاكرة الجسد" فهي كثيرة، وقد التفتت بالطبع إلى اللغة الشعرية فيها، ولكن نركز هنا على الشعري الذي صنع الرواج. وقبل أن نمثل على ذلك نبين أنه قد أجمع النقاد على أنها من الروايات الأكثر رواجا في تاريخ الرواية العربية، ومن هؤلاء "تينتز روكي" في البحث السابق الرائد، فقد رأى أنها "واحدة من أعلى الكتب مبيعا على الإطلاق، فبعد مضي خمس عشرة سنة على نشرها لأول مرة ما تزال تُطبع طبعات جديدة، وما تزال تلقى جمهوراً في كل أنحاء العالم العربي"⁽¹⁴⁾. وكذلك روجر آلن فقد وضعها ممثلة للرواية العربية الرائجة إلى جانب روايتي رجاء الصانع "بنات الرياض"، وعلاء الأسواني "عمارة يعقوبيان"، وقال عنها: "أذكر أنه من بين هذه الروايات العربية البيست سيلر الثلاث، فإن رواية مستغانمي حصلت على أكثر استقبال إيجابي من مجتمع النقاد الغربيين على الأقل في نقاش محتواها"⁽¹⁵⁾.

وأما "فريال غزول" في بحثها المعنون بـ "ذاكرة الأدب في ذاكرة الجسد". فقد وصفت حضورها ورواجها بأنها: "ظاهرة لم يسبق لها مثيل في مجال الرواية العربية الحديثة، فبعد أن نشرت دار الآداب اللبنانية الطبعة الأولى منها في عام 1993م، ونشرتها دار مورفم للنشر الجزائرية في العام نفسه، تبعتها طبعات متتالية تقترب من خمس عشرة طبعة، وقد تجاوزت مبيعات هذه الرواية خمسين ألف نسخة، هذا على الرغم من سوء توزيع الكتاب في العالم العربي، وعزوف المواطنين العاديين عن القراءة العامة، وعن اقتناء الكتاب الأدبي خاصة. فما تكاد هذه الرواية تأخذ مكانها على رفوف مكتبات البيع حتى تتخاطفها أيدي المشتريين. مع العلم أن أعمالاً روائية متميزة لا تباع في أحسن الأحوال أكثر من ثلاثة آلاف نسخة، مع أن مؤلفيها نجوم في حقل الرواية العربية"⁽¹⁶⁾. وكلاهما -تينتز روكي، وفريال غزول- جعلها من الروايات التي اجتمع فيها الانتشار مع القيمة الفنية، غير أن أمر القيمة ليس قضيتنا في هذا السياق. وكُتبت عنها في قاموس الأدب العربي الحديث: "حقق نصها الروائي الأول، ذاكرة الجسد 1993م، بشعرية لغته، وبما تكشف عوالمه من أوجه الأمة الجزائرية ومحتنها، نجاحاً غير مسبوق مما جعله أكثر الكتب مبيعا في الوطن العربي"⁽¹⁷⁾. وتلخص فريال غزول أهمية الرواية في قولها: "تثير ذاكرة الجسد أسئلة متعددة كما تفعل كل الروايات الكبيرة، ولكنها تسرد الأحداث على مستويات مختلفة، فهناك من سبقها بوصفها حكاية حب، وآخر سيقراً فيها حكاية الوطن، وثالث سينشد لها ما طرحه بخصوص الكتابة ذاتها، وأما الناقد أو القارئ المتخصص فسيجد متعة في كيفية تشابك هذه المستويات في الرواية، وفي اقتفاء أثر الإرث الأدبي والأسري في هذا العمل واستدعاء التاريخ في ثناياه"⁽¹⁸⁾. وقال عنها عبده وازن أيضاً: "لا تنتمي الرواية إلى الحركة الجزائرية مقدر انتمائها إلى الأدب الرائج أو الجماهيري الذي يخطى كل التصنيفات والانتماءات الوطنية وسواها"⁽¹⁹⁾.

أجمع كل من تناول رواية مستغانمي بالنقد على أنها تتمتع بما وصفوه باللغة الشعرية، حتى إن هناك من قال: إن اللغة في حد ذاتها كانت موضوعاً رئيساً للرواية، يقول عبد الله الغدامي عنها: "لن نخطئ لو قلنا إن الرواية لم تُكتب إلا من أجل تمجيد اللغة والاحتفال بها"⁽²⁰⁾. وهذه حقيقة لا شك فيها يتبينها بسهولة كل من يطالع الرواية، فلغة أحلام مستغانمي هي اللغة الشعرية. واللغة الشعرية من أبرز خصائصها المجاوزة بالدلالات المباشرة للغة، فتضع المتلقي بين أكثر من مستوى لغوي يشبع حاجته من اللغة من أي مستوى شاء. والعلاقة بين شعرية اللغة وتحقيق الرواج يمكننا أن نضعها في سياقات ثلاثة: الأول هو التخلّص من اللغة الواقعية التقريرية أو المباشرة، وهذا يستقطب فئات من المتلقين الذين تستهويهم اللغة التي تنفصل بهم عن العالم المعيش، وتخرج بهم من الواقع القاسي الذي تحياه الشعوب العربية. والسياق الثاني هو أن هذه الشعرية جعلت الرواية تتجاوز النوع الأدبي بدمجها بين خفة الحكاية وجزالة اللغة، ولأن

1976م، و "أكاذيب سمكة" 1993م. وفي الرواية "فوضى الحواس" 1996م، و"عابر سرير" 2003. يُنظر لمزيد من المعلومات عنها: السكوت، حمدي (محرر): قاموس الأدب العربي الحديث، ص 34.

14 Rooke, Tetz: The Emergence of Arabic Bestseller, Ibid.P.204.

15 آلن، روجر: البيست سيلر في الرواية العربية، مرجع سابق، ص 87.

16 غزول، فريال: ذاكرة الجسد ذاكرة الأدب، ص 166.

17 السكوت، حمدي (محرر): قاموس الأدب العربي الحديث، ص 34.

18 غزول، فريال: ذاكرة الجسد ذاكرة الأدب، مرجع سابق، ص 177.

19 وازن، عبده: الذاكرة المنقوبة، الحياة، 23 / 12 / 1998م. ص 18 نقلا عن فريال غزول، ذاكرة الجسد ذاكرة الأدب، مرجع

سابق، ص 168.

20 الغدامي، عبد الله: المرأة واللغة، ص 193.

متلقي الأدب العربي الحديث ما زالت به رواسب الشعرية العربية الكلاسيكية التي جعلت الأدب يرتبط في مخيلة المتلقين بالنزوع الشعري للغة التي تتجاوز التقرير وتجنح إلى الخيال. والسياق الأخير هو الدمج في الرواية بين شعرية اللغة وشعرية المضمون الروائي؛ فقد استطاعت اللغة الشعرية المجازية أن تستوعب المضمون المأساوي للعمل، وأن تمتلئ، وأن تتجانس معه.

غير أنه ثمة سياق آخر يمكن أن يُضاف إلى ما سبق، وهو السياق النسوي للغة بحسب وجهة نظر عبدالله الغدامي فيها؛ إذ جعلت مستغنامي المرأة ذات حضور لغوي بوصفها ذاتاً لغوية في ظل ثقافة كانت فقط تجعلها موضوعاً لغوياً، فما حدث في لغة مستغنامي في الرواية أن هناك تحولاً في السيطرة على الكتابة نفسها كما يرى الغدامي، إذ يقول: "توظيف المرأة للكتابة وممارستها للخطاب المكتوب بعد عمرٍ مديدٍ من الحكي والاقتصار على متعة الحكي وحدها، يعني أننا أمام نقلة نوعية في مسألة الإفصاح عن الأنثى؛ إذ لم يعد الرجل هو المتكلم عنها والمفصح عن حقيقتها وصفاتها. كما فعل على مدى قرون متوالية – ولكن المرأة صارت تتكلم وتصح وتشر عن إفصاحها هذا بواسطة القلم، هذا القلم الذي ظلّ منذراً، وظل أداة ذكورية"⁽²¹⁾. ومن ثمّ فاللغة تحررت على يدها بتحرر كاتبتها، وذلك – في رأي الغدامي- كان بسبب تحويل الرجل إلى مكتوب؛ إذ إنه بذلك "تم تحرير اللغة من سلطة الفحولة، ومثلما يحدث في كل حالة تحرير فإن المتحررة تَوَّأ تصبح بطلة، وتنتشي ببطولتها الصادرة عن حريتها الجديدة بعد استعمار طويل. وهذا الكاتب الفاعل صار مكتوباً مفعولاً به، مما رفع سلطانه عن النص، فصارت اللغة حرة من جهة وصار للمرأة مجال لأن تداخل الفعل اللغوي"⁽²²⁾.

ونحن إذ كنّا نتفق مع الغدامي فيما طرحه بشأن التحرر من الذكورية في الكتابة، فإن الأمر سيعود بنا إلى اللغة الشعرية في حد ذاتها وقدرتها على استيعاب كل هذا، وليس العكس، بمعنى أن النزعة النسائية والرغبة في التحرر ليست هي التي شيدت اللغة الشعرية وإنما العكس، ومن ثمّ تظل اللغة الشعرية لمستغنامي هي التي شيدت البناء المأساوي للرواية، وهي التي استوعبت النزعة النسائية في البوح، والنزعة النسوية نحو التحرر. يقول السارد: "**التفت الجبال** إذن **والتقينا... ربيع قرن** من الصفحات الفارغة البيضاء التي لم تمتلئ بك. **ربيع قرن** من الأيام المتشابهة التي أنفقتها في انتظارك.. **ربيع قرن** على أول لقاء بين رجل كان أنا، وطفلة كانت تلعب على ركبتَي كانت أنت.. **ربيع قرن** على قبلة وضعتها على خدك الطفولي، نيابة عن والدٍ لم يرك"⁽²³⁾. فقد احتوى هذا المقطع على عدة عناصر تجسد الخصائص الشعرية للغة، أولها التكرار وهو ليس بنية دلالية فحسب، وإنما بنية إيقاعية أيضاً، وثانيها المونولوج الداخلي، الذي يُعد خصيصة شعرية بامتياز، فقد أصبح خصيصة من خصائص سرد المرأة، وخصيصة أيضاً من خصائص النص الراجح⁽²⁴⁾، به يكون البوح وسير ما بداخل النفس الإنسانية وتكشف مكونات الوجدان، وأخيراً المخاطب الضمني الذي يعبر عن ملمح درامي يمتثل في صراع الحضور والغياب بين الشخصيتين، والدرامية خصيصة يتقاسمها الشعر والنثر أيضاً.

وقد استطاعت اللغة الشعرية تجسيد النزعة النسائية في الكتابة، ولا يخفى دور هذه النزعة في استقطاب شريحة أخرى نوعية من القراء، وخصوصاً في العالم العربي، ممن لا يتأتى لهم البوح بحرية والبوح أيضاً بصورة جميلة وغير فاضحة، وهذا ما توافر في نص الرواية، وقد لعب اختيار الراوي دوراً كبيراً في تطور السرد النسائي. فالسرد يتحكم فيه الراوي الذكر على الرغم من أنه سرد عن الأنثى، وهذا في حد ذاته يمثّل تحدياً من تحديات الكتابة استطاعت الكاتبة تجاوزه، وأثار في المتلقي الانتباه واليقظة والشغف بقدرة هذا الراوي والسر في اختياره، للحد الذي يمكن أن يجعل المتلقي يفقد الثقة في قدرة الراوي الذكر على استبطان الذات الأنثوية كما ظهر في الرواية، يقول: "دعيني أضمّ كل من أحببتهم فيك. أتملك وأستعيد ملامح سي الطاهر في ابتسامتك ولون عينيك، فما أجمل أن يعود الشهداء هكذا في طلتك! ما أجمل أن تعود أمي في سوار بمعصمك، ويعود الوطن اليوم في مقدمك! وما أجمل أن تكوني أنت.. هي أنت!"⁽²⁵⁾. فما يجعل السارد هنا ذكرًا هو فقط توجه ضمير الخطاب إلى أنثى ليس أكثر، ولكن هذا الخطاب هو في حقيقته من أنثى إلى ذكر، فهو ما تشعر به البطلة أحلام تجاه الرجل خالد، فالأنثى هي السارد الضمني Implied Narrator للرواية وإن تظاهر الراوي في صوت الرجل.

21 الغدامي، عبد الله، المرأة واللغة، مرجع سابق، ص 8 .

22 المرجع السابق، ص 191 .

23 مستغنامي، أحلام: ذاكرة الجسد، ص 91 .

24 يُنظر في ذلك الرأي الذي ساقه روجر آلن حول الردة الفنية في لغة الرواية الراجحة وعودتها إلى استخدام المونولوج. يُنظر: آلن، روجر: البست سيلر في الرواية العربية، مرجع سابق، ص 90، وما ذكرته حول الإفراط في استخدام الرواية الراجحة للمونولوج، يُنظر: الصافي، شريف حنيفة، سلطوية المتلقي. قراءة في نصوص من الرواية المصرية الراجحة Bestseller، مرجع سابق، ص 352 .

25 مستغنامي، أحلام: ذاكرة الجسد، ص 60 .

أمّا عن الاعتماد على الصور المجازية الجزئية، فهو أمرٌ يند عن الحصر، فلا يكاد يخلو مقطع سردي من صورة تشبيهية أو استعارية، تكتسب جمالياتها من الحشد والتضام، فالصور الجزئية إن لم تتأزر لتشكل لوحةً تصويرية مكتملة تصير نغمة عذبة وسط إيقاع مرتبك فتفقد تأثيرها المقصود، فقد شكّلت اللغة لوحات تصويرية كاملة، من ذلك هذا المقطع الذي يجسد حضور المرأة ركيزةً تُبنى عليها الصورة الكلية، وتتجسد في ضوئها المأساة: "هنالك مدن كالنساء، تهزمك أسماؤها مسبقاً. تغريك وتربكك، تملأك وتفرغك، وتجردك ذاكرتها من كل مشاريعك، ليصبح الحب كل برنامجك. هنالك مدن لم تخلق لتزورها بمفردك، لتتجول وتنام وتقوم فيها. وتتناول فطور صباحاتها وحيداً. هنالك مدن جميلة كذكرى، فريية كدمعة، موجعة كحسرة، هنالك مدن كم تشبهك! فهل يمكن أن أنساك في مدينة اسمها.. غرناطة؟ كان حبك يأتي مع المنازل البيضاء الواطنة، بسوقها القرمزية الحمراء.. مع عرائش العنب.. مع أشجار الياسمين الثقيلة.. مع الجداول التي تعبر غرناطة.. مع المياه.. مع الشمس.. مع ذاكرة العرب"⁽²⁶⁾.

إن مظاهر اللغة الشعرية في ذاكرة الجسد أكثر من أن يتم رصدها، من بنية تكرارية ثابتة في كل مقطع سردي، وبنية إنشائية متعددة من خطابات متنوعة وبنية استفهام طاغية الحضور، إلى جانب الجمل القصيرة التي لا تمنح أي فرصة لحضور اللغة الواقعية التقريرية التي تحتاج إلى مساحة للوصف والتسلسل بالحدث، فضلاً عن حضور المونولوج والمناجاة. كل هذه العناصر مجتمعة جعلت لغة الرواية متفردة في الحشد التصويري وفي نُخبوية المعجم اللغوي المستعمل وانتقائيته، فليس ثمة مجال لاستعمال لغة غير لغة الخاصة والنخبة المثقفة بما تحيل إليه من أسماء لمثقفين وكتاب وفنانين، فأنماط اللغة تتوزع على النحو الآتي بالجدول:

اللغة الفصحى	السائدة	الكتلة النصية الأكبر
العامية الجزائرية	موظفة بنسبة أقل	- شفت شكور جنبناك معاي؟ - أهلاً سي مصطفى واش راك .. واش هاذ الطلّة.. - واش أسيدي .. لو كان ما نجيكوش ما نشوفوكش وإلا كيفاش؟ ⁽²⁷⁾
الفرنسية	موظفة بصورة غير مؤثرة	- Je préfère l'abstrait - Moi je préfère comprendre ce que je vois.

اللغة وتشكيل القبح في رواية القوقعة:

هي رواية للأديب والناشط السياسي السوري مصطفى خليفة، تم نشرها سنة 2008م، ولم تشع بالصورة الكبيرة إلا بعد الثورة السورية في 2011، وقد تُرجمت إلى لغات عديدة منها ما ليس شائعاً؛ فقد تفاجأت في زيارتي إلى رومانيا في 2019م بنسخة مترجمة منها إلى اللغة الرومانية، وقد تُرجمت إلى عدة لغات، منها الإنجليزية، حيث ترجمها المستشرق الإنجليزي بول ستاركلي Paul Starkey وحاز بترجمتها على جائزة حمد للترجمة والتفاهم الثقافي بدولة قطر سنة 2017م. وهي رواية تتناول قمع النظام السوري بصورة غاشمة لكل معارضيه، للحد الذي دفع الكاتب ليبيّن نصّه الأشبه بالرواية السير الذاتية، وقد سمّاها في عنوان فرعي "أيوميات متلصص"، تأسيساً على مفارقة كبرى يقوم عليها النص، تتمثل في اعتقال شاب سوري مسيحي ملحد لمدة ثلاث عشرة سنة، وتعذيبه بتهمة أنه من تنظيم الإخوان المسلمين بناء على تقرير كتبه طالب كان يدرس معه بباريس بأنه تفوّه بكلام في حق رئيس الدولة، فكانت عاقبة ذلك أن قضى هذه المدة الطويلة بسجن تدمر بسوريا، وبعد أن كان فاراً من الغربية يجد نفسه أسير الاغتراب والقهر والذل والمهانة، وكلما حاول الخلاص مما هو فيه وجد مزيداً من العزلة والتعذيب فيما تكشف عنه أحداث الرواية.

وتعتمد الرواية بصورة أساسية في لغتها على الفضح اللغوي بدرجة تصل إلى التعبير الصريح باللفظ القبيح؛ لكنه ذلك القبح الذي يبقى على جماليات اللغة وإن عبّر عن مضمون قبيح؛ إذ معروف أن ثمة "فارقاً كبيراً بين القبح من حيث هو موضوع في الفن، والقبح من حيث هو قيمة سلبية أو قيمة جمالية منفية. القبح الأول يتصل بمادة المبدع أو موضوعاته، أو حتى معطيات الحياة التي يتوجه إليها بفنه الذي يصدر عنها في التحليل الأخير. ومادة المبدع أو

²⁶ السابق، ص 202 .

²⁷ السابق، ص 72 .

موضوعاته، أو حتى معطيات الحياة بوجه عام، فيها ما اتفقنا على وصفه بالجمال، وما اتفقنا على وصفه بالقبح عرفياً على الأقل، فنحن نرتاح إلى الزهور ونرى فيها موضوعاً جميلاً، وكذلك مشهد البحر⁽²⁸⁾. ويمكننا التمثيل على ذلك من الرواية بما ذكره السارد عن تمثيل حالة التعايش والاستسلام بين المسجونين ومصاريف القدرة والمراحيض: "موقعي قريب من رئيس المهجع، سألته فدلتني على المراحيض. إذن في الغرفة مرحاض، اضطرت للانتظار أكثر من ساعة؛ مرحاض واحد، حنفية ماء واحدة، وستة وثمانون شخصاً. عُدتُ إلى موقعي. حركة ما فوق، نظرت. أنبوب الصرف الصحي، ويبدو أنه للبناء كله، يقطع الغرفة من أولها إلى آخرها. بين الأنبوب وبين سقف الغرفة حوالي النصف متر، فوق هذا الأنبوب ينام اثنان من الفتيمة، عمر كل منهما حوالي خمسة عشر عاماً، احتضن الواحد منهما الأنبوب بيديه وصدرة وتدلّت الأرجل إلى الأسفل، بينما الرأس مرتاح على صوت خرير الماء داخل الأنبوب"⁽²⁹⁾. وأما عن الخصوصية اللغوية التي صنعت الرواج للرواية فقد تمثلت في تآزر كسرهما التابو السياسي مع كسرهما التابو اللغوي، باستخدام الألفاظ المستهجنة، التي يمكن وصفها بالقبيحة، فاللغة بقبحها صارت محاكاة ضمنية لنظام سياسي فاسد وغاشم، فجدد ألفاظاً لها إحالات جنسية أو تشير إلى فذارة مثل: (فخاد أمك/ منياك/ شرموطة/ تشخ/ خرى/ نيك/ عرص/... إلخ)⁽³⁰⁾. وغير ذلك من الألفاظ الجنسية القذرة التي كانت تركز - بشكل أثار انتباه بطل الرواية - على الجانب الجنسي، والزج بالمرأة في أي شتيمة للجناء.

والرواية نقلت كثيراً من مشاهد القهر والإذلال التي كثيراً ما كان يُستخدَم فيها الإذلال بالجنس كأن يلوط سجين بزميله، مع كثرة مفرطة في استخدام الشتائم الجنسية، ولعل المشهد التالي من الرواية يجسدها: "وهلق.. انتو الاتنين اشلحوا ثيابكم، يخلع الاتنان بيابهما ويبقيان بالسرويل. ولا حقير قصير - نزل سرواله. ينزل القصير سروال الطويل إلى حد الركبتين. ونزل سروالك كمان. ينزل القصير سرواله أيضاً. وهلق... قرب نيكة... عمل فيه مثل ما بتعملوا ببعضكم كل ليلة يا منياك.. ياله قرب نيكة. يتلكأ القصير، تشدّ إلينا الطويل وتتشنج، يشير الرقيب إلى أحد أعضاء الشرطة، يقترب هذا ويهوي بالكراباج على ظهر القصير. يلتصق القصير بالطويل من الخلف، يهتز الطويل، عضو القصير المتدلي بالكاد يصل فوق ركبتي الطويل، يضحك الرقيب وباقي عناصر الشرطة..."⁽³¹⁾.

وهكذا يتكرر المشهد بين الطويل والقصير في صورة أكثر إزراء ومهانة. وتعتمد الرواية بصفة أساسية على ثنائية الفصحى والعامية السورية، ولكن الجماليات اللغوية لا تعكسها الازدواجية في ذاتها، فكثير من الأعمال الروائية تعتمد على هذه الازدواجية، وإنما تعكسها الوظيفة التي تؤديها اللغة في شكلها المزدوج، وهذه الوظيفة مرتبطة بحالة القبح التي تصورهما الرواية؛ فقد قام الكاتب بتوزيع المفردات التي تعكس القبح على المستويين، فالشتائم تارةً يوردها الكاتب بالفصحى وأخرى بالعامية⁽³²⁾، وكذلك مشاهد التعذيب والقهر، وهو بذلك يخطط لأن يعكس بهذا البناء الشكلي للغة الحالة العامة أيضاً على المستوى المضموني؛ فاللغة تتدرج بصورة تصاعديّة في رسم المأساة وبشاعة ما يحدث في السجن، والكاتب جعل من استغراق القبيح للمستويين اللغويين صورةً مشاكلة لاستغراق القبيح لشتى مناحي المناخ السياسي الذي تحياه البلاد، الذي يظل السجن وما يحدث فيه من انتهاكات وحشية رصدتها المتلصص/ البطل من داخله هو الوثيقة التي تدينه.

سرد الهوية الثقافية في أحبيتك أكثر مما ينبغي:

الرواية للكاتبة السعودية أثير النشمي المولودة سنة 1984م، وقد صدرت لها روايات أخرى مثل: في ديسمبر تنتهي الأحلام، صدرت منها سبع طبعات في عامين عن دار الفارابي، ورواية فتغفري سنة 2013م. وأما رواية أحبيتك أكثر مما ينبغي فقد صدرت منها أربع طبعات ما بين سنتي 2009 - 2011م. ومن ثمّ فهي من الروايات الراجحة التي تصطف إلى جانب روايات سابقة لها على رأسها رواية "بنات الرياض" لرجاء الصانع التي قامت عليها دراسات كثيرة، جعلتنا نؤثر اختيار رواية أثير النشمي عليها، بعد أن استطاعت أن تتجاوز الحدود بين البلدان العربية وتنتشر بين القراء ولاسيما في مصر في المدة الأخيرة.

28 عصفور، جابر: في محبة الأدب، ص 134.

29 خليفة، مصطفى: الفوقعة، ص 11، ص 24، ص 27.

30 تُنظر صفحات الرواية من ص: 6 - 8.

31 الرواية، ص 41-42.

32 تُنظر الرواية تمثيلاً فقط ص: 8 - 9.

وتتمتع الرواية بعدة خصائص لغوية يمكن أن تشترك فيها مع الروايات الأخرى، وأسهمت جميعها في صناعة الرواج، غير أن الخصيصة المُميّزة تتمثل في غياب الهوية الثقافية العربية عن النص، والنزوح به نحو المحلية أيضًا، على الرغم من أن الرواية راجت خارج منطقة الخليج، وخارج المجتمع السعودي الذي تناقش الرواية قضية من قضاياها التي ربما تكون تجاوزتها بعض الأقطار العربية مثل مصر على سبيل المثال وقد حققت الرواية فيها مقروئية كبيرة. لعب الفضاء المكاني دورًا في تشكيل هوية جديدة للنص؛ إذ إن أحداث الرواية تدور خارج المنطقة العربية، غير أن هذا لا يمكن أن يُقبل على أنه مسوّغ لما آلت إليه الرواية من نص يفقد إلى هويته العربية الصلبة، فثمة نزعة تغريبية تغلّف العمل؛ فقد استخدمت الكاتبة اللغة الإنجليزية في إفراط كبير، متنوّعة ما بين توظيف المفردات فقط، وتوظيف الجمل كاملة، وقد زاد توظيف الجمل عن توظيف المفردات، ربما لأن المتحدثين في فضاء أجنبي، غير أن الشخصيات العربية هي الفاعلة في النص، ويمكننا التمثيل على ذلك بالآتي:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lesbian - I'm proud of you - Common - No Comment - Nothing - Halloween - Curly - Aggressive - Sensitive!.. 	<p>I'm so tired of being here Suppressed by all my childish fears And if you have to leave, I wish that you would just leave..! Because your presence still lingers here. And it won't leave me alone.</p>
<p>It must have been love, but it's over now It must have been good, but I lost it somehow It must have been love, but it's over now From the moment we touched till the time had run out. Hello!..Jumanah! What is wrong lady?! Wake up lady!..!did you forget your promise no, I didn't So?</p>	<p>You may go along with the right road, and he may take the left one, but after all, the two roads could meet at the same point..!.. You have been the one for me. You're still the one until this very moment. You make me feel sick!.. Love smart ..find the one you want, fix the one you got..!.. Oh my Lord!.. she ...</p>

وقد استخدمت الكاتبة العامية السعودية تحديدًا، وليست الخليجية بشكل عام، وقد وصل ذلك إلى صفحتين كاملتين متواصلتين، من ذلك: "قالت لي هيفاء: شنو شنو شنو؟؟ ..جمون شبيبي هذا؟.. شكو يدفع لنا؟..وأنا إيش درّاني؟.. إيش نسوّي الحين؟..شنو شئسوّي الحين؟.. قومي خل نغسل شراعه.. اتفقنا على أن ندفع للرجل نقوده بدون مشاكل .. وتوجهنا إلى حيث يجلس.. رفع رأسه ميتسماً.. قالت له هيفاء: أنت بأي صفة تدفع حسابنا؟ أجاب بهدوء: بصفتنا أخوة .. ألسنا أخوة؟ ترى هالحركات شبعنا منها.. تبتدى أخوان وتنتهي نيران!..!..خذ فلوسك وعن قلة الحياء..قرصتها: هيفاء، يكفي! .. المعذرة يا أخ .. أرجو أن لا تكرر ما فعلته معنا مجددًا.. جاب ببساطة وابتساماة كبيرة: زين!..!"(33).

والنص ممتلئ بـ "التكرار" الذي يفضي إلى الحشو، من ذلك – وما أكثره في كل صفحة –: **"أحتاج لأن ترجع إليّ من جديد.. أحتاج لأن تعود لتفسر لي الماضي، لترجم لي سلوكياتي المبهمة.. أحتاج لأن تثير لي طريقًا معنًا**

33 النشمي، أثير عبد الله: أحبتك أكثر مما ينبغي، ص 37 .

أجبرني على السير فيه لكنني لا أظنُّ بأنك ستفعل.."⁽³⁴⁾. **"أشفق عليك** لأنك أخطأت و عصيت لدرجة أن المغفرة ستأني أن تحل عليك.. **"أشفق عليك** لأنني وعلى الرغم من حبي لن أسامحك ما حبيت.. **"أشفق عليك** لأنك ستحمل ذنبي في حياتك وبين يدي الرب. **"أشفق عليك** يا عزيز لكنني مع ذلك لن أغفر لك"⁽³⁵⁾. **"ما هي إلا كذبة.. كذبة نكذبها ونصدقها/ كنت كمرريض يحتضر.. مريض يلجأ إلى المسكنات ليسقط في غيبوبة/ كزجاجة رقيقة يا عزيز... زجاجة من السهل خدشها... زجاجة لا يعيدها إلى حالتها الطبيعية شيء.."** فلو كان ثمة وحدة قياس دقيقة لحجم الكتلة النصية المكررة التي تم حشو الرواية بها، ربما خرجت لنا نتائج مذهلة عن الحجم الحقيقي لهذا العمل المتضخم الذي وصل عدد صفحاته إلى 325 من القطع المتوسيط، وهذه خصيصة من خصائص الروايات الرائجة⁽³⁶⁾. فضلاً عن اعتماد الرواية بصورة أساسية على الحوار، ولا أقول: إهمال الوصف، بل العجز عن الوصف؛ وعلى الرغم من أن السرد هو في جوهره فعلٌ سردي تنتقل به الأحداث، فإنه يظل للوصف دوره في كشف إمكانات الأديب، وقدرته على امتلاك المعجم اللغوي الكافي، ومهارته في بناء الجمل اللغوية الموحية، بل وقدرته على التخيل من الأساس بكتابته مقاطع وصفية للأماكن والشخص، حتى الأشياء والتفاصيل الصغيرة.

المصير اللغوي من الازدواجية إلى الهجنة في موسم صيد الغزلان:

تُعَدُّ الرواية آخر أعمال الكاتب أحمد مراد، وقد صدرت عن دار الشروق بمصر 2017م، ونالت عددًا من الجوائز في الاستفتاءات التي يُعتمد فيها بصفة خاصة على منصات للتصويت أغلب روادها من الشباب. وقد احتلت هذه الرواية قائمة الأكثر مبيعًا، وقد أثارَت جدلاً كبيرًا بين المتلقين، ولاسيما أن مضمونها مثير وربما صادم، فهي تتناول الإلحاد بوصفه جزءًا رئيسيًا مما ستقوم عليه حياة الناس في المستقبل، وهذا التوجه المثير كان بالطبع سببًا رئيسًا للرواج الذي حققته الرواية، والكاتب نفسه يعترف بذلك في إجابته عن أسئلة سماح فايز حول مضمون العمل وعلّة اختياره له ولشخصياته فيقول: "أنا أجد الملحد شخصية درامية جريئة ومثيرة؛ لأنها تواجه أشد قناعاتنا صلابة بصدر مفتوح، وهي موجودة ومتحققة ولها تأثير على المستوى العالمي"⁽³⁷⁾، كذلك فهو يعترف بالمبالغة المقصودة التي انطوى عليها مضمون الرواية؛ فيقول: "الدراما الروائية الجيدة قائمة على المبالغة، ولا أعني هنا مبالغة الأفلام الهندية، بل المبالغة القائمة على تحفيز خيال القارئ ليعيش تجربة لا تخطر على باله، بمعطيات يعرفها ويفهمها ولكن لا يدرك نتائجها، لذلك اخترت المستقبل لنرى عبره ونتعاشش وتخيّل إحساسًا عامًّا يفقد الإله كفكرة، ماذا سيحدث؟ كيف سيتعامل البشر؟ لأترك للقارئ فرصة التفكير والبحث عن إجابات"⁽³⁸⁾. غير أنه رهن على هذا الشكل رغم ما يلقاه من معارضة، معترفًا بصلاحيته ما يكتبه لأن يكون أدبًا وأن المسألة لا تعدو أن تكون صراعًا بين القديم والحديث، إذ يقول: "التفكير العبثي في منطقة البيست سيلر على أنه أدب سيء أو جيد يجب أن ينتهي، وعمومًا فظهور أي شيء مختلف دائمًا ما يقابله رد فعل سلبي من الاتجاه القديم، ولا أدعي هنا أنني أميل الاتجاه الجديد، فقط أشير إلى مسألة الضدية بين القديم والجديد"⁽³⁹⁾. وما كان لعمل بالموصفات السابقة المثيرة وبالزمن المستقبلي الذي اختاره الكاتب للأحداث أن تكون لغته هي نفسها لغة العصر المعيش، فكان لا بد من الاعتماد على معجم لغوي وأساليب تعبير تتسق مع هذا المستقبل، ومن ثمَّ حضرت مفردات جديدة تمامًا، واتسمت التراكم اللغوية بالتعدد في مستوياتها والتجاور غير المكثرت بين هذه المستويات، فيتسم هذا العمل بما يمكن أن نطلق عليه: "الكرنفالية اللغوية". وهذا تحوُّل من تحولات اللغة في الرواية العربية المعاصرة، وهو أمرٌ يزيد من الجدل حول الازدواجية اللغوية (الفصحى – العامية) في النص الأدبي، ليس الجدل فحسب، وإنما التعقيد أيضًا إذا أصبحنا أمام نصوص أدبية تصوّر الواقع اللغوي كما هو، وتستطيع أن تقنعنا بأدبية لغة هذا الواقع، وإن لم نقنع فقد يُفرض علينا فرضًا. ورواية مراد التي بين أيدينا تتعدد فيها مستويات اللغة المستخدمة؛ فاللغة تنتقل بين الفصحى المعاصرة، والعامية المصرية، واللغة المُعرَّبة، والمفردات الإنجليزية، واللغة الخاصة بالتواصل بين الشباب في استخدامهم لألفاظ محددة لاستخدامات مخصوصة بينهم. فنحن بإزاء مستويات متعددة للغة

34 السابق، ص 12 .

35 السابق، ص 14 .

36 يُنظر: الصافي، شريف حثيثة: سلطوية المتلقي. قراءة في نصوص من الرواية المصرية الرائجة، مرجع سابق، ص 350، والحديث عن الطول النسبي الذي تتسم به نماذج مشابهة من الروايات الرائجة.

37 فايز، سماح: Best Seller حكايات عن القراء، مرجع سابق، ص 158.

38 المرجع السابق، ص 158- 159 .

39 المرجع السابق، ص 148 .

المستخدمة، لا يخطط كاتب الرواية لها، وإنما تأتي بوصفها أنماطاً من أنماط تعبير شخص الرواية عن أفكارهم وحاجاتهم. إن هذه السمة في رأينا هي سبب رئيس أسهم في تحقيق رواج العمل، وجعله ينضم إلى أعمال أخرى للكاتب حققت الرواج نفسه مثل رواية *الفيل الأزرق* على سبيل المثال، وربما الأمر يكون أكثر وضوحاً في رواية: *موسم صيد الغزلان*؛ لأنها صنعت لغةً هجيباً لا يمكن التدرج بيسر بين مستوياتها.

اكتسبت رواية "مراد" جمالياتها من ذلك الهجين اللغوي، إذ يمكن أن تقترب مما وصفه السعيد بدوي بـ "المجتمع اللغوي المتكامل في مصر"⁽⁴⁰⁾، وهو الذي تتوافر فيه مستويات اللغة مجتمعة، وهي "فصحى التراث، وفصحى العصر، وعامية المثقفين، وعامية المتتورين، وعامية الأميين"⁽⁴¹⁾. ففي المقطع الآتي يمكننا أن نضع أيدينا على استعمالات لغوية متباعدة الانتماء متجاوزة الاستعمال: "الميكانيزم اللي بينسينا الحيوانات للي عشناها بيحمينا من مفاجأة معرفة حقيقتنا، المعرفة اللي المفروض تاخذ سنين، لما يتشوفها في جلسة واحدة، وارد جداً يحصل صدمة، يمكن دلوقت أنت مش حاسس، لكن بعد شوية هتكتشف. رمقته ولم أعقب، مددت خطواتي حتى البيت تاركاً طارق يتبعني على مسافة، لم أنظر ورائي حتى وصلنا غرفة المعيشة، تاليا ومريم كانتا تتحدثان حديثاً توقفت بغتة حين دخلنا، رمقتي مريم بسكون عجيب، بلا أي تعبير. ماذا قلت لها أيتها الحمراء؟ حكيت ما حدث بيننا في الملاذ. لا أظنك تودين إفشاء سرنا الصغير.. - إحنا لازم نمشي. قامت تاليا، وابتسمت مريم مُعانبته: - لسه بدري! النهارده الكواكب في وضع تثليث، الطاقة هابلة والقال حلو. نظر لي طارق وابتسم مجاملاً: معلش مرة ثانية. فتوسلت مريم: بليز، خمس دقائق، لازم تشوف دايرة الأبراج"⁽⁴²⁾. ففي المقطع السابق لدينا مستويات متعددة يتم الانتقال بينها في غير اكترات من الكاتب، فثمة اللغة الفصحى المعاصرة (لم أنظر ورائي حتى وصلنا غرفة المعيشة)، واللغة التراثية (توقفت بغتة - رمقتي - تودين إفشاء)، واللغة العامية المصرية (إحنا لازم نمشي). وهناك كلمات معربة مثل (ميكانيزم - بليز).

غير أن الفصحى المهيمنة على النص الروائي لا يمكن أن توصف بفصحى التراث، وإنما هي فصحى العصر، وهي "فصحى متأثرة بالحضارة المعاصرة على الخصوص"⁽⁴³⁾. وهذا يُعدُّ مظهرًا رئيسًا يمكنه أن يلفت نظر قارئ العمل، وهو الحضور الضعيف للغة التراثية في الرواية، سواء في المتن الحكائي أو لما يمكن أن يحيل إليه المتن الحكائي من نصوص تراثية شأنه شأن الرواية العربية في مراحلها المتعددة، وهذا يبدو أمرًا متسقًا مع النص الراجح للحد الذي يبدو معه حضور اللغة التراثية نسبيًا أمرًا مستغربًا في ظل عالم مستقبلي له لغته الخاصة، عالم المذنبات والميكانيزمات والريبونات وزوال الحدود بين الأرضي والفضائي، ولعلَّ هذا الملمح في تقلص حضور اللغة التراثية يرتقي لأن يكون خصيصة من خصائص الرواية الراجحة بصورة عامة.

وتوظيف اللغة الإنجليزية في النص يبدو جزءًا من رغبة الكاتب في صناعة لغة خاصة متعايشة وغير مكرثة بالفروق، ليس بين المستويات فحسب وإنما بين اللغات أيضًا. فقد وظَّف الكاتب الكلمات الإنجليزية، ويلاحظ في توظيفه لها أن التراكيب الإنجليزية موجودة بصورة أقل من المفردات؛ والسبب في ذلك أن هذا اللون من التوظيف ينطبق تمامًا مع اللغة الشائعة على ألسنة الشباب في مصر على وجه الخصوص في الوقت الحاضر، وكذلك على المفردات التي سيكون حضورها طابعيًا في أحداث الرواية في المستقبل، والدمج بين المفردات العربية والأجنبية موجود وممتد إلى معظم بلدان العالم العربي، ويكون على المستوى المعجمي على نحو خاص دون التركيبي، ويمكننا أن نقف على الكلمات الإنجليزية في رواية "موسم صيد الغزلان" لأحمد مراد في الآتي:

VR: Virtual reality	<i>déjà vu</i>	Frozen
Shit	So Romantic	DNA
Pleyel	Mayhem	CRISPR
Bipolar Disorder.	Exclusive	Bitcoin
EEG	Whatever	Upgrade
FMRI	Revolutionary	Nanometric
Hippocampus	Naughy	Resurrection
Big Bang	OFF	Jacket

40 بدوي، السعيد: مستويات العربية المعاصرة في مصر، ص 81 .

41 المرجع السابق، ص 119 .

42 مراد، أحمد: موسم صيد الغزلان، ص 238 - 239 .

43 بدوي، السعيد: مستويات العربية المعاصرة في مصر، مرجع سابق، ص 119 .

Madonna / Whore Complex Longing Extension She is a Bitch Curiosity Incubus	Times New Roman Block / Past Life Regression Hypnosis Updated	Life Between Lives NIA:Non-inhabited Augmented-Reality Muteness - telepathy
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ويظهر في الرواية بوضوح الاعتماد على الكلمات المُعرَّبة التي سيزداد حضورها في المستقبل: الهولوجرامية/ السيكيوباتية/ البيولوجية/ البكتريا/ الروبوت/ سيتوبلازم/... إلخ. بل هناك من المفردات ما احتاج إلى تفسير في هوامش الرواية؛ فمثلاً "الدرونات النانومترية" هي "طائرة صغيرة بدأ استخدامها في المراقبة والرصد رسمياً منذ عام 2023"⁽⁴⁴⁾. وكذلك حديثه عن زرع المهارات، "تقنية تعليمية تم اعتمادها عام 2028، تستخدم البرمجة العقلية لزرع المهارات الحسية في مناطق محددة في المخ، في دقائق معدودة"⁽⁴⁵⁾. وهو اتجاه يدفع الرواية دفعاً نحو التغريب اللغوي ونزع الهوية العربية عنها شكلاً ومضموناً إذا ما ضممناه إلى غرابة المضمون الروائي الذي تحكيه وفتنازيتيه، وهذه أيضاً ربما تكون خصيصة من خصائص الرواية الرائجة.

خاتمة/ مستخلص:

يمكننا أن نستخلص مطمئنين نتيجة مؤداها أن النص الأول لأحلام مستغامي أسهمت اللغة بصفة أساسية في تحقيق الرواج له بالاعتماد على اللغة الشعرية بشكل خاص. أمّا رواية "القوقعة" فكسرنا للتأبوه اللغوي والتوظيف الجمالي للقيح اللغوي ليكون معادلاً شكلياً للمضمون المأساوي القبيح حقاً لها الرواج. ورواية "أحببتك أكثر مما ينبغي" اعتمدت على ثلاث خصائص لغوية تضافرت في تحقيق الرواج، وهي (النزعة التغريبية/ اللغة الشعرية/ السرد النسائي). والرواية الأخيرة لأحمد مراد عاد الرواج فيها إلى المحاكاة اللغوية للغة الشباب التي تبدو غير متماسكة تركيبياً، وهجيناً من اللغة الفصحى المعاصرة والعامية المصرية والمفردات الأجنبية والمعرَّبة. ويمكن للجدول الآتي أن يحصر الخصائص اللغوية للروايات الأربع، وذلك وفق أهم السمات اللغوية التي توافرت فيها جميعاً:

دور الجنس Gender	التغريب	التغريب الثقافي	الشعرية	الدارجة بمستوياتها	الفصحى بمستوياتها	الخصيصة الرواية
*			*	*	*	ذاكرة الجسد
				*	*	القوقعة
*		*	*	*	*	أحببتك أكثر مما ينبغي
	*	*		*	*	موسم صيد الغزلان

ويمكننا القول إن الروايات المختارة استطاعت لغتها أن تمثّل جمالاً مضامينها، فقد لاءمت لغة "ذاكرة الجسد" موضوع كتابة الذاكرة، ذاكرة الفرد الأنثى وذاكرة الجماعة أيضاً في لغة كانت في حد ذاتها مقصدًا لمتلقي العمل، مثلما كانت محلًا لعناية الكاتبة بعد أن قامت بتذويت اللغة فصارت موضوعًا تكتبه اللغة أيضاً، ونجحت رواية/القوقعة باتجاهها الفضائحي الذي عرّى النظام القمعي أن تشدّد جمالياتها الخاصة التي خرجت من رحم القبح نفسه، وأما لغة رواية "أحببتك أكثر مما ينبغي" فهي لغة تعبر عن الحالة اللغوية التي تعيشها المرأة الخليجية، والسعودية تحديداً في ظل رحلة

44 مراد، أحمد: موسم صيد الغزلان، ص 40 .

45 السابق، ص 84 .

بحثها عن هوية خالصة لها يمكنها أن تعيش بها وتواجه مجتمعا بها في ظل الاغتراب الذي تعيشه الشخصية والذي عكسه الاغتراب اللغوي، ومن ثم فإن التعددية اللغوية التي شهدتها العمل هي المظهر الجمالي للغة الذي يعكس دورها بأن تكون ممثلاً ضمنياً للمضمون الروائي. ورواية "موسم صيد الغزلان" اكتسبت جمالياتها من لغتها الخاصة التي حاكت لغة المتلقين الشباب في الوقت الحاضر ومثلت المصير اللغوي الذي آلت إليه بمأل الأحداث والزمان والمكان في المستقبل الذي كان موضوعاً للعمل. وقد حافظت الروايات في المغرب العربي (ذاكرة الجسد) والشام (القوقعة) على المستويات اللغوية المألوفة التي غالباً لا تتجاوز الازدواجية اللغوية بين الفصحى والعامية الدارجة المحلية، أما الروايات الأخرى فقد كانت بهما مساحة أكبر للتعددية اللغوية، بما يمكن أن يعبر عن اتجاه تأخذ الرواية الحديثة والرائجة منها على وجه الخصوص، ولكن تبقى هذه نتيجة غير محسومة فيما يتعلق بـ "ذاكرة الجسد"، إذا ما أخذنا في الاعتبار تباعد الزمن بين "ذاكرة الجسد" والروايات الثلاث الأخرى التي يمكن أن نطمئن إلى نتائجها في التعبير نسبياً عن الحالة اللغوية في أقطارها. لكن يمكننا أن نطمئن إلى نتيجة مؤداها أن اللغة في الروايات العربية الراجحة تنجح نحو التعددية اللغوية والتمرد على مستويات اللغة التقليدية التي تعكس التقابل أكثر من التعدد.

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تصميم مواد مرئية للتعلّم الذاتي للدارسين غير الناطقين بالعربية
في المستوى A1 حسب الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المشترك للغات (CEFR)
**DESIGNING VISUAL MATERIALS FOR SELF-LEARNING FOR NON-ARABIC
SPEAKING LEARNERS AT LEVEL A1 ACCORDING TO THE COMMON
EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK OF REFERENCE FOR LANGUAGES (CEFR)**

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Abstract: This study is part of an ambitious project that tends to raise awareness of the reality of teaching the Arabic language to non-native speakers in light of the boom brought about by applied linguistics in the field of language teaching and learning, especially with regard to employing the products of the technological revolution in ensuring the efficiency of acquiring foreign languages. The study moves along two parallel tracks that constitute its goal, and at the same time determine the procedural lines on which it will be based, the first track aims to approach the reality of learning Arabic via the Internet, and the second track seeks to contribute to reshaping this reality, while the research effort in the first part focuses on practice Analytical description of previous experiences, it turns in the second part to the analysis of an applied experiment. This study explores some of the challenges / problems / reasons surrounding the process of designing educational materials dedicated to self-learning Arabic, presenting the most prominent of these challenges, and turns in the context to some experiences, as well as a specific model based on providing visual educational materials for self-learners, explaining the pedagogical guidelines that Founded it, and the structural structure that was formed across it.

Keywords: Educational materials, language acquisition, European framework, Arabic, self-learning.

المُقدِّمة

على الرغم من تسارع وثيرة الاهتمام بدراسة اللغة العربية لأسباب مُتعدِّدة (دينية واجتماعية وسياسية واقتصادية)، وتزايد اهتمام المؤسسات الأكاديمية والخاصة بتدريس العربية خارج معقلها التقليدي، وزيادة عدد المؤلفات الخاصة بتدريس العربية لغير الناطقين بها، فإن الطلاب الأجانب الراغبين في تعلّم اللغة العربية تعلّمًا ذاتيًا يجدون أنفسهم في مواجهة تحديات شتى، ترتبط بمعضلات مُستحدثة، وبصلةٍ متوترةٍ بالتناغم مع مُعطيات بيئة التعلّم في العصر الرقمي. إن الوعي بأهمية الدراسة المنتظمة تحت إشراف معلّم مؤهل لا يقصي لجوء فئة من الطلاب إلى التعلّم الذاتي لأسباب مختلفة، مادية واجتماعية ونفسية وسياسية وجغرافية أو طبيعية – نسبة إلى الطبيعة. كما هو الحال مع جائحة كورونا 2020م- وهو ما يضاعف الحاجة إلى برامج مُصمّمة خصيصًا لهذه الفئة من الدارسين، ويجعل مثل هذه البرامج سبيلًا من سُبل الإجابة عن سؤال كيفية مواكبة التغيرات في سياق تعلّم اللغات الأجنبية على مستويات المتعلّم، وبيئته التعليمية، والوسائط المُستخدمة لتحقيق المُخرجات المُستهدفة.

وللمساعدة في حل هذه الإشكالية بزغت فكرة مشروع تصميم سلسلة فيديوهات تعليمية مُوجّهة للراغبين في تعلّم العربية ذاتيًا من الطلاب المُصنّفين في المستوى (A1) حسب الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المشترك للغات

(CEFR)، وقد تم هذا المشروع بالتعاون بين الباحث وموقع الجزيرة تعليم (<http://learning.aljazeera.net>) التابع لشبكة الجزيرة الإعلامية، وقد عُنون المشروع "سلسلة المواقف التواصلية للمستوى المبتدئ الأدنى". تنهض الدراسة على فرضيتين مركبتين؛ الأولى قوامها أن تفعيل القيم الوظيفية للتعليم الذاتي للعربية يرتفع بتوفير مواد تعليمية ذات جودة معيارية تراعي ماهية هذا النمط التعليمي، وتستجيب لمنطق خصوصيته وتتناغم مع طبيعة دارسه. أما الفرضية الثانية فتتحدد في أنه لن يتهياً استيعاب معايير جودة هذه المواد التعليمية من دون مقارنة تحقيقاتها في اختلافاتها وتآلفاتها، ومن دون تواصل الجهود التحليلية المعنية بالقضايا الجزئية التي تشكل مجتمعة ماهية هذه المعايير. يتحدد الإطار المنهجي للدراسة في المقارنة الوصفية التحليلية التي ستتحرك عبر مسارين إجرائيين مُتداخلين، هما المراجعة النقدية لراهن المواد التعليمية الإلكترونية المُقدمة لدارس العربية المبتدئ الراغب في اكتسابها ذاتياً، والاستعراض الوصفي للمبادئ البيداغوجية المؤسسة لمشروع "سلسلة المواقف التواصلية" بوصفه بنية تمثيلية للمواد التعليمية المُصممة للتعليم الذاتي للدارسين غير الناطقين بالعربية في المستوى (A1) حسب الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المُشترك للغات.

وستتكون الدراسة من النقاط التالية:

- ضبط المصطلحات.
- سؤال الكفاءة.. الحاجة إلى المشروع.
- مشروع مواقف تواصلية.. من تحليل الوضع الراهن إلى تحديد الرؤية.
- البنية المفهومية والشكلية للسلسلة.

ب- ضبط المصطلحات

ب-1- الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المُشترك للغات

الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المُشترك للغات Common European Framework of Reference for Languages ويُعرف اختصاراً بـ(CEFR) هو دليل معياريّ يستخدم في وصف إنجازات مُتعلّمي اللغات الأجنبية في جميع أنحاء أوروبا، إذ يُقدّم "أساساً موحدًا لتوصيف مقررات اللغة، وموجّهات المناهج، والاختبارات اللغوية، والكتب التعليمية، ويصف الإطار بصورة مكثفة ما يجب أن يتعلّمه متعلّم اللغة من أجل أن يستخدم اللغة تواصلياً، وما هي المعارف والمهارات التي يجب أن يطورها متعلّم اللغة حتى يستخدم اللغة بصورة فاعلة. ويحدد الإطار مستويات الكفاية اللغوية بما يتيح لمتعلّمي اللغة مواصلة تعلم اللغة، ويمكن من قياس مستواهم" (مجلس أوروبا 2002: 21) فهو "مرجع مُرشّد مترابط، واضح وشامل، وُضع بهدف تجلية الطريق أمام طلاب اللغات الأجنبية ومُدرسيها في مجال تعلّم اللغة وتدريسها وتقييمها" (جوتشين 2015: 225)، وضعه مجلس أوروبا (Council Of Europe) باعتباره جزءاً رئيسياً من مشروع "تعلّم اللغات من أجل المواطنة الأوروبية" بين عامي 1989 و1996. هدفه الرئيس هو توفير وسيلة للتعلّم والتدريس والتقييم، تنطبق على جميع اللغات في أوروبا، وقد أوصى مجلس الاتحاد الأوروبي في نوفمبر 2001 باستخدام (CEFR) لإقامة نظم التحقّق من القدرة اللغوية عبر ستة مستويات مرجعية هي-على الترتيب من الأدنى إلى الأعلى (A1,A2,B1,B2,C1,C2)، تتمحور في عناصر ثلاثة هي التعلّم، والتدريس، والتقييم، وقد لقي هذا الإطار قبولاً على نطاق واسع.

ومن الجدير بالذكر أن هذا الإطار الأوروبي مُناظر - من حيث كونه معيار تقييم- لمعايير سابقة عليه مثل معايير معهد الخدمة الخارجية الأمريكي المسماة (ILR) ومعايير المجلس الأمريكي لتعليم اللغات الأجنبية (ACTFL) والمعايير الأسترالية (ISLPR) وغيرها.

ب-2- التعلّم الذاتي

تؤكد النظرية التوليدية التحولية أن الإنسان مهياً لاكتساب اللغات حيث ثمة "قدرة وكفاية لغوية فطرية لدى الإنسان، هي التي تحدد شكل المعرفة اللغوية المُكتسبة بطريقة مُنظمة ومحددة، والقدرة على اكتساب اللغة لا ترتد إلى الذكاء، بقدر ما ترتد إلى أن الإنسان مهياً في صورة طبيعية لبناء اللغة واكتسابها" (كلاس 1984: 15)، وهو ما يوجه إلى

ضرورة التعامل مع التعلم الذاتي بمزيد من التقدير في أثناء بناء البرامج التعليمية مع الوضع في الاعتبار ووفقاً لنظرية الدراسة المستقلة Theory of Independent Study فإن ويدماير "Wedemeyer يضع المسؤولية الكبرى في التعلم على عاتق المتعلم" (شلوسر، سيمونس 2005: 22)، وسيتركز تناول الدراسة للتعلم الذاتي في شكله الرقمي المندرج ضمن التعلم الإلكتروني المستند إلى توظيف الوسائط التكنولوجية في نقل المعارف والمهارات، ويعد التعلم عبر شبكة الأنترنت (Web) أحد أهم تطبيقات هذا النمط.

ثمة سيولة في المصطلحات التي تعكس وفرة أدوات هذا النمط التعليمي، وتعكس في الوقت نفسه تنازلاً في القيم الوظيفية لهذه الأدوات ومن أمثلة ذلك: التعليم الإلكتروني (Electronic education) والتعليم على الخط (Online education) والتعليم عبر الشبكة (Web based education) والتعليم الافتراضي (Virtual education) والتعليم عبر الأنترنت (Internet education) والتعليم عن بُعد (Distance education) والتعليم الرقمي (Digital education) والتعليم بالتقنية (Technology based education) والتعليم الذاتي (Self-Learning) شلوسر، سيمونس (2005:9)

ينتمي التعلم الذاتي مفهوميًا إلى نمط التعلم الإلكتروني ذي التوجيه الفردي المباشر (Individualized self-paced e-learning online) الذي يتحقق عبره التواصل بين المتعلم وبرامج التعليم عبر الإنترنت، وفي هذا السياق -وتجاوزًا لإشكاليات تصنيفية مربكة- يمكن القول إن المواقع التعليمية (Educational Sites) تشكل واحدة من أهم مصادر التعلم الإلكتروني الموجه بالمتعلم (Learner-led e-learning) الذي يتغيا الارتقاء بمستوى كفاءته اللغوية.

وقد اثبتت العديد من الدراسات أن بيئة التعلم عبر الإنترنت المصممة لدعم أنماط التعلم المختلفة ذات تأثير إيجابي على معتقدات الكفاءة الذاتية لدارسي اللغات (Lamboy:2003)، وقد حققت هذه المواقع خاصة في مجالات تعلم اللغات تطورًا لافتًا في السنوات القليلة الفائتة، نظرًا لأسباب عديدة أبرزها قدرتها على تجاوز إشكالية المسافات البعيدة التي تفصل بين المدرس والمتعلم ومادة التعلم، وتناغمها مع مبدأ التعلم المعزز المتمركز حول الطالب الذي يتحمل مسؤولية أكبر في العملية التعليمية عن طريق الاستكشاف والتعبير والتجربة، فتتغير الأدوار فيصبح الطالب متعلمًا بدلاً من متلق، وانسجامها مع نمط التعايش اليومي لشريحة كبيرة من المتعلمين، الذين غدت وسائل التواصل (كالهواتف المحمولة والحواسيب اللوحية) عناصر رئيسية في سياقهم اليومي، يمكن التفاعل معها في إطار مفهوم التعلم المتنقل أو المحمول (Mobile Learning)، وهو وسيلة حديثة في استخدام الأجهزة اللاسلكية الصغيرة والمحمولة مثل الهواتف الذكية، والحواسيب الشخصية الصغيرة لضمان وصول المتعلم من أي مكان للمحتوى التعليمي وفي أي وقت.

ويشكل التعلم الذاتي - في حضوره الكلي وبغض النظر عن أشكاله - أحد الحقول التي عمل الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المشترك للغات على تعزيزها عبر تأكيد أهمية التعلم المستدام وذاتية المتعلم فضلاً عن التفاعل بين الثقافات (مجلس أوروبا 2002: 5-8).

ب-3- موقع الجزيرة تعليم

موقع الجزيرة تعليم (<http://learning.aljazeera.net>) هو موقع أسسته الجزيرة نت عام 2013م، وهو موقع مجاني مفتوح يعتمد في معظم محتواه على ما تنتجه شبكة الجزيرة الإعلامية من مواد مقروءة ومسموعة ومرئية، حيث يتم تسكين هذه المواد في أحد المستويات اللغوية التي تبدأ بالمستوى المبتدئ الأدنى، إلى المستوى المتقدم، مروراً بثلاثة مستويات أخرى، المبتدئ الأعلى، والمتوسط الأدنى، والمتوسط الأعلى، ترفد هذه المواد بمجموعة من الأنشطة الإثرائية التقويمية المتناغمة مع طبيعة التعلم الإلكتروني (التصحيح الذاتي وخدمة المحتوى.. إلخ)، فضلاً عن خدمات أخرى يتيحها الموقع كتشكيل النصوص والمعاجم الإلكترونية وتعدد لغات الواجهة.

وقد خضع الموقع إلى تحديثات متتالية كان آخرها في عام 2017م، حيث تم تقسيم الموقع إلى ثلاث بوابات تعليمية بمسميات جديدة: "لغة الإعلام"، وتقتصر على ما تنتجه الجزيرة من مواد مكتوبة ومسموعة ومرئية، و"لغة عامة"، وهي عبارة عن دروس يعدها الموقع داخلياً أو بالتعاون مع جامعات ومؤسسات مختصة في التعليم، فضلاً عن بوابة "مجتمعنا"، التي تمكن المستخدمين من الإسهام المباشر في إعداد مواد للموقع عبر خدمة "أنت تعلم"، أو المشاركة بمدونة، أو الاستفادة من خدمة "سل الأستاذ".

ج - سؤال الكفاءة.. الحاجة إلى المشروع

يظل سؤال الكفاءة هو السؤال الأبرز الذي تدور في فلكه كافة مقاربات اللغويات التطبيقية في مسار تعليم اللغات وتعلمها، وكانت طرائق الوصول إلى هذه الكفاءة المتغيرة ماثراً خلاف بين العديد من المدارس نظراً إلى تباين الخلفيات الفلسفية التي استرقدت منها هذه المدارس منطلقاتها التصورية - في تفسير الكفاءة- وساهمت في تعضيد عملياتها الإجرائية، وتنسيب رهاناتها المعرفية، وعلى الرغم من هذا التباين فثمة اتفاق أن الارتقاء بمستوى كفاءة متعلم اللغة هو الهدف الرئيس لأية ممارسة تعليمية، فالكفاءة اللغوية هي "المقدرة على فعل أشياء باللغة أي أداء وظائف لغوية" (العش 2017: 11) أي الأفعال التي يستطيع مستخدم اللغة أداءها باللغة، وبطبيعة الحال فإن الوصول إلى أعلى مستويات الكفاءة اللغوية لا بد أن يتم عبر خطوات متدرجة -تمثل مستويات الكفاءة اللغوية الأدنى التي تحدها أدوات التحقق المختلفة مثل Actfl أو Cefr على سبيل المثال- لا بد أن ينغمس المتعلم في أثناء الترقى عبرها في التعاطي مع اللغة وسياقاتها المختلفة عبر قنوات حقيقية أو مصنوعة، وهو أمر تزداد أهميته في حال الطالب المبتدئ الذي يسعى إلى بناء أرسده اللغوية (المفردات والتراكيب) قبل الخوض في مواقف تواصلية واقعية تدعم هذه المعرفة المكتسبة، وتطور طرائق استخدامها، وتختبر صلابة الأهداف المعرفية والمهارية والوجدانية المُكَنَسَبَة، وهنا تتجلى الأهمية الكبرى لهذا المحتوى التعليمي التفاعلي خاصة المستند إلى مواقف تواصلية تضاهي نظيرتها الواقعية.

وعلى الرغم من الإجماع على أهمية هذا الشكل من المحتوى التعليمي التفاعلي، فإن ثمة إجماعاً موازياً على وجود أزمة يعاني منها بشكل عام دارس العربية، وبشكل خاص الدارس الراغب في تعلم العربية ذاتياً، وبالإمكان اختزال أسباب هذه الأزمة في عنصرين رئيسيين هما:

- 1- النقص الشديد في المواقع الإلكترونية التي تقدم خدمة تعلم اللغة العربية تعلمًا ذاتيًا .
- 2- النقص الشديد في المواد المرئية المصممة خصيصًا لطلاب المستوى A1 تبعاً لتصنيف الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المشترك للغات.(CEFR)

ج-1 القصور الكمي

يمكن تلمس القصور الكمي بمتابعة النتائج التي سيظهرها محرك البحث الأشهر جوجل بعد كتابة مواقع تعليم العربية في خانة البحث، وتزداد وطأة الأزمة عندما يتبدى أن تلك المواقع التي يظهرها محرك البحث تتسم بالانغلاق الجزئي، بحيث إنه لا يسمح بالاطلاع على المحتوى والتفاعل معه سوى للمشارك في الموقع عبر اشتراك شهري أو سنوي أو عبر شراء السلسلة التعليمية التي يخدمها الموقع، ويعد تطبيق حجر رشيد(Rosetta Stone)، والكتاب في تعلم العربية (بروستاد، البطل، التونسي 2013) <https://alkitaabtextbook.com> مثالين جديدين في هذا السياق، يضاف إلى هذا النمط المغلق نمط آخر يتمثل في المواقع التي ارتبطت بمشاريع في مرحلة لاحقة، وعلى الرغم من استمرارية الموقع وجودة محتواه في حينه فإنه يفتقر إلى التحديث والتطوير بتنقيح المواد وتغذيتها بمواد جديدة وتحسين جودة الصورة والصوت ومعالجة المشاكل التقنية، ويمكن الاستشهاد هنا بموقع "أصوات عربية". (<https://www.laits.utexas.edu/aswaat>)

ج-2 القصور الكيفي

وبالانتقال إلى المحور الكيفي، فإن الحديث هنا سينحو نحو طبيعة المواد المطروحة في بعض المواقع التي تقدم خدماتها بشكل مجاني لدارس العربية المبتدئ، فجل هذه المواقع يعتمد على المواد الإعلامية، التي سنبين الحديث عنها هنا لهذا السبب.

ج-2-1- الخصوصية المعجمية والتركيبية

فعلى الرغم من أن النصوص الإعلامية تشكل مادة مناسبة للتعمق في المجالات المختلفة التي تخدمها اللغة كالاقتصاد والسياسة والثقافة والرياضة وغيرها من المجالات المتسمة بأبعادها التداولية، فإن الإفادة الحقيقية من هذه النوعية من

النصوص ترتين بالقدرة على إدراك خصوصيتها واستقطار إمكاناتها باستخدام أساليب التنقيح والانتقاء والتعديل في بعض الأحيان، فلغة الإعلام تتميز بجملة من الخصائص التي تنقلها إلى أفق الأغراض الخاصة في تعلم اللغات؛ كالترام النصوص بجملة من الشروط التي تمثل تقاليد نوعية تنوزع على مستوى المفردات والتراكيب والاشتراطات الخاصة بالعمونة والصياغة الداخلية للخبر استجابة لمتطلبات عناصر التشويق واستقطاب المتلقي وغيرها من الأعراف التي تدعم مقبولية العمل في إطار العلاقة الافتراضية بين مرسل الرسالة ومتلقيها، وما يربطهما من وعي بهذه التقاليد التي يتمثلها النص تطبيقياً، ويتمثلها المتلقي افتراضياً في أثناء تعاطيه مع النص، وهو أمر بدهي باعتبار أن أي نص "يتوجه أولاً إلى مستمعيه ومتلقيه، وإلى مجموعة من الشروط المحددة الخاصة، بالأداء والفهم، والعمل يتوجه ثانية إلى الحياة" (تودروف 1996: 188)، فثمة عدد من المواقع الإلكترونية التي تطرح نصوصاً منتقاة من وسائل إعلام مختلفة مدعومة بأنشطة تدريبية مثل <http://www.bbc.co.uk/languages/other/arabic/> و <http://arabic.yaqut.org/>.

ج-2-2- ملاءمة المستويات اللغوية

هل خصوصية النصوص الإعلامية تتعارض مع توظيفها للمستويات اللغوية كافة؟ يبدو الأمر إشكالياً إلى حد كبير، فالبعض يرى أن هذه النوعية من النصوص صالحة للمستويات كافة، بوصفها انعكاساً للواقع اللغوي والسياقي بحمولاته السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية، في حين يرى فريق آخر أن نصوص الإعلام مناسبة للمستويات المتوسطة والمتقدمة أكثر من مناسبتها للمستويات الابتدائية . ويبدو تجاوز الإشكالية مرتهاً بضبط مصطلحين هما "التمكين اللغوي العام" و"التمكين اللغوي الإعلامي/الخاص"، وفي أثناء تعاطي المتلقي مع الرسالة الإعلامية المشفرة فإنه يتعاطى مع التمكين الإعلامي الذي يعود بالفائدة على التمكين اللغوي، في إطار حركة دائرية تتطلب مجموعة من المقومات التي قد تكون غير متوافرة لدى طلاب المستويات الأولى، بما يضاعف من إشكالية تعاطيهم مع المتن اللغوي الذي يكتسب هنا طبيعة إشارية خاصة يتطلب الوعي بها إدراكاً بقيمتها اللغوية في مستواها المباشر، حتى نضمن درجة عالية من الكفاءة الاستيعابية فضلاً عن عدم دعم هذه المواد بأدوات تقييم تضمن اختبار كفاءة الدارس في التحصيل.

ج-2-3- الأيديولوجيا المتغلغلة

من الأمور التي ينبغي الإشارة إليها هنا، التي تتعلق بخصوصية النصوص المطروحة أن لغة الإعلام كغيرها من النصوص ليست بريئة من الأيديولوجيا أو بالأحرى الأيديولوجيا متغلغلة فيها إذ "يجمع الدارسون اليوم على أن النص ملفوظاً وتلفظاً متجدراً في الأيديولوجيا، وأنه لا يكتفي بأن يكون، بل يُستخدم وسيلة إلى شيء ما، وأنه ينتج الأيديولوجيا وتنتجها" (العمامي 2005: 201). ونقصد بالأيديولوجيا البنية الفكرية المنتجة لها باعتبار أن الصياغة الإعلامية تؤسس للبنية الدلالية للنص وتوجه المتلقي للتعاطي معه عبر منظور موجه/غير محايد تتغلغل فيه القيم الفكرية للشبكة وسياساتها التحريرية، ولما كنا بإزاء طالب غير ناطق بالعربية سيصبح من الصعوبة بمكان عليه مقارنة الخبر نفسه في أكثر من مصدر إخباري، ومن ثم سيشكل الخبر الذي سيتعاطى معه داخل الموقع مصدرًا معرفياً رئيساً ينطوي على جملة من الحمولات الثقافية التي ليست سوى تحبي كل تمثيلات السلطة العارفة عبر عناصر مُعززة، وإذا كانت هذه العلاقة الملتبسة بين النصوص الإعلامية والخط التحريري لمنتجها أمراً طبيعياً، فإن العبء الأكبر يقع على عاتق المنتقين لهذه النصوص الذين يفضل أن يبتعدوا عن النصوص ذات المنحى الخلافي إلى النصوص ذات الأبعاد الجيادية ولو ظاهرياً على الأقل.

ج-3- أولية تصميم مواد تعليمية للمستوى A1

يكشف هذا الوضع المربك الذي يجد دارس العربية ذاتياً نفسه في مواجهته الحاجة إلى تصميم مواد تعليمية تلبي طموحات هذا الدارس، وتجاوز العراقيل والإشكاليات المسؤولة عن تقليص فاعلية العديد من المواد الراهنة، وهنا يمكن توزيع

"الحاجة إلى المشروع" على ثلاثة محاور تتعلق في مجملها بالقيم الوظيفية للتعليم الإلكتروني، وبالقيم الوظيفية للتعليم الذاتي في ارتباطه المباشر بواقع اللغة العربية المعاصرة، والسباقات المؤطرة لهذا الواقع، وبطبيعة العلاقة بين التعلم الذاتي والإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المشترك للغات؛ فلم تعد المعرفة نقل المعلومات من المعلم إلى الطالب فقط، بل كيفية تلقي الطالب لهذه المعرفة من الناحية الذهنية أيضاً، وهي فرص يوفرها التعلم الإلكتروني، من حيث توفر مادة دراسية بسهولة ويسر مما يوفر الوقت والجهد على المتعلم والمعلم، وسهولة الوصول إليها، وإمكانية تطبيق المصادر بطرق مختلفة وعديدة وفقاً للطريقة الأفضل بالنسبة للطالب مما يساهم في مراعاة الفروق الفردية بين الطلبة، وتوفير المادة التعليمية وتحديثها طوال اليوم وفي كل أيام الأسبوع، وما ينتج عن ذلك من تحسين يخدم المتعلمين ويدفعهم إلى مواصلة التعلم كيما ووقتما شاءوا، وإتاحة الفرصة للطالب للتدريب التكراري المهم في الوعي بالمفردات والآليات استخدامها، وتقليل الأعباء الإدارية، والمساواة في الفرص، إذ يستطيع كل متعلم الوصول إلى لمادة التعليمية المنشورة عبر الإنترنت والمشاركة في أنشطتها والتعليق عليها بغض النظر عن جنسه وطبيعته شخصيته ومستواه الاجتماعي والاقتصادي، بالإضافة إلى هذا فإن هذا النمط "يدعم دافعية المتعلم، ويعزز متعته في التعليم، ويربط بين فردية المتعلم وذاتيته، وبين حاجاته المختلفة" (شلوسر، سيمونس: 2005: 29).

والتعلم الذاتي يبدو مهماً لشريحة كبيرة من دارسي العربية خاصة المبتدئين منهم لأسباب بعضها عام وبعضها أني، مثل عدم توافر الوقت للدراسة المنتظمة، أو عدم القدرة على دفع رسوم الالتحاق ببرامج تعلم العربية في المؤسسات الحكومية والخاصة، وارتفاع تكلفة برامج الانغماس في المجتمعات العربية -التي ما تزال فكرة ضيافة الأجنبي في البيت فكرة غريبة وغير محببة عند السواد الأعظم من أفراد هذه المجتمعات، والظروف السياسية والأمنية الراهنة المضطربة في العديد من البلاد العربية التي كانت بيئات تقليدية جيدة لممارسة العربية للطالب الأجنبي.

وبالإضافة لهذه الفئة من الطلاب -ولأسباب السابقة نفسها- فإن الطلاب النظاميين الملحقين بعدد من برامج دراسة العربية في بلاد غير عربية يظلون في حاجة إلى برامج مصممة خصيصاً للتعلم الذاتي، تدعم جهودهم في التعلم داخل قاعة الدرس، وتصلق موهبتهم في ممارسة اللغة، واختبار كفاءتهم في التعامل معها، خاصة أن عدد الساعات التي يمارسون فيها اللغة داخل الصف -باعتبار أن ممارسة اللغة خارج الصف (في بلد غير عربي/أو بلد عربي يتسم باستقطاب الوافدين من جنسيات غير عربية) يعد أمراً عسيراً من واقع التجربة العملية- غير كافية كماً وكيفاً لضمان تطور مستواهم بشكل سريع.

إن استثمار إمكانات التعلم الذاتي تستجيب بشكل رئيس للغرض الثالث من أغراض الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي-CEFR وهو الغرض الذي غالباً ما لا يلتفت إليه، بسبب التركيز على الغرضين الأول والثاني- فأغراض الإطار المرجعي هي التخطيط لبرامج دراسة اللغات وتشمل أهداف البرامج ومحتوياتها، والتخطيط للشهادات اللغوية ويشمل محتويات الاختبار ومعايير التقييم، والتخطيط للدراسة الموجهة ذاتياً.

د- مشروع مواقف تواصلية.. من تحليل الوضع الراهن إلى تحديد الرؤية

حققت سلسلة مواقف تواصلية فور طرحها نجاحاً يمكن تلمسه عبر عدة مؤشرات، منه نسبة المشاهدة المرتفعة التي وصلت إلى ما يقرب من 57000 مشاهدة للدرس الأول منها على الصفحة الرسمية للجزيرة تعليم على موقع التواصل الاجتماعي فيسبوك في شهر واحد من نشر السلسلة، وواصلت السلسلة نجاحها بتتابع دروسها.

د-1- أما قبل

كان من الضروري قبل الشروع في تنفيذ مشروع تصميم سلسلة فيديوهات تعليمية خاصة بالتعلم الذاتي للغة العربية لطلاب المستوى A1 حسب الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المشترك للغات (CEFR) القيام بتحليل الوضع الراهن بالتركيز على أربع نقاط، هي نقاط القوة، ونقاط الضعف، والمُهددات، والفرص.

د-1-1- نقاط القوة

- المجانية، فالموقع مفتوح لكافة مستخدمي شبكة الأنترنت وهو ما يتناغم مع ما قامت به سوق المعلومات من "تغيير دور المدارس والجامعات والمجتمع التعليمي بأسره" (ديرتوزوس2000: 239)
- الجودة التقنية، يعمل بشبكة الجزيرة خبراء تقنيون يتميزون بالاحترافية، ويتوقع أن يقدموا مواد ذات جودة تقنية عالية، وهو ما يضمن جودة الإدراك في أثناء عملية الملاحظة دراكي، فكلما كان نموذج اللغة أكثر وضوحًا عند الإدخال زادت فرصة ملاحظته) سكهان. (1998 Skehan
- تعدد واجهات العرض، ينسم الموقع بتعدد لغات العرض، الإنجليزية، والفرنسية، والتركية.
- استثمار السمعة المتميزة لشبكة الجزيرة وانتشارها.

د-1-2- نقاط الضعف

عدم توافر أكاديميين متخصصين في مجال تعليم العربية يشفون على الموقع بشكل مستمر.

د-1-3- المهّدات

- عدم الترويج الجيد للموقع.
- ضعف الميزانية المخصصة للمشروع.
- قلة عدد المشاركين في المشروع.
- التغيرات في توجهات المؤسسة الممولة للمشروع (شبكة الجزيرة)

د-1-4- الفرص

- تحقيق الريادة في مجال تعلم العربية تعلمًا ذاتيًا.
- زيادة المشاركة في خدمة المجتمع المحلي الذي يشكل غير الناطقين بالعربية جزءًا كبيرًا منه.
- إمكانية توظيف هذه المواد في الفصول التدريسية التقليدية.
- إمكانية التوسع المستقبلي لشمول المستويات الأخرى.

د-2- الرؤية وتقاطعاتها

تندرج الرؤية ضمن مفهوم التخطيط في سياق التعليم عن بعد، إذ يحدده أوتو بيترز Otto Peters بأنه "نظام لاتخاذ القرارات التي تحدد العمليات قبل تنفيذها" (شلوسر، سيمونس2005: 26)، فقد لاحظ بيترز العلاقة بين التنظيم وفاعلية أسلوب التعلم. وتمثل رؤية المشروع أحد مؤشرات نجاحه التي اكتسبت شرعيةً باذخة في إطار جودة التعليم، إذ "تمثل الرؤية الهدف العام الذي تسعى المؤسسة لتحقيقه والتطلعات المستقبلية التي تتحدد في ضوءها السياسة العامة للعمل وإجراءاتها وتترجم المؤسسة رؤيتها في صورة إجراءات وممارسات تتمثل في رسالة تعمل جاهدة لتحقيقها وترجمتها بما ينعكس على الأداء" (الهيئة القومية لضمان جودة التعليم 2010: 11)، فالرؤية تتقاطع مع عناصر رئيسة هي مستوى الكفاءة اللغوية، ووظائف اللغة، ومجالات استخدامها، والمحتوى والسياق، والمفردات والتراكيب، والمهام الاتصالية، وأدوات التقويم إلخ....

وتأسيساً على هذا التعلق الشديد بين رؤية المشروع وبقية عناصره تحددت رؤية العمل في " تقديم فيديوهات تعليمية قصيرة، تسترشد محتواها من مواقف طبيعية اتصالية، وترقد بجملة من الأنشطة التقييمية ذات الأبعاد التفاعلية،

تستجيب لمنطق خصوصية المتعلم الذاتي، وذلك بغية المساهمة في تطوير مستوى الكفاءة اللغوية التواصلية للدارس في المستوى المبتدئ الأدنى A1 حسب الإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المشترك للغات."

هـ - البنية المفهومية والشكلية للسلسلة هـ-1 - المستوى اللغوية ومخرجاته

إذا كان كل متعلم يملك القدرة اللغوية التي أطلق عليها تشومسكي "Language Acquisition Device" (Chomsky 1965:59) وإذا كانت اللغة هي طاقة "متجددة بصورة دائمة في إبداع جمل كثيرة بنسق متنوع ضمن الكفاية اللغوية التي يملكها المتكلم، والتي تقوده إلى حسن الأداء الكلامي وتمكنه من فهم وتوليد عدد هائل من كلمات وجمل لم يسمعها من قبل، متبعاً الأصول التي اكتشفها (Chomsky 1965:59)"، فإن تحديد المستوى اللغوي للمتكلم والعمل على تفسير المواد المنتجة ضمن هذا المستوى يصبح أحد أبرز أولويات مُصممي المواد التعليمية، وقد تحدد المستوى اللغوي المستهدف للسلسلة في المستوى المبتدئ الأول (A1) وفقاً للإطار المرجعي الأوروبي المشترك (CEFR)، حيث يهدف هذا الإطار في مستويي (A1.A2) إلى استخدام اللغة في مستواها الأساسي وفي مستويي (B1.B2) إلى استخدامها في إطار مستقل، وفي مستويي (C1.C2) إلى استخدامها في إطار تمارسي تفاعلي، وينحرك الإطار في توصيفاته لهذه المستويات على محورين ينبثقان من سؤالين، يتعلّق الأول بما ينبغي على المتعلم اكتسابه لكي يتمكن من استخدام اللغة في حضورها التواصلية، والسؤال الثاني يتعلّق بالمعارف الإجرائية التي ينبغي تنميتها للوصول بالمتعلم إلى اكتساب السلوك اللغوي الفعّال.

ويتركز الحديث على مستوى A1 فإن الصيغة الإجمالية لتوقعات مستوى كفاءة الدارس في هذا المستوى تتمثل في "أن يستطيع فهم التعبيرات المألوفة يومياً - واستخدامها- والعبارات الأساسية الهادفة إلى تلبية الاحتياجات الملحوسة ويستطيع أن يعرّف نفسه والآخرين، ويستطيع كذلك أن يسأل ويجيب عن الأحوال الشخصية.. ويمكن أن يتفاعل بيسر إذا تحدث الآخرون ببطء، ووضوح، وكانوا على استعداد للمساعدة" (مجلس أوروبا 2002: 62).

وبطبيعة الحال يتم تحليل بيانات الإفادة عن المقدرة اللغوية إلى أجزاء أصغر لغايات التعليم. فالطالب في مستوى (A1) يُتوقّع منه أن يكون قادراً على:

- تقديم نفسه بلغة بسيطة واستخدام عبارات ترحيبية أساسية.
- توضيح من أي بلد هو وبلدان الآخرين وتقديم وصف بسيط عن مدينته.
- التحدث بشكل مبسط عن عائلته وزملائه، ووصف مظهرهم وشخصياتهم.
- التحدث عن الملابس بشكل بسيط وطرح أسئلة بسيطة على البائع.
- التحدث عن الأطعمة المفضلة لديه وطلب الوجبات السريعة.
- التحدث عن الأنشطة اليومية والترتيب للقاءات مع الأصدقاء والزملاء.
- وصف أحوال الطقس الحالية واقتراح أنشطة وفقاً لتنبؤات الطقس.
- التحدث بشكل عام عن الصحة ووصف أعراض صحية شائعة للطبيب.
- وصف موقع منزله وتقديم إرشادات بسيطة حول الاتجاهات.
- التحدث عن هواياته واهتماماته ووضع خطط لأنشطة ممتعة مع الأصدقاء والزملاء.
- إتمام المعاملات البسيطة في الفنادق مثل تسجيل الدخول والخروج من الفندق.
- مناقشة منتجات ساعة، وإجراء عمليات شراء بسيطة وإعادة منتجات معطوبة.

هـ - 2- مرجعية الموقف التواصلية

يقع الحدث التواصلية عادة من مستخدم اللغة في متابعته لحاجاته التواصلية في موقف معين مع محاور أو أكثر، بقصد الإفهام، وتتبلور هذه الأحداث عند إعادة إنتاجها عبر مواقف معينة تتحقق تشكل في التحامها وتآلفها موضوعات التواصل الشائعة التي تُؤطر حركة متعلم اللغة في رحلة نحو اكتساب كفاءة التعامل مع هذه اللغة.

فإعادة إنتاج هذا الموقف سيمكّن المتعلم من "الملاحظة- "Noticing" أو "ملاحظة الفجوة Noticing the gap" أي الفجوة بين مرجعيته اللغوية والمرجعية اللغوية العربية- وهو أمر مهم باعتبار أن الملاحظة هي الخطوة

الأولى لاكتساب اللغات الأجنبية) غاس 1998:200، فسميت Schmidt يحدد ثلاثة جوانب من الوعي تشارك في تعلم اللغة: الوعي والنية والمعرفة، المعنى الأول، الوعي بوصفه وعياً، يشمل الملاحظة إذ "تنص فرضية الملاحظة على أن ما يلاحظه المتعلمون في المدخلات هو ما يصبح مدخلاً للتعلم" (شميت 1995: 20).
تتمثل الإشكالية الرئيسية هنا في تحديد الأسس التي ينبغي الاستناد إليها عند إعادة إنتاج هذه المواقف، خاصة في المستويات الأولى، إذ "نفقتر عند إعداد المواد التعليمية للمبتدئين في تعلم اللغة العربية إلى ثلاثة أمور، أولها: تحديد المواقف العامة التي يتوقع أن يمر بها الدارس من غير الناطقين بالعربية في تعامله اليومي.. وثانيهما: تحديد المفردات الأساسية التي تلبى حاجات المبتدئين من الدارسين مما يمكنهم من الاتصال بمتحدثي العربية" (طعيمة 1982: 8).
ويمكن أن تكون العناصر التي حددها هاتشنس Hutchinson وواترز Waters سبباً لتجاوز هذه الإشكالية؛ فقد حددا أربعة عناصر مركزية ينبغي الإلمام بها عند إعادة إنتاج الموقف، هي حاجات الموقف المستهدف، وجمع المعلومات حول الموقف المستهدف، وحاجات التعلم، وتحليل حاجات التعلم. (Hutchinson 1987:55-60)
وإذا كانت "فئات الموضوعات يمكن أن تصنف بطرق متعددة" (مجلس أوروبا 2002: 68)، فإن المعيارية قد فرضت الاستناد إلى مرجعية محددة للموضوعات التي ستولد عنها المواقف داخل السلسلة ومن التصنيفات التي تركت أثراً فيما يتعلق بالموضوعات الرئيسية وموضوعاتها الفرعية وما ترتبط به من مفردات وتراكيب كتاب مستوى العتبة (Threshold 1990) الصادر عن المجلس الأوروبي (J. A. van Ek & J. L. M. Trim 1998) الذي أشار إليه الإطار المرجعي بوضوح (مجلس أوروبا 2002: 104)، في مستوى العتبة يتم تقسيم موضوعات التواصل، إلى موضوعات رئيسية، وموضوعات فرعية، ومفاهيم خاصة، فعلى سبيل المثال يحدد الموضوع الرئيس في "أوقات الفراغ والترفيه" وينبثق من هذا الموضوع الرئيس موضوعات فرعية مثل الهوايات والاهتمامات، المذيع والتلفاز، السينما والمسرح والحفلات، والمعارض والمتاحف، والممارسات الفنية والفكرية، والرياضات، والصحافة، وينبثق من كل موضوع فرعي أفكار ومفاهيم خاصة، فعلى سبيل المثال في الموضوع الفرعي "الرياضات" سنجد ما يرتبط بالمواقع (الساحة، الملعب.. إلخ)، المؤسسات والمنظمات "الفريق، النادي،.. إلخ"، الأشخاص "اللاعب، الحكم، الجمهور، إلخ" (J. A. van Ek & J. L. M. Trim 1998: 66)
وقد اعتمدت السلسلة في هيكله الموضوعات وترسيم المواقف ومحتواها الحوارية بشكل رئيس على هذه القرارات التي تتسم بطبيعتها الشمولية والنظامية دون أن تغفل عن كون تنظيمها ليس اختيارياً نهائياً وإنما هو "نتاج لقرارات المؤلفين في ضوء تقييمهم لحاجات المتعلمين المعنيين التواصلية" (مجلس أوروبا 2002: 87) ومن ثم كانت الأسئلة التي تتحرى الإجابة عنها هي ما الموضوعات الأساسية التي سيحتاجها الدارس في هذا المستوى؟ وما الموضوعات الفرعية التي سيعتنون بها بالنظر إلى كل موضوع، وما المفاهيم الخاصة ذات العلاقة بالمواقع والمنظمات والأشخاص والأشياء والأحداث والعمليات التي يحتاجها المتعلمون أو يزودون بها أو مطلوب منهم معالجتها من أجل التعامل مع كل موضوع أو موضوع فرعي.

هـ - 3- مبادئ التأسيس وبنية التأليف

النصوص الواردة في السلسلة والأنشطة المصاحبة لها تتغيا الوصول بالمتعلم إلى "الكفاءة التواصلية" ويقصد بها "تزويد الدارسين بالمهارات اللغوية المناسبة التي تمكنهم من الاتصال المثمر بمتحدثي اللغة المستهدف تعليمها" (طعيمة 1982: 20)، ولما كانت كفاءة اللغة التواصلية تضم عدداً من المكونات منها "اللغويات العامة، واللسانيات الاجتماعية، والتداولية، ومن المفترض أن تضم هذه المكونات على وجه التحديد المعارف والمهارات والخبرة، وتضم الكفاءة اللغوية، المعرفة المعجمية، والصوتية، المعرفة النحوية، والمهارات، وأبعاد أخرى من نظام اللغة" (مجلس أوروبا 2002: 44).
لما كان الأمر كذلك أصبح من الضروري الارتكاز عند تقديم لغة عربية معاصرة معيارية -على نحو يجعل الدارس قادراً على التعامل بها في كل الأقطار العربية -على مواقف التواصل اليومي المعاصرة محاكاة سياقاتها الحقيقية التواصلية والاجتماعية واللهجية، ولهذا تم الاستعانة بشخصيات تنتمي إلى بلدان عربية مختلفة (مصر، العراق، سوريا، قطر) لتأكيد أهمية الجانب اللهجي وتغلغله في ثنايا العربية الفصيحة المعاصرة، وهو ما يمهّد الطريق نحو اكتساب المتعلم المزيد من التحكم المعجمي، خاصة إذا ما أرقت المواد بمجموعة من المهام التي تركز على الشكل، انظر للتعرف إلى ما يمكن أن تؤديه المهام المرتكزة على الشكل في تنمية الوعي المعجمي (شميت 1990: 129-158)، و(فونتن 1993: 385-407)

-تطرح المفردات داخل النصوص عبر بنية حلزونية تسعى إلى تدوير المفردات، بحيث يتم التعرض للمفردات المتعلقة بموضوع واحد في أكثر من موقع وفق تراتبية محددة -تهدف إلى ضمان تعاطي المتعلم الإيجابي مع المفردة- تراعي الانتقال بالمفردات من حدودها البسيطة إلى المعقدة (مثل طرح عبارات التحية الأكثر شيوعاً وانسجاماً مع البيئات العربية المختلفة ثم الأقل شيوعاً وهكذا دواليك، هو ما ينسجم مع فرضية أن تواتر عنصر معين يزيد من احتمال ملاحظته وإدماجه في نظام اللغة البيئي (شميت 1990)، وتجدر الإشارة إلى أن الفيديوهات التعليمية مدعومة بقائمة مفردات مترجمة إلى لغات الواجهة المتعددة.

-تتألف السلسلة من نصوص غير أصيلة/ مؤلفة تراعي طبيعة الطالب المبتدئ.
-تسعى السلسلة إلى مراعاة التوازن بين المهارات اللغوية الأربعة، دون أن تغفل عن موجّهات المنصة الإلكترونية ونمط التعلم المستهدف (التعلم الذاتي) اللذين يجعلان الأولوية لمهارتي الاستماع والقراءة.
-يتمركز الفيديو التعليمي حول نص مسموع يتوافر كتابياً مع التشكيل ودونه -في مرحلة تالية مشفوعاً بترجمات مختلفة.

-رأى "إليس" Ellis أن ميزات اللغة يمكن أن تكون بارزة عن قصد أو أن تكون المهمة مصممة "الإجبار" المتعلمين على معالجة اللغة أيضاً (إليس 1997)، ولهذا تتسم الأنشطة المصاحبة للنصوص بكثافة كمية وكيفية تبعاً لأهداف التعلم التفصيلية في كل موقف، وهو أمر مهم لتعزيز استجابة المتعلم، فتنبعاً للنظرية السلوكية (Behavior theory) فإن التعلم يحدث نتيجة تعريض المتعلم إلى مثير (Stimulus) يستدعي استجابة (Response) من طرف المتعلم، وأن هذه الاستجابة يعقبها تعزيز إيجابي يشجع المتعلم على مواصلة التعلم، أو تعزيز سلبي يساعد المتعلم في تعديل استجابته وتصحيحها، فتنشيط الكفاءة اللغوية التواصلية لمتعلم اللغة يتم "عبر أداء الأنشطة اللغوية المتعددة" (مجلس أوروبا 2002: 56)

-تطرح الجوانب الثقافية في إطار الهدف التواصل العام أي كيفية التصرف في موقف معين (مثال: أنواع التحايا في المجتمعات العربية المختلفة... أشكال إظهار الاحترام في المواقف المختلفة.. إلخ) وهو أمر بالغ الأهمية إذ "وجب أن تحظى الثقافة العربية بمزيد من الاهتمام، بتكافؤ مع أهميتها ودورها بالنسبة للغة العربية بل ضرورتها لفهمها واستيعاب دلالات الألفاظ فيها" (طعيمة 1982: 20)، فالوعي بالجوانب الثقافية يراهن على ملاحظة المتعلم لحدود الفجوة، فإذا كان "إليس" يشير إلى أن المتعلمين الذين يدركون أن ميزات اللغة الجديدة تتعارض مع نسخهم اللغوية الحالية هم الذين سيتمتعون بأن تصبح هذه الميزات جزءاً من نظامهم المتطور للغة المتعلمة. فإن الأمر نفسه يتحقق مع الجوانب الثقافية التي تطلب من المتعلم ما هو أكثر من الملاحظة ونقص المقارنة بين مدخلاتهم الملحوظة والمخرجات الثقافية النموذجية بناءً على نظامهم اللغوي الثقافي الحالي، أي أنه يجب عليهم ملاحظة الفجوة بين السياق الثقافي الأصيل والطارئ (إليس 1997).

-البنية التأليفية للمواد لا تعتمد على شخصيات ثابتة وإنما على المواقف التواصلية التي يتوقع أن يمر بها الدارس من غير الناظرين بالعربية في تعامله اليومي.

-اعتماد الصورة المتحركة في تنفيذ الدروس بمراعاة معايير جودة عالية بما يضمن إثارة دافعية المتعلم وزيادة فاعليته "فالتعامل ببسر وسهولة مع المادة التعليمية، يساهم في زيادة متعة العلم ويدعم دافعية المتعلم" (شلوسر، سيمونس 2005: 29).

-استجابة الجانب الفني للممارسات التفاعلية المتوقعة من المتعلم، وتوفير نسخة قابلة للتفاعل مع الهواتف الذكية والأجهزة اللوحية.

أما البنية الشكلية فيقصد بها التشكل الختامي المُتواتر للمواد المرئية المُدرّجة في السلسلة، وهي أثر من آثار النظامية التي ألزمتُ بها السلسلة نفسها، فكل فيديو تعليمي يتكوّن من أربعة أجزاء تترجم الوعي بالرؤية والمخرجات المأمولة، وتنبنى وفقاً للمبادئ التأسيسية سالفة الذكر.

-الجزء الأول: نص حوار مرئي يركّز على المسموع، ويعبر عن موقف تواصل يحاكي الموقف الحقيقي،

تستخدم فيه الرسوم المتحركة ذات الجودة العالية، وتستخدم فيه بعض الموجّهات المكتوبة لتسهيل مهمة فهم المسموع.

-الجزء الثاني: توفّر لإتاحة الفرصة للمشاهد لالتقاط الأنفاس وترتيب الأفكار، ومحاولة قياس مستوى فهمه إذا

رغب في ذلك، أو شعر بقدرته على ذلك دون الحاجة إلى المشاهدة مرة ثانية.

-الجزء الثالث: يُعاد الجزء الأول مصحوباً بجملة مكتوبة بالعربية لبعض عناصر المسموع، وبتحريك إضافي

للصور المتحركة في إطار تناغم أكثر فاعلية مع المنطوق كأداة مساعدة للفهم.

-الجزء الرابع أدوات قياس تركز على عمليتي الفهم والتطبيق في توارثها على المهارات اللغوية الأربعة، تعتمد

النمط الموضوعي أكثر من المقالي، وتنسجم مع مُقتضيات التصحيح الذاتي .

و. الخاتمة

يمكن إيجاز أبرز النتائج التي توصلت إليه الدراسة في النقاط التالية:

- تسهم المواد التعليمية الموجهة للمتعلمين الذاتيين في رفع مستوى كفاءتهم التواصلية، وتسهم في دعم الارتقاء بمستوى كفاءة الدارسين النظاميين الذين يوظفون هذه المواد ضمن خططهم الدراسية أو بوصفها مواد إثرانية.
- على الرغم من أن جائحة كورونا كشفت الأهمية الكبرى للتعلم الذاتي وما يرتبط به من مواد تعليمية فإن المنظور المتجاوز للعراض يؤكد استمرارية هذه الحاجة خاصة لدارسين العربية المستوى الابتدائي .
- تتحدد إشكالية المواد التعليمية المتاحة للطالب الراغب في تعلم العربية ذاتيًا في النقص الشديد في عدد هذه المواد، وفي نوعية النصوص المعتمدة في معظم هذا المواد، التي لا تناسب مستوى الطلاب المبتدئين.
- شكل مشروع "سلسلة المواقف التواصلية للمستوى المبتدئ الأدنى" الذي تم بالتعاون بين الباحث وموقع الجزيرة تعليم خطوة في سبيل تجاوز الإشكاليات الكمية والكيفية للمواد التعليمية المرئية الموجهة للمتعلمين الذاتيين للغة العربية.
- اعتمدت سلسلة مواقف تواصلية القيام بشكل مبدئي على تحليل الوضع الراهن بالتركيز على أربع نقاط، هي نقاط القوة، ونقاط الضعف، والمُهددات، والفرص.
- اعتمدت السلسلة رؤية متماسكة مكنتها من رسم خارطة واضحة لأهدافها.
- شكل التناغم مع طبيعة المستوى المستهدف أحد أبرز المبادئ التأسيسية للسلسلة.
- اعتمدت نصوص السلسلة في هيكله الموضوعات وترسيم المواقف ومحتواها الحوارية بشكل رئيس على مرجعية ثابتة تجنّبًا للخلط والارتباك.
- راعت السلسلة التوازن بين المهارات الأربع وكثافة الأنشطة المصاحبة، وإدماج الجوانب الثقافية، والعناية بالجودة على مستويي المحتوى والصورة.
- تشكلت البنية التأليفية للنصوص من أربعة أجزاء، تبدأ بالنص المرئي/المسموع وتنتهي بأدوات التقويم.

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IS MSA DEVELOPING A WRITTEN COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH? EXAMPLES OF VOCABULARY, STYLISTIC AND SYNTACTIC SIMPLIFICATIONS IN ON-LINE JIHADISTS' POSTS

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Abstract. Discussion and research about the communicative approach have mostly concerned the spoken dimension. It is true that communication itself aims at both informing and persuading, where persuasion – underpinned by ideologies – equals propaganda, and propaganda persuasive campaigns may also take place in writings like the ones of jihadist groups. Such propaganda assigns the utmost care to effectiveness, and precise styles are adopted in short posts or messages too. In the past (Labov 1972, Weinreich 1953) discourse studies and stylistic variations were mostly related to the spoken dimension of languages, compared to the standard one, and recently both written hybrid manifestations and media Arabic have been investigated (Eid 2007). I now suggest to consider jihadist posts, where an over-simplified written style is showed and communication is mediated by computers (CMC). Linguistics motivates stylistic variations by the speaker's attitude (and not the writer's one!). However, the recent proliferation of easy-to-access media outlets calls for some remarks in the field of MSA writing practices, which affect the stylistic level and trigger discourse variations. May the jihadist propaganda style contribute to the elaboration of a new written code, at least in media Arabic, distinguished by a general simplification of grammar categories, linguistic structures, and lexical oppositions? The selection of posts I provide exemplifies the generalization of easy-to-apply rules, syntactic-semantic functions, and repetitive word order or chunks. In conclusion, hypotheses for typification, enregisterment and the birth of a new genre are suggested for final discussion.

Keywords: *Arabic Variation, Style and Function, Written MSA, On-line Arabic, Media Arabic.*

1. Arabic, the media, and its referees

The challenge between Arabic language and the media is reciprocal, due to their characterizing factors like time-space constraints, the need for discourse appropriateness, and stylistic variation, which all contribute to the achievement of communication effectiveness.

The setting for such a challenge is represented by cyberspace, that has acquired a collective dimension, in the sense that is not anymore restricted to private messaging or posting.

Effectively, cyberspace may represent a not “highly structured setting” (Wilmsen 2006 in reference to Arabic language plausible contexts), it easily keeps anonymity, messages and posts are often presented and signed collectively by trades or agencies, and they may change into sources, yet without verification of contents.

Such a virtual writing space gave rise to a new written Arabic, transformed into a daily and interactive activity thanks to technology. In this new environment, the audience and the modality of its response has acquired new forms. In fact, a wider number of persons

potentially receives the messages, replies on multichannel levels and according to a multimodal system: audio, video, texts or the combination of the three. Here, the line between the public and private spheres is well reduced, in favor of the proliferation of materials. Anonymity emerges too as a relevant factor, because writers hide behind a logo without explicit authorship. The combination of all these characteristics facilitates the violation of traditional acceptability rules about what may be said/showed and what may not. It often results in the publication of offensive or extremely impressive and crude facts, due to inappropriate overuse of CMC potentials. Some organized groups, part of the military environment of the Middle East that perform several functions, do exactly this. In particular they post comments that “serve the interests of their employers”, the jihadist groups for instance, so they have been defined as “electronic militias” (Abdul Latif 2017: 304). Their writing takes the form of an oral communication, in the sense that it is immediate and potentially synchronic in shifts, because a cyber writing process can be interrupted by the intended receiver like in a live dialogue exchange. For instance, I can post on-line my reply or argumentation while my interlocutor still keeps on with his original writing. In this regard, we assist to the oralization of writing, with the “transfer of features of oral communication in private domains to written communication in cyberspace” (ibidem: 306). On-line and off-line communication, then, are not strictly different nor separated, and the discussion should also concern to what extent on-line Arabic serves the purposes of new writing genres, if it not directly constitutes a genre itself.

Its referee is divided into ingroup and outgroup referee design. The first, ingroup, “sees a speaker talking to members of an outgroup, and reacting with a shift towards the style of the speaker’s own (absent) ingroup”. The second, outgroup, means that “speakers lay claim to a speech and identity which are not their own but which hold prestige for them on some dimension” (Bell 1984: 187–188). In terms of its relevance for mass communication, Bell turns to the mass media and argues that its audience is unspecific, representing a “perceived class of persons” (ibidem:192).

Age and background, topic and setting have effects on style-homogeneous and recurrent writing templates. This phenomenon manifests the effect of the medium through which written communication takes place on the writing itself, in a way that *ad hoc* empirical standards (Bartsch 1989) reflect on on-line writing and obey concrete communication needs. In sum, on-line writing practices attest an increasing informality of the formal standard (Mejdell 2006) too, and the result is a hyper-simplified MSA, even for “official” communicates like the ones from the ISIS new agency Amaq. Many previous studies of Arabic and the media exist, and they were dedicated to the observation of Arabic speeches in the media, their classification according to Labov’s paradigm, the analysis of their motivation, in particular in relation to styles and discourse characteristics. At this point, a distinction is necessary, as the same material can be described from the media or the users’ side. The former care about conveying information together with entertainment, while the latter want media to reflect or express their behavior and identity. Users are nowadays up to generate their own contents; in fact, we also talk about UGC – users generated contents (OECD 2007). Spontaneous forms of writing, coupled with adequate degrees of information and media literacy, enable citizens to create and upload texts on-line. Information literacy (Joint and Wallis 2005) is to be intended as the skills necessary for using the web and dealing with the electronic environment. Media literacy (Nijboer and

Hammelburg 2010:36-45) manifests a slightly more sophisticated ability, in the field of creating materials on multiple channels: the audio, visual, and textual ones.

User-generated contents are characterized by extreme flexibility, beyond any restrictions traditionally imposed by usual pattern for the production of news, which poses many questions regarding credibility, accountability, reliability. It is indeed extremely hard to assess on-line written products, which proved to be extremely dynamic and fluid, both for the content and the source. Then, it is not possible to perform the thorough corroboration process generally required for news accreditation, including for what concerns Amaq posts.

2. Ordinary vs. Jihadists' writing

Writing is not neutral, as it targets a precise scope. The first distinction can be found here, as ordinary writing aims at informing and entertaining while jihadists' writing wants to persuade and do propaganda. Albeit neither corroborated nor validated by fact-checking, jihadists' news reporting is marked by a presumption of authenticity, for which they write in formal Arabic that is the modern standard variety, MSA. The necessity for providing a sense of immediateness and first-hand news explains the hyper-simplification of written Arabic, toward its oralization. The formality of the message is preserved by the adoption of the formal variety of Arabic, while its extreme simplification creates an easy-to-access content, probably more attractive to on-line users. Jihadist writers follow the purpose of persuading others, they hide authorship behind a collective identity, and mostly report on war or conflict scenarios.

Texts are represented by assertions, while the narrative strategy is based on repetition on several levels. Similar news are conveyed by identical words and text structures, grammar categories appear restricted, linguistic structures are simplified, identical lexicon is repeated many times.

A selection of examples, provided below in transliteration, shows the main characteristics of jihadists' on-line texts production. These posts were retrieved from the web, searching in Arabic by key-word *Wikālat ʿAḡmāq*, on Twitter and Facebook. They were collected, together with many others, in between Spring 2017 (in particular nr.5, nr. 6) and February 2019. The publication period often did not align with the date of the event covered, as in many cases posts appear some days later.

Amaq News- 12/5/2017- express



Wikālat ʿaḡmāq- Maqtal 5 min al ḡayš as-sūriyy baynahum ḡābiṭāni bi-huḡūm li-muqātili ad-dawla al-islāmiyya ʿalā ṭarīq as-Salmiyya-Ittriyya šamāl šarqīyy Ḥamā

Amaq Agency- Killing of 5 members of the Syrian army, among them two officers, by an attack launched by fighters of the Islamic State on the road Salmiyya-Ithriyya, north east of Hama



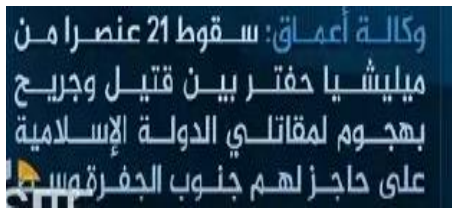
Wikālat ʿaʿmāq - Tafğīr sayyāra mufahḥaḥa ʿalā tağammuʿ li-quwwāt Ḥaftar ʿinda madḥal baladat an-Nūfaliyya ġanūb šarq Sirt

Amaq Agency – Explosion of a car bomb next to a gathering of Haftar forces at the entrance of Nofaliya town, south east of Sirt



Wikālat ʿaʿmāq – ʿAmaliyya istiḥādiyya bi-sayyāra mufahḥaḥa taḍrib tağammuʿan li-musallahī Ḥaftar qurba al-ḥaḍīra al-ğumrukiyya ġarbiyy madīnat Bengāzi

Amaq Agency - Martyrdom operation with a car bomb has targeted a gathering of Haftar armed elements close to the Customs Squad, western area of Benghazi city.



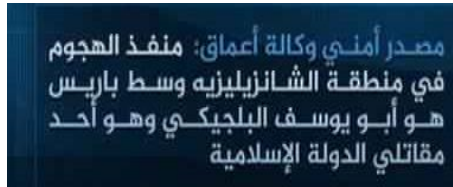
Wikālat ʿaʿmāq – Suqūt 21 ʿunṣuran min milīšyā Ḥaftar bayna qatīl wa ġarīḥ bi-huğūm li-muqātīlī ad-dawla al-islāmiyya ʿalā ḥāġiz la-hum ġanūb al-Ġufra

Amaq Agency- Fall of 21 elements of Haftar militia either dead or injured, by an attack launched by the fighters of the Islamic State against a check-point of theirs, south of Jufra



Maşdar ʿamniyy li-wikālat ʿaʿmāq - Mafraza ʿamniyya tābiʿa li-d-dawla al-islāmiyya naffaḍat huḡūmay al-kanisatayn fi madīnatay Ṭanṭā wa al-Iskandariyya

Security source of Amaq Agency - Security platoon of the Islamic state performed the two attacks of the two churches in the cities of Tanta and Alexandria



Maşdar ʿamniyy. Wikālat ʿaʿmāq-Munaffiḍ al-huḡūm fi minṭaqat al-Champs Elysée wasaṭ Paris huwa Abū Yūsuf al-Belḡikiyy wa huwa aḡad muqātilī ad-dawla al-islāmiyya

Security source of Amaq Agency - The executor of the attack in the Champs Elysée area, Paris downtown, is Abu Yusuf the Belgian and he is one of the fighters of the Islamic State

The previous data reveal some emerging features with impact on discourse style and text typology:

- 1- relatives and demonstratives are avoided;
- 2- negative sentences are substituted by affirmative sentences;
- 3- “that clauses” are avoided or replaced by infinitives;
- 4- causative forms are adopted instead of passives;
- 5- masdars are used instead of verb conjugation;
- 6- idafas in chain are very frequent;
- 7- positioning is expressed by adverbs of place or by the use of *ʿind-* for (neutral) positioning or *ʿalā* for expressing ‘against’.

In sum, the traditional richness and redundancy of Arabic is minimized, to the point that it acquires new unexpected characteristics: synthesis, brevity, immediateness. Another key-element for the discussion of on-line jihadist propaganda is the concept of “soft power”, the media being a part of it. Besides the real conflict and armed attacks, a complementary set of measures, not directly related to the military sphere are adopted, which greatly contribute to the success of jihadists’ initiatives. The use of media communication embodies a key-element in gaining consensus and recruiting new affiliates,

with cyberspace being of utmost importance in this direction. Although triggered by western countries, the media, social media in particular, have penetrated Arabic countries at a surprising pace rate. This, to the point that it may not serve the interests of the West, but also constitute a threat, to some extent. Effectively, the media can be considered a development platform for soft power, easy to adapt to different ends, for a number of reasons (Jamali 2015: 7):

- actors from different groups, but united against a common enemy, can join the virtual space: this can be the case of different jihadist groups that hide behind a unique brand;
- avoiding violence, while increasing persuasion and influence;
- complexity of the phenomenon, as cyberspace is governed by the minds of the élite, and such work is hard to measure or quantify;
- ambiguity, because actions and goals may remain unnoticeable to the eyes of the public;
- inclusiveness, because media platforms address a wider audience contrary to an armed attack that limits its immediate effect to a specific group, for example.

In conclusion the networking made possible in a limited period of time by media outlets promotes their dissemination in general, regardless of whether the purpose is institutional and collaborative, or hostile and confrontational.

3. Hypothesis for typification and the birth of a genre

Is it plausible that Arabic writings on-line, hyper-simplified, easy-to-access and reduced in grammar complexity attest the birth of a new writing typification? Does the regular adoption of stereotypes for their typified communication resemble a new 5W on-line essay guideline? Is on-line Arabic writing by jihadist activists a genre?

Effectively, stereotypes are essential to this text typology and it is also true that on-line posts are gaining space toward a recognized use of the language (Bakhtin 1986) in their precise context. These materials also manifest an attempt in reorganizing semiotics, and are based on different levels of normativity, led by practice. For such reasons, enregisterment may take place, to be intended as Agha defined it: “A given register is formulated and disseminated through semiotic activities that evaluate specific behavioral signs as appropriate to particular scenarios” (Agha 2007:81). Such a definition leads us to consider a language as a real practice and not a structure, fixed in its components. This is exactly what emerges from the materials considered above. They are built for the sake of intelligibility and meaningfulness, in order to communicate successfully. The written language is treated as a set of resources and materials, which can be assembled differently according to the final end, occasionally disregarding grammar. The traditional concept of language as a fixed structure, highly normative and scarcely dynamic becomes outdated here as a result.

Moreover, jihadists’ on-line writing resembles an interactive practice based on a strategic competence in communication. Strategic competence, also relevant to other domains, is “the ability to come up with effective practices to repair potential communication breakdowns or unanticipated problems in interaction.” (Canagarajah in De Fina, Ikizoglu, Wegner 2017). Those problems are due, for example, to the lack of

verification and source citation for a given news. Anyway, the assertive style, the narrative typology – both repetitive and synthetic – and the choice of lexicon, make the writing content realistic, impressive, and finally convincing.

Although essential and reduced in grammar categories and lexical richness, on-line writing reveals to follow precise procedures, to a deeper analysis. In detail, it seems to follow a sort of 5 paragraph essays format, for the high practical and functional value associated to such a practice (Lewis in De Fina, Ikizoglu, Wegner 2017). The 5W format, in fact, allows to convey a relevant number of information (by answering the 5W), still keeping a high degree of abstraction, because of its brevity. It is then extremely functional to the scope of being persuasive by giving the impression of contextualizing, providing details, specifying, and being elusive at the same time, because no deeper analysis is offered with the excuse/motivation of brevity and on-line space constraints. For such reasons, contents are conveyed and presented as reliable, yet transitory in their real nature. Nothing is argued about their inaccessibility or lack of transparency, for what concerns their source and verification. In practice, on-line writings as the examples above manifest the existence of a hybrid style, half-way between formal (news broadcast) and informal (story telling) as Eid already noted (Eid 2007: 405)¹. Such hybridity depends on the context, hybrid itself. In fact, on-line platforms or spaces for writing are mixed and heterogeneous in nature. Cyberspace is composed by a number of subspaces, related to specific contents, topics and functional criteria that overlap in the final written products.

4. Final considerations

An unsolved challenge still remains, because on-line writing does not allow a face-to-face data gathering, which impedes a context-based real evaluation of linguistic data and behaviors. Texts, sources, contents remain to a great extent neither realistic nor reliable, although interesting for linguistics and linguistic behavior analysis. Nevertheless, writing has revealed to be a daily practice, not limited to formal situations or official communication needs. In this regard, Arabic on-line writings seem to have gained a wider space, at the expense of its stylistic original purity, expressive richness, and redundancy, of course. All the cited factors may lead us to talk about a communicative approach in writing, thus referring to it with a tag originally intended to define oral varieties only. Enregisterment may really occur, identified as the process by which “a linguistic repertoire is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices” (Agha 2004: 24). The previous citation fits our jihadist fighters and their claims: for example, their linguistic repertoire is well defined, they all belong to a same group or category (fighters) and they practice communication in support of Islamic fight and propaganda.

Despite the previous consideration, and although writing in jihadists' posts has undergone a heavy simplification, which is evident and undeniable, it is also necessary to work toward the “demythologization” of computer mediated communication called for by

¹ Eid assessed hybridity, but with special focus on code-switching. Anyway her analysis fits our scope for the discussion about what produces hybridity.

Androutsopoulos (2006). In fact, there is no evidence in favor of technology as decisive key-element for the language choices made on-line. Similarly, no “internet language”, exclusively dedicated to on-line communication, really exists. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that on-line writing presents unique features, appearing all together in a few lines. Anyway, it is the topic, setting, audience, practice, and the protagonists involved in a given form of communication that forge the style. Now, on-line jihadists’ posts being repetitive in their contents and settings, the technology used and the cyberspace occupied become regularly coupled with a precise narrative style and linguistic characteristics, as a consequence. In conclusion, technology – here intended as both the virtual space and tools – is influenced by the topic, that in turn calls for precise linguistic traits, and not the other way around

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البنية الصرف-دلالية لأفعال المطاوعة في العربية
THE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF INCHOATIVE VERBS IN
ARABIC

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Abstract. Arabic has both a syntactic and a morphological inchoatives. We will focus in this article on the morphological inchoativity. More specifically, the morpho-syntactic structure of inchoative verbs can hold two kinds of inchoative morphology. We will argue here that the alternation of these two morphologies on the verb is not at random, or accidental, as was always assumed before, but is linked to the aspectual semantic of the verbal root. We will show first the limits of a morpho-phonological analysis to explain this variation of the two inchoative morphemes, and we will argue afterwards that this variation is a consequence of the aspectual semantic of the verbal root.

Keywords: *Inchoative, passive, morphology, alternation, verb, aspectual.*

0. المقدمة

تناول النحاة العرب القدامى المطاوعة في عدة أبواب وخاصة في باب الصيغ الصرفية ومعانيها، بحيث يذكرون أن المطاوعة تكون أساسا بصيغتي *انفعل*، و*تفعل*. غير أن تعريفهم لدلالة المطاوعة يبقى مبهما نوعا ما، ولا يتسم بالوضوح. إذ إن هناك اختلافا بين تصور هؤلاء النحاة للمطاوعة وتصورات الأدبيات اللسانية المعاصرة للمفهوم نفسه، أو لما يسمى في النظرية التوليدية باللاسببية.

فبينما تتعدد الآراء والتصورات والتحليل حول البنية الحملية والموضوعية لأفعال المطاوعة - هل تتضمن المسبب للحدث أو لا تتضمنه؟ - فإن النحاة العرب يتكلمون بعبارات واضحة عن وجود أو عدم وجود إرادة أو نية الفاعل في إحداث الحدث. يعني هذا أن رؤية النحاة للمطاوعة لا تركز على مفهوم دلالي أولي كالسببية، ولكن تركز بالأساس على مفهوم الإرادة بوصفه مفهوما دلاليا أساسيا. ويمكننا أن نستنتج من هنا أن الفعل المطاوع يتضمن دائما مسببا، ولكن الإشكال موجود في هل هذا المسبب له الإرادة في إحداث الحدث أم لا؟ إذ نجدهم يعتبرون أن صيغة *انفعل* هي صيغة لازمة أصلا وضعت للمطاوعة. ويعرف ابن جني المطاوعة كالتالي:

" ومعنى المطاوعة أن تريد من الشيء أمرا ما فتبلغه إما بأن يفعل ما تريده إذا كان مما يصح منه الفعل. وإما أن يصير إلى مثل حال الفاعل الذي يصح منه الفعل، وإن كان مما لا يصح من الفعل" (ابن جني، المنصف، جزء الأول ص. 72)

وإذا استقر أنا هذا النص بتمعن، فإنه بالإمكان أن نقف فيه على فكرتين أساسيتين: الفكرة الأولى هي أن المطاوعة *بانفعل* لا بد وأن تتضمن ما سمي في الأدبيات اللسانية *بالحالة الناتجة*، وهذا قصده في قوله "أن تريد الشيء فتبلغه". أما الفكرة الثانية فتتجسد في غياب الإرادة والنية في إحداث الفعل. وهذا قصده في عبارة "بأن يفعل ما تريده". ففاعل الفعل المطاوع هنا مسلوب الإرادة، وليست له النية في إحداث الفعل. وهناك فكرة أخرى إضافية مهمة يتكلم عنها النص هنا. وتتجلى في عبارة "وإن كان مما لا يصح منه الفعل". وهنا يجب أن نستحضر أيضا بعض المفاهيم الدلالية الأولى

حول ماهية الفواعل التي يصح منها الفعل والفواعل التي لا يصح منها. إذ نعرف عموماً بأن الفعل لا يصح دائماً من العاقل فقط، إذ يمكن لغير العاقل أن يصح منه الفعل أيضاً مثل: " كدد الكلب العظم"، بل إن غير العاقل هنا من الحيوان والنبات والجماد يمكنه أن يصح منه الفعل مثل: " شربت النبتة الماء"، "امتصت التربة الماء". فما هي إذن طبيعة الفاعل الذي لا يصح منه الفعل؟

نعتقد أن ما يقصده النحاة هنا هو التعبير عن قيد دلالي على الفواعل السطحية التي يمكنها أن تكون فواعل مشتقة لأفعال المطاوعة. فهذه الفواعل تكون في الأصل عبارة عن مفعولات قابلة للتأثر بالحدث، لكي تساهم في الوصول إلى الحالة الناتجة. لنأخذ على سبيل المثال المفعول به في (أ) تحته، فإنه قابل لأن يكون موضوعاً داخلياً، وليس خارجياً ويتضح من لحن (ب)، ذلك بناء على خصائصه الانتقائية المقولية والدلالية في المعجم.

أ- كسرت الريح الزجاج.

ب- * كسر الزجاج الريح.

وبناء على هذه الخصائص الانتقائية الدلالية المعجمية، فإن المفعول به في (ج) أسفله يصبح فاعلاً مشتقاً متأثراً أو مستقبلاً للحدث، حتى ولو أنه لا يصح من الفعل:

ج- انكسر الكأس.

ونجد أن قيد المقولية للتأثر هنا يتكلم عنه النحاة فيما يسمونه "بشرط الأفعال العلاجية". فأفعال المطاوعة بالنسبة لهم يجب أن تكون كلها أفعالاً علاجية: أي أن تعبر عن أحداث حقيقية تحدث أثراً في المفعول به، وليس أفعال حالات. فمن المعلوم أن الأفعال المعبرة عن الحالات لا تترك أثراً في المفعول به مثل فعل فهم مثلاً: " فهم زيدٌ الدرس". فالمفعول هنا لا يخضع لأي تأثير أو تغيير ملحوظ.

ورغم وجود هذا الشرط على أفعال المطاوعة، فإننا نجد صرفة المطاوعة تظهر في بعض أفعال الحالات وبخاصة الأفعال النفسية من قبيل *انتهج، اغتم، انبسط...* إلى غير ذلك، مما يجعلنا نتساءل لماذا لا تخضع هذه الأفعال المتضمنة لصرفة المطاوعة لشرط الأفعال العلاجية؟

1. المطاوعة والتركيب المقارن

تطرح الأفعال المطاوعة أو المضادات السببية عدة إشكاليات في اللغات الطبيعية. إذ تتحقق هذه الأفعال تركيبياً كما هو الحال في العربية (1ب) وفي الإنجليزية (2ب). كما يمكنها أن تتحقق بأشكال أخرى مختلفة:

1- أ. هَمَرَ زَيْدٌ الدَّمَعَ.

ب. هَمَرَ الدَّمَعَ.

2- أ. John melted the ice

ب. The ice melted.

لقد نالت أفعال المطاوعة رصيذاً هائلاً من الدراسات والتحليل في النحو التوليدي. باعتبارها أفعالاً مهمة تفتح الباب للكثير من الأسئلة المتعلقة بالبنية الدلالية المعجمية لهذه الأفعال، وكذلك خصائصها التركيبية والصرف-تركيبية. وتتساءل هذه التحاليل عموماً حول هذه الأفعال المطاوعة الموجودة في (1ب) و(2ب) هل هي مشتقة معجمياً من الأفعال المتعدية (1أ) و(2أ)؟ أي هل هناك نوع من تلميم الأفعال المتعدية؟ أو إن العكس هو الصحيح وإن الأفعال المتعدية في (1أ) و(2أ) هي المشتقة من الأفعال المطاوعة. وقد اختلفت التحاليل بهذا الشأن. فبينما ترى كريمشاو (1989) Grimshaw أن الأفعال المطاوعة مشتقة من الأفعال المتعدية في المعجم، اعتبر داوتي (1979) Dowty أن الأفعال المتعدية هي التي تشتق من الأفعال المطاوعة في المعجم. بينما تعتبر بعض التحاليل الأخرى أن الأفعال المطاوعة غير مشتقة من الأفعال المتعدية، ولا من الأفعال اللازمة، بل إنها تشتق من الجذر مباشرة باستقلال عن الفعل، وأن هناك علاقة اشتقاقية بين الاثنين (انظر أليكسيادو وآخرين (2006) Alexiadou & others و دورون (2003) Doron). وبالإضافة إلى هذا الإشكال المعجمي الذي تطرحه المطاوعة التركيبية حول الأصل المعجمي لهذه الأفعال، تطرح المطاوعة في لغات أخرى مختلفة عن الإنجليزية تحديات أخرى للنظرية اللسانية. إذ تتحقق الأفعال المطاوعة في اللغات اللاتينية وبعض اللغات الطبيعية الأخرى صرغياً، وليس تركيبياً. وإذا كانت العربية تمكن من تحقيق المطاوعة تركيبياً، فإنها تدخل أيضاً ضمن زمرة اللغات التي تتحقق فيها المطاوعة صرغياً.

- 3- أ. هَمَرَ زَيْدٌ الدَّمَعَ.
ب. هَمَرَ الدَّمَعُ.
ج. انهمَرَ الدَّمَعُ.

ويبدو انطلاقاً من (3)، إذا كانت المطاوعة تتحقق تركيبياً بواسطة الفعل "هَمَرَ" في (ب1)، فلماذا تتحقق صرفياً أيضاً بواسطة النون في (ج3)؟ هل يمكننا أن نعتبر هذا نوعاً من الحشو في قواعد النحو التي تشتق لنا ما يسمى بالمطاوعة؟ إذا كان الجواب بالنفي، يجب أن نوضح الاختلاف بين المطاوعة التركيبية والمطاوعة بالنون هل هو اختلاف دلالي أو صرف تركيبياً أو ماذا؟ وما هي علاقة المطاوعة الصرفية في (ج3) بالمطاوعة التركيبية في (ب1)؟

1.1. التحقق الصرفي للمطاوعة

من المعروف أيضاً أن اللغات التي تتحقق فيها المطاوعة صرفياً عن طريق ما يسمى "بالصرف غير النشطة" unactive morphology تكون فيها هذه الصرافة مبهممة (انظر أليكسيادو (2007) و (Alexiadou (2013). إذ يمكنها أن تدل في نفس الوقت على صرفة البناء للمجهول و صرفة الانعكاس، بالإضافة إلى صرفة المطاوعة. فلنأخذ الأمثلة التالية من الألبانية:

- 4- vazoja * (u) thye (كلولي (2006) Kalluli)
مفرد.3.ماضي.كسر صرافة.غ.نشيطه مزهرية
أ- انكسرت المزهرية.
ب- كُسِرَتِ المزهرية.

وإذا كانا تركيبياً المطاوعة والبناء للمجهول الاثنان يدلان على انعدام وجود الموضوع الخارجي (مارانتز (1984) Marantz)، فإن هذين التركيبين يتحققان بشكل مختلف في اللغات مثل الإنجليزية وكذلك العربية، بينما يتحققان بواسطة نفس الصرافة في لغات مثل اللاتينية، اليونانية المعاصرة والألبانية.

- 5- أ. انكسَرَ الكَأْسُ.
ب. كُسِرَ الكَأْسُ.
6- أ. The vase broke.
ب. The vase was broken.

يبدو أن صرفة البناء لغير الفاعل تتحقق بشكل مختلف عن صرفة المطاوعة في العربية. أما الدارجة المغربية، فإنها تنحى اللغات اللاتينية. إذ تعتبر صرفة المطاوعة متعددة الوظائف. فبالإضافة إلى أنها تعبر عن المطاوعة، فإنها تعبر أيضاً عن البناء للمجهول والبناء للوسيط، وكذلك الانعكاس والمشاركة كما يتبين في الأمثلة التالية:

- 7- الضو نَقَطَعَ.
أ. انقَطَعَ النَّيَّارُ الكَهْرَبَائِي.
ب. قَطَعَ النَّيَّارُ الكَهْرَبَائِي.
8- جَاحُ تَهْرَسَ دَعْيَا.
أ. انكسَرَ الرَّجَاحُ بسرعة.
ب. كُسِرَ الرَّجَاحُ بسرعة.
9- جَاحُ كَيْتَهْرَسَ دَعْيَا.

إن صرفة التاء في الجملتين (7) و(8) مبهممة ومتعددة الوظائف، فهي تعبر عن المطاوعة بالإضافة إلى البناء للمجهول. والصرافة نفسها في (9) تعبر عن البناء للوسيط مع صيغة المضارع الدالة على الزمن الحاضر والظرف.

وبينما تدل النون في العربية على المطاوعة لوحدها دون إبهام أو تداخل مع البناء للمجهول، فإن المطاوعة يمكنها أن تتحقق أيضا صرفيا عن طريق التاء التي تأتي أصلا للانعكاس في العربية.

2.1. تحقق المطاوعة عن طريق التاء

10- أ. مَنَّعَ زَيْدٌ نَفْسَهُ مِنَ السَّفَرِ.

ب. امْتَنَعَ زَيْدٌ عَنِ السَّفَرِ.

11- أ. جَمَدَ زَيْدٌ الْمَاءَ.

ب. تَجَمَّدَ الْمَاءُ.

12- أ. قَوَّسَ زَيْدٌ الْقَضِيبَ.

ب. تَقَوَّسَ الْقَضِيبُ.

13- أ. بَخَّرَ زَيْدٌ السَّائِلَ.

ب. تَبَخَّرَ السَّائِلُ.

إذا كانت المطاوعة تتحقق بالنون في (3ج)، فلماذا تتحقق أيضا عن طريق التاء في البنيات (ب11)، (ب12) و(ب13)؟ هل توجد هنالك قيود تركيبية أو صرف-صواتية يخضع لها توزيع النون والتاء في الأفعال المطاوعة؟ وهل يختلف الفعل المطاوع الذي يحمل صرفة النون عن الفعل المطاوع بالتاء من الناحية المعجمية الدلالية؟ ومن ثم لماذا تستلزم التاء الصيغة المعروفة بالصيغة II أي بصيغة يضعف فيها الصامت الثاني؟ لماذا لا يقتضي الفعل المطاوع هذه الصيغة حينما لا تحتل التاء الصدارة بالنسبة للفعل المطاوع؟

14- أ. التَّمَّ الْجُرْحُ.

ب. * اتَّلَّمَّ الْجُرْحُ.

رغم وجود تاء المطاوعة في (14أ) في صيغة /فتعل، فإنها لا توجب تكرار الصامت الثاني للفعل. كما هو الحال في صيغة /تفعل.

تفسر لنا بعض التحاليل الصرف-صواتية التناوب بين النون والتاء في أفعال المطاوعة انطلاقا من خصائص الصوامت المجاورة لصرفة المطاوعة. وتتعلق هذه التحاليل من تعميم النحاة حول انعدام إمكانية ظهور نون المطاوعة في سياق الحروف الرنيبية. وتستطيع هذه التحاليل تفسير التوزيع بين النون والتاء حسب السياق الصوتي الذي يمكن أن تظهر فيه كل منهما. كما أنها تمكن من حصر ظهور كل من النون والتاء، غير أن هذا التفسير الصوتي المحض يبقى محدودا أمام اختلاف المعطيات.

فهناك بعض المداخل المعجمية أو بعض الجذور الصامتية التي تمكننا من اشتقاق الصيغتين معا، /نفعل و/تفعل.

15- أ. هَدَّمَ زَيْدٌ الْبَيْتَ.

ب. انْهَدَّمَ الْبَيْتَ.

ج. تَهَدَّمَ الْبَيْتَ.

16- أ. قَطَعَ مُحَمَّدٌ الْحَبْلَ.

ب. انْقَطَعَ الْحَبْلُ.

ج. تَقَطَّعَ الْحَبْلُ.

17- أ. كَسَّرَتْ هِنْدُ الْكَأْسَ.

ب. انْكَسَرَ الْكَأْسُ.

ج. تَكَسَّرَ الْكَأْسُ.

رغم أن التحليل الصرف-صواتي يمكن من حصر اشتقاق صيغة انفعال في سياق الحروف الرنينية،¹ فإنه يبدو عاجزا عن تقييد اشتقاق صيغة تَفَعَّلَ في حالة غياب الحروف الرنينية. بل إن صرفة المطاوعة يمكنها أن تتحقق كنون أو تاء، إذا لم يكن الصامت الأول رنينياً. من الناحية الصرف-تركيبية يجب علينا أن نفسر لماذا تتحقق صرفة المطاوعة بكلتا الصورتين. وهل تعكس هاتان الصرفتان اختلافاً دلالياً أو تركيبياً ما؟ ويجب علينا أن نتساءل لماذا لا يمكن لبعض الجذور المعجمية أن تتحقق فيها الصيغتان معاً، رغم عدم تحقق الصامت الأول بوصفه حرفاً رنينياً؟ ويتضح في الأمثلة التالية:

- 18- أ. حَطَّمَ العَدُوَّ المَدِينَةَ.
 ب. تحطمتِ المدينةُ.
 ج. *انحطمتِ المدينةُ.
 19- أ. خَرَّبَ زَيْدٌ المَنْزَلَ.
 ب. تخربَ المنزلُ.
 ج. *انخرَبَ المنزلُ.
 20- أ. جَرَفَ السَّيْلُ التُّرْبَةَ.
 ب. انجرفتِ التُّرْبَةُ.
 ج. *تجرَّفتِ التُّرْبَةُ.
 21- أ. دَفَعَ زَيْدٌ السَّيَّارَةَ.
 ب. اندفعتِ السيارةُ.
 ج. *تدفعتِ السيارةُ.

إذا كانت المداخل المعجمية في (15)، (16)، (17) تؤكد إمكانية اشتقاق الصيغتين /انفعل و تَفَعَّلَ معاً في غياب وجود صامت رنيني من فئة الصوامت التي ترد في تعميم النحاة حول عدم إمكانية ظهور نون المطاوعة في سياق الرنينيات، فإن المعطيات الموجودة في (18)، (19)، (20)، (21) تبرز أن بعض الجذور الأخرى لا تنتج هذه الإمكانية، حتى في غياب تحقق الرنينيات على الصامت الأول. فبعض الأفعال التي تبتدئ بصامت حلقي من قبيل حطم، خرب لا تنتج تحقق صرفة المطاوعة إلا بالتاء، أما المداخل المعجمية الموجودة في (20) و (21) فإنها لا تنتج تحقق صرفة المطاوعة إلا بالنون.

لماذا إذن تنتج بعض الجذور إمكانية تحقق صرفة المطاوعة بالنون و بالتاء معاً، أما بعض الجذور الأخرى فلا يمكن أن تتحقق فيها صرفة المطاوعة إلا بواسطة النون فقط أو التاء فقط؟ هل يخضع هذا التوزيع لقواعد ما، مرتبطة بالطبيعة الدلالية للجذر مثلاً، أم أنه توزيع فراديّ *idiosyncratic* ؟
 وتعتبر بعض التحاليل أن اشتقاق صيغة /انفعل ناتج عن قلب مكاني للتاء انطلاقاً من صيغة /تفعل. لكن هذا التحليل الصوتي يبدو غير قادر على تفسير توزيع هذا القلب بين الصيغتين. فإذا كانت قاعدة القلب المكاني تنقل التاء من بداية الكلمة إلى ما بعد الصامت الأول في (22) و (23)، فإن هذه القاعدة تبدو عاجزة عن وصف استحالة القلب في (24)، (25).

- 22- ترطم ← انرَطَمَ
 23- ترفع ← ارتَفَعَ

يجب على قاعدة القلب المكاني أن تفسر لنا أولاً لماذا لا يقع القلب المكاني للتاء، حينما يكون الصامت الثاني مكرراً في مثل:

- 24- تقطع ← *اقتَطَعَ
 25- تكوّر ← *اكتَوَّرَ

¹ للمزيد من التفاصيل عن التحليل الصرف - صوتي لصيغة /انفعل يُنظر مقال كريم الله كبور (2017).

ويجب على قاعدة القلب المكاني هذه أن تفسر لنا إذا كانت المداخل التي تقبل القلب المكاني للتاء يمكنها أن تظهر في المداخل التي يكون فيها الصامت الثاني مضعفاً. لماذا لم تطبق هذه القاعدة في بعض الحالات التي تظهر فيها التاء مع الصيغة I والصيغة II في نفس الوقت؟² كما هو الحال في المثالين التاليين:

- 26- أ. اخْتَمَرَ العِنْبُ.
ب. تَخَمَّرَ العِنْبُ.

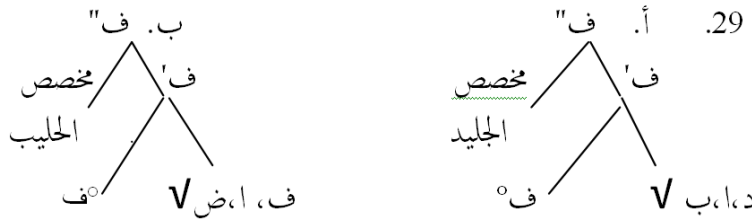
إن السؤال المطروح هنا هو هل تطبق قاعدة القلب المكاني انطلاقاً من الصيغة العادية بدون تضعيف أو من الصيغة II، أي التي يكون فيها الصامت مضعفاً؟ في هذه الحالة يجب أيضاً على القواعد الصرف-صواتية أن تفسر لنا لماذا ينمحي الصامت الثاني. أو يجب اعتبار الفعلين المطاوعين في (26 أ) و (26 ب) مدخلين منفصلين، وليست بينهما أية علاقة اشتقاقية؟

2. البنيات التركيبية لأفعال المطاوعة

لقد سبقنا الإشارة من قبل إلى أن أغلبية التحاليل التي تناولت ظاهرة المطاوعة تفترض أن هنالك علاقة اشتقاقية بين الفعل المتعدي والمطاوع. فإما أن تكون هذه العلاقة من الفعل المتعدي إلى الفعل المطاوع، أو أن تكون من الفعل المطاوع إلى الفعل المتعدي، وفي هذه الحالة يجب أن نفسر إختفاء صرفة المطاوعة. سنفترض هنا أنه ليست هناك أية علاقة اشتقاقية بين الفعل المطاوع والفعل المتعدي. بحيث أن الفعل المطاوع يولد انطلاقاً من المعجم. ويأخذ مكانه في التركيب، حسب الطبيعة الصرف-تركيبية لهذا الفعل. فإذا كانت المطاوعة تركيبية كما هو الحال في (27)، (28) تكون بنيتها التركيبية خالية من مقولة البناء.

- 27- ذابَ الجليدُ.
28- فاضَ الحليبُ.

بما أن الفعل هنا لا يحمل صرفة المطاوعة، سنفترض أنه يولد في البنية التركيبية التالية:

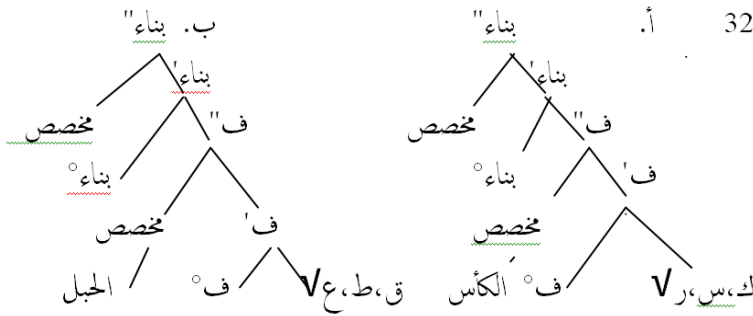


أما الأفعال التي تحمل صرفة المطاوعة مثل تلك الموجودة في (30) و (31)، فإنها تولد في بنيات تركيبية كتلك الممثلة في (32) و (32ب).

30. أ. انكسر الكأسُ.
ب. تكسر الكأسُ.
31. أ. انقطع الحبلُ.
ب. تقطع الحبلُ.

² فيما يخص هذه الصيغة انظر هنري فليش (1961) . Fleisch

تولد الأفعال المطاوعة التي تحمل صرفة المطاوعة بوصفها جذورا في المعجم. ثم تأخذ مكانها في التركيب داخل بنية تركيبية يعلوها إسقاط البناء Voice.



تعتبر أغلبية التحاليل التي تناولت المطاوعة أن أفعال المطاوعة تشبه بشكل كبير الأفعال المبنيّة للمجهول باعتبار أن صرفتيهما تتقاسمان نفس الإسقاط، وهو إسقاط البناء. لذلك يرى الفاسي الفهري (1999) أن الفعل المبني للمجهول والفعل المطاوع لا يختلفان، إلا في قابلية فاعل المطاوعة لسمة [+أثر]. بينما تعتبر بعض الأبحاث وخاصة تلك التي تناولت معطيات من اللغات التي تُوظف فيها صرفة واحدة للتعبير عن البناء للمجهول والمطاوعة في نفس الوقت مثل كلّولي (2006) Kalluli (2006) وكذلك أليكسيادو (2010) أن المطاوعة والبناء للمجهول يشتركان معا في وجود أو غياب المنفذ. وتوضح الأمثلة التالية المأخوذة من أليكسيادو (2010) ذلك في اليونانية المعاصرة:

33. متعدٍ أو (جعلي):

أ. O Janis katestrepse to hirografo.
منصوب-مخطوط-أل معلوم-حطم مرفوع جون-أل
(حطم جون المخطوط).

مطاوع:

ب. to hirografo katastrafike me ti dinati fotia.
نار قوية-أل ب غير معلوم-حطم مرفوع مخطوط-أل
(حُطِمَ الكتابُ بالنار القوية).

مبني للمجهول:

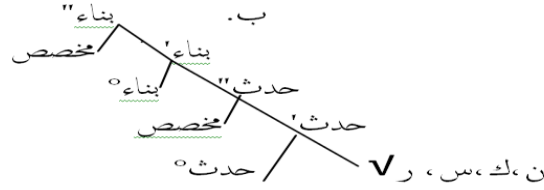
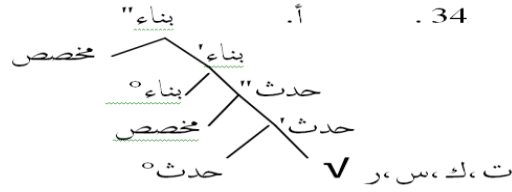
ج. to hirografo katastrafike apo to Juan.
جون-أل من غير معلوم-حطم مخطوط-أل
(حُطِمَ الكتابُ من طَرْفِ زيد).

ويتضح في (33)، فإن صرفة غير المعلوم تدل على المطاوعة في (33 ب) كما تدل في نفس الوقت على البناء للمجهول في (33 ج) مع الأداة الحرفية *apo*.

ورغم هذا الإبهام الذي تطرحه صرفة البناء لغير المعلوم في عدد من اللغات وبخاصة في الإغريقية المعاصرة واللاتينية والألبانية، فإن هناك مجموعة من المعطيات التي تجعلنا لا نقبل بفكرة التشابه بين صرفة البناء للمجهول و صرفة المطاوعة. وذلك لاعتبارات عدة وأولها هو أن الطبيعة الصوتية التي تتألف منها صرفة المطاوعة في العربية تختلف عن الطبيعة الصوتية التي تتألف منها صرافة البناء للمجهول. فإذا كانت صرافة البناء للمجهول تتألف أساسا من المصوتات التي تتشكل منها عادة الصرافة الوظيفية للحالة الإعرابية أو الإعراب البنوي بشكل خاص، وهذه الحالات هي النصب الذي يتحقق بواسطة الصائت /a/ والرفع الذي يتحقق بواسطة الصائت /u/ ثم الجر الذي يتحقق بواسطة الصائت /i/، فإن صرفة المطاوعة تتشكل أساسا من الصوامت. مما يجعلها فئة متجانسة مع الجذور التي تتكون

من الصوامت في اللغة العربية، وفي اللغات السامية بشكل عام. ذلك أن صرفة المطاوعة هذه تتألف من الصوامت إما /ن/ أو /ت/. لذلك نعتبر أن صرافة المطاوعة تختلف عن صرافة البناء لغير الفاعل. فإذا كانت صرافة البناء لغير الفاعل تتحقق بواسطة الصوائت على صيغة الفعل المبني للمجهول وهي [u,i] الضمة والكسرة، فإنها صرافة لا تولد مع الجذر الصامت للفعل المطاوع.

نفترض تبعا لهذا أن المطاوعة الصرفية تولد في البنية (34). ففي هذه البنية الشجرية تولد صيغتنا المطاوعة مع الجذر الصامت للفعل المطاوع. أما صيغة البناء فتولد باستقلال عن الجذر، وتمحص صرفيا في رأس مقولة البناء. وتبعا لهذا نعتبر أن صيغتي المطاوعة لفعل كسر وهما صيغتنا/تكسر وتكسر تولدان في البنيتين التاليتين:



1.2. الطبيعة المعجمية لصفة المطاوعة

كون صرفة المطاوعة تولد مع الجذر ليس بفكرة جديدة. فقد اقترحت دورون (2003) فكرة توليد حرف المطاوعة في العبرية مع الجذر. و يبدو هنا الاختلاف بين صرفة المطاوعة و صرفة البناء للمجهول اختلافاً جذريا في اللغات السامية، وفي العربية بالخصوص. ومن بين الحجج التي يمكن تقديمها للتمييز بين الصرفتين في العربية هي كون صرفة المطاوعة تخضع مع بقية الجذور الأخرى المكونة للفعل المطاوع إلى الاشتقاق، بينما لا تخضع صرافة البناء للمجهول إلى الاشتقاق كما توضح ذلك المعطيات التالية:

35-أ. تَحَطَمَتِ الْمَدِينَةُ.

ب. تَحَطَّمُ الْمَدِينَةُ مُرْعَبٌ.

36-أ. انْجَرَفَتِ التُّرْبَةُ.

ب. انْجَرَأَفُ التُّرْبَةِ مُخِيفٌ.

ونلاحظ، فإن اشتقاق الاسم في (35ب) و (36ب)، قد حافظ على صرفة المطاوعة، بينما لا تصمد صرفة البناء للمجهول للاشتقاق المقولي كما هو الحال في (37):

37-أ. حُطِمَتِ الْمَدِينَةُ.

ب. (*تَحَطَّم) الْمَدِينَةُ.

38-أ. جُرِفَتِ التُّرْبَةُ.

ب. (*انْجَرَأَفُ) التُّرْبَةِ.

3. المطاوعة المعجمية

لقد رصدنا عدة خاصيات لصفة المطاوعة، إذ إن وجود هذه الصرفة مع الجذر الصامت يمنع بشكل نهائي تحقق صرفة البناء للمجهول على البنية الصرف-تركيبية للفعل المطاوع. فصفة المطاوعة تغلق البنية الصرف-تركيبية للفعل أمام صرفة البناء للمجهول. حيث لا يمكنه أن يتلاءم مع صيغته:

- 42- أ. نَفَخَ زَيْدٌ الْعَجَلَةَ.
ب. انْتَفَخَتِ الْعَجَلَةُ.
ج. نُفِخَتِ الْعَجَلَةُ.
د. (*انْتَفَخَتِ) الْعَجَلَةُ.

بينما يحمل الفعل البسيط المبني للمعلوم صرفة المطاوعة في (42ب). ويحمل الفعل في (42ج) صرفة البناء للمجهول. و لا يمكن للجذر الفعلي الذي يحمل صرفة المطاوعة الدخول في صيغة البناء للمجهول في (42د). وتؤكد معطيات أخرى هذه الخلاصة. فإذا أخذنا الأفعال المعبرة عن المطاوعة المعجمية، التي لا تتحقق فيها صرفة المطاوعة، فإن هذه الأفعال، على عكس المطاوعة الصرفية، يمكنها أن تخضع لصيغة البناء للمجهول. كما أن بعضها يتقبل صرفة السببية. لناخذ بعض الأفعال الدالة معجميا على المطاوعة مثل ذَابَ، جَمَدَ، فَاضَ. هذه الأفعال تقبل الدخول في صيغة البناء للمجهول، كما تقبل أيضا التعدية عن طريق صرفة الجعلية.

- 43- أ. ذَابَ الْجَلِيدُ.
ب. ذُوبَ زَيْدٌ الْجَلِيدُ.
ج. ذُوبَ الْجَلِيدُ.
44- أ. جَمَدَ الْمَاءُ.
ب. جَمَدَ زَيْدٌ الْمَاءُ.⁵
ج. جُمِدَ الْمَاءُ.
45- أ. فَاضَ الْحَلِيبُ.
ب. فَيَّضَ زَيْدٌ الْحَلِيبُ.
ج. فُيِّضَ الْحَلِيبُ.

نفترض أن الجعلية الصرفية عن طريق التضعيف تتم في المعجم في (43 ب)، (44 ب) و(45 ب) (انظر هورفات وسيلوني (2011) Horvath & Siloni حول الجعلية الصرفية و التركيبية). بناء على هذا فإن الفعل المطاوع معجميا يكون مفتوحا على عمليات صرفية أخرى مثل الجعلية الصرفية على مستوى المعجم، وكذلك صرفة البناء للمجهول.

4. الاختلاف المورفو دلالي بين المطاوعة بالنون و المطاوعة بالتاء.

عادة إما أن تكون المطاوعة تركيبية في لغة ما، كما هو الحال في الإنجليزية في (46) أسفله، وإما أن تكون صرفية كما هو الشأن في اللغات التي تتحقق فيها المطاوعة عن طريق الوحدات الصرفية التي تظهر على الفعل كما يتبين في اللغة النرويجية في المثال (47ب) وفي الفرنسية في (48ب):⁶

⁵ يجب أن نتساءل لماذا تقبل بعض الأفعال المطاوعة معجميا مثل "جمد" المطاوعة بالتاء. بينما لا تقبل الأفعال الأخرى المطاوعة معجميا مثل "ذاب"، "فاض"، "جف" الدخول في المطاوعة الصرفية بالتاء.

⁶ يشير الاختزال مطا هنا إلى صرفة المطاوعة.

46. The ice melted.
ذاب. ماضي جليد أَل
(ذاب الجليد.)
47. أ. Peter åpnet vinduet
أل-نافذة فتح. ماضي بيتر
(فتح بيتر النافذة.)
ب. Vinduet åpnet seg.
مطا فتح. ماضي أل-نافذة
(انفتحت النافذة.)
48. Jean a cassé la branche.
غصن أَل كسر. ماضي جون
(كسر جون الغصن.) ب.
La branche s'est cassée.
كسر. ماضي مطا غصن أَل
(تكسر الغصن.)

يظهر عبر استقراء الأمثلة الواردة في (46) و(47) و(48) أن اللغات الطبيعية التي تتوفر على المطاوعة التركيبية تفتقر إلى المطاوعة الصرفية، وأن اللغات التي تحقق المطاوعة صرفيا لا تتوفر على المطاوعة التركيبية، بما أن اللغتين النرويجية والفرنسية لا تمتلكان استراتيجيات التحقق التركيبي للمطاوعة، إذ تبدو اللغة العربية متفردة، لكونها تحقق المطاوعة الصرفية إلى جانب المطاوعة التركيبية في نفس الوقت، ورأينا سابقا في التراكيب (أ1) و (ب1). بالإضافة إلى هذا المعطى المتميز، رأينا أن المطاوعة الصرفية نفسها في العربية تتحقق بصرفتين مختلفتين، تارة بالنون و تارة بالتاء. مما يدفعنا للتساؤل عن هذا المعطى: لماذا تتحقق المطاوعة تارة بالنون و تارة أخرى بالتاء؟ هل هذا نوع من التكرار والحشو في قواعد الاشتقاق الصرف تركيبي للمطاوعة أم إن هنالك قيودا منتظمة تجعل صرفة المطاوعة تتحقق تارة بالنون و تارة بالتاء؟

يتكلم النحاة القدامى عن صيغة/تفعل على أنها صيغة المطاوعة الخالصة. ولكنهم يتكلمون فيما بعد عن صيغتي *تفعل* و *افتعل* أي على التاء بوصفه حرفا للمطاوعة، دون أن يبرزوا الاختلاف بين كلتا الصيغتين. والأمثلة التي يوردونها لا تتعدى أن تكون أمثلة لتجسيد المطاوعة تارة بالنون و تارة بالتاء.

1.4. الاختلاف الجهي لكل من *انفعل* و *تفعل*

إن أهم سؤال يجب طرحه لرصد الاختلاف بين المطاوعة بالنون و المطاوعة بالتاء هو: هل يوجد اختلاف دلالي بين الصيغتين؟
لنأخذ كلا من صيغتي *انفعل* و *تفعل* لفعل "قطع" في الجملتين التاليتين:

- 49 أ- انقطع الحبل.
ب- تقطع الحبل.

رغم أن الفعلين في جملتي (49) يدلان على المطاوعة، فإن البنية الصرف-تركيبية لكل منهما تختلف عن الأخرى، وخاصة من الناحية المقطعية. وذلك لأنه قد تم تضعيف الصامت الثاني في الصيغة (49ب) وليس في صيغة (49أ). عموما فإن تضعيف الصامت الثاني في الصيغ الفعلية في العربية يمكنه أن يدل على الجعلية أو تعدية الفعل عن طريق الجعلية. ويمكنه أن يدل كذلك على التكرارية في الحدث.⁷

⁷ تبدو التكرارية في الأفعال اللازمة مثل: "جال زيد" و "جول زيد" التي تعني أنه جال عدة مرات (أنظر الفاسي الفهري (1987) (Fassi Fehri).

و تحلل تريفيز (2000) Travis التضعيف في الفعل على أساس أنه نوع من تقوية الحدث، إذ من المعلوم أنه من الناحية الجهية تتطلب الأحداث المتكررة زمنا داخليا أطول من الأحداث غير المتكررة. وقد حاولت هذه الباحثة أن ترصد هذه الخاصية في مجموعة من اللغات، إذ اعتبرت أن التضعيف في الأفعال يتحقق كرأس تكراري يكون له معنى الكمية. وبموجب هذه الملاحظة، وضعت التعميم التالي:

- **يكون التضعيف في أغلب الحالات رأسا تكراريا غير مخصص، ويكون له نوعا ما معنى الكمية.**
تبدو إذن ملاحظة ربط التكرارية بتقوية الحدث واستغراقه لزمان داخلي أو جهي أطول ملاحظة ملائمة بالنسبة للاختلاف الملاحظ بين الصيغتين الصرف-تركيبيتين للمطاوعة (أ49) و (ب49).
فالمطاوعة في (ب49) تركز على سيرورة داخلية للحدث، بينما تركز صيغة *انفعل* في (أ49) على نهاية الحدث أو الحالة الناتجة. وتؤكد المعطيات اللغوية التالية هذا الاختلاف الدلالي المتعلق بالطبيعة الجهية لكل من الصيغتين:⁸

50 أ- انقطع التيار الكهربائي.
ب* - تقطع التيار الكهربائي.

رغم أن الجذر "ق، ط، ع" الفعلي/تقطع له إمكانية التحقق مع النون أو مع التاء، فإن (ب50) تبرز أن هذه الإمكانية تكون منعدمة، إذا كان الفاعل يتطلب التحقق اللحظي أو المفاجئ للفعل.
ويمكن ملاحظة العكس مع التاء بوصفها صرفة للمطاوعة، كما يبين ذلك التعارض الحاصل في نحوية الجملتين التاليتين:

51 أ- تقطع الحذاء.
ب* - انقطع الحذاء.

فالحالة الناتجة للمحمول في (51) تتطلب زمنا داخليا طويلا ومتكررا. فلكي يصل الفاعل إلى هذه الحالة الناتجة، يجب أن يمضي زمن داخلي معين.
عموما يمكننا أن نتصور الفعل بأنه عبارة عن حدث كبير يتكون من أحداث صغرى. هذه الأحداث تستهلك في الزمن وتتشكل الزمن الداخلي للفعل. وتصنف رامشاند (1997) Ramchand الأفعال إلى ثلاث طبقات:
أ- الأفعال التي تعبر عن التغيير موزعا في الزمن، و تكون التغييرات التي تدل عليها هذه الأفعال متدرجة في الزمن مثل فعل *حطب*.

ب- أفعال الإتمامات التي تعبر عن التغيير المفاجئ مثل فعل *انفجر*.
ج- الأفعال التي لها بنية زمنية داخلية غير محددة، ولا تعبر عن التغيير. وهذه الأفعال تكون حالات مثل *حسب*.
إذا أخذنا بعين الاعتبار تصنيف رامشاند هذا للأفعال، يمكننا أن نقسم صرفتي المطاوعة إلى صنفين:
الصنف الأول، ويتجسد في التاء التي تظهر مع الأفعال (أ) في تصنيف رامشاند: أي الأفعال التي تعبر عن التغيير موزعا في الزمن. حيث يكون هذا التغيير متدرجا في الزمن.

الصنف الثاني، ويتمثل في النون التي تميل إلى الظهور مع أفعال الإتمامات التي تعبر عن التغيير المفاجئ. وتؤكد الجمل التي تظهر فيها أفعال المطاوعة مع الظروف الدالة على الزمان تحليلنا هذا. إذ إن أفعال المطاوعة بالتاء تكون لاحنة، إذا اقترنت بالظروف الدالة على التغيير المفاجئ، كما هو الحال مع فعل *اختمر* في (52) و *التأم* في (53):

52 أ- اختمر العنب في عدة أسابيع. (*فجأة)

ب- اختمر الخبز في ساعتين. (*فجأة)

53- التأم الجرح في عدة أيام. (*في رمشة عين).

تظهر أفعال المطاوعة بالتاء في (52) و (53) أن هذه الأفعال تتطلب تغييرا موزعا في الزمن. لذلك فهي تتنافى مع الظروف الدالة على التحول المفاجئ. وعكس هذا، فإن أفعال المطاوعة التي تظهر فيها النون لا تقبل الظروف الدالة

⁸ تدل النجمة في (ب50) وبشكل عام كما هو متعارف عليه في نظرية النحو التوليدي على لحن وعدم نحوية الجملة.

على التدرج في الزمن، بل تتلاءم فقط مع الظروف الدالة على التغيير المفاجئ. وتبرز المتوالية التالية مع المطاوعة بالنون هذا الوضع:

54- انفجرت القنبلة بغتة/ في لحظة (*في عدة أيام)

عموماً، فإن تحليلنا هذا لتناوب النون و التاء في أفعال المطاوعة يؤكد على أن المطاوعة بالتاء تميل غالباً إلى الظهور مع الأفعال الدالة على التدرج الزمني في تحقق الحدث، بينما تميل أفعال المطاوعة بالنون إلى التعبير عن الأفعال التي تركز على نقطة نهاية الحدث، أو الدالة على التحول المفاجئ.

5. خلاصة

لقد أبرزنا في هذه الورقة بعض خصائص أفعال المطاوعة في اللغة العربية. ورأينا أن المطاوعة تتحقق في العربية بأشكال مختلفة. إذ يمكنها أن تتحقق تركيبياً كما هو الحال في الإنجليزية، ويمكنها أن تتحقق صرفياً. ولاحظنا أن المطاوعة الصرفية في العربية يمكنها أن تتجسد على الفعل عن طريق النون ويمكنها أن تتجسد عن طريق التاء أيضاً. وقد بلورنا تحليلاً يميز تمثيلاً بين بنيات المطاوعة التركيبية وبنيات المطاوعة الصرفية التي تتميز باشتغالها على إسقاط البناء و أكدنا وجود هذين التمثيلين على المستوى الإمبيريقى. إذ لاحظنا أن صرفة المطاوعة تغلق البنية الصرفية للفعل أمام صرفة البناء للمجهول. بينما تتمكن أفعال المطاوعة المعجمية التي لا تحمل صرفة المطاوعة من تحقيق صرفة البناء للمجهول. من جهة أخرى بينا أن التناوب الحاصل بين النون والتاء لا يرتبط دائماً بالخصائص الصوتية والصرفية للفعل المطاوع، وأنه لا يشكل خاصية فرادية أو عشوائية تميز المطاوعة الصرفية في العربية. بل يخضع للخصائص الدلالية-الجهية للجزر.

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GRAMMATICALIZATION AND PROCESSING EFFICIENCY IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC: THE CASE OF THE ANALYTIC EXPRESSION OF ACTIVE AND PASSIVE VOICE

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Abstract. In this paper I present the results of a corpus-based study of the use of the constructions *tamma S* [Predicate + Undergoer] (so called periphrastic passive) and *qāma S* [Actor] *bi-O* [Predicate + Undergoer] (no term currently) in classical and modern Arabic texts. By means of a qualitative analysis of the intra-clausal contexts of use of the two verbs in the corpora I was able to distinguish the cases of their use as auxiliaries from the cases of their use as lexical verbs, and demonstrate the process of auxiliation of the verbs and grammaticalization of the respective constructions as analytic equivalents of the synthetic constructions expressing the active and the passive variant of a transitive clause: V_{PassV} [Pred] S [UG] and V_{ActV} [Pred] S [Act] O [UG]. A quantitative analysis, based on the results of the qualitative analysis, shows that the two verbs are used in the corpora of modern texts more often as auxiliaries than as lexical verbs, not only in the newspaper corpora, but also in the corpora of fictional and non-fictional prose. A comparative analysis in terms of the Performance–Grammar Correspondence Hypothesis of Hawkins (2004) provides for the conclusion that the analytic constructions have evolved and spread due to their lower level of complexity and higher level of processing efficiency.

Keywords: Arabic, passive, active, periphrastic, grammaticalization, efficiency, complexity.

1. Introduction

In Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) the following syntactic constructions are usually considered interchangeable:

Active	V_{ActV} [Pred] S [Act] O [UG] افتتحت وزيرة الثقافة معرضاً فنياً.	<i>qāma S</i> [Act] <i>bi-O</i> [Pred+UG] قامت وزيرة الثقافة بافتتاح معرض فني.
	<i>The Minister of culture opened an art exhibition.</i>	
Passive	V_{PassV} [Pred] S [UG] أُفتُحَ معرضٌ فني.	<i>tamma S</i> [Pred+UG] تم افتتاح معرض فني.
	<i>An art exhibition was opened.</i>	

The members of each pair have identical semantic structures¹:

¹ In the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008) the grammar has 4 levels of organization, each one characterized by specific entities and functions: interpersonal

- (a) Active constructions: Predicate + Actor + Undergoer;
 (b) Passive constructions: Predicate + Undergoer.

The two semantic structures (a) and (b) are based on the same type of predicate frame, consisting of a dynamic transformational predicate and its two (or three) arguments – Actor, Undergoer, (and Locative). In (b), however, the Actor is left implicit. Thus the (b) constructions are the passive variants of the (a) constructions.

The syntactic differences between the members of each pair consist in the formal representation of the Predicate, the grammatical operators Tense and Voice, and the Undergoer. In (a1) and (b1) the Predicate and the operators are represented by means of a finite verb form, the UG by means of a noun phrase in the Accusative. In (a2) and (b2) the Predicate is represented by means of a verbal noun, Tense and Voice by means of the verbs *qāma* and *tamma*, the UG by means of a NP in the Genitive. The VN and the NP form one syntactic phrase – *status constructus* (*iḍāfa*).

Thus, users of MSA avail of two syntactic variants of an active clause and two syntactic variants of a passive clause based on the predicate frame Pred-Act-UG-(Loc). In this paper I will present the results of a corpus-based study, corroborating the hypotheses, first, that the analytic constructions are a case of grammaticalization, and second, that the higher level of processing efficiency of the latter is an important factor for their grammaticalization.

2. Previous analyses of *tamma* + verbal noun and *qāma*+ verbal noun

The use of the two verbs as auxiliaries has not yet attracted serious attention. The combination *tamma* + verbal noun is mentioned in some newer grammatical descriptions of Modern Arabic as a periphrastic version of the so-called *inner passive* (Holes 2004: 317-319, El-Ayoubi, Fischer and Langer 2010, v. 2: 32-33, Badawi, Carter and Gully 2016: 486). I found two papers only that discuss the periphrastic passive as a case of grammaticalization (Larcher & Girod 1990; Esseesy 2006). Interestingly, the different authors seem to make contradictory statements about the conditions of development and use of the construction in MSA. While Holes maintains that *tamma* + verbal noun “is used

(pragmatic), representational (semantic), morphosyntactic, and phonological. The interpersonal level is characterized by the functions Topic and Focus, the representational by the functions Predicate, Argument, Modifier, Operator, and the morphosyntactic by the functions Subject and Object. In a nominative/accusative grammar system, such as the Arabic grammar, Subj (Nom) is typically assigned to the only argument (Act/UG) in one-argument predicate frames, and to Act in two/three-argument predicate frames. Obj (Acc) is assigned to UG in two/three-argument frames. Some N/A grammars avail of the possibility of assigning Subj to UG (possibly also Loc), in cases in which Act is unknown/irrelevant, or in cases in which Act is Foc, whereas UG is Top.

Active clause:	Top-Act-Subj	Foc-UG-Obj
	Top-UG-Obj	Foc-Act-Subj
Passive clause:	Top-UG-Subj	0
	0	Foc-UG-Subj
	Top-UG-Subj	Foc-Act

instead of an internally vowelled passive to report the completion of durative or iterative processes (rather than for the description of punctual events, cognitive activities and emotional states)” (2004: 317), Badawi, Carter and Gully state that “(t)he preference for *tamma* + verbal noun over the formal passive depends on the nature of the event, the tendency now being to use the passive if the punctual nature of the event is dominant.” (2015: 486).

While Badawi, Carter and Gully are convinced that “although vowelling is rarely indicated in MWA, the passive is used without restraint or difficulty, usually being easy to recover either from the context or various morphological and syntactical clues” (2015: 433), Larcher and Girod (1990) suggest that the grammaticalization of *tamma* + verbal noun is motivated by the homography between the active and the passive forms of many verbs, a phenomenon which hinders the accurate processing of the utterance by the reader.

The contradictory opinions and statements can be explained by the fact that they are not based on a thorough investigation of voluminous text corpora, which provide for combining quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. Larcher and Girod (1990), however, make up for this disadvantage by grounding their hypothesis theoretically on principles of grammaticalization and stating explicitly that it needs further investigation (1990: 149). Unfortunately, I could not find information confirming the realization of such an investigation.

In the Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (2006-2009) the periphrastic constructions with *tamma* and *qāma bi-* find place only in the article on grammaticalization (Esseesy 2007: 195-6). In this article Esseesy treats the two constructions as new analytic ways of expressing passive and active voice, “equivalent to or substitutable by the older synthetic” ones. For him, the use of the two analytic constructions parallel to the synthetic ones in MSA is an illustration of the principle of layering. The apparent contradiction between the fact that the analytic constructions are newer than the synthetic ones and the principle that grammaticalization proceeds always from analyticity to syntheticity can be explained, according to Esseesy, by assuming that the two analytic constructions are in an earlier state of grammaticalization than the synthetic ones. This explanation presupposes that the analytic constructions are not genetically related to the synthetic ones, i.e., the former are not a stage in a process of grammaticalization of the latter. The question that has still to be answered is why have the analytic constructions evolved in a language variant that avails of a fully functional synthetic constructions expressing the same grammatical meaning?

In trying to answer this question, I proceeded in my investigation from a hypothesis close to the ideas found in Larcher and Girod (1990) and Esseesy (2007). It says that the constructions *tamma* S [Pred+UG] and *qāma* S *bi*-O [Pred+UG] are the result of an auxiliation and grammaticalization process, motivated by features of the written versions of the synthetic constructions that impede processing.

3. Auxiliation of *tamma* and *qāma bi-*.

The verbs *tamma* and *qāma* have been and are still being used as lexical verbs. In order to study the factors responsible for their auxiliation and the grammaticalization of the respective constructions, we have to be able to clearly distinguish between the lexical and the grammatical uses of the verbs. Since, to my knowledge, there are no corpus-based

investigations, which clarify this problem, I conducted such an investigation, using the corpora of medieval and modern Arabic texts, available on arabicorpys.byu.edu, as well as the processing tools on this site.

Theoretically the investigation is based on the main principles of grammaticalization as a research framework, as presented in Hopper and Traugott (2003). I will demonstrate that the auxiliation of *tamma* and *qāma* has come about through a reanalysis of the syntactic context, in which the two verbs were used as lexical verbs. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 51) cite the definition of Harris and Campbell, according to which "...reanalysis involves a change in constituency, hierarchical structure, category labels, grammatical relations, and cohesion (type of boundary)".

One of the important conditions for a reanalysis to happen is that "there was at least the potential for ambiguity (also called "opacity") that allowed for the structure to continue to be analyzed as before, and for a new analysis to be innovated, and then to coexist with the earlier analysis." (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 52).

A language form is ambiguous in a context of use, if hearers/readers identify more than one meaning for the form in this context. There are two types of ambiguity. Semantic ambiguity refers to cases in which a polysemous form is used in contexts in which it is difficult to establish which one of the meanings is meant by the producer. Pragmatic ambiguity refers to cases in which a monosemous form is used in contexts which give rise to conversational implicatures. (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 80-81).

In order to discriminate between cases of semantic and pragmatic ambiguity, we have to be able to identify polysemy. Polysemy develops on the basis of monosemy. Each polysemous form has one basic and one or more acquired meanings. The basic meaning is typically concrete and specific. New meanings come into being through the conventionalization of contextual inferences. The contexts that have been the source of such inferences become regular contextual correlates of the conventionalized meanings. This means that the meanings find manifestation in these specific contexts only and cannot be cancelled. The conversational implicatures, on the other hand, are cancelable inferences².

In addition to the ambiguity of individual language forms we can also encounter structural ambiguity in discourse. This is the case when an utterance is liable to more than one analysis of its morphosyntactic organization.

In the current paragraph I will demonstrate that (a) *tamma* and *qāma* are polysemous in MSA; (b) the most concrete and specific meaning of each of the verbs is older than its more abstract and general meanings; (c) the newer, more general meanings, have become the basis for the starting point of auxiliation; (d) the auxiliation was part of a process of reanalysis of the syntactic structure, characteristic for the basic meanings of the verbs; (e) the reanalysis has happened in structurally ambiguous contexts.

² Cancelability is tested by means of negation: if the meaning, inferred in a given case of use of the form, can be negated in a subsequent clause/sentence without this causing contradiction, the inference is cancelable.

3.1. Auxiliation of *tamma*

Tables 1-3 contain the results of the search for tokens of *tamma* in the subcorpora of ArabiCorpus³.

Corpus \ Tokens	Hadith Literature	Adab Literature	1001 Nights	Quran	Philosophy & Science	Premodern All
Total	279	264	77	12	538	1339
Per 100000w	7,7	12,73	13,8	14,2	34,12	14,67

Table 1. Use of *tamma* in the corpora of premodern texts

Corpus \ Tokens	Modern Literature	Islamic Discourse	Other Non-fiction	Newspapers
Total	386	11 386	324	225 751
Per 100000w	37,62	41,61	55,91	166, 78

Table 2. Use of *tamma* in the corpora of modern texts

Corpus \ Tokens	الحياة (لندن) 1997	التجديد (المغرب) 2002	الغد (الأردن) 2010	الوطن (الكويت) 2002	الأهرام (مصر) 1999	المصري اليوم (مصر) 2010
Total	19 645	4 504	31 931	13 475	35 102	36 458
Per 100000	100,88	154,26	162, 68	208, 77	220,88	262,65

Table 3. Use of *tamma* in the different newspapers

The results can be summarized as follows:

- Tamma* is used in the modern texts with higher frequency than in the premodern texts.
- From all types of premodern texts *tamma* is used with highest frequency in the Philosophy and Science texts.
- From all types of modern texts *tamma* is used with highest frequency in the newspapers.

³ The search results are not 100% precise. They include homographs of some forms of *tamma*:

يَتَمُّ – يَتَمُّ، تَتَمُّ – تَتَمُّ، (لم) تَمَّتْ

Despite this the results give us a good orientation about the quantitative differences between the corpora.

- (d) From all the newspapers *tamma* is used with highest frequency in the two Egyptian newspapers.

On the basis of the counts of all tokens of *tamma* I decided to choose part of the corpora for a qualitative analysis. From the corpora of premodern texts I chose *Adab Literature* and *Medieval Philosophy/Science*, because they differ in topic and genre, in historical period (the 8th – 9th centuries for the *Adab* texts, the 10th – 14th centuries for the *Science* and *Philosophy* texts), and in the frequency of use of *tamma*. From the corpora of modern texts I chose *Modern Literature*, *Other non-fiction*, and two newspapers – the Egyptian *al-Maṣrī l-yawm* and the Moroccan *at-Tağdīd*. These two newspapers show a substantial difference between the frequencies of use of *tamma*. The analysis covers all the cases of use of *tamma* in the smaller corpora – *Adab Literature*, *Medieval Philosophy/Science*, *Modern Literature*, and *Other Non-fiction*⁴, and the first 1000 cases of use in each of the two newspaper corpora.

As a result of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic analysis of the contexts in which the tokens of *tamma* are used, I was able to isolate three general meanings of the verb, two lexical and one grammatical. Each meaning manifests itself in a specific intra-clausal context. The three contexts have identical syntactic structures: a phrase, denoting a state of affairs (SoA), is marked as the Subject of a finite form of *tamma*. Subj is signaled by the agreement markers on the verb and by the Nominative case on the main component of the phrase. Typically, the clause comprises also an Adjunct. What differentiates the three meanings, are semantic and pragmatic features of the contexts.

3.1.1. Lexical meaning I of *tamma*.

Tamma functions as the Predicate in a one-argument predicate frame. The Argument is typically a SoA, which can be a state, process or transformation. By means of *tamma* we predicate of the SoA, that it has reached the ultimate point in its realization. Since the SoA undergoes a development, it is an Argument of the Undergoer type (UG). It is expressed by a phrase, consisting of a common or a verbal noun, denoting the property, and a common noun or a pronoun, denoting an individual related to the property. The latter is syntactically dependent on the former. The semantic structure of the utterance can contain also Modifiers, typically Time (example 2), Duration (example 3), Means (example 4), Instrument (example 5).

(1) فلما شربوا وطربوا قالوا: لو كان معنا ابن سريج تم سرورنا. (Iṣfahānī, Aḡānī).

When they felt enchanted by alcohol and music, they said:

If I.S. was with us, our happiness would be complete.

(2) بيضُ الدجاج يتم خلقه في عشرة أيام وأكثر شيئا. (Gāhiz, Ḥayawān).

The hen's egg is fully created in ten days and a little bit more.

(3) كتب إليها سعيد: إن سروري لا يتم إلا بحضورك. (Aḡānī).

⁴ After manually removing the cases of use of *'atamma* and *māta*.

Sa'īd wrote to her: My happiness is full only in your presence.

(4) لا يتم لرجل حسن خلقه حتى يتم عقله. (Ġazālī, Iḥyā')

A man cannot become a complete moral being before having become a complete rational being.

(5) لأن الدار إنما يتم بناؤها بالطين واللين... والخشب والحديد والصناع. (Ġāḥiẓ, Rasā'il)

*...because a house cannot be (fully) built without any of the following:
clay, bricks ... wood, iron, workers.*

The information structure⁵ of (1) and (2) is Topic – Comment. Unlike (1), where the SoA denoted by the phrase “our happiness”, is not only Arg and Subj of *tamma*, but also Top of the utterance, in (2) the SoA, denoted by “its creation”, is not Top. Top is one of its components, the individual “the hen’s egg”, and this pragmatic function is signaled by means of “topicalization” – a construction in which a Topic, different from the Subject, is referred to first by an NP in Forward Detached Position⁶, then once more with a pronoun in its place in the semanto-syntactic structure of the clause. The predicate *tamma* is the only component of the Comment in (1), and part of it in (2), the other part consisting of the property “creation” and the modifier “in ten days or a little bit more”.

The information structure of (3), (4), and (5) is Top – Bgr – Foc. Top of (3) is “my happiness”, of (4) – “a man”, and of (5) – “a house”. Foc of (3) is “in your presence”, of (4) – “until his mind becomes complete”, and in (5) – “by clay, and bricks ... and wood, and iron, and workers.” In these three utterances *tamma* is the only component of the Bgr (3) or part of it (4, 5).

3.1.2. Lexical meaning II of *tamma*.

This meaning of *tamma* manifests itself in the same type of semantic structure – Pred (*tamma*) + UG (SoA) + Mod. There are, however, restrictions on the type of SoA – no states, only volitional processes and transformations, structured as predicate frames with one, two, or three arguments. If the SoA is denoted by a nominalization, only Act or all the arguments may be left unexpressed, given that they have been introduced into discourse in the previous 1-2 utterances. Thus, we can encounter the following variants of the nominalization:

tamma (VN) or (VN+Act) or (VN+Act+Loc) or (VN+Act+UG) or (VN+UG)

⁵ There are four types of information structure according to the configuration of Topic and Focus:
(a) **Topic** (an argument) – **Comment** (or wide Focus: the rest of the utterance)
(b) **Topic** (an argument) – **Focus** (or narrow Focus: the predicate/an argument/a modifier) – **Background** (the rest of the utterance, given or expected information)
(c) **Background** (the predicate + an argument/a modifier) – **New Topic** (an argument) (presentative utterance)
(d) **All-Focus** (the whole utterance) (event utterance) (see Lambrecht 1994; Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008)

⁶ A position in front of the clause usually referred to as Left Detached Position (LDP). Given the existence of right-to-left writing systems, Forward Detached Position seems to me a better term.

(6) أعتقد أن تعديل المادة 77 لابد أن يتم. (المصري اليوم)
I think that the correction of article 77 has to be done.

(7) أكد أن عودة القطاع الخاص للسوق يجب أن تتم وفق ضوابط وشروط... (المصري اليوم)
He stressed that the return of the private sector to the market should happen in accordance with regulations and conditions ...

(8) لقد تبين أن استيلاء العسكريين على السلطة قد تم بالتواطؤ مع وكالة المخابرات المركزية (NonFict).
It became clear that the seizure of power by the army happened in complicity with CIA.

The SoA can be denoted also by a common noun (example 9), or by an anaphoric pronoun (example 10).

(9) تم هذا اللقاء تحت رعاية وكالة الاستخبارات الاميركية (NonFict)
This meeting happened under the auspices of CIA.

(10) إذا أردت أن تتعرف إلى امرأة في أمريكا، فيجب أن يتم ذلك بخطوات محددة (ModLit).
If you want to get acquainted with a woman in the US, this should happen in a clearly defined way.

The predicate *tamma* in this context means that the volitional SoA has taken or will take place.⁷ The meaning of the verb has become more general – it has lost the component of reaching an ultimate point. Typical modifiers are Time, Manner, Means, Reason.

In this context *tamma* can still be (part of) the Comment, but only when the utterance does not contain a modifier (as in 6), most probably due to the more general meaning of the verb. When the utterance contains a Modifier, the latter is the Focus and *tamma* is (part of) the Background (examples 7-10).

The information function of the SoA-Argument in this context differs from that in the previous context. Here the SoA as a whole is always given in the previous discourse, so that the property cannot be part of the Focus as in (2) above. The SoA is the topic of the utterance.

3.1.2 Grammatical meaning of *tamma*.

In contrast to the previous two contexts, in this one the SoA does not function as one component of the semantic structure - the property is the predicate of the utterance as a whole. There are further semantic restrictions on the type of SoA in this context: only transformations based on predicate frames with two or three arguments, one of which is UG, are allowed: Act+UG or Act+UG+Loc. Another restriction concerns the formal expression of the SoA: a nominalization comprising, in addition to the predicate, UG or UG+Loc. Act can be included in the utterance by means of a preposition:

⁷ For spontaneous dynamic SoA the verb *hadaṭa* is used.

tamma (VN+UG) or (VN+UG+Loc) *tamma* (VN+UG) *min qibal* Act

In this context *tamma* is not an independent component of the semantic structure. It expresses the grammatical meanings tense and voice, which cannot be expressed by the VN, denoting the predicate.

Being separate components of the semantic structure, the components of the SoA function separately also in the information structure. The predicate can be part of the Focus (11 and 12) or Background. UG can be the Topic (11 and 12) or (part of) the Focus (13). When UG is Top, Act can be the Foc (14). It is in this context that the combination of *tamma* + VN is equivalent to a verbal form in the passive voice:

(11.1) بعد ذلك ... تم إخطار البنك برفض الطلب ... (المصري اليوم)

(11.2) بعد ذلك ... أخطر البنك برفض الطلب.

After that ... the bank was informed that the request was denied.

(12.1) هذه البصمات تم رصدها وتخزينها مسبقا من خلال التجسس على الاتصالات. (NonFict).

(12.2) هذه البصمات رُصدت وُخزنت مسبقا من خلال التجسس على الاتصالات.

These prints were traced and stored in advance by means of spying on the communications.

(13.1) إن تم وضع خطة ذكية تضمن سلامتنا ..خُضنا المعركة معكم. (ModLit)

(13.2) إن وُضعت خطة ذكية تضمن سلامتنا ..خضنا المعركة معكم.

If a clever plan that will guarantee our safety is developed, we'll fight the battle with you.

(14.1) تم اختيار المرشحين من قبل مدربي الفرق الـ 16 التي تأهلت ل ... (المصري اليوم)

(14.2) اختير المرشحون من قبل مدربي الفرق الـ 16 التي تأهلت لدور ...⁸

The candidates were chosen by the trainers of the 16 teams that qualified for ...

3.1.4. The meanings of *tamma* in a diachronic perspective.

The 3 meanings are ordered diachronically in the same order in which I presented them above: a specific lexical meaning, a more general lexical meaning, a grammatical meaning. Lexical meaning I is the only meaning of *tamma* encountered in the Premodern texts. It is encountered also in the Modern texts, but rarely:

(15) ولكنه أبدا لم يفكر كزوج لا بد له من زوجة ولا تتم سعادتهما إلا معا. (NonFict)

But he has never thought like a husband who cannot live without a wife,

⁸ In the information structure of this utterance the UG is the Top, and the Act is a component of the Foc. In utterances with such an information structure the non-typical combination of semantic and pragmatic functions is signaled in Classical Arabic typically by means of word order:

إختار المرشحين مدربي الفرق الـ 16 التي تأهلت لدور ...

and whose happiness and that of his wife can be complete only if they are together.

The other two meanings are encountered in the modern texts only. The semantic “bleaching” which we observe here is a typical part of grammaticalization (see Hopper and Traugott 2004). The semantic and pragmatic features of the contextual correlates of the three meanings are summarized in tables 4 and 5.

	Aux	Pred	Arg	Type of SoA
Lexical meaning I		<i>tamma</i>	SoA	state, process, transformation
Lexical meaning II		<i>tamma</i>	SoA	volitional process or transformation
Grammatical meaning	<i>tamma</i>	Pred	UG UG+Loc	volitional transformation of UG

Table 4. Meanings of *tamma* – semantic structure of the utterance.

	Top	BGR	FOC
Lexical meaning I	SoA SoA Arg	0 <i>tamma</i> <i>tamma</i> +Pred	<i>tamma</i> Mod Mod
Lexical meaning II	SoA SoA	0 <i>tamma</i>	<i>tamma</i> Mod
Grammatical meaning	0 UG UG	0 0 Pred	Pred + UG Pred (+Mod) Mod / Act

Table 5. Meanings of *tamma* – information structure of the utterance

The transition from meaning to meaning is facilitated by variants of the contexts, some of which are closer semantically than others and may be a source of ambiguity. It is these transitional contexts that are the basis for the development of new meanings.

The variant of the context of LM I in which the SoA is a volitional transformation is the closest one to the second context.

(16) لا يتم ترك الشهوة الا بقوة باعث الدين... (Ihyā')

Lust can be given up completely only by means of the strong stimulus of religion...

The variants of the context of LM II in which the SoA is a volitional transformation with 2 arguments, from which only the UG is explicated, is the closest to the third context:

(17) وافق زكى على فكرة المحامي واقترح أن يتم كسر الباب وتغيير الكالون في صباح الأحد (ModLit)

Zaki approved the idea of the attorney and suggested that the breaking of the door and the changing of the lock be done on Sunday morning.

What makes example (17) representative of the second, and not the third meaning, is only the information status and function of the SoA – it is given in the preceding discourse segment and Topic of the current utterance.

In Table 6 I have computed the frequencies of use of *tamma* as a lexical verb and as an auxiliary in the different corpora.

Corpus \ Tokens	Adab Literature	Philosophy & Science	Modern Literature	Non-fiction	Al-Tajdid	Al-Masri
<i>tamma</i> total	210	492	303	300	1000	1000
<i>tamma</i> auxiliary	0	0	187	220	768	937
<i>tamma</i> aux / <i>tamma</i> total	0%	0%	61,71%	73,33%	76,8%	93,7%

Table 6. Use of *tamma* as an auxiliary verb in some of the subcopora of ArabiCorpus

The results clearly indicate that *tamma* is used more often as an auxiliary than as a lexical verb in all corpora of modern texts, irrespective of their register and genre. The substantially higher frequency in *al-Masri al-yawm* compared to *al-Tajdid* needs further investigation.

3.2. Auxiliation of *qama bi-*

In tables (1-3) I have presented the results of the search for tokens of *qāma* in the subcorpora of ArabiCorpus.

Corpus \ Tokens	Quran	Philosophy & Science	Adab Literature	Hadith Literature	1001 nights	Premodern All
Total	42	955	1732	4036	1186	9338
Per 100000w	49,69	60,56	83,55	111,36	212,58	102,31

Table 7. Use of *qāma* in the corpora of premodern texts

Corpus \ Tokens	Modern Literature	Islamic Discourse	Other Non-fiction	Newspapers
Total	651	27719	613	151,644
Per 100000w	63,44	101,29	105,77	112,03

Table 8. Use of *qāma* in the corpora of modern texts

Corpus Tokens	الحياة (لندن) 1997	الغد (الأردن) 2010	المصري اليوم (مصر) 2010	التجديد (المغرب) 2002	الأهرام (مصر) 1999	الوطن (الكويت) 2002
Total	17 175	19 575	16 282	3 664	20 749	9 539
Per 100000	88,2	112,97	117,3	125,49	130,56	147,79

Table 9. Use of *qāma* in the different newspapers

The search results⁹ in the case of *qāma* are not as straightforward as in the case of *tamma*. The frequency of use of the verb in some of the premodern corpora is greater than the frequency in the modern corpora. This can be explained by the greater number of meanings and the availability of the contexts, related to those meanings, in the different types of text.

For the qualitative analysis I have chosen the same corpora as for the analysis of *tamma*. The analysis covers all the cases of use of *qāma* in the smaller corpora - Adab Literature, Medieval Philosophy and Science, Modern Literature, and Other non-fiction, and the first 1000 cases of use in each of the two newspaper corpora.

3.2.1. Lexical meaning of *qāma*

Qāma is basically an intransitive verb. It denotes two predicates – one of them a volitional transformation (rise, stand up), the other one a volitional state that results from the transformation (stand). The predicate frame comprises one argument – an Actor, who volitionally initiates the transformation and stays in the state. Each of the predicates manifests itself in specific contexts. Nevertheless, I consider the two predicates one meaning of the verb on account of their close semantic relatedness and identical predicate frames. This meaning of *qāma* is the most frequent one in the two corpora of premodern texts, as well as in the Modern Literature corpus, obviously due to its being related to a basic human physical activity and position.

The semantic nucleus, consisting of the Predicate and the Actor (example 18) can be extended with spatial Modifiers. Examples (19-23) are from the corpora of premodern texts:

(18) خرجت حاجًا فصحبني رجل كان لا يقوم ولا يقعد ولا يتحرك ولا يسكن إلا صلى على النبي (Ġazālī, Iḥyā')
I set out for hajj, and there was a man with me, who was not getting up, sitting down, moving, or standing without saying "Peace be upon the Prophet"...

(19) فقالت: أبا إسحاق كأن في نفسك تشتهي أن تقوم من مجلسك فتجلس إلى جانبي... (Iṣfahānī, Aḡānī)
She said: Abu Ishaq, it seems to me that you feel the desire to get up from your place and sit down next to me...

⁹ Homographs: أقومُ – أقومُ، أقومُ؛ نُقومُ – نُقومُ .. والخ؛ أقمُ – أقمُ (لم) أقمُ (أمر) و (لم) أقمُ؛ نقمُ – نقمُ.. الخ.

(Iṣfahānī, Aġānī) ... وقمنا إلى بيته فأكلنا (20)

*We told him: What is this generosity?
And we got up (and went) to his house and ate...*

(Iṣfahānī, Aġānī)... وقام في المسجد فصاح (21)

He stood in the mosque and shouted...

(Iṣfahānī, Aġānī) ... فقام على المنبر فخطب الناس. (22)

He stood on the minbar and preached to the people.

(Iṣfahānī, Aġānī) ... أمر الرماة فقاموا بأصل الجبل في وجوه خيل المشركين. (23)

*He gave orders to the archers and they stood at the foot
of the mountain facing the cavalry of the polytheists.*

Some of the prepositions that mark the respective components in examples (19-23) as modifiers can be encountered in the premodern corpora with other types of complements too:

(Iṣfahānī, Aġānī) ... ففكرت في صديق لي أودعه المهر ليقوم عليه. (24)

I thought of a friend of mine, to whom I can entrust the mahr to keep an eye on it.

(Iṣfahānī, Aġānī) ... فكان منا رجل يمتار لنا الميرة ويقوم بحوائجنا... (25)

There was a man who was gathering for us supplies and taking care of our needs.

Unlike examples (18-23), where the elision of the modifiers would not violate the logical form of the utterance, this is impossible as far as the complements marked by *'alā* and *bi* in examples (24-25) are concerned. This means that the complements have the semantic function of arguments, not modifiers. Thus, the predicate frames in (24-25) comprise two arguments – Actor and Locative in the case of *'alā*, Actor and Undergoer in the case of *bi*-. In these cases, *qāma* has become a transitive verb – it can have an object by means of a preposition.

The original *qāma* has developed a second intransitive meaning, based on a predicate frame in which the only argument is a non-human Undergoer, as in (قامت المدينة، الثورة) as well as a grammatical meaning as a phasal verb (قامت تكتب). In this article, however, I will abide only by the transitive meaning realized by means of the preposition *bi*-, since it is the meaning which has given rise to the grammatical meaning, which is of interest here.

3.2.2. Lexical and grammatical meaning of *qāma bi*-.

As I pointed out above, *qāma bi*- is based on a two-argument predicate frame. The type and meaning of the phrases, denoting the UG, are indicative of how the meaning of the verb has developed:

Corpus	Object form (content)	Example	Translation
Adab Literature	CN (Ind) CN (SoA)	يقوم بماله قام بأمره/بحوائجه	To take care of someone's property To take care of someone's needs
	VN (Prop)	قام بغناء/ قام بأداء غناء	To perform singing
	CN (SoA) Pron (SoA)	قام بمهمة/وظيفة قام بحق فلان قام به/بذلك (الأمر) قام بما أمره الله	To carry out a task To render someone his due He did it/this He did what Allah ordered him to do
Medieval Philosophy and Science	VN (Prop) VN+CN (Prop+Ind)	قام بالوعظ قام بأمر البيت/البلد قام بحفظ العلم قام بخدمة فلان قام بشكر نعمة الله عليه	To preach To rule the house/the country To memorize the knowledge To attend to someone To thank Allah for the goods
	CN (SoA) Pron (SoA)	قام بالأشغال المنزلية قام بدوره قام بعملية/مهمة قام بزيارة قام بذلك	To do the house work To fulfill one's role To carry out an operation To make a visit To do that
	VN+CN (Prop+Ind)	قام بإدارة الوقف قام بإلغاء ترخيص البار قام بتنظيف سطح العمارة قام بطلاء البيت	To run the <i>waqf</i> To cancel the permit of the bar To clean the roof of the building To paint the house

Table 10. Types of objects of *qāma bi-* in the corpora

In the Adab Literature corpus there is one case only in which the Obj of *qāma bi-* is Individual (*māl* “property”), the rest are properties denoted by a VN, or SoAs denoted by common nouns such as (*ḥāḡa* “need”, *’amr* “affair, matter”, *ṣa’n* “affair, matter”) or by VN+CN. The meaning in the utterances in which the Object is a common noun is “take care of”, in the sense of “do what is needed to keep in good state”.

(26) وما قمت بغناء كما قمت به له بين يدي خليفة قط (Iṣfahānī, Aḡānī)

I had never sang to a caliph the way I sang to him.

(27) ولم يقم بحفظ العلم وتدوينه إلا الأعاجم (Ibn Ḥaldūn, Muqaddima)

No one cared for memorizing and writing down the knowledge except the non-arabs.

In the Medieval Philosophy and Science corpus and the Modern literature corpus there are no utterances in which the Obj is an individual. The variety of common nouns, used to denote the SoAs, becomes greater over time, the meaning of the verb becomes more general.

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The translation of the examples with (VN+CN) as Object phrases indicates that the predicate in these cases is not *qāma bi-*, but the VN. The correlation between syntactic and semantic functions in these cases differs from the same correlation in the cases in which the Object phrase is based on a common noun.

	Aux	Act	Pred	UG
<i>qāma</i> Act		Ind	<i>qāma</i>	
<i>qāma</i> Act <i>bi</i> -SoA LM		Ind	<i>qāma</i>	<i>bi</i> -SoA (CN)
<i>qāma</i> Act <i>bi</i> -SoA (GM)	<i>qāma</i>	Ind	<i>bi</i> -Prop (VN)	Ind (CN)

Table 11. Meanings of *qāma bi* – semantic structure of the utterance

The construction with *qāma bi-* as an auxiliary verb is based in principle on a Pred-Act-UG predicate frame but in some rare cases it is used also with a Pred-Act-Loc predicate frame:

(28) قام مجهول بالصعود لفندق بانوراما 3 نجوم بالطابق الرابع (المصري اليوم)
An unidentified person went up to the 4th floor of the 3-star Panorama hotel.

There are also differences as far as the information structure of the contexts is concerned:

	TOP	BGR	FOC
<i>qāma</i> Act	Act	0	Pred (<i>qāma</i>)
		Pred (<i>qāma</i>)	Act
<i>qāma</i> Act <i>bi</i> -SoA (lexical meaning)	Act Act 0 UG (SoA)	0 Pred (<i>qāma bi-</i>) Pred (<i>qāma bi-</i>)UG (SoA) Pred (<i>qāma bi-</i>) hi	Pred (<i>qāma bi-</i>)UG (SoA) UG (SoA) Act Act
<i>qāma</i> Act <i>bi</i> -SoA (grammatical meaning)	Act Act 0 UG (Ind)	0 Pred (Prop) Pred (Prop) UG (Ind) Pred (Prop)-UG(pronoun)	Pred (Prop) UG (Ind) UG (Ind) Act Act

Table 12. Meanings of *qāma bi* – information structure of the utterance

The SoA-Object of the auxiliary *qāma*, in contrast to the SoA-Object of the predicate *qāma*, does not function as one component in the information structure. Each one of its components, predicate and UG, is informationally independent. They can both be part of Foc (28), Pred can be also Bgr, while UG can be also Bgr and Top.

(29) بعد ذلك قامت بطلاء البيت بالكامل... (ModLit)
After that she painted the whole house ...

An utterance in which UG is Top and Act is Foc is expressed typically as an active clause, but can be expressed also as a passive clause:

(29.1) قام بإنجاز هذا البحث فريق علمي متميز... (المصري اليوم)
qāma bi- 'inğāz hādā l-baḥt farīq 'ilmī mutamayyiz

(29.2) تم إنجاز هذا البحث على أيدي فريق علمي متعدد التخصصات.
tamma 'inğāz hādā l-baḥt 'alā 'aydī farīq 'ilmī mutamayyiz
This research was realized by a distinguished scientific team.

The analysis of the corpora reveals that the active sentence with *qāma* as an auxiliary was known and used as early as the 10th century, when al-Iṣfahānī wrote his *Kitāb al-Ağānī*. The frequency of use of the construction is, however, different in the different corpora.

Corpus Tokens	Adab Literature	Philosophy & Science	Modern Literature	Non- fiction	Al- Tajdid	Al- Masri
<i>qāma</i> total	1636	861	601	563	1000	1000
<i>qāmabi-</i> total	52	86	268	355	852	925
<i>qāma bi-</i> auxiliary	7	6	155	180	426	767
<i>qāma bi-</i> auxiliary / <i>qāma bi-</i> total	13,46 %	6,97 %	57,84 %	50,70 %	50 %	82,91 %

Table 13. Use of *qāma bi-* as an auxiliary verb in some of the subcorpora of ArabiCorpus

The data in the table indicate that (a) the frequency of use of *qāma bi-* as an auxiliary verb is much higher in the corpora of modern texts; and (b) that the verb is used a little bit more as an auxiliary than as a lexical verb in the modern corpora. The substantial difference between the *al-Masri al-yawm* and the other modern corpora, incl. *al-Tajdid*, needs further investigation.

4. Cognitive efficiency as a stimulus for the rise and spread of the new constructions.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis has shown a completed process of auxiliatation of *tamma* and *qāma bi-* in semantically and pragmatically defined contexts, as well as a substantial frequency of use of the two verbs as auxiliaries in the corpora of modern texts parallel to their use as lexical verbs. At the same time the two analytic constructions expressing the active and the passive variant of a clause based on a Pred-Act-UG frame are used in parallel with the older grammatically equivalent synthetic constructions. In the theoretical framework of grammaticalization the latter phenomenon is termed “renewal”: “a process whereby existing grammatical meanings may take on new forms,” usually “periphrastic, i.e., phrasal”. The innovations appear in specific contexts, and the main motive for their spread is that “they are felt to be more expressive than what was available before.” (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 124)

Here I would like to suggest a different explanation for the case under consideration, namely that the spreading of the two new constructions is due to a great extent to their

higher level of processing efficiency: their production and comprehension need less cognitive effort compared to the synthetic constructions. Theoretically my reasoning on the topic bears on the concept of processing efficiency as developed in Hawkins (2004, 2014) in relation to his Performance–Grammar Correspondence Hypothesis (PGCH). According to PGCH “Grammars have conventionalized syntactic structures in proportion to their degree of preference in performance, as evidenced by patterns of selection in corpora and by ease of processing in psycholinguistic experiments.” (Hawkins 2004: 3)

Hawkins relates the common preferences of performance and grammars to processing efficiency – the less the cognitive efforts that the processing of a construction requires, the more efficient the construction. Since syntactic complexity requires more cognitive efforts, the level of efficiency is inversely proportional to the level of complexity, given that for each construction there is a certain lower limit of complexity. Proceeding from observed common preferences of performance and grammar, Hawkins proposes three general efficiency principles:

Efficiency is increased, first, by minimizing the domains (i.e., the sequences of linguistic forms and their conventionally associated properties) within which certain properties are assigned. It is increased, secondly, by minimizing the linguistic forms (phonemes, morphemes, etc.) that are to be processed, and by reducing their conventionally associated properties, maximizing in the process the role of contextual information (broadly construed), including frequency effects and various inferences. Third, efficiency is increased by selecting and arranging linguistic forms so as to provide the earliest possible access to as much of the ultimate syntactic and semantic representation as possible. In other words, there is a preference for ‘maximizing on-line property assignments’. (2004: 9).

I will try to demonstrate that the periphrastic constructions with *tamma* and *qama bi-* as auxiliary verbs are more efficient according to all three principles. I will present the principles and how the two constructions comply with them in an order determined by their “strength” of influence in this case, as I see it.

4.1. Minimize forms.

The paradigm of the verb in CA and MSA comprises quite a big number of forms, due to, first, the formal expression of a big number of grammatical properties (3 persons, 3 numbers, 2 genders, 3 moods, 2 voices), and second, the non-uniformity of the respective morphemes because of the so called “defective” roots. When we use the finite forms of the lexical verbs to denote the predicate in the active and the passive types of clause, the number of forms we have to handle is much bigger than the number of forms in case we use the finite forms of *tamma* and *qāma* in addition to the verbal nouns. In the second case only one form of the lexical verb is used – the VN, whereas the grammatical operators are always expressed by the finite forms of *tamma* and *qāma*. Thus, we avoid the variety of forms related to the irregular roots and the derived verbs. Let’s take as an example the 3-d person singular masculine forms of the verbs *banā* “to build”, *’adāra* “to manage”, and *’anša’a* “to establish”, and compare them to their equivalents with *tamma* and *qāma bi-*.

	Periphrastic verbal forms	Finite verbal forms
Act	قام / يقوم / لن يقوم / لم يقم ببناء بيت	بني / يبني / لن يبني / لم يبن بيتا
Pas	تمَّ / يتَمَّ / لن يتَمَّ / لم يتمَّ بناء البيت	بُنِيَ / يُبْنَى / لن يُبْنَى / لم يُبْنَ البيت
Act	قام / يقوم / لن يقوم / لم يقم بإدارة مؤسسة	أدار / يُدير / لن يُدير / لم يُدر مؤسسة
Pas	تمَّت / تتَمَّ / لن تتَمَّ / لم تتمَّ إدارة المؤسسة	أديرت / تُدار / لن تُدار / لم تُدر المؤسسة
Act	قام / يقوم / لن يقوم / لم يقم بإنشاء مؤسسة	أنشأ / ينشئ / لن ينشئ / لم ينشئ مؤسسة
Pas	تمَّ / يتَمَّ / لن يتَمَّ / لم يتمَّ إنشاء المؤسسة	أنشئت / تنشأ / لن تنشأ / لم تنشأ مؤسسة

Table 14. Quantitative comparison of finite and periphrastic verbal forms

The examples illustrate the recurrence of the forms of *qāma bi-* and *tamma*, in contrast to the morphological variety of finite forms of the lexical verbs. Another case in which the use of the periphrastic forms provides for restricting the number of forms that have to be used is the case of coordinated clauses with co-referential subjects or objects:

(30) تم خطفه وترحيله من مصر الي أمريكا وتقديمه للمحاكمة. (Non-fiction)
tamma ḥaṭfu-hu wa-tarḥīlu-hu min miṣr 'ilā 'amrīkā wa-taqdīmu-hu li-l-muḥākama.
 He was abducted, deported from Egypt to the USA and submitted to the prosecution.

(31) قام بتدمير الوحش الذي صنعه وتفكيك أجزائه ... (المصري اليوم)
qama bi-tadmīri l-waḥši llaḍī ṣana'a-hu wa-tafkīki 'ağzā'i-hi...
 He destroyed the beast that he had created and took it to its pieces.

Three clauses in (30) and two clauses in (31) share one auxiliary verb.

4.2. Maximize Online Processing

The ideal situation is when each grammatical property and/or function of a component can be assigned to that component as it is processed. Delayed assignment of properties/functions is less preferred, and even more so misassignment.

The Abjad writing system is a major cause for delayed assignments or misassignments in written Arabic discourse. The absence of the vowels from the graphic form of the words is the cause for a widespread homography, especially between the forms of a verb or the forms of verbs derived from the same root. The bearing of the homographic forms on online processing is potentiated by word order features of CA and MSA: (a) in the pragmatically unmarked case the finite verb, denoting the predicate, precedes the noun phrases denoting the arguments; and (b) if one of the arguments is the Topic of the utterance, and the other one (part of) its Focus, the former precedes the latter irrespective of their semantic and syntactic functions. Thus, the order of the two arguments after the verbal predicate can be Act [Top] UG [Foc] or UG [Top] Act [Foc].¹⁰

¹⁰ Since the first order is much more frequent in discourse than the second one (with TopActSubj being the typical combination of functions), VSO is considered the basic (pragmatically unmarked) WO of MSA.

The constructions in which the finite verb form is replaced by an auxiliary verb and a verbal noun guarantee better online processing results. The utterance in (32) is from a text about an Egyptian organization, named “*Budur al-salam*”. This utterance is the first in a paragraph about a new subtopic in the text – the finances of the organization.

(32.1) وتقوم بتمويل المنظمة مجموعة من الهيئات (من ضمنها المعونة الأمريكية) (المصري اليوم)
wa-taqūmu bi-tamwīli l-munazzama maǧmū‘a mina l-hay‘āti (min ḍimni-hā l-ma‘ūna al-‘amrīkiyya)
The organization is financed by a group of institutions (one of which is USAID).

In (32) “the organization” is UG and Top, while “a group of institutions” is Act and Foc. The use of the construction with *qāma* and VN guarantees unambiguous signaling of the semantic roles of the arguments. The use of a finite form of the verb, however, is a source of ambiguity:

(32.2) وتمول المنظمة مجموعة من الهيئات... (من ضمنها المعونة الأمريكية)
wa-tumaww(a/i)l (Act/Pass?) al-munazzama (Act/UG?) maǧmū‘a mina l-hay‘āt ...

The active and the passive form of *mawwala* (to finance) for 3rd person, singular, feminine, present tense, are homographs. Accordingly, the assignment of voice will be delayed. When the reader is processing the first one of the Arguments, he has to detect its semantic function based on its meaning, since the case marking of the syntactic functions too is not graphically visible. If the Argument is semantically incompatible with the function Act of the predicate, the reader will be able to assign to it UG and Top, but not Subj or Obj – this depends on the voice of the preceding verb, which has not been assigned online. When processing the second Argument, the reader will be able to assign to it its semantic and pragmatic function, then s/he will be able to assign the syntactic functions to the two arguments, and then the voice of the verbal form.

In (32b), however, “the organization” is compatible with the function Act of “to finance”, and there is nothing in the previous context that prevents the reader from thinking that it **is** the Act in fact. In this case s/he will assign to this Argument Act, Top and Subj, which is the typical combination of functions. Then s/he will assign active voice to the verbal form, and then - UG, Foc and Obj to the second Argument. The reader will be able to detect the misassignment when processing the following clause, but only if s/he knows that USAID is an US organization that provides financing to smaller NPOs in developing countries.

In (33.1) the construction with *tamma* is unambiguous – the girls were deported:

(33.1) وفى الإسكندرية تم ترحيل فتيات الملاهى الأجنبية فئة "الأرتيست" على إحدى البواخر... ModLit
wa-fī l-iskandariyya tamma (Aux) tarḥīlu (Pred) fatayāti l-malāhī l-‘aǧnabīyyāt fī ‘at ‘al-artist” (UG) ‘alā ‘ihdā l-bawāḥir...

In Alexandria the foreign girls that worked in the night clubs as “artists” were sent to one of the ships.

If the author had used a verbal form instead, it would be *ruḥḥilat*, which is a homograph of *raḥalat* “to leave”. In this case the argument would be interpreted as Act on

the same grounds as “the organization” in (32), and the misassignment would be corrected only when processing the following utterance.

وفى الإسكندرية رحلت فتيات الملاهى الأجنبية فنة "الأرتيست" على إحدى البواخر، (وأعلن أنه (33.2)
سيتم التخلص من كل فتيات الملاهى الأجنبية خشية عملهن بالتجسس)

wa-fī al-iskandariyya r-ḥ-l-t (Pred act/pass voice?) *fatayāt l-malāhī l-’aḡnabiyyāt*
fi’at “al-artist” (Act/UG?) *’alā ’iḥdā l-bawāḥir*, (*wa-’u’lina ’anna-hu sayatimmu t-*
taḥalluṣ min kulli fatayāti l-malāhī l-’aḡnabiyyāt)

In Alexandria the foreign girls that worked in the night clubs as “artists” (left/were deported) on one of the ships. It was announced that the authorities will get rid of all the foreign girls from the night clubs.

4.3. Minimize domains

Domains are sequences of linguistic forms connected by grammatical relations. The recognition of these domains is an important part of processing. It depends to a great extent on the order and adjacency of the related components. A domain is considered recognized after the processing of the first subcomponent of its last component. The efficiency of a domain is measured by dividing the number of words that form the domain as a whole, by the number of words, which allows for the domain to be recognized.

In a synthetic active clause of the type V[Pred-Foc] Subj[Act-Top] Obj[UG-Foc] complex subject NPs delay the recognition of the semantic and the pragmatic relation between V and Obj, as in (34.2 – a periphrasis). The analytic variant of the active clause, as in (34.1 – the original), is one of the possibilities for overcoming the problem¹¹. It provides for adjacent positions of Pred-Foc and UG-Foc.

(34.1) تقوم حكومة السودان والحركة الشعبية لتحرير السودان بتنظيم استفتاء تحت رقابة ... (التجديد)
taqūmu (Aux) *ḥukūmatu s-sūdān wa l-ḥarakatu š-ša’biyya li-taḥrīri s-sūdān*
(Act) *bi-tanzīmi* (Pred) *istiftā’* (UG)

(34.2) تنظم حكومة السودان والحركة الشعبية لتحرير السودان استفتاء تحت رقابة ...
tunazzimu (Pred) *ḥukūmatu s-sūdān wa al-ḥarakatu š-ša’biyya li-taḥrīri s-*
sūdān (Act) *istiftā’* (UG)

The government of Sudan and the People’s movement for liberating Sudan
organize a referendum...

In a synthetic passive clause of the type V[Pred-Foc] Subj[UG-Foc], Subj may be separated from V by one or more Modifiers, which are background information, as in (35.2). The analytic variant of the passive clause provides for adjacent positions of Pred-Foc and UG-Foc, as in (35.1).

¹¹ Another possibility is the fronting of the subject NP to the verb (see Pashova 2003).

GRAMMATICALIZATION AND PROCESSING EFFICIENCY IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC:
THE CASE OF THE ANALYTIC EXPRESSION OF ACTIVE AND PASSIVE VOICE

(35.1) تم في هذا المكان في شهر سبعة الفانت تشكيل لجنة من سبعة رؤساء أفارقة برئاسة رئيس
الاتحاد الإفريقي الذي ... (Non-fiction)
tamma (Aux) *fī hādā l-makān* (Place) *fī šahr sab ‘a al-fā’it* (Time) *taškīl* (Pred)
lağna min sab ‘ati ru ‘asā’ ‘afāriqa... (UG)

(35.2) سُكِّلَتْ في هذا المكان في شهر سبعة الفانت لجنة من سبعة رؤساء أفارقة ...
šukkilat (Pred) *fī hādā l-makān* (Place) *fī šahr sab ‘a al-fā’it* (Time) *lağna min*
sab ‘ati ru ‘asā’ ‘afāriqa... (UG)

In July this year here was established a committee comprising seven African presidents ...

The analytic comparison between the older synthetic constructions and the newer analytic constructions, presented in this paragraph, allows for the conclusion that the latter are more efficient than the former on all three dimensions, suggested by Hawkins (2004, 2014).

5. Conclusion

By means of a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of several corpora of classical and modern Arabic texts I have managed to trace the auxiliatation of the verbs *tamma* and *qāma bi-* as components of new analytic constructions equivalent to older synthetic ones used to express the active and the passive version of a clause based on a Pred-Act-UG predicate frame. The new constructions have developed by means of a reanalysis of the syntactic structures of clauses in which *tamma* and *qāma bi-* were used as lexical verbs. I have interpreted the appearance and spread of the new constructions as a case of renewal, due mainly to the higher level of processing efficiency of the new constructions. I compared the processing efficiency of the new and the old constructions by means of the three general efficiency principles formulated by Hawkins (2004). The new constructions are more efficient on all three dimensions, but I suppose that not all of them have the same impact. There should be a correlation between the frequency of manifestation of a problem we can overcome by means of the analytic constructions and the impact of the respective principle. In Table 14 I have ordered the principles in accordance with the frequency of the problems, as far as I can assess it on the basis of my intuition as user and teacher of MSA.

Efficiency principle	Processing disadvantages of the synthetic constructions	Context of use	Processing advantages of the analytic constructions
Minimize forms	Great number of forms	In all cases of use	Smaller number of forms
Maximize online processing	Delayed assignment or misassignment of voice and semantic	When the forms for active and passive	Online assignment of voice and semantic functions

	functions because of defective script and word order features	voice of the verb are homographs; When the first Arg after V is semantically compatible with both Act and UG functions	
Minimize domains	Long domain for recognizing the relation between Pred-Foc and UG-Foc because of VSO unmarked order	When the distance between Pred-Foc and UG-Foc is too long because of a complex Act-Top or a Mod-Bgr.	Adjacent position of Pred and UG

Table 14. Impact of the efficiency principles on the spread of the new analytic constructions

Further corpus-based research could check the frequency of the contexts, as well as the real correlation between the use of the new constructions and the favorable contexts. All sorts of assertions about the impact of factors such as type of root, type of derivational pattern, newness of the verb or the meaning, type of predicate (punctual/durative, physical/emotional), register, should also be the result of corpus-based investigations.

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'INN-/AN(N-) CLAUSES: STYLISTIC AND SYNTACTIC VARIATION IN MOROCCAN DIGITAL PRESS

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Abstract. The written production in the Arab world is usually characterized by an extensive use of Standard Arabic. It is, however, possible to state that written practices reflect a significant variability, both historically and sociolinguistically, in the past and in the more recent developments of the digital revolution.

The aim of this study is to show how the Arabic written practices of online newspapers are characterized by a great syntactic flexibility.

In particular, this study analyzes to what extent internal linguistic processes and the influence of vernacular languages affect written practices in the Moroccan digital reality. The study has been carried out on a corpus of articles and readers' comments of three online newspapers (*Hespress*, *Goud* and *Alakhbar*).

The comparative analysis between two different thematic columns, sports and opinion articles, focused on the construction of 'in(n-)/an(n) clauses, reveals that at the morphological and syntactic level, a contrasting stylistic variation emerges from the syntactic choices of authors, both in formal practices (articles), and in informal practices (readers' comments). This analysis will make it possible to reflect on whether the emergence of mixed Arabic forms in written production tends to constitute new form(s) of conventionalized normalization.

Keywords: *written language – linguistic variation – mixed Arabic – online communication – language ideologies.*

Introduction

The recent report of FAFO's survey on language practices in Morocco (Kebede & Kindt, 2016), showed that young people use written *darija*¹, Moroccan Arabic, i.e., vehicular language in Morocco, in their online daily life. This survey interestingly showed that, even if *darija* is not considered the most suitable variety for formal written productions (64% of the people surveyed think *fushā* is the proper language in writing, see Kebede & Kindt 2016:84-86), most people (75%) think that texts written in *darija* are easier to understand (Kebede & Kindt 2016:87-88). Moreover, it highlighted how different written practices affect also journalistic productions: while *darija* is not considered a suitable language for newspapers columns (81%, see Kebede & Kindt 2016:94), users of electronic newspapers seem to think that this variety is suitable for writing their comments (27%, see Kebede & Kindt 2016:78). This seemingly paradoxical attitude, common to other linguistic

¹ Young people (18-34) use daily *darija* (65%) and *fushā* (32%), old people (50-64) use *darija* (13%) and *fushā* (39%), see Kebede & Kindt (2016:73-74).

communities, reflects the implications of language ideologies², i.e., the belief that the Arabic language, *fuṣḥā*, is the proper variety for formal and written production, whereas *darija* is only considered suitable for oral communication. Nevertheless, usages and practices show that new written trends are emerging in Morocco, especially among young people on the web. Mixed forms of Arabic language are emerging also in spaces traditionally dominated by the standard language, such as newspapers. This does not mean that Modern Standard Arabic is completely changing, nor that *darija* is becoming predominant. It is possible, however, to observe that lexical *darija* items are used also in formal written productions and that syntactical simplifications are preferred by some journalists and readers. In light of all this, this investigation aims at showing, through the analysis of the syntactical construction of declarative clauses, how the written production is influenced by "middle" "mixed" spoken varieties.

This study is based on a corpus of 216 articles (Opinions and Sport columns) and more than 1000 comments by readers of three Moroccan online newspapers. It analyzes the realization of declarative clauses using a quantitative methodology and in from a comparative perspective.

Starting from the assumption that newspapers represent a formal communication context, in which the language traditionally used is Standard Arabic (also called in this context *Media Arabic*), the aim of the present study is therefore to show how linguistic variation emerges from the writing practices of the aforementioned publications.

I will try to observe to what extent the syntactical variation in the use of the complementizers *بأن/أن* and *إن* in declarative clauses and the asyndetic constructions might reveal new trends in the written production of contemporary Arabic in Morocco. The first part will be devoted to the theoretical framework about Middle/Mixed varieties and features of Media Arabic in relation to declarative clauses; the second section will describe the corpus and the methodology used. Finally, the third part will include the interpretation of the results, and a conclusion.

Theoretical framework

According to Lentin (2008), Middle Arabic is “the language of numerous Arabic texts, distinguished by its linguistically (and therefore stylistically) mixed nature, as it combines standard and colloquial features with others of a third type, neither standard nor colloquial” (Lentin 2008: 216). “Mixed Arabic” can be considered a proper label as well, thanks to the sociolinguistic dimension associated to it. Through a diachronic perspective, Middle Arabic is traditionally considered as the mixed variety of Arabic used, for example, in several medieval literary texts; while from a sociolinguistic point of view, Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic (i.e., the mixed variety of Arabic used in modern and contemporary sources) both represent the same linguistic dimension, namely as it can be defined as “an intermediate, multiform variety, product of the interference of the two polar varieties on the continuum they bound, a variety that, for this very reason, has its own distinctive characteristics” (Lentin 2008:216). Furthermore, Lentin also affirms that a non-

² For an extensive study on ideologies and written practices in Morocco, see Miller C., 2017.

institutionalized and non-recognized norm emerges from the common features attested in the written Middle Arabic texts, in their orthography, phonetics, morphology and syntax. With regard to the object of this study – declarative clauses – it is interesting to note that, in Middle Arabic, the fall of the *hamza* is a recurrent orthographic phenomenon, as observed also by Doss (2008) in modern sources, and that syntactically “syndetic as well as asyndetic constructions abound. The latter are particularly frequent after modal verbs or pseudo verbs [...]. The difference between *'an*, *'anna*, and *'inna* is blurred, *'an* (written <n>) is the predominant subordination tool. Many verbs (not only ‘declarative’ ones) govern *bi-'an*.” (Lentin 2008:221). In the third part of this study it is possible to observe how those orthographic and syntactical features emerge in my corpus-based analysis.

A second point concerns the features of Media Arabic, i.e., the modern standard Arabic used in the journalistic prose which is characterized by variation and padding (Ashtiany 1993:28). Modern Standard Arabic used in newspapers tends to simplify syntactic structures, and to use collocations, and lexical borrowing from foreign languages, as described by Ashtiany (1993), Effat & Versteegh (2008), and Elgibali & Sullivan (2014). Furthermore, focusing on the declarative clauses, it is interesting to note that complementizers introducing subordinate clauses present variable constructions. In his analysis of variation of Modern Written Arabic, Gully (1993) observes, for example, that in the journalistic prose the complementizer introducing declarative clauses is used with or without a dummy pronoun in the same syntactical environment, as in the examples below:

(1) (*wa qāla li l-jaridati inna l-dustūra wa l-qānūna yu'akkidāni*) **annahu** *lā ḥaṣānata li a'māli l-majlis.*

And he told the newspaper that the constitution and the law ensure that there is no immunity for the council's actions. (Gully 1993:38)

(2) (*khuṣūṣan*) **anna** *lā ḥalla li mashākili l-tasalluḥi illa bi hadhihi l-ṭarīqa.*

Especially as this is the only way to solve the problem of arms. (Gully 1993:38)

These examples show that Media Arabic tends to deviate from traditional norms; for example, as Gully (1993) showed, dummy pronoun is used indistinctly in Media Arabic, in the same syntactical environment (see for instance the construction “particle +/- dummy pronoun + *lā* of absolute negation + noun” (Gully 1993:37) in example 1 and 2), even when it is not grammatically or syntactically necessary.

A third point which needs mentioning is the concept of Mixed Styles analyzed by Mejdell (2006). In her analysis of academic speech in Egypt, she states that, in a more or less spontaneous and formal communicative situation, speakers tend to use the standard variety, to which, however, elements and syntactic constructions deriving from colloquial varieties are introduced. Mejdell affirms in fact that “Arabic and similar diglossic speech communities have at their disposal alternative sets of most morphological features of the language, represented by the H and L varieties” (Mejdell 2006:74). This means that the emergence of mixed styles is characterized by the mixing of standard forms and colloquialisms in a register which tends to be formal due to the communicative context. Furthermore, with regards to declarative clauses, Mejdell states that in Egyptian Arabic the “obligatory vs. optional use” of complementizers, i.e., syndetic and asyndetic

constructions, involves not only syntactic and semantic features of the sentences, but also stylistic choices which depend on the individual preferences of the speakers (Mejdell 2006:100-101). In fact, her results show the variable use of the standard and the Egyptian complementizer, but also an important variation in the use of syndetic and asyndetic constructions among her speakers' samples (Mejdell 2006:375). If this is true above all in oral performances, the same model is potentially applicable also to other circumstances in the written production.

Finally, it is important to underline how declarative clauses are constructed in *darija*. According to Caubet's description (Caubet 1993), declarative clauses follow mainly asyndetic constructions, in which it is still possible to find also syndetic structures. However, *bəlli* is the *darija* particle which corresponds to the standard *'inna*, but unlike *'inna*, it can be used – even though it is not compulsory – after the verb *qāla* 'to say', but also after other verbs, as shown by the following examples:

(3) *gāl l-i bəlli gādi yzi.*

Il m'a dit qu'il viendrait. (Caubet 1993, I:237)

(4) *ma təmsīw š hətta ngūl l-kum āzīw εand-i !*

Ne partez pas avant **que je vous dise** de venir chez moi ! (Caubet 1993, II :92).

(5) *tyiqqənt bəlli ma yənza hš, u nzaḥ.*

J'étais convaincu qu'il ne réussirait pas, et il a réussi. (Caubet 1993, II :105).

Briefly, in *darija*, asyndetic constructions are more frequently used among speakers. Nevertheless, considering the assumption of Youssi concerning his theory of triglossia (Youssi 1992), some final remarks about the '*Arabe Moderne Marocain* (AMM)', i.e., the variety spoken in formal situations by educated Moroccans, must be added. He states that in AMM, declarative sentences follow a structure with *əanna* particle (Youssi 1992: 279), as in the following example:

(6) *ana ka-n-çtaqed ?enna l-muneDDama dyal-na lem t-sme ḥ bi-dalik*

Personnellement je reste convaincu que notre Organisation ne permettra jamais cela. (Youssi 1992:279).

In other words, Youssi affirms that *bəlli* is the declarative particle which marks the style of Moroccan Arabic (Youssi, 1992: 279), while *əanna* marks the formal style of Modern (educated) Moroccan Arabic. These findings will be taken into consideration when interpreting our data in order to understand whether a similar type of stylistic variation (formal/less formal, educated/less educated) exists in the variety of Mixed Arabic emerging from online Moroccan newspapers.

Methodology

Corpus

The present study was conducted on a corpus consisting of 216 articles from three newspapers, *Goud*, *Hespress*, and *Alakhbar*, and more than 1000 comments from *Goud* and *Hespress*. Three articles per month were collected from the opinions and sport columns throughout the year 2016. All three newspapers share a generalist editorial line, covering a wide range of topics, and their editorial staff belongs to the same demographics (25-40 years). Concerning their relation to language choices, only *Goud*³ openly declares to promote *darija*. In fact, the name of the newspaper, *گود* *gūd*, derives from the name of the Moroccan weekly magazine *نيشان* *nīšān*; both names are synonymous and mean ‘straight’ in Moroccan Arabic. In particular, the weekly *Nichane* represented a Moroccan editorial experience, which had a brief life but an important impact on public opinion and an impressive reception in terms of sales and distributions (Miller 2010). Its success was due to the combination of sensitive topics and the direct and ironic language used, in which *darija* emerged, mainly in headlines (Hoogland 2018). Ahmed Najim, *Goud*’s editorial director, worked for *Nichane* and, after its final closure in 2010, decided to continue that experience by founding *Goud* in 2011⁴.

Instead, *Hespress* and *Alakhbar* prefer to publish in Standard Arabic, even though in *Alakhbar* some *darija* expressions emerge in articles by the director Rachid Nini, in his editorial column named “shouf tshouf”. This column was one of the early instances of *darija* in newspapers, first published in the historical newspaper *Almassae*, of which Nini was the editorial director before founding *Alakhbar* in 2012. According to Nini, the column “shouf tshouf” has an excellent public reception because *darija* “gave the signal to people that the column addresses them in a non-transcendental language that they understand⁵”. The most visited newspaper website in Morocco is *Hespress*⁶. Founded in 2007 by the brothers Hassan and Amine Guennouni, *Hespress* has had a great success from the beginning, thanks to the possibility for readers to publish their articles and comments. As a matter of fact, “Minbar Hespress”, one of the two opinions columns of *Hespress*, which was analyzed in this study, represents the first online public space dedicated to readers⁷.

³ Goud is at the 29th rank among the websites visited daily by Moroccans, according to the statistics of ALEXA, https://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/goud.ma?toggle=true&utm_expId=.NFDkwnQTSf2ZNn_fyyCLoQ.1&utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.alexa.com%2Ftopsites%2Fcountries%2FMA, last visited on 25/04/2019.

⁴ Information provided during an interview held in Casablanca on 30/03/2018.

⁵ From an interview held on 27/05/2018.

⁶ <https://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/hespress.com>, 25/04/2019.

⁷ It is however important to bear in mind that *Hespress* set out guidelines and rules that users must accept and respect. One of these rules concerns the variety of language, i.e. they only accept articles written in “proper Arabic”, see <https://www.hespress.com/publier.html>, last visited on 25/04/2019.

Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis was carried out on the total number of occurrences of the complementizers إن/أن (and يلي, in *darija*), introducing declarative sentences. The tool used was the software for text analysis Lexico 3.6: it allowed me to find all the attested forms, including the complementizers with prefixed particles (such as بأن/بان) and suffixed pronouns (such as إنه أنه وأنها).

The first search for concordances was launched in order to observe the syntactical context on the right and on the left of the particles. These results were therefore analyzed separately to identify only actual declarative sentences, and to eliminate clauses introduced by إن as emphatic particle or introducing conditional sentences. Therefore, I first classified the occurrences according to their different orthographic realizations (with or without *hamza*) and then according to the grammatical-syntactical categories preceding and succeeding the complementizers.

The sorting before was characterized by the following categories: suffixal verbs (perfect), prefixal verbs (imperfect) collocations (mostly compound temporal prepositions such as أن قبل and بعد أن but also lexical collocations such as لا بد and لا شك or simple prepositions such as على), simple nouns (such as ممكن or other participles such as ملاحظ) and phraseology, i.e., simple sentences composed by prepositions and nouns, for example لا يدع مجالاً للشك or more complex sentences such as لا بدع مجالاً للشك.

The sorting after was characterized by the complementizer with/without suffix pronouns and suffixal or prefixal verbs (perfect and imperfect), or SV sentences, or simple nouns, or nominal sentences.

Then, I searched for occurrences of asyndetic constructions according to the declarative verbs which had the higher frequency in the previous search. In particular, I found concordances with the declarative verb قال 'to say', the modal verbs يمكن 'to be able to, to can', يجب 'to have to' (and the *darija* pseudo verb خاص with the same meaning) and the verb أراد 'to want' (and its correspondent in *darija* بغى).

The aim of this second concordance search was to test whether from a quantitative point of view the frequency of the asyndetic constructions was relevant in order to interpret the syntactical variation in comparison with the three newspapers, but also to observe possible specificities of syntactic and stylistic choices.

Results

1- Orthographic distribution of the complementizer

The complementizer أن has a higher frequency throughout articles in all newspapers and in all columns. In opinions' column, on 1214 total occurrences, 1106 concern أن (503 in *Alakhbar*, 433 in *Hespress* and 170 in *Goud*) and only 57 ان (only 1 in *Alakhbar*, 14 in *Hespress* and 42 in *Goud*). The complementizer يلي occurs only in *Goud* (14 occurrences) and إن occurs more in *Alakhbar* (28 occurrences), lesser in *Hespress* (9 occurrences) and never in *Goud*. In sports column there are fewer occurrences (272 total amount), of which أن 86 in *Alakhbar*, 109 in *Hespress* and 59 in *Goud*; ان has a very low frequency, only 3 occurrences in *Hespress* and 9 in *Goud*, such as ان, only 1 occurrence in *Goud* and 5 in *Hespress*.

The most relevant remarks concern the higher occurrence of أن especially in *Alakhbar*, where moreover إن is more frequent than in the other newspapers. This is not the case in *Goud*, in which إن never occurs but where the *darija* بلي is used, even if in sporadic occurrences.

Concerning comments, it is possible to observe a similar situation. Nevertheless, the difference in percentage between the occurrences of the complementizer with/without *hamza* is smaller with respect to the articles' section. The comments section is marked by the occurrence of بلي in *Goud* and the higher frequency of ان in *Hespress*⁸, in contrast with the articles' sections⁹.

In conclusion, even though ان is globally quite used, it seems that journalists prefer the canonical orthography, unlike readers. An interesting remark, however, is that the orthographical representation of the complementizer with *hamza* also occurs in sentences in which elements of the *darija* are simultaneously used, as shown by the following examples:

(1) ولكن داكشي ماشي الأصح أن الدولة لي كان خاصها توفروا
But this is not the best (thing) that it's the state who had to economize.
(Goud, Mohamed Socrate, Opinion, 19/04/2016)

(2) وممكن للصحافة ديال بصح أن تشمها عبر القارات
It is possible for the good press to be proud across continents.
(Goud, Omar Ouchoun, Opinion, 02/08/2016)

2- Variation in the use of إن

According to Badawi *et al.* (2004), إنْ “has long been the compulsory particle after *qāla* قال ‘to say’ to introduce indirect speech”, (Badawi *et al.* 2004:711). Nevertheless, in the corpus the distribution of إن after the verb قال shows an important variation throughout the three newspapers, as shown in the following tables:

	Occ.	ASY	إن	أن	بأن	ان	بلي	Dr.Sp.
Goud	54	19	0	6	2	2	5	20
Hespress	52	10	1	3	7	0	0	31
Alakhbar	45	3	18	1	2	0	0	21
Tot.	151	32	19	10	11	2	5	72

Table 1 Concordances of *qāla* in opinions column - articles section

⁸ In this section there are 2 occurrences (1 in *Goud* and 1 in *Alakhbar*) of انو i.e. the complementizer ان with the *darija* suffix pronoun m.s. -و .

⁹ In the comments sections of opinions columns: أن 90 in *Goud* and 75 in *Hespress*, ان 59 in *Goud* and 65 in *Hespress*; بلي 5 only in *Goud*, and إن only once in *Hespress*; Instead in sport column: أن 3 in *Goud* and 55 in *Hespress*, ان 7 in *Goud* and 116 in *Hespress*, بلي once in *Goud* and إن never.

	Occ.	ASY	إن	أن	بأن	ان	بلي	Dr.Sp.
Goud	16	1	1	2	0	2	0	10
Hespress	16	0	6	1	0	0	0	9
Alakhbar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tot.	32	1	7	3	0	2	0	19

Table 2 Concordances of *qāla* in sports column - articles section

Therefore, it is possible to observe that in the opinion columns, the particle *إن* never occurs in *Goud*, whereas in *Alakhbar* its frequency is higher and more constant. It means that, in *Goud*'s opinion column, declarative syndetic sentences after the verb *qāla* are introduced exclusively by means of the particles *أن/ان*, *بأن*, and *بلي*. Although Badawi *et al.* (2004) already stated that in Written Modern Arabic it is possible to find the idiomatic expression “*qāla bi-*” and the particle *أن* introducing indirect speech, it seems that in the corpus such constructions have different functions. While Badawi *et al.* (2004) stated that the ‘idiomatic *qāla bi-*’ construction occurs when “speaker makes an assertion in which the exact spoken words are not the issue” (Badawi *et al.*, 2004:712), in the opinion columns the authors use this construction in order to underline the topic of the issue they are reporting, such as in the following examples:

- (1) [...] الذي قال عن تنازلات هؤلاء البرلمانيين بأنها مزایدات شعبية [...] [...]
Who said about the concessions of these parliamentarians that [these] are populist overbids. (Alakhbar, Rachid Nini, Opinion Column 01/03/2016)
- (2) أما الكاتب يحيى حقي فيقول عن الفن بأنه تنقيف الذهن والروح وخلق مزاج سليم [...] [...]
The writer Yahya Hakki says of art that it educates the mind and spirit and creates a healthy mood [...] (Hespress, Hicham Hamadi, Minbar Hespress, 07/05/2016)
- (3) [...] وأبصم على ما تقول بأننا نستحق أن ندفن [...] [...]
[...] And I mark on what you say, that is that we deserve to be buried [...] (Goud, Hamid Zid, Opinion Column, 22/05/2016)

Therefore, in (1) and (2) the topic introduced by *عن* is reported in the declarative clause introduced by *بأن* whose function is to focus on the exact words explaining the topic message.

Concerning the use of *أن* introducing indirect speech, Badawi *et al.* (2004) stated that this construction “is usually a variant of the normal subordination of verbs of commanding, requesting” (Badawi *et al.*, 2004:712), in which the verb *قال* means ‘to tell’. Nevertheless, the use of the particle *أن* introducing an indirect speech (or quotation) in *Goud* indeed reflects the characteristics of AMM assumed by Youssi (1992), where *أن* corresponds to the

anna particle used in oral modern (educated) Moroccan Arabic. In fact, when authors utilize syndetic constructions in indirect reported speech, the particle أن is preferred to بأن and إن, and the verb قال maintains the meaning of ‘to say’, as shown by the following examples:

(4) الشهرة لفقيه آخر يقول أن الأرض لا تدور.

The fame belongs to another jurist, who says that the earth does not spin.

(Goud, Omar Ouchoun, Opinion Column, 15/02/2016)

(5) خرج داك البيان ديال وزارة الداخلية و لي كايقول أنه أي واحد فرح لمقتل السفير الروسي فتركيا [...] .

This statement from the Ministry of the Interior has been released and it says that any one was pleased by the killing of the Russian ambassador in Turkey [...].

(Goud, Siham Elbaroudi, Opinion Column, 30/12/2016)

In (4) and (5) the particle أن is used instead of إن and بأن in order to introduce the declarative clause. Moreover, in the latter example, it is interesting to observe that the particle أن (with non-necessary dummy pronoun) represents the focus point of a codeswitching. In fact, the main sentence is in *darija* (see the relative pronoun لي, the demonstrative adjective داك, and the particle ديال for analytic annexation) and قال is in prefixal conjugation with the preverbal كا. This is an example among others in which morphosyntactic items of *darija* combine with the standard language. Nevertheless, in this latter example the choice of the particle أن shows a case of mixed style, not only because of its combination with standard and *darija* items, but also because in this syntactical context أن was preferred to بلي (plain *darija*) and to إن (plain *fushā*). It belongs to linguistic items from AMM, as assumed by Youssi (1992). In fact, a common trend in *Goud* is that أن embeds standard syntactical constructions, whereas بلي only occurs in plain *darija* sentences, as in the following examples:

(6) قاليا بلي مزيان نساfer و نشوف ناس اخرين و بلادات

He told me that it is good that I travel and see other people and countries.

(Goud, Nada Eljebli, Opinion Column, 04/10/2016)

(7) حتى فتقرير الامين العام بان كي مون اللي كيحول باللي¹⁰ مزوار دار خطأ

Even in the report of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon who says that Mezouar made a mistake.

(Goud, Adil Elmaknasi and Hanna Abu Ali, 30/04/2016)

Therefore, in (6) and (7) it is possible to observe that full sentences in *darija* occur in *Goud* not only in opinion articles belonging to narration¹¹ (6), but also in articles relating to international politics (7), in other words, in domains and topics usually expressed only in *fushā*.

¹⁰ *Darija* has an inconsistent orthography; the same author often writes the same words in different ways. For more details on the use of *darija* in written productions see Caubet (2012, 2017 and 2018).

¹¹ In the opinion column in *Goud* serial novels are published, such as مذكرات محمد سقراط فالسجن as an autobiographical novel, or such as in the case of this example مذكرات ملكة سانك ابطوال; see Caubet (2018).

3- Asyndetic vs Syndetic constructions

Concerning the distribution of Asyndetic (Asy) and Syndetic (Syn) constructions, it is possible to observe quite a variation throughout the articles' section of newspapers with the constructions following *يجب* , *يمكن* , *يريد* , and *خاص* (in *darija*), as shown in the following tables:

يجب	Occ	Asy	Syn	يمكن	Occ	Asy	Syn	يريد	occ	Asy	Syn	بغى Asy	خاص Asy
G	1	0	1	G	24	14	10	G	4	1	3	25	23
H	24	12	12	H	34	14	20	H	20	10	10	0	0
A	23	9	14	A	19	7	12	A	17	11	6	0	0
Tot	48	21	27	Tot	77	35	42	Tot	41	22	19	25	23

Table 3 Opinion columns, articles, distribution of Asyndetic vs. Syndetic constructions

يجب	Occ	Asy	Syn	يمكن	Occ	Asy	Syn	يريد	occ	Asy	Syn	بغى Asy	خاص Asy
G	1	0	1	G	1	0	1	G	0	0	0	2	3
H	1	1	0	H	2	2	0	H	2	2	0	0	0
A	1	1	0	A	1	1	0	A	0	0	0	0	0
Tot	3	2	1	tot	4	3	1	tot	2	2	0	2	3

Table 4 Sport columns, articles, distribution of Asyndetic vs. Syndetic constructions

In articles of opinion columns, occurrences of syndetic constructions are more frequent than asyndetic structures. The contrary is true concerning the comments' section, where the frequency of asyndetic constructions' occurrences is higher (18/33 asyndetic occurrences of *يجب* and 15 of *خاص* – 1 in *Hespress* and 14 in *Goud* - , 10/19 occurrences of *يمكن* , 7/13 occurrences of *يريد* and 17 occurrences of *بغى* in *Goud*). Nevertheless, in *Goud* modal verbs and the verb 'to want' are more used in *darija*, as the following examples show:

وزير الداخلية ماشي غير هو اللي خاصو يتحاكم. (1)

The interior minister is not the only one who should be prosecuted.

(Goud, Hanna Abu Ali, Opinion column, 19/09/2016)

ويُزاف منهم بالنسبة ليه الريف أرض مغربية وهاذوك غي أوباش بغاو يزرعوا الفتنة فالبلاد ويقسموها (2)
 For many of them, according to him, the Rif is a Moroccan land, and those are just rabbles who want to cultivate *Fitna* in the country and divide it.
 (Goud, Mohamed Socrate, Opinion Column, 14/12/2016)

As shown in these examples, *darija* syntax prefers asyndetic constructions, and it is also interesting to observe in (2) that the verb بغاو in *darija* is followed by the standard verb يزرعوا which follows the standard conjugation in Arabic. This sort of mixing between morphosyntax structures and lexical choices from *darija* and *fuṣḥā* is a main feature in most opinion articles in *Goud*. These writing practices just show that mixed varieties of Arabic, usually widespread in oral communication, can also be used in formal written productions, and the variability of styles depends on the authors' choices and the communication purposes they have.

Conclusions

The three newspapers analyzed show variable writing practices and attitudes. *Alakhbar* and *Hespress* maintain a formal journalistic style and a language more adherent to the standard variety (also thanks to the correctors who work in their editorial staff), both at the level of orthography, as shown by the higher distribution of أن, as well as in the more extensive use of traditional syntactic structures, as it is the case with the syndetic construction with modal verbs and the use of the complementizer إن following قال .

Goud, on the contrary, seems to prefer a style more adherent to orality. The stylistic variation which emerges shows a mixed style characterized by the alternation of elements in plain *darija* and other middle items, e.g., the alternation between أن and بلي followed by the verb قال, which marks a *darija* style (with بلي) and a middle/mixed style (with أن). Another characteristic of the mixed style in *Goud* is the preference of asyndetic structures with *darija* modal verbs in combination with morphosyntactic structures in *fuṣḥā*.

Due to the lack of extensive quantitative studies on syntactical variation on written contemporary Arabic in Morocco, it is still difficult to state whether these linguistic practices represent a common trend in journalistic production. It would seem rather an individual linguistic and ideological choice, but which nevertheless represents a writing trend which continues to spread through digital platforms and whose developments will be interesting to observe.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN VOCABULARY IN ARABIC

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Abstract. The beginnings of Christian literature in Arabic and the use of Arabic in a liturgical setting go back to the early 8th century. During its history, the Arabic Christian vocabulary underwent several stages of formation. The earliest common Christian vocabulary was much influenced by Aramaic, which co-existed with Arabic in the region for centuries. In addition, different lexical peculiarities developed within the vocabulary specific for each Middle Eastern Christian community (Melkites, Copts, Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites), reflecting their religious traditions and their cultural history. The Arabic Christian Orthodox vocabulary developed under the strong influence of Byzantine tradition. As the manuscript sources witness, in the 17th - 18th centuries a large number of Church terms (especially from the liturgical domain) were Greek loanwords that circulated widely and were in common use among the Melkites. If compared with the contemporary texts, it can be observed that many original Greek terms became archaisms and were replaced with Arabic equivalents. At the same time, the majority of the terms used since the Ottoman epoch coincide with the contemporary variants. It can be concluded that the bulk of Arabic Christian Orthodox terminology was formed in the 17th century, in the period of the “Melkite Renaissance”.

Keywords: *Arab Christians, Melkites, Christian vocabulary, Orthodox liturgical terminology, Greek loanwords.*

By the time of the Arab conquest in the 7th century, the majority of the population of the Middle East were Christians who spoke different languages (Syrian, Greek, Coptic, etc.) and belonged to a number of denominations. There was no common Arab Christian culture in the Middle East: 5 ethno-confessional communities had been formed in the region, and after the Arab conquest each of them created bilingual or sometimes trilingual literature for centuries. Thus, Coptic and Arabic were used by the Copts, Syriac and Arabic – by the Jacobites (Syriac Orthodox), the Nestorians, the Maronites and the Melkites (the Greek Orthodox); among the latter, in addition, the knowledge of Greek was widespread. Close contacts existed between cultures of common denominations – *e.g.*, between Monophysite communities (Copts, Ethiopians, Jacobites, Armenians) (Panchenko 2001: 153).

Faced with the Islamic rule, the Middle Eastern Christian communities inevitably passed through the process of Arabization and adopted Arabic as a spoken, literary and liturgical language, although the national language of each tradition retained certain functions for centuries. The most intense language shift occurred in the Levantine region. The beginnings of Christian literature in Arabic go back to the early Abbasid period. There is an evidence that already at the beginning of the 8th century the Arabic language was

coming into use in a liturgical setting: there survives a bilingual fragment of Psalm 78 in Greek and Arabic written in Greek letters, found in Damascus (Noble & Treiger 2014: 21).

In the academic works mainly the 9th (sometimes the 10th) century is indicated as the period when the transition to Arabic in Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Lower Egypt was finally completed (Versteegh 1997: 94–95). This process also affected the domain of Church life. Among the liturgical traditions, the Byzantine rite was the most open to the language shift. In particular, in the Melkite community the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom had been fully Arabicized by the 11th century (Dik 1973: 69). The Arabic-Christian literature originated in the 8th–9th centuries in Melkite milieus, namely in the Palestinian monasteries and the monastery of St Catherine in Sinai (Moiseeva 2015: 21). This is explained by the fact that in the pre-Chalcedonian Churches the “national” language (Syriac or Coptic) was a sacred language of worship, and its status was supported even when it was no longer used as a spoken language. On the other hand, the worship of the Orthodox, in particular in Palestine, had been bilingual (Greek and Syriac) for a long time, and as they gradually lost the knowledge of Greek, the latter was replaced by Arabic.

In the first two centuries of the history of the Arab Caliphate there existed a situation of bilingualism in the cities of the Levant: Arabic increasingly became the language of marketplace and public life, whereas Aramaic continued to be spoken at home (Retsö 2006: 178). The rather rapid pace of the language shift in the Syro-Palestinian region, as compared to other areas of the Caliphate, is explained not least by the fact that the interference took place between the closely related languages. According to the travelers’ testimonies, in the 13th century the Syrian Christians communicated among themselves in Arabic and only in writing used the Syriac alphabet (Semitskije jazyki... 1903: 151). In the end, Aramaic became limited to Christian and Jewish communities, which aimed to preserve this language as an element of their identity.

The influence of Aramaic on the Christian vocabulary formed in the classical era of the Arab Caliphate was very significant. The main layer of common Christian vocabulary mostly has a Semitic origin, with many Aramaic loans: *bī’a* ‘church’ < *bē’tā*; *al-Masīḥ* ‘Christ’ < *mšīḥā*; *malakūt* ‘kingdom’ < *malkūtā*; *qurbān* ‘sacrifice’ < *qurbānā*; *ṣalāt* ‘prayer’ < *ṣlōtā*; *nāqūs* ‘bell’ < *nāqōšā*; *ṣawm* ‘fast’ < *ṣawmā*. Here we may mention also the liturgical term *al-bā’ūt* ‘Great Vigil of the first day of Easter’, originated from the Aramaic word *bā’ūtā*, meaning ‘supplication’. It should be noted that this lexical layer includes not only nominal forms, but also commonly used verbs, well adapted in Arabic, e.g.: *ṣalab* ‘to crucify’ < *ṣlab*; *tāb* ‘to repent’ < *tāb*; *ḡaddafa* ‘to blaspheme’ < *gaddep*.¹

Middle Eastern Christians came into close contact with the Muslims from the very beginning. However, if the Umayyads (661–750) pursued a policy of tolerance, the Abbasids instituted a new conversion policy radically different from that of the Umayyads. On the other hand, it is during this period that the tradition of Christian-Muslim religious polemic developed, which gave impetus to the formation of the relevant literary genre (Noble & Treiger 2014: 21, 23). We can assume that the doctrinal concepts of the Christian faith were transmitted into Arabic primarily on the basis of Semitic vocabulary, since the language of theological notions had to be understood by a wide range of recipients.

¹ We are grateful to Dr. Ovidiu Pietrăreanu for his kind advice concerning the transliteration of the Aramaic vocabulary.

Therefore, while studying the historical path of the Arabic-speaking Christian communities of the Middle East, it is necessary to take into account the interaction of two main factors – the autochthonous Church tradition and the surrounding socio-cultural environment of the Muslim majority. Although the Arab Muslim and Arab Christian communities, separated doctrinally, used completely different concepts and terminology (Žuravskij 1990: 100), the Arab Christian literary tradition underwent a certain influence from the dominant – the Muslim – culture of the region.

A certain part of religious vocabulary was borrowed by the Christians from the Muslim tradition, and for a long time it was used without changes, as the 17th century manuscripts testify, *e.g.*:

- *az-Zabūr* ‘Psalter’ – this Qur’anic term is found in the title of the 17th century Psalter from the collection of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ms. A 187); the Islamic formula is attached to the name of David the Prophet as well: كتاب زبور داوود النبي عليه افضل السلام ‘*The book of Psalms of David the Prophet – peace be upon him!*’ (Serikov 2005, fol. 1r). Later the term *az-Zabūr* was replaced with *Kitābu l-mazāmīr*;

- *naṣārā* ‘Christians’ – it is believed that the term *naṣārā* (lit.: ‘Nazarenes’), used 14 times in the Qur’an to designate the Christians (Steenbrink 2016: 200), comes from the Jewish tradition that rejects the Messianism of Jesus Christ. From there, the term was taken over by the Muslim tradition, where it denotes Christians in general and Christians of the Orient in particular (Islam ... 1991: 189). Earlier, this term was also used by the Christians – *e.g.*, in the Journal of Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo (17th century) it appears 34 times². At the same time, in the Arab Christian usage the term *masīḥiyyūn* predominates (in the Journal of Paul of Aleppo it is found 111 times). Approximately from the early 20th century on, the Arabic-speaking Christians use only the term *masīḥiyyūn* for self-identification, rejecting the variant *naṣārā*;

- *ḡum‘a* ‘week’ – the name of the day of the week, holy for the Muslims, also marked the week as a whole. It is noteworthy that in the Journal of Paul of Aleppo only the word *ḡum‘a* appears in this meaning, *e.g.*: ويوم الخميس من جمعة مرفع الجبن ‘On Thursday of Cheesefare Week’ (fol. 35v); its modern analogue, the word ‘*usbū*’, is virtually absent. In the meaning of ‘week’ the word *ḡum‘a* is still used in Syrian colloquial Arabic.

The epithets of God from the Qur’anic tradition, as well as the Islamic formulas, were used in many Christian manuscripts, attached to the names of the righteous of the Old Testament, *e.g.*, to the name of Adam, when the dates after the Byzantine World Era were mentioned, *e.g.*: عز وجل ‘the Almighty’, رب العالمين ‘the Lord of the Worlds’, لأبينا آدم عليه أفضل السلام ‘... of our father Adam – peace be upon him!’³.

Subsequently, most of the terms of the Islamic tradition dropped out of usage in the Arab Christian milieu. However, there are exceptions that attract special attention. Among them is the word *ḥaḡḡ* ‘pilgrimage’ that traditionally denotes visiting Mecca by the Muslims at a set time (the month of Dhu al-Hijjah). This term is rarely found in Christian Arabic manuscripts of the Ottoman era, since the Christians used to express the meaning

² Our calculations are based on the Paris manuscript *Arabe 6016*.

³ It is noteworthy that in the Kiev manuscript of Paul of Aleppo’s Journal (late 18th century) the mentioned formula is added by the scribe after Adam’s name, in spite of its absence in the original version (Petrova 2015: 222).

of pilgrimage by the word *ziyāra* (lit.: ‘visit’). It is precisely this variant that appears in the title of the anonymous Melkite work written in the 1630s and devoted to a pilgrimage made by some Damascus Christians to the Sinai Peninsula: خبير زيارة جبل الله طور سينا وما تأملناه هناك: *‘Account of the visit to the Mountain of Lord Sinai and of what we saw there’* (Balamand..., fol. 113r). In this text, the word *ziyāra* in the meaning of the Christian pilgrimage occurs 6 times, whereas the term *ḥaġġ* was never used.

Another example is found in Paul of Aleppo’s Journal (originally composed in the middle of the 17th century), where the term *ziyāra* in the meaning of ‘pilgrimage’ occurs 47 times, e.g.: ثم انه خرج لزيارة دير السيدة صيدنايا للتبرك منه *‘He went [for pilgrimage] to the convent of Our Lady in Saidnaya, to venerate it’* (fol. 8v). At the same time, the word *ḥaġġ* is found only twice:

‘They [the Moldavians] come together from all over the country for his [St. John of Suceava] feast, which is celebrated on Thursday after the Pentecost, to make pilgrimage to him’ (fol. 46v);

‘This monastery [the Holy Trinity St. Sergius Lavra] is equated by them to Jerusalem, [the church of] the Resurrection and all the holy places, so the sins are forgiven to everyone who makes pilgrimage there’ (fol. 199v).

However, today we observe a tendency for the wider use of the term *ḥaġġ* by the Arab Christians in the sense of pilgrimage. It occurs mostly in informal speech; the verbal noun *ḥaġġ* and the plural form *ḥuġġāġ* ‘pilgrims’ may often be found in the programs of pilgrimage tours, in reports on Christian websites, etc.

Arab Christian communities in different historical epochs experienced both cultural revival and decay. The turning point in the history of the Middle East was the era of the Crusades, when the Christians turned into suppressed ethno-confessional minorities (Panchenko 2012: 72). The epoch of the Mamluk rule, that lasted for about three centuries, became a period of cultural decline for Arabic-speaking non-Muslim communities, given the socio-political conditions that were extremely unfavorable for them (Noble & Treiger 2014: 32). At the same time, it should be pointed out that in that period the clergy and monks, especially in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, were representatives of different nations. Greek-Arabic bilingualism and even trilingualism (Greek – Syriac – Arabic) was a mass phenomenon, as evidenced by the colophons of the manuscripts that have come down to us (Panchenko 2012: 84).

During the time of the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Ottoman Empire, Christians got a certain freedom in the internal life of their communities, due to a higher degree of tolerance on the part of the authorities and the new Millet system introduced by the state. This contributed to a revival of the Christians’ literary activities in Arabic, after the long-time decline (Noble & Treiger 2014: 32). In the Ottoman period, Middle Eastern Christians and their Church structures, for the first time after centuries, found themselves within a single state. Political stability, on the one hand, intensified their mutual relationship, on the other hand – it helped them renew their ties with the outside world. When Syria became a part of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek Orthodox Christians – at that time the largest Christian community in the region – experienced, along with a population explosion, a cultural revival that demonstrated the strength of their identity and cultural tradition.

One of the most significant periods in which a noticeable surge of intellectual creativity in the Arabic-speaking Orthodox milieu took place was the 17th century. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as the “Melkite Renaissance” (Panchenko 2012: 512). From that time on, a large number of manuscripts has survived. They provide important data for studying the history of Arabic among the Middle Eastern Christians. Due to these texts, it is possible to trace the process of gradual adaptation of the Arabic language to the internal Church needs of the Orthodox community and the development of the liturgical vocabulary in Arabic.

As it is known, each of the aforementioned communities employs the common Christian vocabulary, as well as a special lexical layer in the field of dogmatics, liturgy, local customs, etc. In particular, the Arab Orthodox culture was formed on the basis of the Byzantine tradition, which resulted in a significant Greek influence in the Melkite milieu. This is clearly manifested by the manuscript sources of the “Melkite Renaissance” epoch.

The beginning of the Arab Orthodox cultural revival is associated with the Metropolitan of Aleppo Meletius Karma, later Patriarch of Antioch under the name Euthymius II (1572–1635). He became a monk in the Palestinian Lavra of Mar Saba, which played an important cultural role in the Middle Eastern Orthodoxy and traditionally had a multi-ethnic composition of its inhabitants. Obviously, it is there that the future hierarch, who mastered Greek and Syriac, realized the isolation of Arabic-speaking Christians within the Orthodox world and made efforts to overcome it. He saw the urgent need in producing new, high-quality translations of liturgical books into Arabic, taking as his model standard Greek editions printed in Venice (Panchenko 2012: 513).

Meletius Karma’s aim was to revive the Byzantine cultural tradition among the Melkites. In an effort to unify the liturgical practices of Eastern Christianity, the hierarch tried to eliminate the elements of the local Syrian rite that distinguished the Antiochian Church from the rest of the Orthodox churches. In the preface to the versions of the liturgical books he revised, he noted that numerous discrepancies between the Greek and Arabic liturgical texts prompted him to this activity. In particular, in the preface to the Liturgikon dated 1612 he wrote: “*Since these [prayers] were in Greek, the Orthodox translated them into Arabic and Syriac. Subsequently, ignorant scribes changed a lot by adding or deleting words. When I, the humble Meletius, examined the Arabic and Syriac manuscripts and collated them with the Greek original, I found that they were full of gaps and variations. I corrected them as accurately as possible based on the Greek text and translated them into Arabic through hard work, when I was Metropolitan of Aleppo*” (Nassif 2016: 122).

By 1612, Meletius Karma had prepared his versions of the Liturgikon, Synaxarion, Sticherarion and Typikon, by 1628 – the Horologion, in 1633 – the Euchologion. The liturgical books edited by him were distributed widely among the Melkites and led to the complete restoration of the liturgical tradition (Panchenko 2012: 513–514). His authority is proved by the fact that in the titles of many Arab Orthodox liturgical manuscripts – belonging not only to the Patriarchate of Antioch, but also to the Church of Jerusalem – it is noted that the text is edited by him, *e.g.*, in the 18th century Horologion that comes from Palestine (IR NBUV, f. 301, No. 338p, fol. 1r):

كتاب اورولوجيون الصلوات المفروضه في السبعة اوقاة اخرجت من الرومي الي العربي بكد وتعجب البطريرك
الحموي افثيموس لما كان مطران بمدينة حلب

'The Horologion book of the seven daily prayers. Translated from Greek into Arabic with the efforts and hard work of the Patriarch Euthymius from Hama, when he was Metropolitan of Aleppo'.

The work of Meletius Karma was continued by his disciples, especially the Patriarchs of Antioch Euthymius III and Macarius III al-Za'im. The activities of the latter are well known, due to the Journal of his journey to the countries of Eastern Europe (1652–1659), composed by his son and companion, the Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo. This important work contains rich material for the diachronic study of the Christian vocabulary in the Arabic-speaking environment. This text, created in the genre of travel notes, represents the Melkites' real usage of Church terminology at that epoch.

It is known that during the travels of Patriarch Macarius, the Greek language was the means of communication between the representatives of Orthodox communities of different countries. Since it was used in the Orthodox worship for a long time along with Arabic, and Christian literary heritage was translated from it, it had a significant influence on the "Christian Middle Arabic", which served as a written koine among the Arabic-speaking Christians for centuries (until the spread of printing). It was the norm for the Arab Orthodox higher clergy to know Greek, at least for liturgical purposes. The manuscript sources of the Ottoman period, compared with contemporary texts, give us the opportunity to trace the peculiarities of functioning of many Church terms in Arabic of that epoch and their subsequent fate.

For the present study, we selected the terms from the domain of the Orthodox liturgical practice found in the following sources available to us:

- a) Paul of Aleppo's Journal⁴ (Bibliothèque...);
- b) the Liturgikon edited by Meletius Karma (1612)⁵ (Ἱερά μὀνή...);
- c) the first Arabic printed edition of the Horologion (*Kitābu l-'Ūrūlūgiyūn...* 1702);
- d) 18th century liturgical manuscripts: Horologion (IR NBUV, f. 301, No. 338p, No. 339p), Octoechos (IR NBUV, f. 301, No. 353p), Apostle (IR NBUV, f. 301, No. 23p), General Menaion (IR NBUV, f. 74, No. 25).

The selected terms were compared with their analogues in the following modern editions: a) Great Horologion (*Kitābu s-Sawā'ī...* 1940); b) Great Euchologion edited by the Bishop Raphael of Brooklyn (*Kitābu l-'Iḥḥūlūgī...* 1955); c) Typikon of the Church of Antioch (*Dalīl...* 2018).

The earliest source available – the bilingual Arabic-Greek Liturgikon (Ἱερά μὀνή ...) – contains some exclamations only in Greek. Thus, the deacon's exclamation "Master, give the blessing" is written everywhere in original with Greek letters (Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα), including the Arabic text of liturgical guidelines, marked in red ink. The first printed edition of the bilingual Arabic-Greek Liturgikon (Snagov monastery, 1701) provides the same exclamation in Greek transliterated in Arabic letters: افلوجيڤن داسيوطا. In Paul of

⁴ Our calculations provided here are based on the preliminary version of the critical edition of Paul of Aleppo's Journal, which is being prepared within the framework of the joint research project with the Romanian Academy (supervised by Dr. Ioana Feodorov).

⁵ We would like to thank Dr. Charbel Nassif (University of Leiden) for providing a photocopy of this manuscript, preserved in the library of the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN VOCABULARY IN ARABIC

Aleppo's Journal the Greek variant of this exclamation – ابلوجيصن دسيوطا (or افلوجيصن دسيوطا) occurs much more frequently (27 times) than the Arabic equivalent بارك يا سيّد (twice). Later, the vast majority of the Greek variants were Arabicized – e.g., the Great Euchologion (*Kitābu l-'Iḥlūḡī...* 1955) comprises this exclamation only in Arabic: بارك يا سيّد.

For comparative analysis, we have identified 145 terms from the domain of the liturgical practice of the Orthodox Church that appear both in the mentioned sources of the Ottoman epoch and in the contemporary editions. They can be classified into 5 thematic groups; within each group the number of Greek loans, Greek and Arabic doublets are indicated, as well as the lexemes that have undergone changes in comparison with their equivalents in the manuscript sources or have remained unchanged, as follows:

	Thematic group	Total	Greek loans	Doublets	Terms substituted	Terms unchanged
1	Church services, their elements and prayer names	30	24	3	14	13
2	Liturgical books and terms of hymnography	39	38	9	3	27
3	Church space terms	15	8	–	4	11
4	Vestments	12	8	–	–	11
5	Liturgical vessels	22	10	1	3	18
6	Church ranks	27	20	2	3	17
	Total	145	108	15	27	97

The total number of Greek terms from our sample divided into archaisms that were later replaced by contemporary Arabic equivalents (27 cases), and that remained unchanged and were adopted by the Orthodox Christian vocabulary (81 cases), e.g.:

Greek Archaisms		
الأسبارينون ← صلاة الغروب	< Εσπερινός	Vespers
الأورترن ← صلاة السحر	< Ὄρθρος	Matins
أغابي ← مائدة المحبة	< Αγάπη	Agape feast/ love feast
أجياز موسى ← تقديس الماء	< Αγιασμός	Blessing of water
منيموسينون ← تذكار	< Μνημόσυνον	Commemoration
الأناسطاسيس ← قداس الفصح	< Ανάστασις	Easter vigil
ماغس إيكونومس ← مدبر عظيم	< Μέγας οικονόμος	Great Oikonomos
بوليالون ← ثريا	< Πολυέλεος	Chandelier

Adopted Greek terms		
السنيابتي	< Συναπτή	Litany
باراكليسي	< Παράκληση	Prayer canon
مطانية	< Μετάνοια	Down-to-earth bow
التيبكون	< Τυπικόν	Typikon
نرتكس	< Νάρθηκας	Church porch
بطراشيل	< Επιτραχήλιο	Epitrachelion
تريكارى	< Τρικήριο	Trikirion
أرشمندريت	< Αρχιμανδρίτης	Archimandrite

It is noteworthy that in the second thematic group (liturgical books and terms of hymnography) almost all the terms are Greek, some of which also have Arabic doublets. A separate group includes incipits of the prayers that appear in the liturgical guidelines of the Typicon. In the Journal of Paul of Aleppo almost all the incipits of prayers are Greek written in Arabic letters, *e.g.*: *اكسيون استين* < Ἄξιον ἐστίν ‘It is Truly Meet...’; *باصا بنوئي* < *Εν Ιορδάνη* ‘[When Thou, O Lord, wast baptized] in the Jordan’, etc. All these expressions have been Arabicized, with few exceptions; the most widespread one is the indication to the Minor Doxology in the liturgical and prayer books via the Greek variant: *دوكسا... كائين* < Δόξα... και νυν ‘Glory... both now...’ (*Dalīl...* 2018: 17).

Within the thematic groups analyzed there are 15 cases of Greek-Arabic doublets functioning nowadays. Most of them are terms of hymnography, *e.g.*:

برامون / عشية	< Παραμονή	Eve (of a feast)
راسون / جبة رهبانية	< Ράσο	Cassock
إيصودن / دخول	< Εἴσοδος	Entrance (liturgical)
الأكطويخس / كتاب المعزّي	< Οκτώηχος	Octoechos
الماكارزمي / التطويبات	< Μακαρισμοί	The Beatitudes
أكاتيسن / خدمة المديح	< Ακάθιστος	Acathistus
أغرينية / صلاة الخبزات الخمس	< Αγρυπνία	The Lity
أرشيدياكون / رئيس الشماسة	< Αρχιδιάκονος	Archdeacon
أيقونسطاس / حامل الأيقونات	< Εικονοστάσιο	Iconostasis

According to our calculations, most lexical variants of the Ottoman epoch coincide with the contemporary ones. 27 terms from the Ottoman period replaced with other equivalents are primarily names of divine services and their parts and isolated cases from other thematic groups; most of the substituted terms are Greek, there are several archaisms of Semitic origin as well: *ṣawma‘atu n-nawāqīs* → *ğarasiyya* ‘bell tower’, *az-Zabūr* → *Kitābu l-mazāmīr* ‘Psalter’.

Sometimes we can observe the reverse process – some new Greek loans enter the Arab Christian vocabulary, *e.g.*, the term *lītūrġiyā* (< Λειτουργία ‘liturgy’), which is not found in the sources of the Ottoman epoch (the word *quddās*, of Semitic origin, is traditionally used in this meaning). As for the neologism *lītūrġiyā*, its meaning is broader, as it is used to refer to the Church service in general, and is not associated only with the Divine Liturgy.

The morphological adaptation of the Greek loans in the Christian Arabic vocabulary is manifested primarily in the adoption of the Arabic form of the plural – both sound feminine ending *-āt* and the broken form:

Sound feminine plural	مطانية ← مطانيات صاكو ← صاكوات	< Μετάνοια < Σάκκος	Down-to-earth bow Sakkos (dalmatic)
Broken plural	قنداق ← قناديق أفشين ← أفاشين	< Κοντάκιο < Ευχή	Kontakion Prayer
Both forms	إرموس ← إرموسات / أراميس	< Ειρμός	Irmos

On the other hand, some of the Greek loans that have entered the Arabic vocabulary are morphologically unadapted, since they have been borrowed in the form of the plural: البرويجياسميننا < Προηγιασμένα ‘Pre-sanctified Gifts’; المكارزمي < Μακαρισμοί ‘The Beatitudes’⁶. To date, one can find variations between the adapted form, having the Arabic plural ending, and the unadapted Greek one, in the neutral plural form: أفلوجيطاريات vs. أفلوجيطاريا < Ευλογητάρια ‘Evlogitaria’ (troparia of the Resurrection)⁷; التنيكات vs. التنيكا < Τυπικά ‘the Typika’ (a kind of a brief Church service)⁸. The interesting example is the borrowing of the Greek word Διακαινησίμου in the Genitive case in the term جمعة الدياكنيسيمو ‘Bright Week’; this variant – nowadays archaic⁹ – is found in Paul of Aleppo’s Journal and the liturgical texts from the Ottoman epoch.

The derivation of verbs from Greek stems, as the analyzed vocabulary shows, was unproductive. In the domain of Arabic liturgical terminology, we found only two cases:

a) the archaism *qandala* < κανδήλι ‘icon lamp’. The Journal of Paul of Aleppo, where the term is used 8 times, shows that in the 17th century Arab Christian usage this verb meant ‘to anoint with blessed oil’:

ثم وضعوا ايقونة القديس حسب ما امرهم سيدنا البطريرك مع قنديل زيت حسب عادتنا، وتقلدوا البطاركة منه
وتقلدوا الملك والملكة

‘Then they put the icon of the Saint, as our Lord the Patriarch ordered, along with a lamp with oil, according to our custom. The patriarchs anointed themselves with it and anointed the Tsar and Tsarina’ (fol. 231v).

b) the verb *šaršana* < χειροτονώ ‘to ordain’, well integrated in the Arab Christian vocabulary. Nowadays this verb functions along with the Arabic equivalent *rasama*. In the Journal of Paul of Aleppo, the word *šaršana* is used 17 times in the form of the verb and 46 times in the form of the verbal noun (*šarašuniyya*), whereas the verb *rasama* in the Church context is found only three times, in the meaning of blessing of the lower clergy:

وفي هذا اليوم رسم شماس أنغنسط لكاتبه الفقير

⁶ Along with this term the Arabic equivalent *at-taṭwībāt* is used.

⁷ In the contemporary editions the Arabic calque *at-tabrikāt* is found as well.

⁸ The Arabic equivalent *ar-rusūm* is used nowadays as well.

⁹ The contemporary equivalent is *'usbū'u t-taḡdīdāt*.

'On that day he ordained the humble author of these lines subdeacon-anagnost [cantor]' (fol. 7v).

At present, one can observe that in the case when both a Greek archaism and an Arabic equivalent are used in liturgical texts, they are often presented through the conjunction 'aw 'or', or the Greek term is explained, e.g.:

إذا كانت صلاة الخمس خبزات المعروفة بالأغربية...
 'When the Lity, known as *agribniyya*, is served...' (Kitābu l-*Iḥḥūlūgī*... 1955);
 المزامير على كيريه اكر كصا (لفظة يونانية تعني "يا رب إليك صرخت")
 'Psalms *Kīrīye ikirakṣā* (Greek expression meaning "Lord, I have cried")¹⁰.

Thus, in the previous centuries the Greek loanwords represented regular borrowings integrated in the Arab Christian literary vocabulary, which is evidenced by their presence in liturgical books, especially in the printed editions of the Ottoman epoch. In contemporary editions of the Church of Antioch some of the Greek words found in the text are explained in notes or listed separately as background information. In this way the publishers (editors, catechists, etc.) make efforts so that this vocabulary, being an important part of the Byzantine heritage, would not be forgotten by Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians.

We can conclude that the bulk of the Arabic Orthodox Church vocabulary with specialized meanings was formed in the period of the Melkite Renaissance, due, to a great extent, to the translation and editorial efforts of the Metropolitan Meletius Karma. The comparative analysis of lexical units found in manuscript sources and in contemporary texts proves that a certain number of Greek words have become archaisms and have been replaced with Arabic equivalents. At the same time, it can be stated that most of the Church terms of the Ottoman epoch coincide with the contemporary variants.

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¹⁰ Example from a liturgical text on the official page of the Patriarchate of Antioch (<https://www.facebook.com/Antiochpatriarchate.org/posts/714004145369968/>).

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PERIPHRASTIC COMPARATIVE STRUCTURES IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC – WHICH ONES SHOULD BE TAKEN AS MANIFESTATIONS OF ANALYTICALLY ORIENTED EVOLUTIONS?

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Abstract. This paper deals with evolutions that appear to become significant in relation to the way in which degrees of comparison are expressed in Modern Standard Arabic. It deals mainly with structures that represent different types of deviations of what would generally be considered the norm of Modern Standard Arabic: the use of periphrastic structures where single units might have been expected, the adverbialization of the elative *'akṭar* within structures conveying the comparative degree, the erosion of the norm-sanctioned use of specifying complements after annexations conveying the superlative degree headed by *'akṭar*, the apparent reluctance to use verbal nouns as specifying complements when they are associated with the passive voice. In searching for possible or plausible reasons for these tendencies and phenomena, we have highlighted the plurality of domains and disciplines that can shed light on them: phonetics, morphology, syntax, rhetoric, stylistics. We have also advanced some expectations concerning the way in which some of these phenomena might evolve.

Keywords: *adjective, elative, degrees of comparison, participle, verbal noun, phonetics, morphology, syntax, rhetoric, stylistics.*

1. Introduction

Expressing degrees of comparison in Arabic is usually associated with structures including the type of nominal part of speech known in Arabic grammatical terminology as *ism at-tafḍīl* (“the name used to show preeminence”) and in Western terminology as the “elative” (based on the representativeness of the pattern *'afʿal* for its internal morphology, Arab grammarians also designate it using the formula *'afʿal at-tafḍīl*). Since the stages of Qur’anic and Classical Arabic (CA) both synthetic and analytic ways of expressing comparison by means of this nominal¹ have been attested, and the choice between the two

¹ The traditional view in Western grammar is that the elative is an adjective – this is reflected in the terms used by William Wright in introducing the elative in his *Grammar of the Arabic Language* (“from verbal adjectives with three radicals, or with three radicals and a letter of prolongation, are derived adjectives of the form *'afʿalu*, which have the signification of our comparative and superlative” – Wright 1996 vol. I: 140), as well as in much more recent works, like the grammars of Elsaid Badawi *et al.* and Karin C. Ryding (“the Arabic form *'afʿalu* is a graded adjective used to express a superlative [...] or a comparative” – Badawi *et al.* 2004: 246; “the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives in Arabic are sometimes referred to together in grammatical descriptions of Arabic as ‘elative’ forms” – Ryding 2008: 244). The same can be said about the Arab grammatical tradition, echoed by a work

possibilities is generally, and in principle, determined by a set of rules that can be found in prescriptive grammars, whereas those grammars that also embrace a descriptive outlook do not fail to point to numerous cases where these rules are broken. The synthetic option consists in having an elative directly derived from an adjective (or possibly another speech part²), whereas the analytical one is realized by having the elative form of an adjective associated with a vaguer or less complex sememe modified by a specifying complement in the accusative case (or, in Arabic terminology, a *tamyīz*) represented by an abstract noun semantically corresponding to the adjective designating the quality that is subjected to this specific grading process³.

such as ‘Alī Riḍā’s *Al-marǧīʿ fī l-luġa al-‘arabiyya*, where the *ism at-tafḍīl* is defined in the following terms: *ismu t-tafḍīli šifatun tu ‘ḥaḍu mina l-fī’li li-tadulla ‘alā ‘anna šay’ayni štarakā fī šifatin wāḥidatin wa-zāda ‘aḥaduhumā ‘alā l-‘āḥari fī hāḍihi š-šifati*, “the elative is an adjective taken from the verb to indicate that two things share a quality and one of them surpasses the other in this quality” (Riḍā s.a. vol. I: 104). There are also, however, dissenting views in this respect – Wolfdietrich Fischer places the elative within a broader category of nominal speech parts, alongside substantives and adjectives: “nominal forms are 1. substantives, 2. adjectives, and 3. quantitative expressions that cannot be classified as substantives or adjectives, such as elative forms and numerals, among others” (Fischer 2002: 37). Marcin Michalski adopts an evolutionary perspective on this issue, stating that “this category of nouns in CA is neither substantive or adjective”, whereas “in MSA, the elative has been more and more adjusted to the word class of the adjectives, without, however, being fully integrated in it” (Michalski 2018: 478-479).

² There is no consensus about the derivational basis of the elative, and the differences in this regard can appear between grammatical traditions as well as individual researchers: for those that are tributary to the Arabic tradition, the elative is derived directly from the verb, which places it on the same level as the participles and the *šifa mušabbaha* (the “verbal adjective”) (see Note 1; Riḍā s.a. vol. I: 84, 93, 97; cf. also Girod 2007: 14). Wright, on the other hand, derives them from verbal adjectives (see Note 1), Clive Holes has them derived from adjectives fulfilling certain requirements that can also be found in normative grammars (“the pattern can be applied to the active participle *Ca:CiC* and to those categories of adjectives [...] that consist solely of root consonants and long vowels” – Holes 2004: 159), whereas Fischer, while confining their derivational basis to the limits of nominal speech parts, identifies a broad spectrum of possibilities within these limits: “it functions as an elative of all nominal derivatives, whatever the root might be: ‘*alḥanu* ‘more melodious’ from *laḥnun* ‘melody’, ‘*aqadu* ‘more knotted’ from *mu‘aqqadun* ‘knotted’”, etc. (Fischer 2002: 76-77). Theoretical complications do not necessarily end here: if, leaving aside divergent theories, we include the elative in the category of adjectives and admit the existence of a relationship with corresponding positive adjectives, we might wonder what that relationship might be: are they distinctive lexemes derived from those adjectives, or are they actually mere inflectional forms? Ryding appears to favor the second assumption – Badawī *et al.* and Holes have a somewhat less conclusive formulation – (see above and note 1), but the counterarguments to this thesis are not lacking: they do share the pattern ‘*afal*’ with another, specific type of adjective (the one designating colors and certain physical or other peculiarities), and there are attempts to find a common origin for all ‘*afal*’-patterned adjectives, in terms of both morphology and semantics (see Note 3); furthermore, their own morphological behavior, namely the fact that the feminine form *fū‘lā* is not attested for all the elatives (which makes Michalski divide the elative into two subtypes, based on whether a feminine form on this pattern is attested or not – 2018: 278-279), makes it even harder to ignore their distinctiveness. Perhaps the appropriate approach would be to make room for a diachronic perspective similar to the one adopted by Michalski in discussing the elative’s place within the class of nominal parts of speech (see Note 1) and assume that the elative has been gradually reduced to the status of an inflectional form, meant to express degrees of comparison, of the adjective.

³ In her PhD thesis on grading in Arabic and Romanian, Ioana Feodorov includes the elative in a discussion about “explicit intralexematic grading”, while at the same time acknowledging views that hold grading and comparison to be two distinctive phenomena, that have distinctive morphological and

Our interest will be focused on those structures that appear to mark a departure from what is generally accepted as the norm in expressing degrees of comparison in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), more specifically in the literary Arabic language used in strictly contemporary sources, for the purpose of identifying traits or phenomena that are most likely to represent recent developments. This objective will be pursued by looking into samples selected from a corpus of texts gathered through extensive readings of Arab media outlets between the years 2012 and 2019. These outlets (namely the internet sites of Al-Jazeera, BBC Arabic and the *Al-Quds al-‘Arabī*, *Al-Ḥayāt* and *Aš-Šarq al-‘Awsaṭ* newspapers) have been purposefully selected from among those who are directed towards a pan-Arab readership and also are, at least by virtue of their location, very likely to have diverse editorial teams, recruited from different Arab countries and regions, so as to avoid, as much as possible, sources that might have been influenced by certain local backgrounds to the exclusion of others⁴. These choices are rooted in our conviction that native Arabic speakers that use MSA, especially in a professional capacity and within larger groups, can create an environment capable of providing this variety of Arabic with the necessary conditions to thrive and develop on its own, and, even if a total insulation from local and

lexical manifestations (Feodorov 2003: 199-201). In doing so, she points to the hypothesis advanced by Nadia Angheliescu, who ascribes to the prefix *‘a-*, that has been integrated into the pattern *‘afal*, a deictic value, and argues that, if gradation relies on establishing degrees of intensity, that are expressed in Arabic by marks generally characterized by iconicity (such as gemination, long vowels etc.), comparison implies assessing a quality based on a relationship with an external reference point, and it is precisely this kind of relationship that is the common denominator between all *‘afal*-patterned adjectives, among which those that designate spatially relevant qualities (e.g., *‘ayman* – *‘aysar*, “right-sided” – “left sided”, *‘adnā* – *‘awsaṭ* – *‘aqṣā*, “near(er)” – “central” – “farther”/“extreme” etc.) are deemed particularly instructive as an illustration of the spatial rooting of deixis, while *‘āḥar*, “(an)other”, as a correlative of the demonstrative *hādā*, “this”, is considered a “prototype” for the whole category by reason of its ability to signify otherness, relatedness, opposition (Angheliescu 2000: 242-248). Angheliescu’s reasoning comes as a response to previous attempts at finding a common origin, coupled with a common semantic denominator, for these adjectives, chief among which is the one of Max Bravmann, who, starting from different premises (as he operates no distinction between gradation and comparison), adopts a different position on the issue: “we start from the assumption that the primary function of the form was that of an adjective, more specifically that of an adjective of gradation, i.e., a comparative-superlative. This assumption is in agreement with our theory that the use of the form *‘afalu* as an intensivum, including its use for the designation of colors and striking bodily and other qualities, has developed from a primary function of the form as comparative-superlative” (Bravmann 1968: 33; cf. also pp. 22, 29). Holes, on the other hand, takes the intensive to be the primary semantic value of the elative (Holes 2004: 159, 210). As for our part, we find Angheliescu’s argument about a primary connection of the elative with deixis fairly convincing and, at the same time, we find it necessary to reckon with the part it plays in expressing comparison and also to give the commonalities between gradation and comparison their due recognition, even accepting the latter as a subcategory of the former, without overlooking their distinctiveness. In order to identify a suitable place for the elative in this complex picture, an additional emphasis could be placed on the inherent and, at the same time, obvious diachronic dimension of these discussions, so as to accommodate the idea that *‘afal*-patterned adjectives, formally and initially connected with deixis, have entered the realm of gradation by being used to express degrees of comparison.

⁴ In any case, regional variation in the language of Arab newspapers appears to be rather limited and mostly restricted to the lexicon –“the Arabic of newspapers is a national and international pan-Arab medium of communication with limited regional variations [...]. Nonetheless, a certain amount of variation, especially in the lexical domain and in technical terminology, is apparent” (Effat & Versteegh 2007: 203) –, a quality it shares, to a great extent, with MSA as a whole (see also note 6).

dialectal backgrounds is, of course, inconceivable (just as it is impossible to totally avoid exposure to other languages, especially in the case of speakers that work in the media), there are conditions that can boost the chances for the emergence of a virtual community where MSA is an effective tool of linguistic communication, albeit an atypical community, where the prevalence of written communication is exceptionally high and the alternation of roles between senders and receivers is significantly reduced. A key factor in providing these conditions is the media, whose use of language, even in written sources, has the capacity to compensate, to a certain, maybe limited extent, for the relative scarcity of spontaneous oral communication by the fast pace at which its content is produced and consumed⁵. It is this crucial feature of media sources that makes them reflect more promptly and accurately developments that different kinds of sources might be slower to register, and that has determined us to rely on them in studying the matter at hand. At the same time, we did take into account the fact that, within this frame, there is a great variety of genres, which is why we have included in our corpus a range of texts that reflects this variety (news articles, editorials and other kinds of opinion articles, documentaries). The samples that will be included and analyzed in this paper are a selection of the relevant material we have collected, made with the aim of shedding light on those phenomena that show the highest degree of consistency, coherence and systematicity.

As for the backdrop against which we will project our findings, it is made up mainly of normative and descriptive works that deal with both MSA and CA. The reason for including CA in our approach is the great degree of continuity between it and MSA⁶, especially when it comes to what is perceived or implicitly acknowledged as the (mostly

⁵ We find the statements made by Ryding about media language in the context of justifying the use of media texts as a corpus for a descriptive grammar of MSA particularly suitable as a concise argument in favor of such an option (given the profile of her work, she also emphasizes its didactic benefits): “the very ordinariness of this type of language is what makes it valuable to learners because it represents a widely used and understood standard of written expression. [...] it is a vital and emergent form of written language, being created and recreated on a daily basis, covering issues from the mundane to the extraordinary. With limited time to prepare its presentation style, media Arabic reflects more closely than other forms of the written language the strategies and structures of spontaneous expression” (Ryding 2008: xix).

⁶ “The primary differences in Modern Standard Arabic as used across the Arab world are in the lexicon, because the structures are remarkably constant across space *and time*” (McCarus 2007: 239; emphasis ours). In the chapter “The Emergence of Modern Standard Arabic” of Kees Versteegh’s *The Arabic Language*, an ample space is devoted to the lexical changes that Arabic has incurred since the Arab world began facing the challenge of coping with modernity and its concepts, whereas specifically modern usages that can be taken as pertaining to syntax, and that are, significantly enough, described as being especially present in the language of the media, are listed in passages spanning no more than two pages (Versteegh 2014: 221-240). The entry “Media Arabic” of the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (EALL)* points to characteristics individuating the media language from a syntactic point of view that show a considerable degree of overlapping with the ones highlighted by Versteegh in the previously mentioned source (Effat & Versteegh 2007: 199-204), which further highlights the leading role played by the media in bringing about language change and evolution. For an overview of MSA, with no particular emphasis on features that set it apart from CA, see the entry “Modern Standard Arabic” in *EALL* (McCarus 2007: 238-262). Another work that documents the lexical evolutions and syntactic and other specificities of MSA, laying stress on the initial stages of the latter’s emergence and development, is the chapter “The Arabic Literary Language – the *Nahḍa* (and beyond)”, by Daniel L. Newman, of *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics* (Newman 2013: 473-494).

morphological, but also, to a considerable degree, syntactic) norm – there are no radical changes in this respect from one stage to another, and the only entities that would, in principle, be officially authorized to modify the status quo, namely the Arabic language academies, are either cautious and reserved or, at times, outright ineffective in implementing regulations to this effect⁷. This is why, in establishing the significance of the facts subjected to our inquiry, the norm of CA and, when relevant and distinguishable, its de facto behavior will be taken into account as a starting point, with the goal of ultimately placing our findings within the context of MSA and its specific characteristics.

2. The substitution of simple elatives with comparative periphrastic structures consisting of the elatives *'akṭar* and *'ašadd* modified by specifying complements

The first issue we will be addressing is the occurrence of periphrastic structures expressing the comparative degree of adjectives when, according to normative grammars, one might have expected to find simple elatives directly derived from the adjectives in question. The rules concerning the appropriate use of synthetic and analytic structures including the elative in general are laid down by each source in accordance with its own theoretical premises (see Notes 1 and 2). In ^ʿAlī Riḍā's *Marḡi*^ʿ, for instance, the direct relationship posited between the elative and the verb is, quite expectedly, reflected by the conditions that have to be met in order for the synthetic structure to be used: *yušāḡu smu t-tafḍīli min kulli fī^ʿlin ṭulāṭīyyin muṭbatin mutašarrifin mabniyyin li-l-ma^ʿlūmi tāmmīn qābilin li-t-tafḍīli ḡayri dāllin ^ʿalā lawnin ^ʿaw ^ʿaybin ^ʿaw ḥilyatin [...] wa-^ʿidā lam tatawaffari š-šurūṭu kulluhā fī l-fī^ʿli, yu^ʿtā bi-mašdarihi maṣṣūban ^ʿalā t-tamyīzi ba^ʿda ^ʿašadd ^ʿaw ^ʿakṭar* (“the elative is formed from any verb that has a triconsonantal root, is positive, has a complete conjugation, is in the active voice, has a full meaning – i.e., does not govern a predicate –, is compatible with showing preeminence, does not designate a color, a flaw or an ornament [...] and if all the conditions are not fulfilled by the verb, its verbal noun is used in the accusative case as a specifying complement after *'ašadd* or *'akṭar*” (Riḍā s.a., vol. I: 104). Wright's provisions, on the other hand, are reminiscent of his somewhat

⁷ In relation to the elative itself, Michalski mentions a decision taken by the Arab Language Academy in Cairo in 1967 to allow the generalization of the use of the pattern *fī^ʿlā* whenever a feminine form of the elative would be required, only to remark that this decision “remains ink on paper” (Michalski 2018: 489, note 6). The issue of updating the norm of CA in the modern era is treated in the chapter “Attempts at Simplification of the Grammar” of Jaroslav Stetkevych's *The Modern Arabic Literary Language*, where one can find an overview of the debates held by prominent intellectuals and literati about reforming both the teaching methods and the language itself; the chapter ends with a list of actual evolutions (such as the decreased number of broken plurals corresponding to certain nouns, the regularization of gender agreement etc.) that have come about, however, spontaneously and not through sanction by regulatory institutions (Stetkevych 2006: 79-94). The 5th chapter, “The Modernization and Simplification of Classical Arabic”, of the entry “Culture and Language” in *EALL* mentions calls for change and reform of the language, but, when talking about what might have triggered actual change, it is factors like translations, print culture and the influence of the vernaculars that are mentioned (Haeri 2007: 531-533). Information about language academies in the Arab world, their principles and their activity can also be found in the previously mentioned chapter of Versteegh's *The Arabic Language* and in Newman's chapter of *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics* (see Note 6).

intermediate positioning between the Arab and the European traditions – see his introduction to the elative quoted in Note 1, which is complementary with the restrictions that he states are to be taken into account when deriving an elative: “no *ism at-tafdīl* can, according to strict rule, be formed from the verbal adjectives⁸ of the passive voice and the derived forms of the verb, nor from adjectives that denote colours or deformities [...]; if we wish to say that one person surpasses another in the qualities expressed by such adjectives, we ought to prefix to the corresponding abstract or verbal nouns the comparatives *’ašadd* ‘stronger’, *’ahsan* ‘more beautiful’, *’ağwad* ‘more excellent’, *’aqbaḥ* ‘uglier’, *ḥayr* ‘better’, *šarr* ‘worse’, and the like” (Wright 1996 vol. I: 141). It is also noteworthy that Wright’s perspective already entails a descriptive outlook, reflected in him not shying away from referring to the actual extent to which this norm is upheld – stating that “as a matter of fact, however, the strict rules laid down by grammarians are constantly violated by usage”, he goes on to offer examples of elatives formed from participles of derived forms of the verb, passive participles and adjectives denoting colours or defects (Wright 1996 vol. I: 141-143). Contemporary western grammars unambiguously place the elative within the boundaries of nominal derivation, as one can notice by reading the conditions laid out by Ryding for using periphrastic comparative structures: “certain qualities, attributes, or descriptors do not fit into the pattern-change paradigm for comparative and superlative meanings; for example, *nisba* adjectives and the active and passive participles functioning as adjectives from the derived verb forms (II-X) have extra consonants or vowels as part of their essential word structure, so they cannot shift into the *’afal* pattern without losing some of their identity and meaning [...]; Arabic handles this using a strategy similar to using ‘more’ in English [...]; the most common intensifying words used for forming the periphrastic comparative are: *’akṭar* ‘more’, *’ašadd* ‘stronger’, *’aqall*, ‘less’” (Ryding 2005: 249). An account which does not seem to give any credence, in this respect, to a distinction between the norm and the de facto situation is given by Fischer, who acknowledges the possibility of deriving the elative from nominal forms that do not comply with the aforementioned restrictions (see Note 2), making an explicit mention of the periphrastic structures only in relation with the adjectives designating colours or deformities and adding that these structures can be used “to paraphrase an otherwise ambiguous elative” (Fischer 2002: 77).

These accounts make it worthwhile to look at the occurrence of periphrastic comparative structures substituting plausible simple elatives in contemporary sources, even if it can be stated from the very beginning that they are not to be taken as an absolute novelty⁹. The elative used in these structures is mostly *’akṭar*, followed from a distance by *’ašadd*¹⁰. The first instances presented below do not exhibit any apparent contextual reasons

⁸ A category including the participles and the adjectives known in the Arab tradition as *šifa mušabbaha* (cf. Wright 1996 vol. I: 131sq).

⁹ Wright stays true to his commitment to signal the actual situation alongside the supposed norm in this case as well: “this form of expression is sometimes employed where a simple comparative might have been used” (Wright 1996 vol. I: 141).

¹⁰ By looking at what the grammars cited above have to say about the use of *’akṭar* (seeing as how Wright does not even mention it, while Riḍā, perhaps significantly, mentions it after *’ašadd*), one cannot help entertaining the idea that its pervasive use in periphrastic comparative structures and, consequently, its grammaticalization process, may be a rather late development.

for preferring the periphrastic structures. However, one must be very cautious about assuming that they are to be taken automatically as a case of evolution towards analytism in the absence of a statistical study about their prevalence today as opposed to earlier times:

(1) *qāla wazīrun miṣriyyun sābiqun [...] 'inna zilzālan 'ašadda quwwatan min ṭawrāti r-rabī'i l-'arabiyyi qādimun 'ilā š-šarqi l-'awsaṭi* “a former Egyptian minister said that an earthquake more powerful than the revolutions of the Arab Spring is coming to the Middle East” (aljazeera.net, 3.11.2018).

(2) *...wa-kāna hunāka fī faṣlihi man huwa 'akṭaru ḡadūratan minhu bi-dālika* “and there were, in his classroom, some who were worthier of this than him” (midan.aljazeera.net, 11.09.2018).

Out of these two samples, (1) seems to lend itself to a more detailed discussion, based on the semantic closeness of the lexical families of *'ašadd* and *quwwa*: the most plausible explanation that might help us do away with the apparent redundancy is that *'ašadd* is exposed, in such contexts, to a semantic depletion that goes hand in hand with a grammaticalization process (the opposite hypothesis – admitting that the redundancy is maintained and maybe even intentional, as a means to further intensify the meaning – appears to be much less likely).

The following samples, while similar to the previous ones as to the substitutability of the actual periphrastic structures with synthetic ones, do provide us with contexts richer in elements that might offer more or less particular explanations:

(3) *... 'id yaḥtāru l-muwazzaḑu bi-l-matḡari 'ādatani s-silā'a l-mustadīrata li-z-zabā'ini l-'akṭari badānatan* “...as the clerk in the store usually chooses the round shaped articles for the more corpulent customers” (bbc, 24.11.2018).

(4) *...wa-huwa mā qad yadfa'u l-'alāqāti s-sayyi'ata 'ašlan 'ilā mustawayātin 'akṭara sū'an* “...this being something that may push the relations, that are bad to begin with, to [even] worse levels” (Al-Quds al-arabi, 7.10.2018).

(5) *wa-lākin ba'da sittati 'ašhurin bada'at ḥaqā'iqu šu'ūdihi tabdū 'akṭara ḡumūḑan ḥattā 'anna wālidahu l-malika...* “but after six months the realities of his rise [to power] began to seem more obscure, so that his father, the king...” (aljazeera.net, 14.09.2018).

These three samples share one remarkable feature pertaining to word order – the periphrastic comparative structures therein come at the end of the clauses containing them, and the reason lying behind this should be looked for, we think, primarily in the field of stylistics. When looking at these structures and their synthetic alternatives, we are drawn to consider the fact that the most obvious characteristic differentiating them, namely the quantitative one, may be the factor tipping the scale in favor of the former. We have found a helpful and suitable explanation for this phenomenon in a bilingual work dealing with translation from Arabic to French and vice versa (*Dirāsa fī 'uṣūl at-tarḡama / Traité de traduction* by Joseph N. Hajjar), more precisely, and not unexpectedly, in the chapter “Al-

’īqā^c – al-ğumla al-mutawāzina / Le rythme de la phrase – la période”, where, dealing with the rhetorical device of inversion, the author states that one of the reasons for resorting to it in Arabic is the propensity for having longer, ampler constituents placed at the end of a given syntactic structure: “une savante répartition des membres de phrases longs et courts, un naturel attrait pour les clausules sonores, bousculent souvent l’ordre normal, au profit d’un ordre musical et rythmique, tout à fait propre à la période” (in the presentation of the device in Arabic, the most salient formula, which can be taken as summarizing the principle in question, is *taqdīm al-’aqṣar ‘alā l-’aṭwal*, “bringing the shorter (constituent) before the longer one”) (Hajjar 1995: 333). The framing of these remarks is, of course, somewhat at odds with both our approach and our corpus, reflecting a mostly prescriptive perspective and treating these devices as consciously applied to a carefully crafted literary text, but an empirical approach to data such as those we are dealing with here strongly suggests that the principle of ampler constituents having a propensity for occurring at the end of a given syntactic structure does in fact have an impact on other types of texts as well. It needs, naturally, to be reframed in order to fit this context, as no inversion is involved here, and this can be easily achieved by substituting “inversion” with “expansion” or, in other terms, by replacing the case of changing the order of two units of different sizes engaged in a syntagmatic relationship with a case of paradigmatic substitution of a smaller unit with a larger one of similar meaning. Moreover, the phrase “clausule sonore” and the qualifiers “musical” and “rythmique” used by Hajjar acquire a particular significance if we take a closer look not only at the mere difference in number of units, but also at the phonetic features of the lexical items involved: as it happens, the patterns underlying the internal structure of the abstract nouns used as specifying complements of *’aktar* in (3) and (5) – and, for that matter, also in (2) and, as we shall see, in (7) – are polysyllabic and contain a long vowel (*fa^cāla* and *fu^cūl*), lending to each of the structures as a whole a rhythmic quality that really contributes to its functioning as a kind of clausula for the clause in question (it thus becomes significant that the simple elatives, by contrast, besides representing a single unit, only contain short vowels, with the exception of those having a glide as a third radical consonant, which is not the case here).

This reliance on stylistics does not preclude us from looking for other possible reasons as well – in the case of (3), it is worth noticing that the noun phrase containing the periphrastic structure is defined, and, although it is most likely that the degree of comparison conveyed here is the comparative, and not the superlative, the use of a simple elative directly derived from the adjective corresponding to *badāna* (*’abdan* < *badīn*, “corpulent”) within a defined noun phrase might have exposed it to the pressure of agreement in gender and number (masculine plural) with the phrase’s head (**li-z-zabā’ini l-’abdanīna/l-’abādīni*), which, in turn, would have collided with the non-productive, or at least highly unusual, character of the inflectional patterns of the elative for gender and number in numerous, if not most, cases¹¹. The fact that this problem did not arise in the case of *’aktar*, which is used here with no inflection for the aforementioned grammatical

¹¹ Referring to a situation going back all the way to CA, Michalski states that “the number of roots that yield elatives inflectable for gender and/or number is limited and only some forms seem to be really used” (Michalski 2018: 483); see also Note 7.

categories, can be taken as yet another proof of the rather advanced stage of its grammaticalization.

These cases are not the only ones attributable to style, as it can be seen in the following sample:

(6) *wa-^ctabara r-ra'īsu t-turkiyyu 'anna 'as^cāra l-fā'idati hiya 'adātu stiġlālin taġ^calu l-'aġniyā'a 'aktara ġinan wa-l-fuqarā'a 'aktara faqran, muḍīfan...* “the Turkish president reckoned that interest rates are an exploitation tool that makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, adding...” (aljazeera.net, 12.08.2018).

The incentive for using periphrastic structures in (6) is, in all likelihood, the aim of obtaining two parallel sequences, each one represented by two direct objects of the verb *taġ^calu*, “makes”, and this time one can really envisage the possibility that this may be a consciously pursued objective; granted, the structure would have been symmetrical even with the simple elative derived from the adjectives in question (**taġ^calu l-'aġniyā'a 'aġnā wa-l-fuqarā'a 'afqara*), but it can be argued that symmetry is made more salient with each member having three units and the elative occupying a central, pivotal position within it. Another reason, also ascribable to style and aesthetics, for resorting to periphrasis here might be the avoidance of two words sharing the same root occurring in immediate contiguity, to which one might add the avoidance of ending a clause with a constituent (here, a second direct object) consisting of only an elative, in accordance with the tendency illustrated by (3), (4) and (5).

The last instance of periphrastic structures used instead of simple elatives we will be discussing takes us back to considerations related to grammar rather than style:

(7) *kašafat šaḥīfatu New York Times al-'amrīkiyyatu qiššatan 'aktara ġarābatan wa-hubūtan naḥwa darakin ġadīdin mina l-hubūti...* “the New York Times newspaper has unveiled a story [which is] stranger and more stooping towards a new level of lowliness” (Al-Quds al-arabi, 01.09.2018).

While the rhythmic qualities of the structure stemming from the use of abstract nouns on the patterns *fā^cāla* and *fu^cūl*, pointed to earlier, are not to be totally dismissed as a stimulus for resorting to periphrasis, we think that the decisive favoring factor in this case concerns the synthetic counterpart of the structure *'aktara [...] hubūtan*, which would have been the elative *'ahbaṭa*, in the accusative case, derived from the active participle *hābiṭ* of the verb *habaṭa*, “to descend, go down, land”, whose verbal noun is actually used here. According to the classical norm reflected in prescriptive accounts on the elative’s derivation, such as the ones given by Riḍā and Wright cited above (v. supra, see also Notes 1, 2 and 8), not only would that not be a problem, but, by virtue of the direct link established between the verb and the elative, the active participle of a triconsonantal verb having a simple, non-derived pattern is the very first nominal form to feature as a basis for this operation. And yet, this sample may reflect a tendency to eschew such a derivation, coming as a corollary of the increasing confinement of the elative to the class of adjectives (see Note 1), which, in this case, would mean that the derivation of an elative is conditioned by the fact of the derivational basis itself being firmly established as an adjective. One could

argue that the participle *hābiṭ* is registered as a separate entry in Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, which could be taken as a proof of its lexicalization as an adjective, but if we look at the meanings ascribed to it ("descending, falling, dropping, sinking" – Wehr 1980: 1017) we can clearly see that it is still semantically very close to functioning as the mere participle of its corresponding verb. The most adamant proof for the virtual *hābiṭ* functioning as a participle and, thus, staying close to its corresponding verb is, however, the syntactic context provided by the sample itself, namely the fact that *hubūṭ* is modified by a noun phrase (*naḥwa darakin ġadīdin mina l-hubūṭi*, "towards a new level of lowness") that is indicative of the verbal valency of both *hubūṭ* itself and the participle whose elative would have replaced it in a synthetic structure. As for *ġarāba*, "strangeness", if we take the primary reasons for using periphrastic structures in this sample to revolve around the second specifying complement, then we must assume that its occurrence comes as a result of its influence.

3. The use of the elative *'akṭar* as an adverbial modifying the graded adjective

The use of *'akṭar* as a marker of the comparative degree can also come within a different type of periphrastic structures, wherein the elative as a productive derivational form is altogether done away with: in quite a few samples, the adjective in its positive form is modified by *'akṭar*, which is thus used as an adverbial, marking yet another milestone in its grammaticalization process (see also Note 10). It is, we think, not a coincidence that all the samples of this kind we have been able to find share one feature: all the adjectives in question are participles. This means that the adverbialization of *'akṭar* is, in such cases, facilitated by the closeness of the participle to the corresponding verb, the part of speech most likely to be modified by adverbs (to the extent that we admit the existence of such a part of speech in Arabic) and adverbials¹². It also means, at the same time, that such an evolution is, most likely, strongly conditioned and linked to this particular kind of contexts, and that the expectation of witnessing a proliferation of the use of *'akṭar* as an adverbial modifier for other kinds of adjectives should be entertained, if at all, with a high degree of caution and reserve.

This development is already signaled by Badawi et al: "an example of MWA innovation can be seen in a limited number of cases where an adj[ective] is further qualified by a comparative such as *'akṭaru* 'more', in preference to the use of a spec[ifying] comp[lement]: *mašġūlun akṭara minhā* 'is more busy than her'" (Badawi et al. 2004 154). They do not make a point of emphasizing the significance of the adjective being a participle (this is not surprising, as one cannot outline what might qualify as a phenomenon or a tendency based on just one example), but we do think that it further strengthens the

¹² This type of structure in MSA is possibly due to a vernacular influence, but even in this case participles are involved – talking about comparative structures wherein the specifying complement is a verbal noun in MSA, Holes states the following: "[this] type of comparison [...], however, is expressed in the plain vernacular by a participle rather than a verbal noun, so that, for example, 'more advanced' would be *mutaqaddim ʔakṭar* (lit. 'advanced more')" (Holes 2004: 212).

likelihood of there being a strong connection between the presence of participles and the adverbialization of *'akṭar* in these structures.

The first two such samples exhibit an active and, respectively, a passive participle modified by *'akṭar*, in two different syntactic functions – the participle in (8) modifies a noun within a prepositional phrase, whereas the participle in (9) is a predicate governed by the verb *bāta*, here “to become, get to the point of being...” (the same array of syntactic functions fulfilled by the participles can be found in the other samples as well, as they are either attributes – in (11) – or predicates – in (10) and (12) – which means that, syntactically at least, they tend to behave more or less like ordinary adjectives):

(8) ...*kānatā min bayni l-muduni l-mutaḍarrirati 'akṭara ḥayṭu rtafa^ca^c adadu l-muṣābīna* “...were among the more damaged cities, as the number of the injured has risen” (bbc.com/arabic, 12.08.2012).

(9) *'ilā ḡānibi hādā fa-s-sulṭatu l-filasṭīniyyatu bi-ri 'āsati s-sayyidi maḥmūd(in) abbās(in) bātat muḥaddadatan 'akṭara* “beside this, the Palestinian Authority under the presidency of Mahmud Abbas has become more threatened” (Kīwān, Al-Quds al-arabi, 18.03.2015).

Beside the overarching factor of all these adjectives being participles, there are other discernible considerations that might have favored the use of *'akṭar* in some of the samples. In (8), resorting to this type of structure has provided the author with a means to unambiguously mark the comparative degree, while at the same time marking the nominal phrase as definite (see (3) for a counterexample). In (10), the nature of the noun phrase being modified by *'akṭar* (an adjective modified by a noun within a qualifying, or so-called unreal annexation) definitely had a part to play in making the author settle on this choice: if we think about the alternative, represented here, according to the general rules, by an elative, most likely *'akṭar*, modified by a specifying complement, the rather cumbersome data one has to work with in this case become clear – the specifying complement would be represented not by a single unit, but by a whole annexation (*ta^caddud al-'aṭrāf*, “multilateralism”), which makes the “regular”, norm-friendly alternative at least stylistically objectionable (**'an takūna [...]'akṭara ta^cadduda 'aṭrāfin*); not only that, but the use of the elative as an adverbial also allows for the immediate contiguity between it and the term of comparison, represented here by a nominal relative clause, and, as we shall see further down below, contiguity is an important condition for the viability of some of the structures:

(10) ...*lākin 'idā kāna mina l-muraḡḡaḥi 'an takūna dīblūmāsiyyatu l-ḡadi, kamā yabdū, muta^caddidata l-'aṭrāfi 'akṭara mimmā hiya alayhi l-yawma, fa-yanbaḡī...* “but, if it is likely that the diplomacy of tomorrow be, as it seems, more multilateral than it is today, it is appropriate...” (aljazeera.net, 30.12.2016).

As for the following samples, they draw us even more firmly to the field of stylistics. In (11), the author uses two coordinated periphrastic comparative structures, one involving the use of *'akṭar* as an adverbial and the other the use of *'ašadd* with a specifying complement, which helps him obtain a chiasmic structure (ABB'A') – it is thus obvious that

the word order entailed by adverbializing *'akṭar* is what he sought after first and foremost; the choice of the two relatives is also governed by stylistic considerations, *'ašadd* being selected here in order to avoid repetition:

(11) *hal hunāka nuktatun murawwi'atun 'akṭara wa-'ašaddu sawdāwiyyatan* ? “is there a more frightening and melancholic joke?” (’Iskandar, Al-Hayat, 22.01.2014).

In (12), the rhetorical devices resorted to are also quite obvious – first, there is the inversion between the subject and the predicate in both coordinated sentences, which fulfils the important task of fronting the term meant to be emphasized; there is also a climactic gradation involved, as the second blamed act is presented as “more saddening” than the first; the effectiveness of this structure as a whole appears to rely heavily on both the fronting and the repetition of the key term, *muḥzin/-a*, “saddening”, and both these conditions would have been broken had the author resorted to the alternative of having the relative *'akṭar* modified by a specifying complement (**wa-'akṭaru 'iḥzānan rasmu...*):

(12) *muḥzinatun muḥāwalatu rasmi šūratin li-n-nizāmi bi-l-i' timādi 'alā šūrati waḥdihi fī ḡinīf. wa-muḥzinun 'akṭara rasmu ḥarīṭati l-'alāqāti...* “It is saddening to try to draw a picture of the regime relying on the image of its delegation at Geneva. It is more saddening to draw the map of the relationships...” (’Ītānī, Al-Hayat, 2.02.2014).

One common feature of (11) and (12) is that they both belong to opinion articles whose authors obviously wish to showcase their writing skills and power of persuasion and, even more importantly, they are placed at the very extremities of their respective pieces – (11) is the closing remark, coming at the end of the article in the form of a rhetorical question, whereas (12) is the beginning of the introductory sentence, setting the tone for the article as a whole. This greatly increases the chances of these formulas being the object of a special attention in terms of style and aesthetics on the part of their respective authors.

4. The disappearance of the specifying complement from periphrastic structures conveying the meaning of the superlative degree

Another phenomenon that marks an even clearer departure from the norm than the adverbialization of *'akṭar* in comparative structures, to the point of justifying its dismissal as a mistake were it not for its relative frequency in our corpus, is the disappearance of the specifying complement in structures where *'akṭar* is the first term of an annexation meant to convey the meaning of the superlative degree. These structures are, in a considerable number of cases, altered by the substitution of what would most likely have been the specifying complement with the corresponding adjective functioning as an attribute of the second term of the annexation.

Yet again, this phenomenon is not absent from the grammar of Badawi *et al.*, but this time it is not signaled as such – the sample exhibiting it is the sentence *'innahu min 'akṭari l-mawāddi l-musabbibati li-l-'iṣābati bi-s-saraṭāni*, and the translation provided by the authors is “it is among the most frequent of substances that cause cancer”; it is included

in a section titled “Predicative superlative *'aktar*”, being used to illustrate the possibility of this kind of structure occurring “with partitive *min*” (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 253-254). This is, in our view, a missed opportunity for signaling an enticing development, understandable, however, to a certain degree, if one considers to what extent the norm has to be pushed aside in order to make room for accepting that the adjective occurring in the positive form here should be understood as being in the superlative degree (and that the intended meaning of the phrase *min 'aktari l-mawāddi l-musabbibati li-l- 'iṣābati bi-s-saraṭāni*, even if it were to be taken as a mistake, is, in fact, “among the substances that cause cancer the most / among the most carcinogenic of substances”, coming as an alternative to **min 'aktari l-mawāddi tasbīban li-l- 'iṣābati bi-s-saraṭāni*). The authors’ translation of the sample is, thus, suggestive of their struggle to make sense of the structure in strict accordance with what they implicitly acknowledge as the norm: in the absence of a specifying complement, they come to the only conceivable conclusion, namely that the graded adjective here is *kaṭīr* itself, and they consequently “de-grammaticalize” it by enriching its semantic charge, in order to subject it to gradation (it becomes less important, apparently, that a noun like *mādda*, “substance”, is seldom, if ever, qualifiable with an adjective like *kaṭīr*, understood, as it is here, as “frequent”).

As for the samples found in our corpus, the feature that stands out the most when we take a broad look at them is the remarkable syntactic variety characterizing the modifiers of the second term of the annexation meant to convey the superlative meaning. Some of these samples are similar to the one found in Badawi *et al.*, in that the second term is a noun modified by an adjective (moreover, many of the phrases are governed by partitive *min*, validating Badawi *et al.*’s decision to specifically signal such constructions, even though they do not only function as predicates):

(13) *wa-la^calla min 'aktari l-'umūri l-muhimmatī llatī talfītu nazaranā wāqī^catan mufriḥatan tataḡallā...* “perhaps one of the most important things that draw our attention is a gladdening reality that manifests itself...” (Kīlū, Ash-Sharq al-awsat, 15.01.2014).

(14) *...fa-qadi ^ctabarati ftiṭāḥiyyatu ṣaḥīfati Christian Science Monitor al-intiḥābātī l-'isrā'īliyyata llatī ḡarat 'amsi l-'awwala wāḥidatan min 'aktari l-intiḥābātī l-musabbibati li-l-ḥilāfi wa-ṣ-ṣiqāqi...* “...for the editorial of the *Christian Science Monitor* has deemed the Israeli elections that took place the day before yesterday one of the most dissension inducing and divisive elections” (aljazeera.net, 19.03.2015).

(15) *wa-'adāfati ṣ-ṣaḥīfatu... 'anna t-tadaḥḥula l-^caskariyya r-rūsiyya « l-^cudwāniyya » fī sūriyā waḍa^ca 'istirātīḡiyyata 'ūbāmā [...] ^calā muftaraqi ṭuruqin fī wāḥidin min 'aktari ṣ-ṣirā'ātī l-mudammirati fī l-^cālamī* “the newspaper added that the “aggressive” Russian military intervention in Syria has put Obama’s strategy... on a crossroads in one of the most destructive conflicts in the world” (aljazeera.net, 1.10.2015).

(16) *istiṭlā^cun li-BBC: 'irānu 'aktaru dawlatin makrūhatin fī l-^cālamī... wa-'isrā'īlu r-rābi^catu* “A BBC poll: Iran is the most hated state in the world, and Israel is the fourth” (Al-Quds al-arabi, 31.07.2014).

(17) *rubbamā yumkinu ru'yatu 'ahadin min 'aktari l-'amṭilati l-^calaniyyati li-hāḏīhi t-tawatturāti fī l-'awsāti l-^cilmīyyati...* “Perhaps one of the most overt examples of these tensions in scholarly circles can be seen...” (midan.aljazeera.net, 23.08.2018).¹³

(18) *raḡulun yalḡa 'u 'ilā l-mustašfā ba'da tanāwulihi 'aktara fulfulin ḡarrin fī l-^cālamī* “a man goes to the hospital after having eaten the hottest pepper in the world” (bbc, 11.04.2018).

If we look at each sample individually, the only case where a particular reason for not using a specifying complement can be tentatively detected, for now, is (13), where the second term of the annexation is modified by a relative clause introduced by the pronoun *allatī* – when thinking about the alternative involving such a complement (**min 'aktari l-'umūri 'ahammiyyatani llatī*), we can see that there might be a euphonic reason for avoiding it, since its presence would trigger the necessity of inserting a vowel (in this case, *-i*) as a compensation for the aphaeresis of the (*'*)*a*- sequence from the relative pronoun (*'*)*allatī*, according to the rules concerning the *hamzat al-waṣl* (that is, if we assume that the author integrates such a rule into his reasoning and, in doing so, finds its implications at least somewhat at odds with a smooth reading of his text; in any case, it is plausible for the reading out loud of the accusative indefinite ending *-an* to be taken as a premise in the case of a specifying complement that has a part to play in conveying a degree of comparison, even when adopting a more “relaxed” attitude towards using pausal forms in other contexts). The other samples do not offer closely or remotely similar situations – on the contrary, the substitution of the adjectives modifying the second terms of the *'aktar*-headed annexations with specifying complements would pose no apparent problem, phonetically or otherwise: (14) **min 'aktari l-intiḡābāti tasbīban li-l-ḡilāfī*, (15) **min 'aktari ṣ-ṣirā'āti tadmīran fī l-^cālamī*, (17) **min 'aktari l-'amṭilati ^calaniyyatan li-hāḏīhi t-tawatturāti*, (18) **'aktara fulfulin ḡarāratan fī l-^cālamī* (we will leave aside, for the time being, the specific problems posed by (16), which contains a passive participle, as the issue of passive participles will be dealt with in section 5). Looking at the precedent set in section 3, and noticing the predominance of participles among these structures, one might wonder whether they are in any way involved in their emergence. First, we ought to emphasize that participles are only predominant, not exclusively present in this section: in (17) the adjective is a *nisba*, whereas *ḡarr*, which is used in (18), while formally a participle on the pattern *fā'il*, has undergone a process of lexicalization, clearly noticeable in this very sample. Second, if there is a relationship between participles and these structures, it does not consist in a direct causal relationship, but rather in a loose correlation: since the degrees of comparison, in the case of participles of verbs having derived patterns, are, by virtue of the norm itself, expressed through periphrastic structures (and, as we could see in section

¹³ This sample has been found in an article translated from English, and its English translation included here is the corresponding passage in the original, available on <https://theconversation.com/friday-essay-the-recovery-of-cuneiform-the-worlds-oldest-known-writing-82639>; the fact that the formula ...*'ahadin min 'aktari l-'amṭilati l-^calaniyyati* was used to render the phrase *one of the most overt examples* is an additional proof that the degree of comparison in these structures is intended for the adjective modifying the second term of the annexation (in this case the relative adjective *^calaniyy*), and not *kaṡīr*, the basis of derivation for *'aktar*.

2, there might be a tendency in MSA for this to apply to participles of verbs having simple patterns as well), it is not surprising that participles are relatively well represented in this section, the reason for the erosion of the use of specifying complements in these structures having thus to be looked for elsewhere.

In the following samples we can see different syntactic deviations from the basic structure, highlighted by the previous ones (*'aktar* as a first term of an annexation + a substantive as a second term, modified by an adjective, whether it be a participle or not). In (19), the second term is not modified by an adjective, but the adjective itself, again a derived verb participle, is substantivized, thus becoming the second term:

(19) *wa-yantamī l-barāk 'ilā t-takattuli š-ša^cbiyyi l-mu^cāriḍi wa-huwa min 'aktari l-muntaqidīna li-s-sulṭati wa-kibāri l-mas'ūlīna fīhā* “Al-Barak belongs to the opposing popular conglomerate, being one of those who criticize the authorities and their senior dignitaries the most” (bbc, 30.10.2012).

Another variation can be obtained by substituting the adjective modifying the second term with a periphrastic structure, represented in the samples that we could find by relative clauses, which makes us assume that we are dealing, yet again, with participles, this time at an underlying level:

(20) *'inna taḡribata t-ta^callumi ^cani l-kawni llaḍī na^ctīšu fīhi [...] hiya wāḥidatun min 'aktari t-taḡāribi llaṭī taslibu l-^caqla fī 'ayyāmi t-tuḡūlati...* “the experience of learning about the universe in which we live is one of the most mind-captivating experiences during childhood” (midan.aljazeera.net, 14.10.2017).

(21) *hāḍā l-barlamānu sa-yakūnu min 'aqalli l-barlamānāti llaṭī taḍummu ^cadadan mina n-nuwwābi l-muslimīna* “this Parliament will be one of those who include the smallest number of Muslim deputies” (aljazeera.net, 17.05.2014).

If we take the version sanctioned by the norm to be the starting point in a theoretical scenario designed to explain the formulas used in (20) and (21), we have to envisage a three staged process, although the transition from one stage to another is not to be deemed a linear one: the first stage, the one conforming to the norm, rather than being a basis for the second one, represented by the type illustrated in (13) and the other, similar samples, is displaced by it, and this can be understood by acknowledging that the relationship between the specifying complement and the adjective replacing it is not one of paradigmatic substitutability (taking, for instance, the formula in question contained within (20), and assuming that the corresponding formula, according to the norm, would be **min 'aktari t-taḡāribi salban li-l-^caqli*, we can clearly see that in the next stage, in which the adjective is used instead of the specifying complement – **min 'aktari t-taḡāribi s-sālibati l-^caqla/li-l-^caqli*, the syntactic relationship between the phrase’s constituents is reorganized, a modifier of the first term of the annexation being replaced with a modifier of the second one). It is only between the second and the third stages that a paradigmatic substitution can be assumed to have taken place, the one between the single adjective and the relative clause, which both modify the second term of the annexation (the other formal change that occurs

between these stages, triggered by the first one, is of a similar nature – the two alternative formulas, the noun in the accusative (*a*)*l*-*c**aqla* and the prepositional phrase *li*-*l*-*c**aqli*¹⁴, restricted to only one in the third, final stage, convey the same syntactic meaning, signifying that the noun functions as a direct object, the use of the preposition *li*- as an alternative to the accusative in the second stage – and as the only available possibility in the first – coming as a result of the nominal character of the governing items¹⁵). By replicating this operation in the case of (21), we obtain the following virtual formulas: **min* 'aqalli *l*-barlamānāti *ḍamman* *li*- *c*adadin *mina* *n-nuwwābi* *l-muslimīna* – **min* 'aqalli *l*-barlamānāti *ḍ-dāmmati* *c*adadan/*li*- *c*adadin *mina* *n-nuwwābi* *l-muslimīna*)¹⁶.

The next collection of samples belongs to a single article and has the merit of bringing out into the open some of the correspondences that up until now seemed merely virtual and conjectural. The title of the piece contains a structure resembling the ones found in (20) and (21), i.e., an 'akṭar-headed annexation whose second term is modified by a relative clause. What sets it apart from them is that this time the antecedent of the relative clause does not coincide with the agent within it, being instead the indirect object of its verb:

(22a) 'akṭaru *l*-kalimāti *llatī* *baḥaṭa* *c*anhā *s-sa**c*ūdiyyūna *fī* *Google* *c*āma 2013 “the words that the Saudis looked for the most on Google in 2013” (Al-Hayat, 18.12.2013).

As we have already mentioned, the article contains samples that spare us the trouble of reconstructing some of the underlying structures for (22a), the title of the article, exhibiting them instead at the surface level: in the next sample, it is the verbal noun in the accusative, functioning as a specifying complement for 'akṭar, that occurs instead of the relative clause:

(22b) 'a^clanat *ṣ*arikatu *google*... *qā*'imata 'akṭari *l*-kalimāti *baḥṭan* *fī* *s-sa**c*ūdiyyati *li*-*c*āmi 2013 “the Google company has announced the list of the most searched words in Saudi Arabia for the year 2013” (Al-Hayat, 18.12.2013).

¹⁴ According to the rules of CA, there would also be a third possibility, whereby the noun *c*aql, “mind”, would become the second term in a so-called unreal annexation, labeled, in Arabic terminology, *idāfa ḡayr ḥaqīqiyya* or *idāfa lafẓiyya*: *(*a*)*t*-*taḡāribi* *s-sālibati* *l*-*c*aqli; however, we have no proof for the legitimacy of exploring such a possibility in the case of MSA: whereas the active participle of a transitive verb engaging in this kind of relationship with what is originally its direct object is discussed and exemplified in grammars of CA – Wright, for instance, provides, in the section about unreal annexation, examples like *zayduni* *ḍ-dāribu* *ra*'*si* *l*-*ḡāni*, translated as “Zēid, who smites the head of the offender” (Wright 1996 vol. II: 222; see also ibidem: 198-199, including for the relevant Arabic terminology, and Ibn *c*Aqīl 2009 Part 3: 22, for a possible source of Wright’s example) –, no such possibility is signaled in the sections dealing, under different labels, with unreal annexation and with the syntactic behavior of active participles in grammars like those of Badawi *et al.* or Ryding (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 111-113, 241-243; Ryding 2005: 221-223, 253-254).

¹⁵ This phenomenon is referred to in Badawi *et al.* as the “paraphrase of dep[endent] obj[ect] with *li*-” (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 239-240).

¹⁶ In this particular case, we could go back even one step further and surmise that the elative 'aqall has been subjected to fronting, the absolutely initial stage of the formula in (21) being **mina* *l*-barlamānāti *ḍ-dāmmati*/*llatī* *taḍummu* 'aqalla *c*adadin *mina* *n-nuwwābi* *l-muslimīna*, which would mean that the elative 'aqall is originally meant to convey the superlative degree of *qalīl* itself, and only its fronting makes it a part of a periphrastic comparative structure in what becomes thus the second virtual stage of the formula’s derivation (it is this assumption that has shaped the translation proposed for this sample).

In the next sample, the preposition of *baḥata*, used here as an indirectly transitive verb meaning “to search”, and indirectly present here through its verbal noun, is recovered, although the overall structure is changed, with *’akṭar* being the modifying adjective for the noun *wiġihāt*, here “destinations”:

(22c) *’ammā l-wiġihātu s-siyāḥiyyatu l-’akṭaru baḥtan ‘anhā fī s-sa’ūdiyyati...* “as for the most searched tourist destinations in Saudi Arabia...” (Al-Hayat, 18.12.2013).

In the following samples from the same lot, we find these same structures (a relative clause in (22d), this time modifying a singular, formally indefinite noun, and a specifying complement in (22e), again after *’akṭar* used as an attribute), having either slightly modified or different heads:

(22d) *wa-fī l-qawā’imi, zahara ’anna ’akṭara kalimatin buḥītat fī s-sa’ūdiyyati...* “it appeared in the lists that the most searched word in Saudi Arabia...” (Al-Hayat, 18.12.2013).

(22e) *wa-fī qā’imati “ar-riyāḍiyyūna l-’akṭaru baḥtan” fī s-sa’ūdiyyati, ġā’a Lionel Messi fī l-martabati l-’ūlā* “in the ‘Most Searched Sportsmen’ list in Saudi Arabia, Lionel Messi came in the first place” (Al-Hayat, 18.12.2013).

The first remark that deserves to be made about this article concerns the significance of its title’s wording: from among the choices that the author had at his/her disposal, some of which are attested by the text of the article itself, the structure chosen for the title, and the one that, it is safe to assume, has been deemed to be the most apt for clearly conveying the intended meaning, is not the one sanctioned by the norm, involving the use of a verbal noun as a specifying complement, which is reduced to being used as a means for achieving variation, but one that reflects the erosion of the norm.

Going back to the issue of the underlying structures, if we compare the underlying levels reconstructed for (20) and (21) with those samples belonging to this last series that do not contain relative clauses ((22b), (22c) and (22e)), we can notice that they all exhibit structures containing verbal nouns as specifying complements, i.e., they correspond to the first virtual stage of the derivation of (20) and (21) – or possibly the second one in the case of (21) (see Note 16) –, in other words, the last virtual stage, in which a participle replaces the verbal noun, is missing. This reconstructed stage would be **’akṭaru l-kalimāti l-mabḥūṭi ‘anhā min qibali s-sa’ūdiyyīna fī Google ‘āma 2013*, and it becomes apparent, by looking at it, that a fact that might have inhibited the appearance of this variation at surface level is the coexistence of a passive participle¹⁷ and its agent, a situation that can still be

¹⁷ We are assuming that the choice of using an articulated active participle followed by an agent in the nominative case as a paradigmatic substitute for a finite verb within a relative clause (**’akṭaru l-kalimāti l-bāḥiṭi ‘anhā s-sa’ūdiyyūna fī Google ‘āma 2013*), exemplified, for instance, by Ibn ‘Aqīl in his commentary to Ibn Mālik’s *’Alfyya* with the sentence *al-wāqīhi llāhu l-baṭalu*, “the one whom God protects is the hero” (Ibn ‘Aqīl 2009 Part 4: 30), can hardly be seriously taken into consideration when it comes to MSA (besides, the active participle tends to function, even in CA, as a nominal equivalent

frowned upon even in MSA¹⁸. The conscious avoidance of this structure is rendered even more plausible by assuming that the author is interested in exploring the possibilities of formally diversifying his text¹⁹. One has to acknowledge, however, that this does not explain why the passive participle is avoided throughout the article, even in the absence of the agent (after all, this reconstruction is based strictly on the title, whereas the other samples have their own distinctive features, being more than the mere outcomes of substitutions performed on the title), which is why it is possible that the slightly higher degree of morpho-syntactic complexity entailed by the use of a passive participle corresponding to an indirectly transitive verb has had a considerable contribution to this outcome.

Leaving aside the special case represented by (22a), the alternation between a participle and a relative clause modifying the second term of the annexation does not appear to be completely arbitrary. If we compare (20) and (21) with the samples containing participles, it becomes noticeable that verbal valency might, yet again, have a part to play in selecting one type of structure or the other – in (20), the direct object, in itself, is not sufficient for determining the use of a finite verb (on the contrary, here, as in the samples exhibiting participles, a formula like **sālibun li-l-^caqli* would have been able to function as a quasi-unit from a semantic point of view), but if we look beyond the direct object we can notice the existence of a prepositional phrase functioning as a locative complement also modifying the verb, whereas the prepositional phrases in samples containing participles modify the substantives themselves; as for (21), while not containing a similar complement, it has a considerably expanded noun phrase as a direct object, that may have had the same effect as the locative complement in (20).

The last sample we will be looking at in this section is worthy of interest inasmuch as it most likely reflects a conflation between the two types of structures, the one sanctioned by the norm and the one that has deviated from it:

(23) *min ġihatīn 'uḥrā, fa- 'inna hādā l-ḥalla yalqā qubūlan mina ṭ-ṭaraḡi r-rūsiyyi, 'aktari l- 'aṭrāfi d-duwaliyyati dā'imatan* (?) *li-n-niḡāmi*... “on the other hand, this solution is well received by the Russian party, the most supporting of the regime among the international parties” (Daḡmān, aljazira.net, 4.08.2013).

The Arabic text is, of course, unvocalized, which is why the accusative case ascribed to the participle *dā'ima*, “supporting”, is our conjecture, based on its lacking a definite article that would make it work as a second attribute of the noun *'aṭrāf*, “parties” and, thus,

to an imperfect, rather than perfect, finite verb: “the imperfect meaning is associated more often with the active participle, perfect meaning more often with the passive participle” – Fischer 2002: 111; its improbability is further enhanced by its paradoxical nature, as it would represent a curious blend between discarding the norm of CA and delving deeply into its morpho-syntactic intricacies).

¹⁸ Badawi *et al.*, while signaling this possibility, cannot help but introduce it in a way that reflects its begrudging acceptance: “in spite of the original purpose of the passive to eliminate the agent, increasingly in MWA it is reintroduced into passive sentences by means of such prepositional phrases as *min qibali*” (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 385; see also *ibidem*: 245 for a reference to passive participles with agents introduced by the preposition *min* or by prepositional phrases).

¹⁹ Effat & Versteegh mention variation as a general feature characterizing “newspaper Arabic” (Effat & Versteegh 2008: 200).

agree with it in case; therefore, if we accept that this participle is in the accusative and is used as a specifying complement instead of the verbal noun (**'aktari l-'aṭrāfi d-duwaliyyati da^cman li-n-niḏāmi*), this sample becomes significant as an additional testimony to the erosion of the norm requiring the use of a specifying complement within structures headed by *'aktar* conveying the superlative degree, an erosion that intrudes even on attempts to restore and uphold this very norm.

The order in which these samples have been presented is not supposed to suggest a diachronic perspective by virtue of which the substitution of the specifying complement with an adjective chronologically precedes the other deviations. In fact, the earliest manifestations of this phenomenon we could find, which lie outside our online corpus, are structures within which the second term of the *'aktar*-headed annexation is a relative pronoun introducing a nominal relative clause:

(24) *wa-'aktaru man lahiḡū bi-hāḏihi d-da^cwati Miskīnuni d-Dārimiyū* “and the one who proclaimed this call the most is Miskīn ad-Dārimī” (Dayf 1976: 372-373).

(25) *wa-yabdū lanā 'anna 'aktara mā lafata ntibāha l-quḏamā'i fī ṭarīqati 'Abdi l-Ḥamīdi [...]* *ḥamsatu 'anāšira 'asāsiyyatin...* “it seems to us that what drew the ancients’ attention the most in ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s method [...] are three basic elements...” (al-Miqdād 1992-1993: 184).

When compared to the samples found in our online, more recent corpus, these samples appear to be compatible with (19), i.e., the relative clauses they contain can be understood as expansions of substantivized participles coming as second terms in annexations headed by *'aktar*, and the incentive for this expansion seems to be, in these cases as well, an enhanced verbal valency, especially detectable in (25), which contains both a direct object and a locative complement. Yet again, this does not necessarily entail a chronological precedence of the type of deviation represented by (19) – on the contrary, the absence of a single unit dislocating the specifying complement might have rendered the use of relative clauses in this manner more readily available and easier to tolerate, since the deviation from the norm is, in their case, less conspicuous and eye-catching.

At this point we have to come to terms with the apparent paradox that emerges when putting together the data from this section with the ones discussed in section 2: on the one hand, we have pointed in section 2 to the uninhibited use of morphologically unnecessary periphrastic structures wherein a specifying complement is used, especially due to stylistic reasons or preferences, and, on the other hand, the specifying complement is, in the samples included in this section, displaced by the corresponding adjective or a paradigmatically substitutable structure. If, however, we take a closer look at the internal configuration of the two structures, we can see how a possible explanation can rely on their word order and the syntactic relationships between their constituents: if, within the periphrastic structures signifying the comparative degree, the specifying complement is immediately contiguous to the relative *'aktar*, which it modifies, not the same can be said about the norm-sanctioned alternative of the second structure, wherein the specifying complement would be separated from the relative it modifies by the second term of the annexation, while the exact opposite can be said about the specifying complement’s substitute, an adjectival attribute, which is

immediately contiguous to the noun it modifies. This means that this disconnection between dependency and contiguity is the most likely explanation for this structure's erosion.

4.1. The use of an elative with a more complex sememe than *'akṭar* as a compensation for the disappearance of the specifying complement

The degree to which this type of structure has become entrenched in contemporary Media Arabic is additionally attested to by the efforts to overcome it and find a solution for the departure from the norm it represents. We have, at the beginning of section 4, expressed our skepticism at Badawi *et al.*'s understanding of these structures, and, while we maintain our position, we have to admit that they are, in a way, "vindicated" by having, in their attempt to make sense of them, anticipated the direction in which Arab authors themselves would go in order to compensate for the absence of a specifying complement: if Badawi *et al.* choose to enhance the semantic charge of *'akṭar* through its interpretation as it is reflected in its rendition into English, some Arab authors go in a similar direction, by substituting *'akṭar* with a semantically richer elative, derived from another adjective and meant to perform a double function: conveying the superlative degree and, at the same time, designating a quality subjected to gradation, in the absence of the one that, according to the norm, would have been designated by the specifying complement (despite our reluctance to advance detailed diachronic scenarios based on the corpus we are working with here, in this particular case we are dealing with samples that were found only at the very end of the interval during which we have gathered our samples, namely the years 2018 and 2019, which tempts us to suggest that this might be a rather late development). The next two samples and the elatives used therein are illustrative of this phenomenon:

(26) *maḥallu mīlādi Hitler wa-'abrazu ṭamāniyati 'amākina muḥratin li-l-ḡadali fī l-'ālamī* "Hitler's birthplace and the eight most conspicuous controversial places in the world" (bbc, 20.02.2019).

(27) *wa-kānati l-'aḥmadiyyatu min 'aḥammī l-maḡmū'āti l-mustahdafati bi-hāḏā l-'unfi* litt. "the Ahmadiyya were among the most important groups targeted by this violence", i.e., "the groups most targeted by this violence" (midan.aljazeera.net, 3.09.2018).

In semantic terms, and provided we accept that these formulas represent alternative ways of expressing the superlative degree of adjectives that occur in their positive form within them, and do not, at least originally, express the superlative of the adjectives from which the elatives have been derived, the use of *'abraz* or *'aḥamm* instead of *'akṭar* can be taken as a cause-and-effect type of metonymy: a certain entity is characterized by a certain quality to the utmost degree, therefore it is, from this angle and based on this particular criterion, the most salient or the most important of the entities that share that quality. The redundancy of the comparative structure in the next sample signals even more categorically that we are, in fact, dealing with a formula that only makes sense if we take it as the result of a substitution of *'akṭar* with another elative, which, in this case, anticipates the quality designated by the formally positive adjective:

(28) *wa-kāna dayru l-'anbā 'abū maqār šahida šabāḥa l-iṭnayni 'ayḍan muḥāwalata ntiḥāri r-rāhibi faltā'ūs al-maqāriyyi [...] tumma 'ilqā'a nafsihi min 'alā mabnan murtafi'in fi d-dayri* “the Abu Maqar monastery witnessed Monday morning an attempted suicide by the monk Falta'us the Makariote, then his throwing himself from the highest building in the monastery (lit. “from the highest elevated building in the monastery”)” (aljazeera.net, 6.08.2018).

The empirical proof that these structures are to be interpreted as conveying the superlative degree of the adjectival attributes in the formally positive degree and not of the adjectives from which the elatives have been derived is that a strictly literal interpretation of these samples leads to improbable understandings: in (27), for instance, it is highly unlikely that the author establishes a hierarchy of the targeted minorities of Pakistan, out of which he deems the Ahmadiyya to be the most important, which is what this sample would literally imply; it is much more safe, instead, to assume that he simply considers this minority to be the most targeted.

5. The avoidance of using a verbal noun as a specifying complement in a periphrastic comparative structure when the corresponding positive adjective is a passive participle; the possible emergence of a specifically passive form of the verbal noun

The last issue approached in this paper is the special case of passive participles involved in comparative structures. According to the norm of CA, the direct derivation of an elative from an adjective is conditioned, inter alia, by this adjective not being a passive participle (vide supra), which logically entails that in such a situation a periphrastic structure should, or could, be used²⁰. Also, in CA, the verbal noun can be associated, in principle and with a few exceptions, with both the active and the passive voices²¹. The data gathered from our corpus suggest, however, that oftentimes there is a reluctance to ascribe a passive meaning to a verbal noun, revealing the existence of a hierarchical binomial, represented by the two voices, wherein the active voice has precedence over the passive²².

²⁰ One of the formulas used by Pierre Larcher in his *Syntaxe de l'arabe classique* to illustrate the specifying complement contains the noun *'aḍāb*, “torture/torment”, which can be understood as performing the function of a verbal noun for the verb *'aḍḍaba*, “to torture/torment”, clearly associated with the passive voice and translated as such: *'ašaddu n-nāsi 'aḍāban yawma l-qiyāmati 'ālimun...*, “celui des hommes qui subira le pire supplice, le jour de la Résurrection, est un savant...” (Larcher 2017: 37).

²¹ Wright states that “the nomina verbi can be used both in an active and a passive sense” (Wright 1996 vol. I: 114).

²² This theoretical approach has been suggested by Georgine Ayoub's study “Case and Reference – The Theory of *mā yaṣarif wa-mā lā yaṣarif* in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*”, which deals with the association of *tanwīn* with elements that can generally be described as the unmarked ones, according to the modern theory of markedness, within hierarchical binomials whose nunated elements are given precedence over their non-nunated counterparts; in the case of our binomial, made up of the two voices, a similar perspective can be adopted by taking the active voice as the default one, for the verb and its nominal correspondents, even if the manifestation of this hierarchy at the level of linguistic expression is obviously different (Ayoub 2018: 33-45).

The first sample in this section, while apparently contradicting this assumption, shows us how the act of ascribing a passive meaning to a verbal noun can, in fact, be context-dependent:

(29) *miṣru mustahdafatun fī dīmuqrāṭiyyatihā wa-waḥdatihā l-waṭaniyyati d-dīmūgrāfiyyati wa-l-ḡuḡrāfiyyati, wa-tawratuhā 'akṭaru stihdāfan li-'annahā turīdu i'ādāta l-karāmati li-tis'īna milyūna miṣriyyin* “Egypt is targeted in its democracy, its national, demographic and geographic unity, and its revolution is more targeted, because it wants to restore dignity to ninety million Egyptians” (‘Aṭwān, Al-Quds al-arabi, 12.09.2012).

By looking at the sample in its entirety, we can easily see how the presence of the passive participle at surface level, used in close proximity as a positive adjective, contributes decisively to the disambiguation of the verbal noun’s voice and, thus, facilitates its use in this fashion. There are, however, instances in which not even this type of context is enough of a facilitator:

(30) *wa-lā yaḥtalifu hādā r-ruhābu bayna l-'ināti wa-d-dukūri wa-lā bayna t-talāmīdi l-mumayyazīna wa-l-'aḡalli tamayyuzan...* “this phobia is not different between males and females or between outstanding/excellent and less outstanding students” (aljazeera.net, 16.09.2018).

In (30), the reflexive verbal noun *tamayyuz* is preferred to the verbal noun *tamyīz*, formally corresponding to the passive participle *mumayyaz*, in spite of this participle being coordinated with the relative that governs the verbal noun as a specifying complement, on the basis of the semantic closeness between the passive voice and the reflexive (represented by the fact that the agent undergoes the action signified by the verb in both cases) and their frequent interchangeability.

Finally, maybe the most remarkable development in this respect is the emergence of an abstract noun, derived with the suffix *-iyya* from passive participles, which can function as a verbal noun explicitly and unambiguously marked as being in the passive voice, as it can be seen in the next sample, where the coordination of such a noun with another verbal noun signals quite clearly the way in which it is to be understood:

(31) *kāna bi-qurbihī fī l-ḡanāhi l-ḡarbiyyi Jared, ka-'aqrabi mustašārīhi wa-'akṭarihīm mawṭūqiyyatan wa-ta'fīran* ‘alayhi “close to him, in the West Wing, there was Jared, as the closest, most trusted and influential of his councilors” (midan.aljazeera.net, 11.09.2018).

The last three samples, taken from the same article, present us with a situation that parallels the one reflected by (22a-e) – they contain structures that are semantically similar but formally diverse, in another illustration of the propensity of Media Arabic for cultivating variety (see Note 19), and the title of the article, represented by (32a), contains, yet again, the structure that the author most likely deems the most apt to accurately convey

the intended meaning, which in this case is, tellingly enough, this novel type of specifically passive verbal noun, the other structures being relegated to the status of mere variations:

(32a) *10 “šaḥṣiyyātini” l-’aktari²³ maqrū’iyyatan bi-mawsū’ati “l-ğazīra 2016”* “ten most read personalities in the 2016 Al-Jazeera Encyclopaedia” (al.jazeera.net, 29.12.2016).

(32b) *wa-ta’riḍu l-māddatu t-tāliyatu li-’ašri biṭāqātin ta’rifiyyatin hiya l-’aktaru qirā’atan...* “the following material deals with ten presentational pieces that are the most read...” (al.jazeera.net, 29.12.2016).

(32c) *kānat māddatu Ümit Dündar ’aktara ṣafḥatin maqrū’atin...* “the material about Ümit Dündar was the most read page...” (al.jazeera.net, 29.12.2016).

This last batch of samples has also the merit of reinforcing the conclusions reached in section 4: in (32b), where there is immediate contiguity between the elative and the noun it governs, the verbal noun is used as a specifying complement, whereas the lack of immediate contiguity in (32c) has determined the substitution of the verbal noun with the corresponding adjective as a modifier of the noun immediately preceding it.

It is worth mentioning that, looking back at all the samples containing passive participles scattered throughout the previous sections, it is now possible to consider the existence of this hierarchical binomial an additional factor inhibiting the use of verbal nouns as specifying complements, whenever these verbal nouns would have been associated with the passive voice (see (9), (16), (22a), (27)).

6. Conclusion

Going back to the question included in the title of our paper, an overview of the material discussed herein suggests that structures conveying degrees of comparison in contemporary Media Arabic exhibit a behavior that is much too complex to be expediently described as a linear evolution from a synthetic stage to a more analytic one. The section where the substitution of synthetic forms with analytic structures is most conspicuous is section 2, and even there the use of periphrases appears to be generally conditioned by stylistic considerations ranging from phonetics to rhetoric, which suggests that these choices are, in fact, in a complementary distribution, their use being dictated either by specific constraints or by stylistic preferences and idiosyncrasies of the respective authors. The same goes for the samples discussed in section 3, where the adverbialization of *’aktar* is seemingly subjected to the impact of both general tendencies and particular stylistic considerations. The erosion of the norm concerning the use of a specifying complement with a *’aktar*-headed annexation is the one for which we have found the most consistent and diverse attestations, and both its apparent reasons and the interrelatedness of the different structures

²³ The lack of formal agreement in definiteness between the noun and the elative in this phrase apparently comes as a result of the association between the superlative degree and definiteness, which clashes, here, with the indefinite state of the noun.

emerging from this tendency are characterized by a degree of complexity that defies its confinement to a simple, linear evolution.

If we were to venture and advance some predictions based on these data, we would say that the safest ones to make concern the adverbialization of *'akṭar* and the use of the specifically passive verbal noun signaled in section 5: whereas we do not expect to see a proliferation or generalization of *'akṭar* used as an adverbial marking degrees of comparison (we have already shown that this phenomenon is strongly associated with participles, and, furthermore, we think that the adverbial *'akṭar* is bound to be strictly linked to the comparative degree, as we do not see how it could function as an adverbial with the definite article – **al-'akṭara* –, which one has to assume would be used in order to convey the superlative degree), we would not be surprised to see an increasingly frequent use of passive verbal nouns derived with the suffix *-iyya* from passive participles, given the high productivity of this suffix.

It goes without saying that these conclusions rely strictly on the corpus we have been able to gather so far, and their final validation would only come after a thorough statistically based research. The main aim of our paper has been, at this stage, to mark tendencies, trends, evolutionary directions that may or may not endure, proliferate, or even trigger other developments.

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WRITING LITERATURE IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC: AN OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENT OPINIONS

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Abstract. The paper presents different opinions regarding the reflection of diglossia in the Egyptian literary production. There are arguments for and against writing in colloquial Arabic and writers like Nağīb Maḥfūz and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn stand among the purists, while other intellectuals support the idea that the dialect be proclaimed an official language. Salāma Mūsā argues that literature should be written in a language that aims to be understood by a large public in order to ensure the progress of the society. He goes so far as to say that *fuṣḥā* (that is, what in the West would be called Standard Arabic) is too complex lexically and syntactically and its old canons make inefficient the delivery of the message. However, the process of writing in one of the Egyptian spoken varieties of Arabic has become a common practice and is a key factor in creating an authentic image of the society. This paper focuses on Khaled al-Khamissi's collection of 58 short stories *Taxi* and explores the main challenges faced in the process of writing in a language that has circulated orally for centuries. **Keywords:** *Egyptian Arabic, Egyptian Prose, Literature in Colloquial Arabic, sociolinguistics.*

The aim of this paper is to present two tendencies noticed in modern Egyptian literature. These two tendencies are on the one hand the idea to write in Standard Arabic, an idea backed by prominent Egyptian writers like Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973) and Nağīb Maḥfūz (1911-2006) and, on the other hand, the long-debated view that literature should address people in an accessible language, vernacular Arabic, which would facilitate a better grasping of the message conveyed. The last one is supported by thinkers such as Salāma Mūsā (1887-1958)¹ and Luwīs 'Awad (1915-1990)².

Nağīb Maḥfūz stands against using the Egyptian spoken varieties of Arabic in literature and press. He stresses the importance of a new system of teaching grammar and literature in order to increase students' keenness to enjoy reading and form a knowledgeable, experienced consumer of literature. Maḥfūz admits the difficulty posed by learning grammar and expresses his opinion on providing books to the students and allowing them to choose the texts they want to study. Moreover, he promotes a new system of examination based on a résumé that the student has to produce in literary Arabic and a

¹ He is considered the founding father of the Egyptian socialism. He backed the idea of a literature written for people's sake.

² He is a supporter of Egyptian nationalism and considers that Egyptian Arabic evolved in a very different way than Standard Arabic or the other dialects; a considerable proof of this fact can be noticed in the changes suffered in phonology (Sitaru 2009: 161)

debate on a literary text. By doing this, the school will facilitate the process of learning the language giving at the same time the student confidence that he can express his ideas in a correct manner (Maḥfūz 1990: 202-204). Maḥfūz considers the poor knowledge of Standard Arabic one of the main causes for the backwardness and for the crises that literature and culture are undergoing, not to mention that illiteracy is one of the diseases that should be urgently addressed in order to open the Egyptian society to progress, and progress in culture can be reached only through language, which is why the author considers books, radio and television the means which can educate the Egyptian population. He goes on to say that each radio station should hire a language expert, whose job would be to correct the information broadcasted and to help the anchorperson improve their language capabilities (Maḥfūz 1990: 81).

In an interview with Fu'ād Dawwāra, Maḥfūz acknowledges that he is committed to writing in Standard Arabic (*fuṣṣḥā*) because he considers it the language of progress while the Egyptian colloquial is perceived as one of the flaws of Egyptian society:

'inna l-luġata l-'āmmiyyata min ġumlati l-'amrādi llatī yu'ānī min-hā š-ša'bu wa-llatī sayataḥallaṣu min-hā ḥatm^m ḥīnamā yartaqī, wa 'anā 'a'tabiru l-'āmmiyyata min 'uyūbi muġtama'i-nā miṭla l-ġahli wa-l-faqri wa-l-marādi tamām^m[...] wa huwa maraḍ^m 'asāsu-hu 'adamu d-dirāsati, wa-llaḍī wassa'a l-huwwata bayna l-fuṣṣḥā wa-l-'āmiyyati 'inda-nā, huwa 'adamu ntišāri t-ta'līmi fī l-bilādi l-'arabiyyati...wa yawma yantaširu sayazūlu hāḍā l-fāriqu 'aw sayaqillu kaṭīr^m[...] wa 'anā 'uḥibbu 'an tartaqiya l-'āmiyyatu wa 'an tataṭawwara l-fuṣṣḥā li-tataqāraba l-luġatāni, wa hāḍihi hiya mahammatu l-'adībi fī ra'yī (Dawwāra 1965: 368).

The colloquial language is part of the diseases from which the [Egyptian] people is suffering and it will definitely get rid of them with progress. I consider the spoken language one of our society's flaws just like ignorance, poverty and illness [...] The cause of this illness lies in the lack of education and what has deepened the gap between Standard Arabic (*fuṣṣḥā*) and the spoken Arabic among us is the lack of widespread education and the day when the education will spread this gap will vanish or it will be considerably diminished [...] I wish for the spoken language to rise up its level and the Standard Arabic to develop so the two languages can meet and mingle, this being in my opinion the mission of the man of letters.

Salāma Mūsā dwells on this subject in two books, whose titles are: *al-Balāġatu l-'aṣriyyatu wa-l-luġatu l-'arabiyyatu* "Contemporary eloquence and the Arabic Language" and *al-'Adabu li-š-š'abi* "The Literature for People". In the second chapter of the second book, he engages in an exchange with Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973) with respect to the language of literature in Egypt, pleading for a literature written in the vernacular so that it can be accessible to a large audience. The author considers Classical Arabic unsuitable for being the vehicle of the creation of a national literature due to its classical rhetoric and linguistic virtuosity, which focuses mainly on the language itself and less on the message it conveys. Thus, literature should not be produced entirely in Classical Arabic, but in the vernacular language, as it is the language of the masses and it is the only language that can ensure progress (Salāma, 2012: 26). He gives examples of writers who succeeded in delivering a clear and profound message through literary pieces written in colloquial Arabic:

'ağal wa-llāhi, laqad qara'tu bi-l-luğati l- 'āmmiyyati kalimātⁱⁿ tuši 'u bi-l- 'ihsāsi n-nabīli, wa- tanṭuqu bi-l-ḥikmati l-balīğati li-Husayn Şafīq al-Miṣriyyi (1860-1940) wa-'Abī Buṭaynat wa- Maḥmūd Bayram at-Tūnisī, wa- 'aḥbabtuhum bi-qadri mā karihtu hādā lladī [Aḥmad Şawqī] sabba ramza š-şarafi l-waṭaniyyi 'Aḥmad 'Urābī³. (Salāma 2012: 31)

And indeed, I read in the vernacular words that transmit a noble feeling, uttering the eloquent wisdom of Husayn Shafiq, Abū Buṭayna and Maḥmūd Bayram at-Tūnisī and I loved them as much as I hate the one that insulted the symbol of the national honor, 'Aḥmad 'Urābī.

The roots of modern Egyptian fiction can be traced back to the first half of the 20th century with writers such as Mahmud Khayrat, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1888-1956), who depicted in their novelettes and novels the human condition of the Egyptian peasants (Moosa 1997: 267). Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī wrote a novelette called '*Adrā' Dinshawāy* "The Maid of Dinshaway", published in 1906, which is a record of a true event that shook the lives of Egyptian peasants in the village Dinshaway and led to the resignation of Lord Cromer. In order to describe the life of the Egyptian peasants and their predicament, some of those authors make use of the Egyptian local dialects, as it is the example of Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī who uses the colloquial language of the peasants to increase authenticity (Moosa 1997: 258).

The breakthrough of this first half of the 20th century lies in the 20s and 30s, when a new generation of writers rose up, the most important of them being 'Isā 'Ubayd (1898-1923), the Maḥmūd brothers (1894-1973), Muḥammad Taymūr (1891-1921) and Mahmūd Ṭāhir Lāşīn (1894-1954) (Kadhim 2006: 51). The first two authors set the beginning of the psychological novel in Egypt. They reject the romantic view of society as portrayed by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal in his novel *Zaynab*, focusing instead on the portrayal of life and people and conveying a profound analysis of the characters' psychology and behavior. These traits can be noticed in 'Ubayd's novel *Turayya*, published in 1922, which offers an in-depth analysis of the protagonist Wādi Na'ūm, a young man obsessed with the love of *Turayya*, by whom he is rejected and driven to the brink of madness. Mahmud Taymūr is best known for his deep psychoanalysis, often ignoring the bigger picture of the Egyptian society. He focuses on his characters, whose behaviors he is amply describing in novels like *Salwa fī mahabbi l-rīḥi* "Salwa Tossed by the Wind" and *Rajab Efendi*. As for the language, Mahmud Taymur prefers to write fiction in a language close to Standard Arabic in terms of syntax but often using words from Egyptian dialect. (Kadhim 2006: 54) The same observation can be made about the style used by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal in his novel, whose dialogues are partly written in colloquial Egyptian (Zack 2001: 194).

Mahmūd Ṭāhir Lāşīn belongs to a well-known school literature named *al-madrasatu l-ḥadīṭatu* "The New School" and together with Aḥmad Ḥayri Sayyid founded in 1925 the journal *al-Fajr* "The Dawn" in order to publish their literary works. The movement was concerned with depicting the life of poor, underprivileged people and they were influenced by

³ 'Aḥmad 'Urābī (1841-1911) political and military leader who led one of the most important Egyptian revolutions against the British protectorate.

Russian realistic fiction whose techniques and themes they tried to adapt in order to create an authentic Egyptian literature, briefly they wanted a literature that would symbolize their identity and develop a literary style compatible with Western schools (Matti 1997: 282). What Lāšīn brings new to the Egyptian novel is the social realism developed by the following generations of writers, of which Nağīb Maḥfūz is a successful exponent. He uses his direct experience with the Egyptian ordinary people in order to depict the society, its faults and predicament as realistically as possible, focusing primarily on the struggle of the middle class to reach the privileges and social recognition of the aristocracy. Although he is writing about the underprivileged category, about the middle class and its struggle, Lāšīn makes little use of the dialect in his dialogue, preferring the Standard Arabic (Hallaq 2007: 434).

While it is clear that the first half of the 20th century celebrates the birth of the modern Egyptian prose, there is an important point that should be taken into consideration regarding the style used by the authors. In order to obey the condition of authenticity and to show empathy to the poor social classes portrayed by the novel, the authors use the low variety of the language in dialogues. However, all the interventions of the narrator are written in the standard language, the high variety that is *fushā*. Therefore, there is a huge linguistic distance between the narrator, who embodies the intellectual strata on the one hand, and the characters who are portrayed and who make the subject of the novel on the other hand. The first novel written entirely in Egyptian Arabic belongs to Muṣṭafā Muṣarrafa (1902-1966), published for the first time in 1966 under the title *Qanṭara llaḍī kafar* “Qantara the Infidel”, which was considered by Yūfus Idrīs a literary breakthrough (Lagrange 2013: 744).

Between the 1920’s and the 1930’s a new literary genre emerges. It is called *mudakkirāt* literature or autobiographical literature, consisting in “fictitious autobiographies, in which an illiterate person from the lower class of society allegedly dictates his life story to an editor”. (Zack 2001: 194) The last novel of this genre belongs to Luwīs ‘Awaḍ, appeared in 1956, its title is *Mudakkirāt ṭālib bi’ta* “Memoirs of a Missionary Student” and it narrates the author’s biography.

Khaled al-Khamissi’s short stories reflect the tendency of writing literature in colloquial Egyptian. *Taxi* is a collection of 58 fictional dialogues with Cairo taxi drivers. The aim of the book is to offer a vivid portrayal of the contemporary Egyptian society through the eyes of a particular social class, a class that epitomizes the needs and opinions of the ordinary people. According to al-Khamissi’s foreword it is not randomly that he tells the stories of the taxi drivers.

wa-fi l-maḥṣalati l-‘āmmati satağidu l-‘āna sā’iqa tāksī min kulli t-taḥaṣṣuṣāti wa min kāffati š-šarā’iḥi l-‘ilmiyyati, bad^{am} min^a l-‘ummiyyi ‘ilā l-ḥāšili ‘alā l-māğisṭir li-annī lam ‘uqābil ḥattā l-‘āna sā’iqi tāksī ḥāšilīna ‘alā d-duktūrāh (al-Khamisi 2013: 11).

All things considered, one might find nowadays taxi drivers having various backgrounds of knowledge and qualifications in any possible field, starting with the illiterate to the master graduate. I haven’t met so far, any taxi driver having a doctor’s degree.

The book is a picture of the social condition of the Egyptian middle class and the author chooses to let his characters speak their language, the unpolished, lively and

straightforward language of the street. And it is the language that makes the subject of this paper, especially the way that the dialect is written in the Arabic alphabet.

The process of writing dialect in the Arabic script is complex due to the lack of a standard spelling. Each author chooses his own way of spelling - sometimes there are more than one variant of the same word. One example would be the adverb *'awī*, with its pair *qawī*, which means “to a great extent” in Egyptian dialect. We found it in the excerpts mentioned below as *kubbār qawī* (very important people) and *kitīr 'awī* (very much). The word *dilwaqt(ī)* is spelled as *dilwaqt* (دلوقت) once (Al-Khamissi 2006: 49) and as *dilwaqtī* (دلوقتي) throughout the rest of the text: *wi-ba'dēn dilwaqtī 'aḡlabiyyati s-sīnimāt bita'itnā ḥalāṣ 'afalit* “and now most of our cinemas are closed” (al-Khamissi 2006: 45).

In the Cairene dialect the plosive unvoiced uvular /q/ and the voiced palatal affricate /ǧ/ become the glottal stop /ʔ/ and the velar sound /g/. The sounds that correspond to the interdental /t/ /d/ are the plosive alveolar voiced and unvoiced sounds /t/ /d/, spelled using the letters “tā” and “dāl”: *talāta* “three”, *tamānīn* “eighty”, *wāḥid bālī* “I paid attention” (al-Khamissi 2006: 44).

A particularity of the Cairene dialect is that in some words the voiced interdental fricative /d/ is replaced by the voiced alveolar fricative: *tizkara* “ticket” *zikrayāt* “memories” (al-Khamissi 2006: 44-45), *miš bi-zimmit-ak, ya 'ustāz, ḥikāya ḡarība?* “Seriously, sir, isn't it a weird story?” (al-Khamissi 2006: 57).

Another aspect that draws attention in particular is the occurrence of roots shared by SA and the colloquial used with different meanings by the two varieties.

Kubbār 'awī, taṣawwar ḥaḍret-ak fīh kām tāksi_f maṣr⁴ w fīh kām 'arabiyya_f maṣr⁴ māšīya_w ma-fihā-š ḥizām... 'idd inta ba'a...iš-šugl⁵ bi-l-malāyīn yā bāšā, šugl⁵ 'alā mayya baydā (al-Khamissi 2006: 38).

Imagine sir, how many taxis and cars run in Egypt without seatbelt ... do the math now and you'll find out that this is a large business.

The word *ba'a* (بقي) is used with a different meaning than the verb in Standard Arabic. First of all, in the sentence above, the word is not a verb but a particle typically used in Spoken Egyptian and it can be translated as “so”, “then”, “now”. In the two examples that follow below *ba'a*, *yib'a* falls into the lexical category of the verb, meaning “to become” (first example) and “to begin, to start” (second example):

Ma-fīš ba'da-ha bi-kām šahr il-ḥizām ba'a iḡbāri ya 'ni min kamāliyyāt wi_zyadāt l-iḡbāri 'idil...tiqūl 'eh ...ḡirēna štarēna ḥizima⁵ wi 'amalu 'alēna šugl⁵ tamām (al-Khamissi 2006: 39).

⁴ Apart from these examples all the words containing the uvular sound /q/ pronounced in Cairene dialect as a glottal stop will be transliterated using the letter hamza. The transliteration reflects the typical pronunciation of the Cairene dialect.

⁵ According to *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* of Martin Hinds and El-Said Badawi, the entry *ḥizām* (plural *iḥzima, ḥizima*) means “belt”.

And then, after few months the seatbelt became compulsory, that is a luxury item became in no time mandatory. We were compelled to buy seatbelts and they played upon us.

Ba 'da-ha l-hayā farramit-ni farm...baqēt 'āmil zayy' "farağ allah" min yom-ha maruḥi-š walla sīnima walla masraḥ, rağm-inni-na kuni' b-arūḥ sīnima kūr 'awi fi 'awāḥiri s-sab'īnāt...kuni' sākin fi šāri' il-ğiš... 'arīf Maḥmūd bitā' il-fisīḥ? (al-Khamissi 2006: 41).

Life has been tearing me up since. I started working hard and from that day on I have been neither to cinema nor to theater, although I used to go a lot in the late '70's. I used to live on the Army Street. Do you know Mahmud, the fish vendor?

Another verb used in Cairene Egyptian with a different meaning from its standard homologue is *fiḍil*, *yifḍal* which means “to remain”, its standard counterpart being *baqiya*, *yabqā*. *Fiḍil* has the textual meaning of “to remain, to be left” while in SA the meaning of the verb *faḍala*, *yafḍulu* is “to be excellent, superior, better, more adequate”.

Zaman kān bi-yrawwah fih min iṣ-ṣuğl is-sā'at talāta ba'd iḍ-ḍuhr' w yifḍal qā'id ma'ā-na. 'Ana bišūf 'ayālī min il-ğum'a li-l-ğum'a, da 'izā šufu-hum (al-Khamissi 2006: 75).

Those days he used to come from work at three o'clock in the afternoon and stayed with us. I see my family only Fridays, and this... if I get the chance to see them.

Wi 'ahammī ḥāga mansūb il-miyāḥ fi buḥayra Ṭabariyya... bi-yiqulū 'innī yom is-sā'at ḥa-tkūn il-buḥayra dī našfa tamām^{am} wi dilwa'tī sama't inna-ha ḥalāš bi-tinšaf ma-fḍil-šī min il-mayya ġēr il-'alīl (al-Khamissi 2006: 49).

The most important clue is the level of the water of the Tiberias Lake. It is said that on Judgement Day this lake will be completely dry and I've recently found out that there is little water left.

Another word that is worth mentioning here is *bitā' maḥmūd bitā' il-fisīḥ* a nominal particle indicating association: “Mahmud the fish seller, the fish vendor” (al-Khamissi 2006: 41). There are other cases when this noun is used as an appositional construction indicating possession as we can see in the following example: *wāḥid zābiḥ daḥal 'ala l-'asākir bitū'-u fi l-'arabiyya dī'* An officer enters the car where his soldiers were” (al-Khamissi 2006: 36). Other examples with this particle are: *bass' miš fākir bitā' mīn* “I don't remember whose [movie it was]” (al-Khamissi 2006: 43), *bass' b ṣarāḥa 'ahlā waḥda bta't il-ḥizām* “but one of the sweetest [fabrication of the government] is the one with the seatbelt” (al-Khamissi 2006: 38).

There are words that exist in Standard Arabic but their use is most commonly associated with the dialect such as: *istanna*, *yistanna* the glottal stop is assimilated by the alveolar nasal /n/ which doubles compared to the Standard Arabic variant: *ista'nā*, *yasta'nī*. Dictionaries of both Standard and Egyptian Arabic contain entries whose meaning is “to

wait”⁶. This verb is frequently used by taxi drivers as they narrate their stories: *istanna keda... 'ana fākir 'aḥir marra ruḥī sīnimā kān sana 'arba 'wi- tamānīn* “wait a bit... I think the last time I went to the cinema was in '84” (al-Khamissi 2006: 41), *'ana 'ārīf 'inna-na 'amāl 'azīd wi 'a'īd mistanni-nnak tiruddī 'alayya w-inta sākit ma bi-truddī-š* “I know that I talk a lot and I repeat myself. Anyway, I was waiting for an answer but you are silent” (al-Khamissi 2006: 64).

Sometimes the dialogues are written in a mixed language, dialect and SA, and it is not clear if the taxi driver expressed himself this way or it is the author's intervention in the text. The excerpt from below is an example of mixed styles because we can find the word *mahāna* “humiliation, degradation, insult” whose occurrence is rather low, its synonym *'ihāna* being preferred in spoken Egyptian.

Ḥassēt bi-mahāna w fakarī f kull aṣḥāb-i ḥnāk wi, ya-tara, 'aḥyā' walla mawtā... bass ana b-aqūl-l-ḥadrēt-ak ḥāga. W-ib 'a ftakar-ni l- 'irāq huwwa lli ḥa-yantašir fī n-nihāya wi l- 'ibra bi-lli yidḥak fī l- 'aḥir miš fi l- 'awwal (al-Khamissi 2006: 53).

I felt humiliated and I thought about my friends there, wondering: were they alive or dead? But I want to tell you something you'll remember. Iraq is going to win! He, who laughs last, laughs best!

Another example noticed in the text is *miyāh* (the plural of water) spelling variant typically used in SA. This variant is used once by a taxi driver in his speech: *il-miyāh fī buḥayrat Ṭabariyya* “the water of the Tiberias Lake” (al-Khamissi 2006: 49). However, the colloquial variant *mayya* appears more frequently in dialogues between the characters, being used in idiomatic expressions such as: *iš-šugī 'ala mayya baydā* “honest work” (al-Khamissi 2006: 38). The adjective *baydā* (بيضاء) is most probably pronounced in dialect *bēda* giving the fact that it occurs in an expression commonly used in dialect. Nevertheless, the author prefers the SA spelling for this word.

laqet-ha bitbuṣṣī ymīn wi šmāl wi rāḥit 'al'a n-niqāb illi 'ala ras-ha, baṣṣēt ana fī l-mirāya... 'aṣī' baṣṣ ana 'indi mirāya ṣḡayyara taḥt il-mirāya l-kibīra 'alašān 'ašūf illi bi-yaḥṣal wara... il-wāḥid lāzim yiḥarraṣ... miš bi-yqul-l-ak ḥarraṣ wi ma-tiḥawwan-š (al-Khamissi 2006: 54).

I found her looking to the right and to the left and took the veil off of her head. I saw her in the mirror. I looked in this small mirror below the bigger one in order to see what's going on in the back. One has to be cautious... don't they say better safe than sorry?”

This excerpt contains two verbs often used throughout the dialogues due to the fact that there are specific to the Egyptian dialect. The first one is *baṣṣ, yibuṣṣ* and it means to look used in the text *bitbuṣṣī ymīn wi-šmāl*. The other verb is *šāf, yišūf* meaning to see, to perceive *'alašān 'ašūf illi bi-yaḥṣal wara*.

Modern Egyptian prose, especially the novels that tackle social issues and portray the middle and the lower classes, resort to the colloquial idiom in order to convey the message in a more realistic and authentic manner. Be it a taxi driver or a peasant, the

⁶ Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* lists a second meaning that is, “to hesitate”, “to take one's time”, while *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* of Martin Hinds and El-Said Badawi gives just the meaning “to wait”.

character expresses best his feelings and opinions in his own language. Therefore, many authors of realistic novels choose to use the colloquial at least in direct speech for the sake of realism (Zack 2001: 195). Although long debated, the use of colloquial Egyptian in dialogues seems to be a tolerated practice even by more conservative voices. There are some novels written entirely in colloquial, as *Qanṭara llaḏī kafar* “Qanṭara, the Unbeliever” (1966) by Muṣṭafā Muṣarrafa and *Laban il-‘aṣfūr* “The Milk of the Sparrow” by Yūsuf al-Qa‘īd, considered a break with the tradition. At the dawn of Egyptian modern prose, the novels of Mahmud Taymur and Muhammad Hussayn Haykal clearly illustrate a distance between the narrator and the world he creates, “with the narrator using the high variety and the characters left with the one linked with orality”. (Lagrange 2013: 743)

Indeed, the spoken varieties of Egyptian Arabic are used in prose whether the narrator distances himself or not from the characters and it seems that the general preference is to resort to the SA variety in the narrator speech, a practice that makes the novel available and understandable to a larger public within the monolingual diglossia of the Arabic-speaking countries.

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BEDOUIN AND DRUZE SPEAKERS' COLLOQUIAL ARABIC IN ISRAEL: PRESENT VS. PAST

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Abstract. Every language changes in time. Languages are, however, not the only thing that changes. All that we learn keeps evolving, including Arabic. As in the past, also current linguistic changes reflect the economical, technological and social circumstances. Thus, Classical Arabic is unlike Modern Standard Arabic and modern Arabic dialects are not like old ones.

Following a short survey of the historical background of Bedouin and Druze speakers' settlement in the north of Israel, this paper examines texts spoken by Bedouin and Druze college students from several locations in that area (Brand 2013). A few phonological, syntactic, morphological and lexical features of these texts are discussed with examples. Their features are compared with features found in texts from Schmidt and Kahle (1918, ex-Bedouin speakers) and Blanc (1953, Druze speakers).

The findings suggest that in Israel both Bedouin and Druze speakers codeswitch with Hebrew, the dominant language there. This codeswitching refers mainly to modern words in their vocabulary. Phonetic features of Arabic dialects, Modern standard Arabic and Hebrew are mixed, thus expanding the native speakers' phonetical inventory. Syntactic and morphological changes also exist, reflecting effects of rural or urban near-by Arabic dialects.

In addition to the linguistic analysis, natural and artificial mathematical fractals are presented in the Introduction. Fractals are a rather new theoretical element, which has already been used in linguistics and can be further developed in Arabic dialectology. They are recalled at the end of the paper, because some of their features are revealed also when analyzing the development of the Bedouin and Druze speakers' dialects. In conclusion, the analysis of the Bedouin and Druze dialects suggests that new studies and methods of study are required in order to update our knowledge of current structures of Arabic dialects.

Keywords: *Arabic; Bedouin dialects; Druze dialects; Modern Hebrew; codeswitching; linguistic changes.*

1. Introduction

Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis

(Latin: Times are changed; we, too, are changed within them).

Everything changes in time: world structure (geography), history, economics, sciences, cultures, people, and languages. Everything keeps evolving – including Arabic: Classical Arabic differs from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Modern Arabic dialects are not like old Arabic dialects. This is our motto.

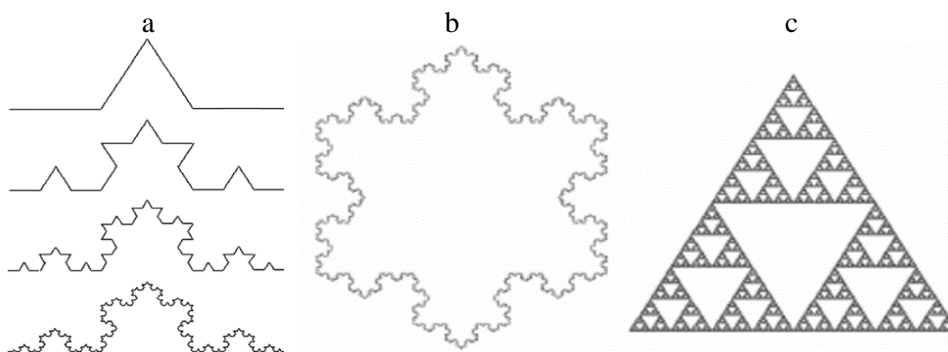
The linguistic research of Arabic keeps revealing unknown features: We speak now not only of the *Arabic language*, but also about its many *dialects*, *varieties* and *registers*. This change took time – for the language and its speakers. The first speakers of Arabic

lived in the Arabian Peninsula –and now speakers of Arabic have spread all over the world (though not all are L1 speakers of it). This process is, however, not unique for Arabic: all languages undergo changes, as we know. Changes of speakers and languages involve changes of time and place. So, we will begin now with *fractals*, which are characterized by continuous changing.

1.1 Fractals

A *fractal* is a geometrical form made of smaller copies of itself (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. (1a) Koch curve, from Fractals 1; (1b, 1c) snowflake and triangles, from Fractals 2



In “the Koch Curve”(Figure 1a), a straight line is bent to create this process which recurs in each new straight line by sequential decrease and may yield a snowflake form (Figure 1b). Another example is a triangle full of decreasing triangles (Figure 1c). Peacock Feathers are one of the most recognizable fractal patterns in nature (<https://www.ranker.com/list/pictures-of-beautiful-fractals/ashley-reign>).

Fractals were first found and used in mathematics, but they have been applied also in other scientific fields. Some relevant basic mathematical features of fractals are these:

- *The organizing principle of fractals is self-similarity: fractals retain their original form, regardless of the magnitude scale.

- * With changes of the size scale, more details are revealed or disguised.

- *Thus, fractals have a geometric shape that can be subdivided in parts, each of which is (at least approximately) a reduced-size copy of the whole.

- *Fractals can develop infinitely (however, it is impossible to predict future forms from the beginning or from some intermediate stage, because the starting point is different and affects the process).

- *Fractals can be complex and reflect fluctuations that occur in nature: natural objects have some fractal-like features with statistical self-similarity (i.e., not mathematical precision).

We mention fractals in this study because they have been studied also in relation to linguistics (e.g., Jelinek *et al.* 2006, Pareyon 2007). For example, Jelinek *et al.* (2006: 70) write the following:

Prior to the advent of fractal analysis, the relationship between scale and length of coastlines was discussed by Richardson... He used calipers of different sizes (scale) to determine the length of the coast of Britain. What he found was that the coastline length increased as the scale was decreased according to a power law relationship. The exponent is then the parameter that quantifies this relationship. Thus, whether the object is fractal or not did not have any bearing on the aim of the analysis... Currently many different methods...are used to determine similar relationships. These methods are all analytical tools that estimate the relationship between a scale of measurement and the size/mass of the object being measured. This is now referred to as fractal analysis and the exponent is the fractal dimension...

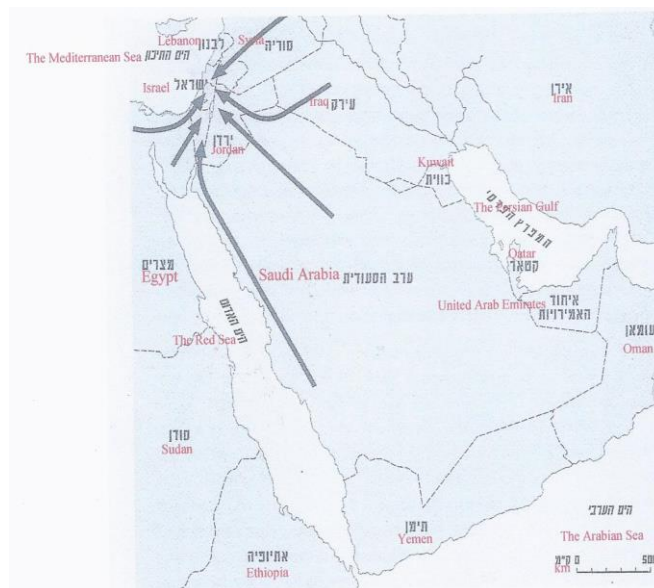
Pareyon (2007:374) in his abstract writes the following:

This lecture proposes that language as a whole belongs to the group of what we recognize as “natural fractals”; the consequences of this involve a new definition of language, as well as the construction of new tools for its investigation. Although the concept of fractals was used for the first time in 2000 as an application to sociolinguistics by Irvine and Gall, the association of the fractal theory to linguistics has been rather poor. This one seems to be an attempt for a general frame of language investigation, coming directly from the fractal principles.

Thus, it might be interesting to examine whether linguistic features and developments of Arabic dialects are at least similar to fractals in nature (cf. Rosenhouse, 2017).

1.2 Galilee Bedouin and Druze communities

The Galilee is home to a mixed population of native Arabic-speakers: in addition to Bedouin and Druze speakers, there are urban and rural speakers, who may be Muslims, Christians or Circassians (or Arabic-speaking Jews). Over the centuries, many Bedouin tribes migrated in and out of this region. At the beginning of the 20th century, Bedouin tribes were scattered all over the country, including the Galilee (Oppenheim, 1943/1983, Ashkenazi 1938). The Bedouins reached this country from all directions, as Map 1 shows (see Map 1).



Map 1. Bedouins' Routes to Palestine (adapted from Ben-David, 2004, by Medzini in Perez 2017: 791)

Nomadic groups usually look for grazing space and safety, which are available in isolated hilly and harsh areas – as was the Galilee in the past. Different geographical structures affect living conditions: The Galilee has relatively sufficient water, but rather limited roaming areas (Ben-David & Barkai, 2012). In addition, the area of the Galilee is quite small. Thus, rather small Bedouin communities lived (and live) in the Galilee (compared to Negev Bedouins in the south of Israel). The area of the Upper Galilee is about 800 square kms, and the lower Galilee is somewhat smaller¹.

Bedouin sedentarization began during the tightening control of the Ottoman rule in the 19th century, continued during the British Mandate rule (during the 1st half of the 20th century), and has practically ended under the State of Israel (since 1948). At present, most of the Galilee Bedouins live in about 30 villages and mixed villages (i.e., with other rural Muslims and/or Christians).

Druze communities settled in the Galilee in the 12th-16th CE (ruled at the time by the Tanūxī family). Over the centuries, they moved in various places in the Levant, mainly: Laḡā' in the Ḥawrān (Syria), Wādī Al-Taym (Lebanon), and Galilee (now Israel). Some old Galilee villages, which are mentioned in the historical sources (Firro 1992, Hütteroth & Abdelfattah 1977), still exist there. In Israel, there are about 20 Druze villages in the Galilee, and two² on the Carmel mountain ridge. Several Druze groups live in villages mixed with Muslims and/or Christians. Altogether, there were about 120,000 Bedouins in 2016 (Wikipedia 2017) and about 143,000 Druze (CBS 2019)³.

¹ The distance between Haifa and Tiberias is 61 km and the Haifa-Metulla distance (further to the north-east, a little above the top-right edge of the map) is 117 km.

² These were united in 2003 to one municipal unit, named the "Carmel Town."

³ See maps 000, 001,002 in Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019): https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/mediarelease/DocLib/2019/122/11_19_122b.pdf

1.3. Education and the current situation in Israel

An important aspect of language acquisition and use is literacy, which is normally acquired at school. School education is relevant for the study of language development (cf. Makhoul and Olshtain 2017). For the Galilee communities under discussion, schooling has two linguistic pivots, beyond the mother-tongue dialects (the students' first language, L1):

1. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) - The written variety is acquired at school and used for reading and writing, i.e., literacy. As well known, MSA has a very high prestige in the Arabic speaking communities, as the continuation of the Classical Arabic heritage, including the Quran and all the Islamic culture.

2. Hebrew is the dominant language in Israel, and as such, it is taught in all the schools, and is used outside school everywhere as a kind of "lingua franca".⁴

MSA and Modern Hebrew are thus competitors of or complementing the Arabic dialects in the state.

Normally, then, Bedouin/Druze students acquire at home and at school at least four language systems: L1 (mother-tongue dialect); MSA; Hebrew; English; other foreign languages and/or Arabic (urban/rural) dialects. The latter are spontaneously acquired along life according to the communication with people around them. This linguistic mixture creates, as a matter of course, code switching (CS) phenomena. Simultaneously, it undermines and modifies the speakers' own L1.⁵

2. Method

This study involved a few stages:

1. Definition of the research question. We finally defined it as follows: Which linguistic features have changed in the 20th century in these dialects?
2. Examination of the linguistic features of Bedouin and Druze college students (Brand 2013).
3. Examination of linguistic features of older works: (ex-)Bedouin dialects (Schmidt and Kahle 1918) and Druze speakers (Blanc 1953).
4. Comparison of the features of these three works.
5. Findings and Conclusions.

It may be asked, why Schmidt & Kahle (1918), Blanc (1953) and Brand's works were used. Schmidt & Kahle's material is not from the Galilee – its speakers are from Bīr Zēt, Samaria, in the center of the country. The answer is that the Bedouin of Samaria and Judea regions either left the country or settled down in villages and gradually acquired rural features (Rosenhouse 1984a). Schmidt & Kahle's book can thus hint at what might happen over time in sedentarized Galilee Bedouin dialects. Blanc's (1953) texts were chosen because they are Galilee Druze texts from the Galilee, from a short time after the establishment of

⁴ In Israel, school education has been compulsory by law since 1949, one year after its establishment.

⁵ These are in fact sociolinguistic processes. We cannot avoid mentioning them, though this paper focuses on language changes over time, and not on sociolinguistic aspects.

Israel. I did not find any other Druze texts from the Galilee before it.⁶ Finally, Brand's (2013) material was chosen because the texts are the most recent I know of. Moreover, they include both Bedouin and Druze speakers' spoken material.

It is relatively easy to design a work plan, but the work itself was not so easy. To define "original Bedouin" or "original Druze" items (i.e., words, linguistic features), dictionaries and glossaries were used sometimes. However, even dictionaries could not make the work 100% accurate because the distribution of words is not the same in different dialects. Furthermore, dictionaries are never exhaustive. Thus, different dictionaries do not present exactly the same dialectal items. So, one can never know when exactly some lexical item penetrated or developed in some dialect, or when it became obsolete in it. So, for lexical classification, which reflected meaning, I also took in consideration whether the word was related to the traditional (old) way of life or to the modern (recent) one. In addition to vocabulary, also phonology, morphology and syntax were examined in the older and more recent texts.

3. Bedouin and Druze dialects' features

Table 1 sums up typical phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features of Bedouin and Druze Galilee dialects as found in the older texts.

Feature Type	Galilee Bedouin features (Rosenhouse 1984b)	Druze Features (Blanc 1954)
Phonology	Strong emphatic consonants (ṣ, ṭ, etc.) Secondary emphatics (ḃ, ḣ, ṡ, ṣ, etc.) *q > g/ğ, *k > k/č Interdentals retained (ḏ, ṭ) 1st syllable ífa'al, ífta'al, al- stressed g↔háwa syndrome	Emphatic cons. not strong No secondary emphatics *q > q, *k > k Interdentals retained (ḏ, ṭ) Usual Levant stress diphthongization: i/ī > ei/ai
Morphology	Pl. gender in verbs, pronouns – retained Past pl. verb endings: -am/um/ Impf. pl. verb endings: -um/ūn No imāla Tendency to many diminutives Internal passive (residues)	Pl. gender in verbs, pronouns – partly retained Past pl. verb endings: -u Impf. pl. verb endings: -u/ūn imāla exists (a > e/i) No special diminutives No internal passive

⁶ Saarisalo (1935) is a collection of Druze poetry, not prose texts. Since poetry has different style and language features than prose texts, that material was not used.

Syntax	Narrative imperative Internal passive (residues)	Preposition l- as the accusative marker
Vocabulary	dahḥag, giḏab, ḡnima, hadd, raḥal, bēt ša'ar, za'īna, ghawa, etc.	ṭaqiyye, ḡuhhāl, 'uqqāl, xilwi, baddo/biddo, qahwe etc.

Table 1. Characteristic features of Galilee Bedouin and Druze dialects

Indeed, several features distinguish these dialects from other Galilee sedentary dialects in all the linguistic domains. Phonologically the Bedouin dialects are pronounced with stronger intensity. In addition, consonants that are not emphatic in other dialects (nor in Classical Arabic and MSA) may be emphatic in them. Certain consonants, mainly *q and *k, have allophones that are pronounced in manners that differ from MSA and other Galilee dialects. In addition, some unique stress patterns are found in the Bedouin dialects, including the g↔hawa 'coffee' syndrome, which is common to many Bedouin dialects (cf. Blanc, 1970). The Druze phonological and phonetic features are distinct from other Galilee sedentary dialects in their diphthongization of i/ī⁷ and partly retaining the interdental and *q, *k.⁸

Morphological features are distinct mainly in the plural verb and pronoun endings. Here, too, the Bedouin forms differ from other dialects with endings in the past tense that sound -am/-um for the plural masculine, and -an/-in for plural feminine persons. For the imperfect tense they retain -u or -ūn for the masculine and -in for the plural feminine endings. The parallel Druze forms are the same as those of other sedentary dialects. Only the plural masculine endings are unique in using -ūn for both genders.

Regarding syntax, we mention only the Narrative Imperative⁹, which is found mainly in narratives and legends of the past. In addition, internal passive residues occur (rarely) in these Bedouin dialects, whereas in Bedouin dialects in the Arabian Peninsula, for example, they are found more extensively. In the Druze dialects, we find the preposition l- (with bound pronouns) as the accusative marker in sentences such as /šuft-o l-az-zlima/ 'I saw the man'. Vocabulary is the field in which Bedouin and Druze patterns are most likely to have been retained, in particular when discussing issues reflecting the traditional way of life.

4. Examples

In this section, we present a few examples of these dialects as spoken in the three dialectal speech texts. The findings are discussed in section 5 below. Please note that except for the examples from Blanc (1953), our non-IPA transcription method is as used in many Semitic publications.

⁷ Other Galilee sedentary dialects do not have it – this is not a "usual" imāla case.

⁸ This feature occurs in some other rural sedentary dialects of the Galilee, but not in all the sedentary dialects.

⁹ This structure applied the imperative form for an action that actually occurred in the past.

4.1. An ex-Bedouin dialect (Schmidt & Kahle, 1918: 98-109, story 36)

lammin ṭili‘ yu‘addin iz-zuhur, baḥḥar ‘a dār il-xawāḡa, qām šāf il-bint bitčidd fi ša‘irha aswad miṭl il-lēl wi-drā‘ha bilma‘ miṭl as-sēf

‘When he went out to call for the noon prayer, he looked at the gentleman’s house, saw the girl arranging her hair, black as night, and her arm shining like a sword.’

qāmat dallat-le l-quffe bi-l-maṣṣīša u-mā xallat-išš yešūfha

‘She lowered to him the basket by the rope and did not let him see her.’

qal-lha, “d-da‘wa bēla bēla u-čif iddubbar?” qālat, “bass hādi?”

‘He said to her, “the issue is so and so, and how will it be arranged?” She said, “Only this?”

The words *lammin, baḥḥar, maṣṣīša, bēla bēla, čif, iddubbar* are typical Bedouin words.

4.2. The Galilee Druze dialect (Blanc 1953)

qallu, “hīk hīk. haḡūl ijamā‘a law fīhin xīr, ‘illi ‘ilu ṭalaṭ mūt sini yixdimhin, mā hinnī lazzamū dāru” (p. 83). (Speaker from BūSnān)

"Such and such," he told him. "These fellows, if they had any good in them, wouldn't have forced into retirement men who had been serving them for three hundred years" (p. 91).

qallu, “līš ḥabbaṭhin? ma-hinnī haḡūl ḡawasīs ‘ilak” (p. 83) (Same speaker from BūSnān) ‘Why’, said Carbillet, “did you give them preferential treatment? Why, these fellows will just spy on you!” (p. 91)

u-qult biswašš ‘alla ‘arūḥ la-‘andin išwayy ‘aḥsan isūru yit‘attabu ‘alayy. (p. 97) (Speaker from Jatt) and I said (to myself), “There is nothing to do but to go over there for a while lest they get angry at me.” (p.98)

The words *qallu, hīkhīk, haḡūli, fīhin, xīr, yixdimhin, hinnī, līš, ḥabbaṭhi, biswašš, ‘alla ‘arūḥ la-‘andin, yit‘attabu ‘alayy* show typical Druze words and pronominal suffixes.

4.3. Modern Bedouin dialect speakers (Brand 2013)

il-ḥug illi bat‘allam fiyyo, fiyyo taḥaṣṣuṣēn

‘The department, in which I study, has two specializations.’

‘iza jkūn ‘indi ‘avoda axalliṣha, ‘iza mā jkūn ‘iši ag‘ud bi-l-kafeteriya.

‘If I have work, I finish it; if I have not got anything I sit in the cafeteria’

aš-šinuyim hī ‘iši prati ‘aktar

‘The changes are a more personal thing.’

şurna nşūf maṭalan bduwiyyāt ba-l-mištara

'We began to see, e.g., Bedouin women (f.pl.) at police (i.e., police-women).'

hal tarbiyet il-atfāl hwayne?

'Is raising children easy?'

The words *ḥug*, *'avoda*, *kafeteriya*, *šinuyim*, *prati*, *mištara* are Hebrew words, or loanwords pronounced as in Modern Hebrew. *bduwiyyāt* and *hwayne* are typical Bedouin forms (*bduwiyyāt* the f. pl. of *bduwi* < **badawi*, and *hwayne* (diminutive f. sg. of **hayyin*).

In addition, there are MSA words: (*ba*)*t'allam*, *taḥaṣṣuṣ(ēn)*, *hal*, *tarbiyet*, *atfāl*. The rest of the words have common sedentary dialects' word forms.

4.4. Modern Druze dialect speakers (Brand 2013)

ya'əni, biṣīr fī (i)xtilāṭ hāda

'That is to say, there is this mixture.'

miš bas bi-qaryāt-i, bass bi-kull il-qura d-durziyye

'...not only in my village, but in all the Druze villages.'

in ḥakayt... 'awwal 'iše' – ism-ak

'if you talk, the first thing (is) – your name'

u-hāda kān ixtiyār-i u-tafkīr-i' fi-l-mustaḡbal

'and this was my choice and thinking about the future'

maṭlan ,imm-a' ṭabqat ṭamanṭa 'šar sine – xalaṣ, lāzem kānet tilbes fūṭa 'ala rūs-ha.

'E.g., my mother reached 18, then, she had to wear the fūṭa on her head.'

bass inte bi-tlāqi hevdel fi maḡāl it-ta'elīm bēn il-gvarim u-n-našim?

'but, do you find a difference in the realm of studying between the men and the women?'

These examples present several dialect groups: Druze elements that are common to rural sedentary dialects: **q** in *qaryāt-i*, *qura*, *maṭlan*; typical diphthongized Druze forms are *ḥakayt... 'iše*, *tafkīr-i* (cf. *ixtiyār-i*); *kānet tilbes*, and *fūṭa*; and MSA elements: (*i*)*xtilāṭ*, *ixtiyār-i*, *tafkīr-i'*, *l-mustaḡbal*. The rest is common Galilee sedentary vocabulary. Modern Hebrew CS also occurs in the Druze speakers' texts, as in the last example, where *hevdel*, *gvarim*, and *našim* are in Modern Hebrew.

5. Findings

Table 2 summarizes the features of the studied older and more recent Arabic dialects. The following Table 3 summarizes more concisely only the features that were not found in Brand's (2013) recent work. Table 2 shows that various features are used in the regular spontaneous speech of those speakers only partly. This suggests that they are in a state of

dwindling or changing compared to the past spontaneous speech by speakers of those dialects. In fact, our analysis has enabled us to isolate concisely those features from the others (see Table 3). These features are, then, probably most sensitive and most likely to disappear from these dialects in due course. In the meantime, these features may still be used sometimes, but are gradually replaced by sedentary colloquial, MSA and Hebrew forms.

Feature	2 nd .ary Emph.	*q> g/ ğ	k> k, č	Inter-dentals	i/ī>ai/ei	gender distinct.	imāla	Lexicon (old)
Ex-Bedouin	kept	q, g	k, č	kept partly	No	kept partly	Occurs partly	Occurs
Modern Bedouin	no	q, ʾ, g, ğ	k	kept partly	No	kept partly	Occurs partly	No
Old Druze	no	q	k	kept partly	Yes	Occurs	Occurs	Occurs
Modern Druze	no	q	k	kept partly	Yes partly	Occurs	Occurs	no

Table 2. Summary of some main older and modern Bedouin and Druze dialects' features

Features not found in the Bedouin dialects	Features not found in the Druze dialects
Secondary emphatics (*k > k/č) /č/not found ghāwa syndrome Stressed 1 st syllable in verb patterns infa'al, ifta'al and al- Old vocabulary (different topics were discussed)	Retained interdental (sometimes), Old vocabulary (different topics were discussed)

Table 3. Features not found in Brand (2013)

6. Discussion

We have studied here a few features (only a part of the changes) of Galilee Bedouin and Druze dialects. These findings look like a complex mesh of the colloquial dialects, MSA and Hebrew. This mesh did not begin yesterday or last century, though in this paper, we studied what happened in about a century. The studied material suggests that the changes are due mainly to contacts with other language communities and their language systems, i.e., sociolinguistic processes.

The Arabic language system (not just Classical Arabic or MSA) is the basis of the development of the dialects and MSA over the centuries. Linguistic differences reflect human differences (which include, e.g., physical size, temperament, life history, education,

social communities, localities, etc.). So, in real life, when the studied factors are mixed, pronunciation differences increase, structures diverge, and these yield system changes.

It should be noted that the Galilee dialects are generally similar to other Levant dialects in their basic structures and lexical elements. The Galilee Bedouin and Druze dialects are similar now to the urban and rural dialects of the region due to “sharing” many linguistic features with these other dialects (or having borrowed them from other sedentary dialects?). Yet, all these dialect groups also differ from one another due to their past – the starting points centuries ago and their subsequent individual developments. Thus, currently, many dialects tend to appear similar, due to koinéization and leveling, following many inter-dialect/inter-language contacts. See this process in Figure 2, where the first slot/row gives the general framework of these dialects¹⁰. The second, lower, level distinguishes between sedentary and nomadic/ex-nomadic dialects. The third lower level presents the split between urban and rural dialects in the sedentary and nomadic (or rather ex-nomadic, sedentarized Bedouin) dialects. These groups include the Christian, Muslim and Druze faith groups, which finally lead to the current state of the dialects – where the different features are mixed, as shown in the study.

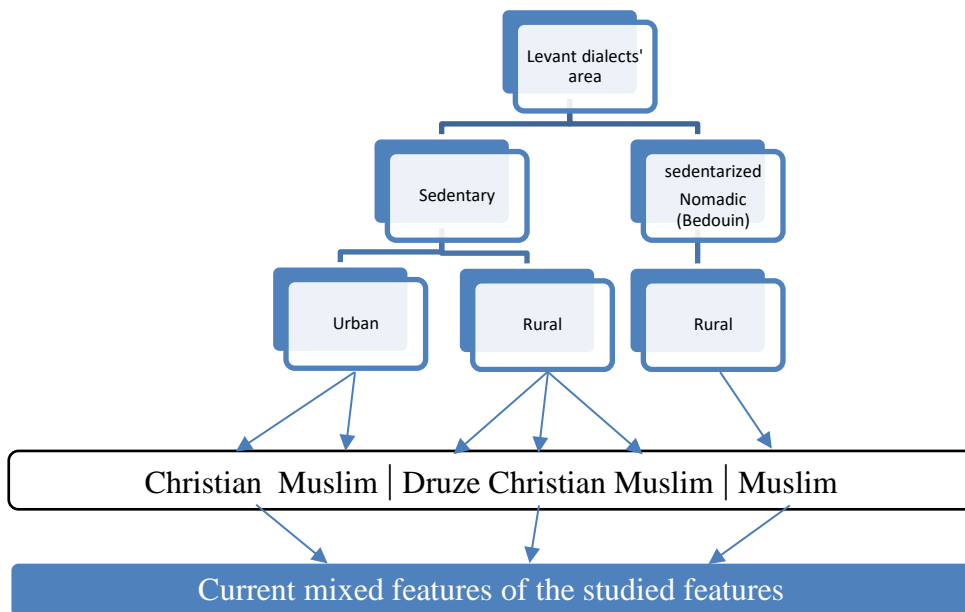


Figure 2. The hierarchical structure of Levant dialects

This order may remind us of the fractals, described in section 1 above:

The basic features studied here exist in the studied dialects. Each dialect retains its original linguistic form regardless of magnitude scale (i.e., self-similarity).¹¹ More details

¹⁰ Indeed, Levant dialects include many other local dialects, in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel, which are generally similar, but also distinct in various features.

¹¹ That is to say, a phoneme is a phoneme, a word is a word whether monosyllabic or trisyllabic, a verb is a verb whether in the past tense or the imperfect, a noun is a noun, etc.

are revealed or disguised as the size scale changes: if we analyze a word by its syllables or phonemes, we find more elements than if we take a general look at that word.

As noted, a fractal has a geometric shape that can be subdivided in parts, each of which is (at least approximately) a reduced-size copy of the whole. We can analyze the components of a word, a phrase or an utterance (e.g., phonemes in a word, words in a phrase, syntactic components in a sentence), but these parts are not always the same¹². Thus, not all the above-mentioned fractal features exactly reflect what happens in a language, but certain language elements are similar to natural fractals. The more we investigate a language or languages, the more features can be found, analyzed and understood. Ferns and tree branches are two examples of natural fractals, which demonstrate the principle that in nature, a single basis develops to similar – not identical – forms.

7. Conclusions

Dialects seem to develop like many other natural objects: a single root or trunk splits into two branches, which split into new branches with the same or similar pattern. These new branches grow and split again, and so on. The current dialectal structures are the end-result of these developments – but only for now. Future developments are unpredictable (like fractals): We cannot know which feature will prevail or disappear, because internal or extra-linguistic conditions may alter the seemingly expected course of development. We can know only the present, and perhaps some of the past of languages and dialects, such as these Bedouin and Druze dialects.

Our analysis of Bedouin and Druze dialects showed that pronunciation (phonetics and phonology), morphology, syntax and vocabulary have changed during the 20th century. The answer to our research question is, then, that all the fields of the language have changed over time, albeit at different rates. Vocabulary changed most of all, apparently because topics of discussion and speakers' interests change between one period and another. Indeed, it has long been known that vocabulary is an "open category" in languages. One gradually stops hearing certain words, speech sounds, or structures which were used during one's childhood or youth. Suddenly one notices that there are structures which were never heard or used before, and that they replace older structures. These phenomena do not occur all at once – there are intermediate periods of transition: some forms will be used less while others are used more, until new forms emerge as prevalent in communication. Another paper (Rosenhouse, 2014) examined past vs. present vocabulary in the 20th century in urban and rural Arabic speakers from the north and center of Israel. The recognition and use of the studied vocabulary items revealed that the older lexemes were less recognized and less used than the more recent ones. Similarly, the Bedouin and Druze dialects in the Galilee have changed, and will apparently go on changing in the future. We may ask how, then, the Bedouin and Druze dialects will look like, in 50 or 100 years from now? Although as noted, we cannot predict future developments, if social communities remain distinct, more or less as now, dialects will probably retain some marks of past features – at least for some

¹² Phonemes may have allophones, prepositions may vary, sentences may have different syntactic structures, etc. However, Universal Grammar can generalize some phenomena up to a certain level.

time, until new features change them over and over – as happened in many languages in the past – and until the foreignness of certain existing features is forgotten. Yet linguistic studies will apparently (have to) survive, and Arabic (in whichever form) will continue to be studied. It will be necessary to continue documenting and studying new, unknown or unpredictable features, because future languages will keep developing endlessly – like fractals.

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INDEFINITE CONDITIONALS IN *MAN* IN CONTEMPORARY WRITTEN *FUṢḤĀ*¹

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Abstract. Like in other languages, Arabic distinguishes between conditional sentences on the one hand, represented by the operators of supposition *'idā*, *'in* and *law* applied to a clause, and indefinite conditional sentences on the other, represented by the nouns *man* (« whoever »), *mā* (« whatever »), *matā* (« whenever »), *'ayna*, *'ayna-mā* (« wherever »), *mah-mā* (« whatever »), etc. The vast majority of recent grammars of Contemporary Written Arabic, according to Classical Arabic grammar treatises, present the syntax of these indefinite conditional sentences as equivalent to that of the *'in* conditional structures in Classical Arabic, that is to say either *'in fa'ala ... fa'ala* or *'in yaf'al ... yaf'al*. But a detour by the contemporary Arab press shows many other realities. This study exhibits and analyzes this great syntactic diversity that affects not only the apodosis but also the protasis of these conditional sentences as well as it shows an innovation: the temporal de-neutralization within the protasis of *fa'ala* which can then be interpreted as a formal and semantic past, following the fact that *yaf'alu* and *sa-yaf'alu* can be used in it as present and future.

Keywords: Arabic temporal forms, Contemporary Written *Fuṣḥā*, indefinite conditionals, *man*.

*He who drank will drink again, Whoever steals an ox [...] must pay back...², Whoever steals a man and sells him [...] shall be put to death...³, Whosoever will save his life shall lose it and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it⁴. These few English aphorisms are composed of a nominal relative pronoun and of verbal forms of different temporal values (past, present or future). They represent what English calls indefinite conditionals and what French can call, with Pierre Larcher, *conditionnelles partielles*, that is to say partial conditionals⁵.*

¹ This paper is the English translation and partially summarized version of « Syntaxes des conditionnelles partielles en *man* de l'arabe écrit contemporain » issued in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 67, 2019.

² Exodus 22:1.

³ Exodus 21:16.

⁴ Matthew 16:25.

⁵ “Sur le modèle d’interrogative totale et partielle [...], on distinguera entre conditionnelle totale et partielle. Les conditionnelles totales sont le résultat de l’application à une phrase *p* d’un opérateur de supposition (du type *si* en français). Les conditionnelles partielles sont des phrases dont l’un des constituants a un emploi conditionnel (du type *qui vole un œuf vole un bœuf* en français). La comparaison avec les interrogatives totales et partielles s’impose d’autant plus que les marqueurs de la condition totale sont classés dans la même catégorie, celle des “particules” (*hurūf*), que ceux de l’interrogation totale, tandis que les constituants employés dans la condition et l’interrogation partielles sont classés dans celle des “noms” (“noms de condition”, “noms d’interrogation”). En outre, ce sont essentiellement les mêmes : *man* (“qui”), *mā* (“quoi”), *matā* (“quand”), *'ayna* (“où”), *kayfa* (“comment”) etc.” (Larcher 2017: 235).

To convey these aphorisms, Arabic normally uses the “classical ⁶” form of the conditional systems, namely that of the potential system in *'in* ⁷ with model *'in fa'ala ... fa'ala*, that is to say two *māḍī*, or *'in yaf'al ... yaf'al* ⁸ and thus two *muḍāri* ' *mağzūm*. In the *'in* classical Arabic systems, it is also possible to have a *muḍāri* ' which is not a *mağzūm*, but it is then only indicative, and this only in the apodosis and still only when the protasis is itself a *māḍī*, so of type *'in fa'ala ... yaf'alu* ⁹. At least that is what the grammar of classical Arabic teaches us.

Indeed, it suffices to take the translation or transposition of these aphorisms into Arabic to find these particular syntaxes, for instance *man šabba 'alā ḥuluqin šāba 'alay-hi* (Hajjar 1983: 19) with two *māḍī*, *man yasruqi l-yasīr yasruqi l-kaṭīr* (Hajjar 1983: 241) with two *muḍāri* ' and *man ya 'iš yara* (Hajjar 1983: 238) with this time, and without any possible doubt, two *muḍāri* ' *mağzūm*, since the two verbs are respectively hollow and defective, and the apocopate mood is therefore immediately visible (*ya 'īs* vs. *ya 'iš* and *yarā* vs. *yara*).

As for this last aphorism, it is also the form that we find in the contemporary Arabic press ¹⁰ and more broadly on the Internet. So we might be surprised to find two instances of *man ya 'iš yarā* under the pen of Ğamāl al-Ġīṭānī (1945–2015) in a recent edition of his novel *Sifr al-bunyān* (Ġīṭānī (al-) 2017: 25 and 26) ¹¹, since then, it is not *māḍī* nor *muḍāri* ' *mağzūm*, but simply *muḍāri* ' (hence indicatives) ... ¹²

It is also not uncommon in the contemporary Arab press as in contemporary novels to find this type of syntax that shows simple indicatives, even in the protasis:

⁶ That is to say among others and beside the so-called prestigious variety, the form taught in *classes* (see Larcher 1998: 411-412).

⁷ See Larcher 2009.

⁸ To avoid certain confusions, due in large part to the usual denomination in English of the Arabic verbal forms in “Perfect” and “Imperfect”, denominations that are strictly aspectual and which, then, hide the temporal and modal ones (in the sense of mood and modality) (as for those issues, see Larcher 2012: 133-162), I use here to refer to the Arabic verb forms from a strictly morphological point of view the terms *fa'ala* (or *māḍī*) and *yaf'al-* (or *muḍāri* ' , the indicative being noted *yaf'alu*, the subjunctive *yaf'ala*, and the apocopate *yaf'al*).

⁹ See Larcher 2017: 233 and what Zamaḥṣārī (d. 538/1144) says: “it is not excluded that the two verbs of the *'in* section be two *muḍāri* ' or two *māḍī* or even that one of them be a *muḍāri* ' and that the other be a *māḍī*. When they are both *muḍāri* ' , they can only be in the apocopate, likewise when one of them happens to be the protasis, and when the verb happens to be the apodosis, it can be in the apocopate or in the indicative” (*wa-lā yaḥlū al-fi 'lāni fi bāb 'in min 'an yakūnā muḍāri 'ayn 'aw māḍiyayn 'aw 'aḥadu-humā muḍāri 'an wa-l- 'āḥar māḍiyan fa- 'idā kānā muḍāri 'ayn fa-laysa fi-himā 'illā al-ğazm wa-ka-ḍālika fi 'aḥadi-himā 'idā waqa 'a šartan fa- 'idā waqa 'a ġazā 'an fa-fi-hi al-ğazm wa-l-raḥ'*, Zamaḥṣārī *Mufaṣṣal*: 416).

¹⁰ For this study, I mainly used *arabiCorpus* (<http://arabicorpus.byu.edu/search.php>), which is due to Dilworth Parkinson, a tool that helps to identify any word on a large scale in different registers such as press, literature, etc. As for the newspapers, they are *Ḥayāt* (1996 and 1997), *'Ahrām* (1999), *Ġad01* (2011), *Tağdīd* (2002), *Waṭan* (2002), *Maṣrī al-Yawm* (2010) et *Tawra* (with no date).

¹¹ While in another edition, it is indeed written *man ya 'iš yara* (cf. Ġīṭānī (al-) 1997: 44).

¹² Ibn al-Sarrāğ (d. 316/929) even opposes very clearly the use of the indicative, reserved for the interrogation, to the use of jussive, reserved for the condition: “know that the response is not allowed through the *wāw* and if you said *'man yuḥriğ- al-dalwa la-hu dirhamāni*’, you would put *'yuḥriğ-*’ to the indicative [*yuḥriğu*] and that would become an interrogation, and if you apply the apocope [*yuḥriğ*], this is only allowed with *fa-*” (*wa- 'lam 'anna-hu lā yağūzu al-ğawāb bi-l-wāw wa-law qulta 'man yuḥriğu al-dalwa la-hu dirhamāni' rafa 'ta yuḥriğu wa-šāra istiḥāman wa- 'in ġazamta lam yağuz 'illā bi-l-fā'*, Ibn al-Sarrāğ *'Uṣūl*: II, 187).

(1) *man yaḥāfu min al-faqr lā yumkin(u)-hu 'an yuṣbiḥa šā'iran kabīran* (Ḥayāt 1996)
 “Who fears poverty can not become a great poet”

(2) *man yurīdu al-ḍahāb fa-l-bāb maftūḥ* (Mounif 2004: 273)
 “whoever wants to leave, the door is open”

As for this last example, it is the presence of the segmentator *fa-*¹³ that in fact identifies it to a segmented sentence and consequently as a sequence of two sentences, the second of which is not here in a logical implication relationship with the first¹⁴, even if a dependency does exist between the two¹⁵.

In a previous work, I put forward the evolution of the hypothetical system of modern Arabic with regard to conditional clauses (*'idā*, *'in* and *law*). I showed more particularly that a phenomenon of synonymization of the operators of the conditional was at work: *law* indicates, in addition to the Counterfactual (Present and Past), the Potential¹⁶ and *'idā* now indicates, in addition to the Potential taken from *'in*, the Present Counterfactual. This evolution is certainly due to the influence of European languages such as French and English, which, having only one “*si*” and one “*if*”, have indeed been able to push Arabic speakers and writers to tend to use only one operator (as is the case in contemporary Egyptian, see Sartori 2009 and Girod and Aziz 2016: 189). This synonymization as well as the simple influence of these languages then results in the establishment, once again on the model of these European languages, of a sequence of tenses previously useless, the status of the conditional being only dependent on the operator used (*'idā*-Potential vs. *law*-Counterfactual) and the verbal forms after them being neutralized from a temporal point of view (see for all the details and examples Sartori 2018a). However, I did not find any example of protasis other than composed by a *māḍī* (thus *'idā fa'ala ...*, *'in fa'ala ...* and *law fa'ala ...*), in accordance with what the grammar of modern Arabic proposes¹⁷.

What syntactical evolutions is it then possible to identify concerning indefinite conditionals in contemporary written Arabic? To try to answer that question, I will focus particularly on the case of *man* (“who, who(so)ever”), considered as paradigmatic of the

¹³ See on that issue Larcher 2006.

¹⁴ As when we say “if you are thirsty, there is beer in the fridge” (see Ducrot 1993: 176), where *if* does not condition what is said but rather the fact of saying (see Larcher 2017: 216, 218, 227, 231). On this type of statements, see among others Corminbœuf 2010.

¹⁵ So, about *si*, Ducrot writes: “Dans la mesure, en effet, où on demande à l’auditeur de se placer dans l’hypothèse “p” avant de lui annoncer “q”, on donne à penser qu’il y a une certaine dépendance entre “p” et “q”: sinon, on comprendrait mal que le locuteur ait cru bon de faire précéder l’acte d’affirmation d’un acte de supposition. La dépendance entre les deux propositions apparaît ainsi comme un contrecoup de la dépendance entre les deux actes accomplis” (Ducrot 1993: 169). This level can be called natural logic as opposed to formal logic. In relation with the particle *fā'* in the conditional systems, see Larcher 2020 for the natural logic level, and Sartori 2020 for formal logic one.

¹⁶ What Zamaḥṣarī already noted after Farrā' (d. 208/822): “*wa-za'ama al-farrā' 'anna law tusta 'malu fī al-istiqbāl ka-'in*” (Zamaḥṣarī *Mufaṣṣal*: 416). See also among others Ibn Hišām al-'Anṣarī *Muḡnī* (d. 761/1360): 496 and before him 'Astarābāḍī *ŠK* (d. 688/1289), IV: 486.

¹⁷ It is still possible to find, yet in the mouth of a football player, a structure with *law sa-yaf'alu*: *wa-'anā 'aqūlu-hā ṣarīḥa 'anā musta'idd li-l-ḡulūs 'alā dikkat al-budalā' ḥattā nihāyat al-buḡūla law sa-yag'alu-nā ḍālīka na'ūdu bi-l-ka's 'ilā al-qāhira* (Maṣrī 01/20/2010) “I say it in all sincerity, I am ready to sit on the sideline if it would make us [sic] return to Cairo with the cup”.

syntax of indefinite conditionals, but without excluding some detours towards other indefinite conditionals' tool-words if needed. I will use for this purpose the contemporary Arabic press, without implying that it exhibits "rules" to be followed, nor that it is, on the contrary, only "mistakes" to be proscribed. The approach will not be grammatical, that is to say normative and prescriptive, but only linguistic and therefore descriptive and neutral from an axiological point of view.

Before that, I will first remind what the so-called modern grammars of this state of Arabic say about *man*.

1. What modern grammars present

Generally, these grammars are content to repeat the classic rule and do it in a more or less modernized way. For some of them, this involves the use of unreferenced examples supposed to be a guarantee of "modernity". The comparison of these data with those of section 2 and the examples which will be produced from an Arabic corpus of modern and contemporary press will show that these so-called modern grammars do not describe the reality of the contemporary uses as well as that these uses differ from those of classical Arabic¹⁸.

Of all these works, three stand out. The first is Badawi *et al.*, who say about indefinite conditionals that "their syntax shows the same flexibility associated with conditional clauses in MWA" (Badawi *et al.* 2016: 740). The authors indicate indeed, but without saying more:

In addition to some flexibility in the syntax of modern conditional sentences, there are genuine problems of syntactic instability and conspicuous calque structures that are reflected in conditional-type sentences which do not follow the traditional grammatical rules very closely (Badawi *et al.* 2016: 711).

In doing so, they leave the door open to non-classical forms of protasis or apodosis.

The second is El-Ayoubi *et al.*, because even if they give examples in *man fa'ala ... fa'ala, man lam yaf'al ... fa-l-yaf'al*¹⁹, they still report, although without dwelling on it, an example in *man lā yaf'alu* therefore presenting a protasis with an indicative (El-Ayoubi *et al.* 2003, I/2: 183).

It is finally and above all Cantarino. He does not deal with *man* within conditionals but as a *Pronominal Clause* (Cantarino 1974, III: 170-176), *Conditional Clauses* being dealt with further (Cantarino 1974, III: 311ff). He shows above all three interesting examples because of their syntax. The first presents without any doubt two indicatives: *man yurīdu bi-hi šarran yakūnu 'aduwwan la-nā* "Whoever wishes him evil is our enemy", Gibr. I, 198, 6²⁰. The second is classical at the level of the protasis but the expected *fa-* in

¹⁸ The grammars we are talking about are as follows: Haywood and Nahmad 2001: 294-297; Beeston 1968: 83-87; Kouloughli 1994; Neyreneuf and Al-Hakkak 1996: 230, 244; Manca 1999: 314-316; Schulz *et al.* 2008: 366; Buckley 2004: 539, 744; Ryding 2005: 675; Alesh 2005: 239, 271; Corriente 2002: 225; Hassanein 2006: 99-100; McCarus 2007: 149-152; Abu-Chacra 2007: 312; Imbert 2008: 174; Sawaie 2014: 254-259. For the details of what these grammars say, see Sartori 2018b: 250-253.

¹⁹ Including a straightforward example without *fa-* for a prepositional phrase apodosis.

²⁰ That is to say Ġibrān Ḥalīl Ġibrān, *al-Mağmū'a al-kāmila li-mu'allafāt Ġibrān Ḥalīl Ġibrān*, 3 vol.,

the apodosis lacks, despite the presence of the future marker: *man māta sawfa yub'atu* “Whoever dies will be resurrected”, Hak. ahl. 52,6. The third presents a protasis and an apodosis both negative but indicative with negation in *lā*: *man lā yarā l-'ahzāna lā yarā l-faraḥa* “Whoever does not see sorrow does not see joy” Gibr. II, 122, 13 (Cantarino 1974: 174). As early as 1974, Cantarino thus allows us to see very interesting syntaxes, but from a much older material since Ġibrān Ḥalīl Ġibrān died in 1931 and though Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm died in 1987, the work used dates, on its own, from 1933...

2. The handout

Regarding *man*, which will be the focus of this study, I will decide for a conditional interpretation. As for the indefinite conditionals as well as regarding *man* more particularly, it is indeed possible to hesitate between an interpretation as a relative (“the one”) or as a conditional relative (“if someone”), but

Que *man*... s'interprète comme relatif ou comme « relatif conditionnel » (= *si quelqu'un*), [la phrase en question] est toujours une phrase segmentée : c'est seulement les « relatives conditionnelles » du français, type *Qui vole un œuf vole un bœuf*, qui sont nécessairement des phrases liées, par opposition aux conditionnelles ordinaires, qui, elles, sont segmentées (*Si quelqu'un vole un œuf, il volera un bœuf*). À l'inverse, le contraste formel et sémantique des formes verbales, qui n'est pas un problème en français, où l'on pourrait avoir *Qui a volé un œuf volera un bœuf* sans que le sens cesse d'être conditionnel, peut sembler en être un en arabe dit « classique », c'est-à-dire tel qu'on l'enseigne dans les classes : on y enseigne en effet que la parité formelle des formes verbales est pour ainsi dire une marque des systèmes conditionnels. On verra pourtant que, non seulement dans l'arabe de Ġazālī, mais encore en amont en arabe écrit aussi haut que l'on puisse remonter et en aval en arabe moderne et, par ailleurs, dans les dialectes, cette parité est statistiquement l'exception, non la règle. On opéra finalement pour une interprétation conditionnelle (Larcher 2017: 180)

So, *a fortiori* when facing a symmetry of system where we find the same verbal forms in the protasis as in the apodosis, I will choose a conditional reading rather than a relative one.

For the purposes of the exhibition, I will detail the syntaxes by their protases since it is there that, undoubtedly, we see the most surprising feature: the verbal forms exhibited are, by far, not always “classic” to the senses that have been recalled above. I will further detail these protases according to their positive or negative identity.

2.1. Protasis in *sa-/sawfa yaf'alu*

2.1.1. Positive protasis: *sa-/sawfa yaf'alu*

Beirut, 1949-50; Hak. ahl. = Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, *'Ahl al-kahf*, with no date, 5th edition.

I will start with cases that have very particular syntaxes in that they show protases with a verb in the future form as *sa-/sawfa yaf'alu*. (3) presents a formal parity of the verbs, the apodosis itself being *sa-yaf'alu*:

(3) *man sa-yaqra 'u al-maqāl sa-yaẓharu 'amāma-hu al-kaḫīr min qaḏāyā al-ta 'mīn al-ṣiḥḥī* (Ġad 03/31/2011)

“Anyone who will read the article will see many health insurance issues in front of him”

This example offers a perfect symmetry between the two members of the system, like what we find in the classical language with *man fa'ala ... fa'ala* or *man yaf'al ... yaf'al* with the restrictions mentioned above by Larcher. Contrary to the classical state, however, there are two futures, but also the lack of a *fa-* in the beginning of the apodosis which should have appeared before such a future verbal form. But here the protasis *p* does indeed imply the apodosis *q*: if the segmentator *fa-* had been present, it would have noted, in addition to a formal break, a semantic one that would have been improper (you have to read the newspaper to face these questions: there is indeed a logical implication between *p* and *q* that can be put as *whoever p ... then q*).

In the same way, and for the same reasons, this *fa-*, which is nevertheless expected according to the rules of classical Arabic, is missing in the following example before *qaḏ yaf'alu*, which marks the conditional ²¹ and therefore a non-actual, that is to say a probable future that may be logically implied by what the protasis announces:

(4) *wa-lā nansā kullu-nā 'anna al-dā'ira sa-tadūru wa-man sa-ya 'īṣu al-'umr al-ṭawīl qaḏ yakūnu makānu-hu yawman fī 'iḥḏā hāḏihi al-dūr* ('Ahrām 11/29/1999)

“And all of us, we do not forget that the wheel will turn and that whoever will live long [enough] could see his place in one of these [retreat] houses” (word for word: “whoever will live long his place could be one day in one of these pensions”)

(5) *wa-qāla al-sayyid kamāl al-šādīlī 'inna-hu lā 'aḥada yastaḫī'u tahammuṣ dawr al-maḡlis fa-huwa al-laḏī yuqarriru wa-yuḥaddidu al-mawā'īd wa-'anna [sic] al-ḥukūma 'a 'lanat muwāfaqata-hā al-mabda'iyya 'alā munāqaṣat al-istiḡwābāt wa-'iḏā kāna al-'aḡ sāmīḥ yaqūlu 'inna man sawfa yataqaddamu bi-istiḡwāb lan yunāqaṣa fa-'ayna kāna hāḏā al-istiḡwāb munḏu bidāyat al-dawra al-barlamāniyya* ('Ahrām 01/03/1999)

“Mr Kamāl al-Šādīlī said that no one can marginalize the role of the parliament, because it is it who decides and defines the agendas and the government has announced its agreement in principle on the discussion of questions [to the government], and if brother Sāmīḥ says that anyone who will submit a question, this one will not be discussed, so why was it not asked at the beginning of the parliamentary session?”

In this example *fa-* appears in compensation of the system in *'iḏā* (*'iḏā kāna ... fa-'ayna kāna*), and *lan yunāqaṣa* is then in fact the apodosis of the indefinite conditional, that latter presenting a symmetry of system, thus forcing its interpretation that way and not into a qualificative (“a question that will not be discussed”).

²¹ For a study of *qaḏ* compound forms, see Sartori 2019.

The particle *fa-* can also appear when it comes to stating a break both formal and semantic (lack of logical implication between *p* and *q*), as before an injunction:

(6) *wa-ʿaḏāfa: ʿinna man sawfa yuḡādilu fī ḥaqq al-difāʿ fa-l-yubliḡ-nī, wa-man yuṭālib(u) bi-ma ʿlūmāt ʿam-mā tafʿalu-hu miṣr narudd(u) ʿalay-hi bi-ʿanna hādā min ʿasrār al-ʿamn al-qawmī al-miṣrī* (Maṣrī 01/01/2010)

“And he added: ‘Anyone who will argue about the right of defense, let him inform me! and who is asking for information about what Egypt is doing, we answer to him that it is part of the secrets of Egyptian national security’”

In this example, there is indeed no logical implication between *p* (to argue) and *q* (to inform) by the very fact that the apodosis is not an assertion. So it is not about saying *anyone p ... so q* but rather to say “if anyone wants to argue, let me know”, that is to say, in case someone wants to argue, I say to him “let me know!”. Here the conditional conditions the fact of saying, not what is said, which is also the case of (7) without *fa-*. Let us also note now that the reading of verbal forms excluding hollow and defective verbs necessarily oscillates between apocopate and indicative, what shows the second indefinite conditional system, which will be discussed below.

(7) *mah-mā sa-yakūnu ʿalay-hi al-ʿamr tabqā masʿala wāḥida la-hā ʿahammiyyatu-hā fī al-ḥadaṭ wa-hiya masʿalat ʿal-tawqīt* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Whatever the case will be, there remains only one question that matters in the event, and this is the question of the ‘calendar’”

Whereas we have seen above with (3) or (5) apodoses in the future (positive or negative) without *fa-* because of a logical implication between *p* and *q*, this segmentator will appear on the contrary in the same syntactic contexts to indicate the semantic break. This is particularly the case with (8), where it is not a question of stating *everywhere that ... then ...* but *everywhere that ... however ...*:

(8) *fa-hādīhi al-sayyida fāʿiza hāšimī rafsanḡānī tadʿū ʿilā ʿal-dīmūqrāṭiyya wa-tawfīr al-ḥurriyyāt fī ʿiṭār al-qānūn*” *wa-ʿilā ʿal-muḡtama ʿal-šināʿī*, *min waḡh, wa-lā tatawarra ʿu, min waḡh ʿāḥar, ʿan al-qawl ʿinna rafsanḡānī ʿlaysa fī ḥāḡa ʿilā ʿan yakūna fī mawqi ʿtanfīdī, wa-ʿayna-mā sa-yakūnu baʿd intihā ʿwilāyati-hi al-riʿāsiyya fa-satakūnu hunāka quwwat al-niḡām wa-sa-yakūnu ʿaḡad al-ʿarkān al-raʿiṣiyya fī al-niḡām (...)* *fa-rafsanḡānī sa-yazallu rafsanḡānī*” (Ḥayāt 1997)

“This lady, Fāʿiza Hāšimī Rafsanḡānī, appeals on the one hand to ‘democracy, to provide liberties within the framework of the law’ and to ‘industrial society’ and on the other hand has no qualms about saying that Rafsanḡānī ‘does not need to be in an executive situation, because no matter where he will be after the end of his presidential term, there will be the strength of the regime, and he will be one of the main pillars of the regime (...) because Rafsanḡānī will remain Rafsanḡānī’”

Similarly, with the following example, where it is not a question of stating that *whatever ... then ...* but to deny such implication, which may explain the existence of a nominal headed apodosis (*fa-ʿinna-hā lan taḡdima*) rather than a verbal one. This example

is then equivalent to (6) and (7), since it is at stake to condition the saying “then know/I say to you that they will not serve” rather than what is said “they will not serve”:

(9) *mah-mā sa-yatimmu min ‘amaliyyāt li-taswīq hādīhi al-ḥuṭwa fa-’inna-hā lan taḥdimā ‘ahdāf isti ‘ādat al-dawla al- ‘irāqiyya* (Ġad 03/28/2011)

“Whatever will be in terms of marketing operations of this stage, [anyway/know that/I tell you] they will not serve the purposes of the return of the Iraqi state”

2.1.2. Negative protasis: *lan yaf‘ala*

As for the negation of this protasis, it is done in *lan yaf‘ala* as the examples (10), (11) and (12) will show. The first of this series is even very interesting since it shows an apodosis itself in *lan yaf‘ala*: a symmetry that could be quite classic if it was not first of all in the future, and moreover in the negative future. In the three cases, which would have required, according to the Arabic grammar, the use of a segmentator at the beginning of the apodosis, we note its absence, this absence marking the logical implication existing between *p* and *q*:

(10) *wa-’aḏāfa “man lan yuwaqqi ‘a yawm al-ṭulātā’ lan yuwaqqi ‘a ‘abadan ... hādā nihā’ī* (Ġad 03/06/2011)

“And he added: ‘whoever will not sign on Tuesday will never sign ... it’s definitive’”

(11) *yaḡibu ‘an ya ‘lama ‘aṣḥāb tilka al-ṣarikāt ‘anna man lan yuwaqqi ‘a ‘awḏā ‘a-hu sa-yuṣbiḥu ṣāhib ṣarika ḡayr qānūniyya wa-bi-l-tālī sa-yatimmu ṣaṭbu-hā* (Maṣrī 11/07/2010)

“It is necessary that the bosses of these companies know that whoever will not settle his affairs will become the boss of an illegal society and that consequently it will be liquidated”

(12) *fa-huwa yaṭraḥu ‘anna man lan yaḥtāra al-rahīl min al-filasṭīniyyīn sa-yabqā fī makāni-hi ma ‘a taṣwīti-hi “barlamān ‘ammān” ma ‘a baqā’ al-siyāda wa-l-sayṭara ḥaṣriyyan li-l- ‘isrā’īliyyīn* (Ġad 03/28/2011)

“He says that whoever will not choose the exodus among the Palestinians will remain in his place with his ‘Amman Parliament’ vote and with the preservation of power and control exclusively for the benefit of Israelis”²²

I have kept for the end of this section a long example which can present some difficulties of interpretation, in particular because of a punctuation which, seemingly floating, as it often is in Arabic, can be misleading. This is an example showing several *‘ayna-mā*... (everywhere that ...):

²² This refers to the incitements to Palestinians by Knesset member Aryeh ‘Aldād to join Jordan on the grounds that Jordan is Palestine and only those Palestinians who will leave Israel will be able to exercise their right to vote freely...

(13) *qad sami 'tu hunāka bi-qiṣṣa šadīdat al- 'ihā', wa-hiya tata 'allaqu bi-tağriba ma 'sawīyya iḥtabara-hā 'aḥad qādat sukkān 'amīrkā al- 'aṣliyyīn al-laḍīn faqadū kull šay' bi-mā fī-hi 'asmā' huwiyyati-him al-ḥaqīqiyya, fa- 'aṣbaḥa yuṣāru 'ilay-him ḥata 'an bi-l-hunūd al-ḥumr. fī ḥamla 'askariyya qatala kābitan ḡūn būlīn ibn hādā al-za 'īm al-laḍī wāḡaha al-qātil al- 'abī bi-kibriyā' al- 'insān al-mu' min bi-l- 'adāla al-tārīḥiyya qā ilan: "uqtul-nī 'anā 'aydan ka-mā qatalta ibnī, wa-lākin lan ta 'iša bi-salām. sa- 'ulāḥīqu ḥuṭuwāti-ka 'ayna-mā ḍahabta, wa-lan 'atruka 'arḍī fa- 'abqā ma 'a al- 'arwāḥ bayn al-ṣuḥūr, wa-šallālāt al-miyāh, wa-fī al-nahr wa-fī al-rīḥ 'ayna-mā ḍahabta, sa- 'akūnu ma 'a-ka, wa-lan tarā-nī wa-lākinna-ka sa-ta 'išu fī ḥawf min rūḥ hādā al-šayḥ al- 'aḡūz wa-tuṣābu bi-l-burūda". ḥattā al- 'ān, wa-tāla-mā hunāka ḡibāl šāmiḥa wa-ṣuḥūr ḡabbāra wa-rīḥ wa-šallālāt wa- 'anhur mā tazālu rūḥ hādā al-šayḥ al- 'aḡūz tuṭāridu kābitan ḡūn būlīn 'ayna-mā ḥallat qadamā-hu. sa-yastamirru bi-mulāḥaqati-hi bi-mawti-hi fī hubūb al-rīḥ wa-ḍaw' al-qamar wa-šī 'ā' al-šams, 'ayna-mā sa-yakūnu al-qātil, sa-yakūnu mawt hādā al-šayḥ al- 'aḡūz (Ḥayāt 1997)*

“I have heard a very enlightening story and it has to do with a tragic experience undergone by one of the chiefs of the original inhabitants of America, who lost everything, including their real names, and who were mistakenly named Redskins. During a military campaign, Captain John Browling killed the son of this leader, who faced the overproud murderer with the pride of the human being who believes in historical justice by saying: ‘kill me too, just as you killed my son, but you will not live in peace. I will follow your footsteps wherever you go, and I will not leave my land, I will stay with [my fellow] souls among rocks and waterfalls, in the river and in the wind wherever you go, I will be with you and you will not see me but you will live in fear of the spirit of this wise old man and you will be struck by coldness’. Until now, and as long as there are high mountains, towering rocks, wind, waterfalls and rivers, the spirit of this wise old man continues to chase down Captain John Bowling wherever he went. He will remain, in death, in his pursuit when the wind rises, in the light of the moon and under the rays of the sun, wherever the murderer will be there will be the death of this wise old man”

The first system is easily interpreted as a system *q, 'ayna-mā p* and thus as “I will follow your footsteps wherever you go”, and as a classic one since the *fa'ala* form is neutral from a temporal point of view, and interpreted here as a non-past, rendered in English by a present. The second system in *'ayna-mā* can pose a problem of interpretation because of the punctuation: *'ayna-mā* could indeed, because of this punctuation, be connected to *lan 'atruka* and thus come once again under a system *q, 'ayna-mā p*. However, as the subject is a threat against this captain, it is certainly not a question of saying “I will not leave my land ... wherever you go”, but on the contrary, by linking this *'ayna-mā* to what follows, that is to say *sa- 'akūnu ma 'a-ka*, of saying “wherever you go, I will be with you”, which is in itself the threat that the wise old man means to make. The last two systems in *'ayna-mā* seem simpler to interpret: the first seems to be of the form *q, 'ayna-mā p* where *p* is *mā tazālu*, but it could just as well be of the form *'ayna-mā p, q* where *q* would be in fact *sa-yastamirru* (“wherever his [captain’s] footsteps lead him, he will continue to chase him down by [the memory of] his death”); as for the second system, it seems that the only possible interpretation is of the form *'ayna-mā p, q* as presented in the translation above, because otherwise the last segment would not have any meaning alone: “*He will remain

in his pursuit by his death when the wind rises, in the light of the moon and under the rays of the sun wherever the murderer will be /, / there will be the death of this wise old man”.

2.2. Protasis in *yaf‘alu*

Let us now examine the cases where the protasis obviously is an indicative, again contrary to the rules of classical Arabic. For that, I will choose hollow or defective verbs, which, because of their morphological characteristics, do not allow the doubt to exist.

2.2.1. Positive protasis: *yaf‘alu*

Here are some examples of indubitable protases in the indicative, which cannot be said about the apodoses found here. However, we do not see why they would appear in the apocopate, the reading in the indicative being more likely (even though not expressed because of the pause and the non-realization of the inflectional endings):

(14) *wa-man yaqūlu bi-taṣfiyat al-ḥisāb lā yumārisu tafkīk al-ḥiṭāb, ‘ay naqd al-naqd* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Whoever calls for the purification of the accounts does not practice the deconstruction of the speech, that is to say the criticism of the criticism”

This first example is doubly interesting: firstly, there is every reason to believe that the verbal form of the apodosis is, for the sake of formal symmetry of the system, an indicative: the negation in *lā* is certainly also that of the apocopate, which was notably the case in the Koran and the pre-Islamic poetry²³, but in contemporary Arabic, *lā* is more surely that of the indicative. Finally, this is obviously an enunciative conditional, conditioning the fact of saying, not what is said (*for the case where someone would be professing the purification of the account, know/I say that he does not practice the deconstruction of the speech...*), but, however, the particle *fa-* lacks, which would have more surely enabled it to be interpreted that way by indicating the logical break of this system.

(15) *man yad ‘ū ‘ilā iltizām al-ḥadāṭa yuftaraḍu ‘anna-hu mudrik li-l-mufāraqāt wa-l-tanāquḍāt al-latī tafriḥu-hā ma ‘āyīru-hā wa-ḥarakiyyatu-hā* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Anyone who calls to engage in modernity is supposed to be aware of the paradoxes and contradictions that its norms²⁴ and dynamism hatch”

(16) *‘ayna-mā yakūnu al-ḥadīṭ ‘an al-‘idwān al-ṣahyūnī ‘alā lubnān yakmunu al-su‘āl: ‘ayna al-mawqif al-‘arabī al-muwahḥad?* (Ġad 03/31/2011)

“Wherever the talk is about Zionist aggression against Lebanon, the question is: where is the unified Arab position?”

²³ Larcher 2017: 223-225 proposes two hypotheses to explain the replacement of *lā yaf‘al* by *lam yaf‘al*.

²⁴ It would also be possible to read “defects” considering that it is *ma ‘āyir* and not *ma ‘āyīr*.

(17) *fa-mah-mā yaqūlu-hu al-riḡāl al-kibār ‘an al-qaḏāyā al-kabīra tataqarraru natīḡat al-ma‘ārik al-siyāsiyya al-‘anīfa fī al-‘āda bi-ta’īr taḡawwulāt ṣaḡīra fī al-ra’y wasaṭ ‘a dād ṣaḡīra nisbiyyan min al-nāḡibīn* (Ḥayāt 1996)

“Whatever the great men say about big issues, the outcome of violent political battles is generally decided by the influence of small changes in opinion among a relatively small number of voters”

It has been said that the apodoses of examples (15) to (17) could be read as indicative or apocopate (this, always in the rather unrealistic hypothesis where the final vowels would be actually realized, which, we know, is not the case). However, patent cases of *yaf‘alu* in apodosis are indeed present in the contemporary written Arabic language as we will see below with (22) and (44), which therefore encourages us to read these forms as indicative (here symbolized by *yaf‘alu*), as part of a formal system symmetry.

We also note the absence of a *fa-* in front of apodoses that would require it for formal (and not logical) reasons according to the classical grammar:

(18) *fa-man yamšī bayn ḡamalayn qad yuṣbiḡu ḡamalan wa-ḡimār [sic] man yamšī bayn ḡimārayn* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Anyone walking between two camels would become a camel and a donkey who walks between two donkeys”

In this example, the presence of *qad* imposes a reading with the indicative of the verb *yuṣbiḡu*.

(19) *man yabī‘u ṣawta-hu muḡrim lākinna-hu laysa bi-mustawā al-ṣārī* (Ġad 03/31/2011)
“Who sells his voice is a criminal, but not as much as the one who buys”

It is particularly clear that here the particle *fa-* should have appeared (*fa-huwa muḡrim*), according to the classical rules, since the apodosis is not verbal, but it is its absence that preserves in fact the logical implication $p \rightarrow q$ ²⁵. The same is true of the following example:

(20) *wa-man yaqūmu bi-l-raqāba al-muftaraḏa hum ‘aṣḡāṣ murāqabūn wa-‘alimnā ‘anna ‘adada-hum fī sūriya ḡawālī 200 ṣaḡṣ fa-qaṭ fa-hum bi-l-ta’kīd laysū muḡaṣṣanīn ḡidd al-ḡaṭa’* (Ṭawra 10/04/2006)

“Anyone who deals with the alleged surveillance, they, in fact, are people to watch. We know that their number in Syria is only about 200 people and they, certainly, are not exempt from mistake”

²⁵ The same is true of Ġazālī (d. 505/1111) when he writes in his epistle *yā ‘ayyu-hā al-walad: ‘idā ‘alimta ḡāḏā al-ḡadīṭ lā ḡāḡata li-l-‘ilm al-kaṭīr* (“If you know this tradition, no need for much science”, see the French trad. Larcher 2017: 217) which contrasts with the same sentence which would include this *fa-*: *‘idā ‘alimta ḡāḏā al-ḡadīṭ fa-lā ḡāḡata li-l-‘ilm al-kaṭīr* (“If you know this hadith, [anyway, whether you know it or not, I say that] there is no need for much science”).

On the other hand, *fa-* can appear, even if there is indeed a logical connexion between *p* and *q* as in the following example, where a *fa-* is prefixed to a future and to an injunctive, according to the rules of classical Arabic:

(21) *man yadda ṭ 'anna al- 'arab ġayr "mubādirīn", bi-ṭab 'i-him, fa-sa-naḍa 'u fī ḥalqi-hi šawka! wa-man yuṣirr(u/a) 'alā ḍālik fa-l-yatawaġġah 'ilā al-qāhira* (Ġad 03/28/2011)

“Anyone who claims that the Arabs are not capable of initiative, by nature, we will put a fork in his throat! And who insists, so let him come to Cairo!”

However, the logical implication being of enunciative nature (*in case there is someone to pretend ... know / I say that ...*), *fa-* then marks a logical break in the sense that this system is not fully conditional. Note also that if the first protasis is undoubtedly in the indicative, it is however not impossible to see in this use of the indicative a way to preserve the reading in *yadda 'i* and avoid that in *yad 'u*, otherwise homograph, or to assume a mistake, quite frequent with this type of defective verbs in *yā'*. Finally, concerning this time the verb of the second protasis, there is no doubt that if it is an apocopate, it is an apocopate of Tamīmī form (*yuṣirra*) and not of Ḥiġāzī form (*yuṣrir*), although in fact it is certainly an indicative (*yuṣirru*).

2.2.2. Negative protasis: *lā yaf'alu*

The negation of this syntax in *yaf'alu* is naturally of the form *lā yaf'alu* as evidenced by these few examples, the first, (22), having even the advantage of showing once again an apodosis doubtlessly in the indicative, and therefore a symmetry of system:

(22) *fa-l-zarqāwī muġrim wa-qātil, wa-man lā yaqūlu ḍālik min dūn labs 'aw dabābiyya yusī'u 'ilā al-balad wa- 'ahli-hi* (Ġad 03/31/2011)

“Al-Zarqāwī is a murderer and a killer, and who does not say this unambiguously or in blurry way harms the country and its inhabitants”

(23) *wa-kull man lā yaqūmu bi-hādā al-taṣfiq al- 'ālī al-watīra wa-l-madīḥ al-dā'im yafqīdu mubarrirāt wuġūdi-hi ka-raġul tānin* (Ġad 03/28/2011)

“And whoever does not strongly applaud and does not lend himself to perpetual praise, loses the justification of his presence as a second man [of the power]”

(24) *wa-l-ḥaqīqa 'anna hādīhi al-qanā'āt wa-l-mawāqif li-ġumhūr al-nāḥibīn šā'iba, fa-man lā yaqūlu šay'an yastaġfilu-hum wa-man "yaštaḥu" ya'taqīdu 'anna-hum sudḍaġ* (Ġad 03/28/2011)

“The truth is that these beliefs and positions of the mass of voters are just, so whoever says nothing takes them for fools and who ‘goes astray’ thinks they are naïve”

In this last example, taking into account the first indisputable indicative (*yaqūlu*), it is possible to hypothesize that the set of other verbs are also indicative by system symmetry.

Two last examples will make it possible to see the appearance of the segmentator *fa-*, certainly in accordance with the rules of classical Arabic, before a nominal head sentence in (25) and in front of an existential sentence in (26), marking a semantic break ²⁶:

(25) *fa-l-`amaliyya al-silmiyya – fī ra`y ṣafwat al-taṭbī`iyyīn – hiya al-salām, wa-man lā yaqūlu ma`a-hum hāḍā al-kalām fa-huwa ḍidd al-salām* (Ḥayāt 1996)

“The peace operation – in the spirit of the flower of the supporters of normalization – is peace [itself], and whoever does not hold with them this same speech, it is because he is against peace”

In this example, not only does *fa-* indicate a formal break, but also a semantic one, marking a deductive relationship as $p <- q$ (i.e., a ‘because’ [etymologically ‘by cause of’] relationship).

(26) *lā tastab `idū `abadan `an yuqāla ḡadan wa-sa-yuqālu ḥatman `anna al-sūriyyīn hum al-laḍīn yaḥbisūna `an-nā al-maṭar, wa-man lā yaqūlu ḍālik [...] fa-lā budda `an yakūna `amīlan sūriyyan wa-l-yadḥab `ilā al-kursī al-kahrabā`ī* (Ṭawra 12/20/2006)

“Never put aside that the possibility of it being said tomorrow, and it will necessarily be the case, that it is the Syrians who keep the rain away from us, and who does not say that [...], he must then be a Syrian agent, and then let him go to the electric chair!”

In addition to (14), here are some other examples of *lā yaf`alu* negations and system symmetry:

(27) *man lā yusāfir(u) lā ya`rif(u) qīmat al-baṣar* (Ḥayāt 1996, article’s title)
“Who does not travel does not know the value of the human being”

(28) *man lā yamlik(u) siyāsa ḥāriḡiyya bi-l-ḍarūra lā yamliku siyāsa dāḥiliyya* (Ġad 03/28/2011)
“Who does not have an external policy necessarily does not have a domestic policy”

As we see, there is no *fa-* here to introduce an apodosis which begins however with a prepositional phrase. This can be explained: the absence of *fa-* marks precisely what marks here *bi-l-ḍarūra*, namely the logical implication between p and q . For the sake of precision, three of the verbal forms are theoretically readable as apocopates, but this possibility remains only very theoretical.

In this respect, the following example will also be interesting as the verb of the apodosis is once again either in the indicative (*yazunnu*), which represents the most probable reading, or in the apocopate, but then in its Tamīmī form (*yazunna*) and not Ḥiḡāzī (*yaznun*). On the other hand, this example presents two indefinite conditional systems, identical from the point of view of the syntax and of the logical implication between p and

²⁶ In fact, even in ancient Arabic, *fa-*, apart from the hypothetical systems in *in*, is a pure segmentator saying nothing of the semantic relation between topic sentence and information sentence (Larcher, personal communication).

q, neither of the two apodoses being endowed with a *fa-*, the present *fa-* being that of *'ammā* (*'ammā... fa-*):

(29) *man lā ya 'rif(u)-hu yazunnu/a-hu mudī'an wa-muqaddiman nāḡiḡan li-l-barāmiḡ... 'ammā man ya 'rif(u)-hu fa-yudriku 'anna ziyād naḡīm ṣāḡib huḡūr 'i 'lāmī bāriz fī al-barāmiḡ al-tilifiziūniyya fī lubnān* (Ḥayāt 1996)

“Who does not know him thinks he is an anchor and a speaker who succeeds in the programs... but as for whoever knows him, he understands that Ziyād Naḡīm has a true media presence in Lebanese television programs”

Finally, here are two last examples for this section devoted to *yaf'alu* where the verb of the protasis is none other than the operator verb *yakūnu* instead of the classical *kāna* in this use for a sentence with a nominal head. In both cases, the apodosis should have been preceded by *fa-*:

(30) *fa-man yakūnu al-yawm ramzan li-l-šarr qad yakūnu ḡalīfan mawṭūqan bi-hi ḡadan* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Anyone who is today a symbol of evil could be tomorrow a reliable ally”

(31) *wa-man yakūnu baytu-hu min zuḡāḡ lā yaḡaqqu la-hu ramy al-'āḡarīn bi-l-ḡiḡāra wa-'amīrkā al-latī tumārisu al-qatl wa-l-ta'ḡīb fī suḡūni-hā al-sirriyya al-muntašira fī muḡtalaf 'anḡā' al-'ālam lan takūna bi-man 'ā 'an al-muṭūl 'amām maḡkamat al-šū'ūb al-'ādila mah-mā ṭāla al-zaman!!* (Ṭawra 12/16/2005)

“Whoever lives in a glass house does not have the right to throw stones at others, and America, who practices murder and torture in its secret prisons all over the world, will not be far from appearing at the tribunal of just peoples, no matter how long it takes!!”

2.3. Protasis in *yaf'al*

2.3.1. Positive protasis: *yaf'al*

Regarding now the systems where we can say for sure that the protasis is an apocopate, it is possible to say that this structure is still alive today and well represented in the contemporary Arab press. The syntax of these indefinite conditionals is quite classic in appearance: *man yaf'al ... yaf'al*, and here we can hypothesize either a non-conscious preservation, by the contemporary written Arabic language, of these classical structures, or a chic archaism by conscious imitation²⁷. There will also be non-classical *man yaf'al ... yaf'alu* (44). Finally, as we shall see, the segmentator *fa-* does not always appear where the rules of classical Arabic would nevertheless impose it. I start with these examples of quite classic shape:

(32) *wa-man yaqul našāṭan iḡtišādiyyan yaqul 'ayḡan istiqlālan* (Ḥayāt 1996)

²⁷ So is the case of *'in*'s use in potential conditional systems on eschatological and Islamist blogs (Giolfo et Salvaggio, 2019).

“And who says economic activity also says independence”

(33) *man yaqul 'inna al-miḥwar qanāt al-ḥizb al-waṭanī 'aql la-hu 'inna hādīhi muḡālaṭa kabīra* (Maṣrī 07/25/2010)

“Who says Miḥwar²⁸ is the national party channel, I tell him it's a gross falsification”

(34) *fa-man yad'u 'ilā al-taḡyīr yurid 'an yu'akkira mā' ša'bi-hi wa-yanšura al-fasād bayn 'afrādi-hi* (Maṣrī 08/15/2010)

“Anyone who calls for change wants to blur the minds of his people and spread corruption among its individuals”

(35) *wa-man yaqul 'inna al-ra'īs al-rāḥil 'abd al-nāšir qabila al-tafāwuḍ qabl wafāti-hi 'ām 1970 bi-qubūl mubādara rūḡirz 'uḥil-hu 'ilā mawāqif 'adīda fī al-ta'rīḥ* (Maṣrī 10/06/2010)

“And who says that the late 'Abd al-Nāšir had agreed to a negotiation before his death in 1970 by accepting the Rogers initiative, I refer him to many positions in history”

(36) *man yaqul 'azīf qānūn yaqul firqa, 'aw hākaḏā yuftarādu* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Who says kanoun player says orchestra, or at least that is how it is supposed”

Systems with double jussive, something which can only be certain for the defective and hollow verbs²⁹, could, as in these examples whose brevity will be noted, have a more sententious character than those in *fa'ala*, as we shall see below, or in (*sa-/sawfa*) *yaf'alu*, as we saw it³⁰, indicating thus that the speaker would be more present and less withdrawn than with double *māḏī* systems (see Ayoub 2003).

On the other hand, as soon as the verbs are neither hollow nor defective, it is then more difficult to decide on the identity of the verb in question, which can oscillate between indicative and apocopate. The following example is very interesting because it presents three protases, the first in the apocopate, the third in the indicative, and the second oscillating between a reading in the indicative or in the apocopate:

(37) *'inna man ya'iš fī muḡtama'i-nā wa-yahmil(u) hamman ḡayr hammi-nā wa-yunādī bi-'afkār zāhiru-hā al-raḥma wa-bāṭinu-hā min qablu al-'aḏābu bi-da'wā al-ḥifāz 'alā al-dīn wa-l-mašlaḥa al-'ulyā wa-ḥurriyyat al-ra'y 'ahrā bi-hā'ulā'i 'an yunbaḏū* (Taḡdīd 08/02/2002)

“Anyone who lives in our society and bears concerns that are not ours and calls for ideas that show good but hide evil under the pretext of preserving religion and the higher

²⁸ Egyptian television channel.

²⁹ Or more generally for the category of *'af'āl al-ḥamsa*, ie the five persons having for termination a *nūn* in the indicative (called *nūn* of the indicative, *nūn al-raḥ*) preceded by a long vowel, namely *taktubīna*, *taktubāni*, *yaktubāni*, *taktubūna* and *yaktubūna* (Sartori 2017: 108). The indefinite conditional's tool-word *man* involving only 3rd pers. masc. sing., the apocopate is thus only visible in the case of the hollow and defective verbs. All this shows once again the illusion of a declension, here modal, that would be effective...

³⁰ For the classical and medieval aspect, see Larcher 2017: 224-225.

interests [of the country] as well as the freedom of expression, it is more appropriate to ignore them”

As we see it immediately, this example undoubtedly coordinates a first verb of protasis in the apocopate (*ya 'iṣ*) to a second which can be read in the indicative or the apocopate (*yaḥmil(u)*) and a third which can only be read in the indicative (*yunādī*). It is possible to make the hypothesis that the use of the indicative would here have the value of facilitating the reading by disambiguating it, as the dialectal use which sometimes makes writing *'antī* (with a final *yā*) in contrast with *'anta*: here, *yunādī* would prevent any further reading including one in the passive, *yunāda* (<*yunādā*).

Apart from hollow and defective verbs, it is therefore impossible to provide an apocopate reading, which will be shown in the following three examples. On the other hand, in the previous example, the segmentator *fa-* lacks in the input of the apodosis, this absence marking there the implication of *p* to *q*. The same is true of the first two examples that follow:

(38) *wa-man yazunnu/a*³¹ *'anna 'ālam al-tiknūlūğiyā wa-l-kūmbyūtir sa-yakūnu 'afḍal min 'ālam al-ṣan'a huwa 'alā ḥaṭa* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“And who thinks that the world of technology and the computer will be better than the world of the industry, he is in error”

Once again, this absence seems to signal the absence of a semantic break and thus to mark the logical implication existing between *p* and *q*. It seems to be the same in the following examples and especially in (39), where *fa-* should have appeared according to the rules of classical Arabic:

(39) *man yazunnu/a ḍālik 'aqrab 'ilā al-ğunūn*³²

“Who thinks this is closer to madness”

(40) *wa-man yaf'al(u) ḍālik yata'arrad(u) li-l-'ihāna wa-l-ṭard wa... al-qatl* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Whoever does this exposes himself to indignity, exclusion and ... to death”

On the other hand, *fa-* appears in these indefinite conditional systems under the same formal conditions required by the rules of classical Arabic, but apparently without necessarily indicating a semantic break, the logical implication between *p* and *q* being apparently preserved. Though, if the apparition of *fa-* has to have any sense, then the value here would be enunciative/declarative (?) with the following meaning: “know that/I say that he can't claim anything else”. Here are some examples:

(41) *li-'anna man yabi' ḥuqūqa-hu fa-laysa la-hu 'an yuṭāliba bi-'ayy ṣay' 'āḥar* (Waṭan 10/04/2010)

³¹ The apocopate of a doubled verb like this one is done in *yazunna* (or *yaznun*, Sartori 2017: 48), but it is very unlikely that anyone will pronounce it other than *yazunn*.

³² Mounif 2004: 179.

“Because whoever sells his rights, cannot claim anything else”

Regarding this example, the choice was that of *laysa* as a form of negation of the existential sentence, whereas two other forms of negation could have been used, namely, *lā yakūnu* and *lam yakun*. These two negations would have actually indicated a durative value (respectively in the present or in the past), while the negation in *laysa* indicates here a punctual value. Here is another example of the presence of the segmentator *fa-* with an enunciative/declarative meaning even if the relationship of logical inference (antecedent to consequent) between *p* and *q* is not totally excluded:

(42) *man yaqum bi-ziyarat madīnat 'ūrlāndū bi-wilāyat filūrīdā al-'amīrkiyya fa-lā budda 'an talfīta naẓara-hu 'imāra maqlūba ra'san 'alā 'aqb* (Ṭawra 08/18/2006)

“Anyone who undertakes a visit to the city of Orlando in the US state of Florida necessarily has his attention drawn to an upside down building ³³”

Things are totally different with the next example where the meaning does not seem to be, because of *fa-*, anything else than deductive or enunciative/declarative and thus, in both cases, marking a non causal relationship that would be *p -> q*.

(43) *man yaqul 'inna al-ḥukūma ta'malu 'alā ṣaqā' al-muwāṭin fa-naẓariyyatu-hu ġayr ṣaḥīḥa wa-'alay-hi 'an yum'ina al-naẓar ġayyidan* (Maṣrī 08/28/2010)

“Who says that the government is working on the misfortune of the citizen, it is because/know that his point of view is not correct and he must study carefully”

Other examples illustrate the non-classical case of an apocopate protasis and an apodosis in the indicative. The classical possibilities are as follows: 1. *'in yaf'al ... yaf'al*, 2. *'in fa'ala ... fa'ala*, 3. *'in fa'ala ... yaf'al*, 4. *'in fa'ala ... yaf'alu* and 5. *'in yaf'al ... fa'ala* (Larcher 2017: 233). This is the case of (44) with a positive protasis:

(44) *wa-man yaqul ġayr dālik yakūnu ġāhīlan bi-l-qur'an wa-l-sunna* ('Ahrām 1999)

“Anyone who says anything other than that is ignorant about Koran and Sunnah”

On the other hand, as in (45), when the protasis has the negative form *lam yaf'al*, the apodosis being an indicative, one will suppose then, in a classical framework (case 4 above), that the protasis shows the negation of *fa'ala* and not that of *yaf'al*:

(45) *al-dunyā 'umm / man lam ya'rif mā'nā-hā / wa-qīmata-hā... wa-nūr riḍā-hā / ya'īṣu fī ẓalām / wa-yamūtu wa-huwa yatawahham* ³⁴ / *'anna-hu ya'īṣu al-dunyā / fa-yahsaru al-dunyā wa-l-'āḥira!* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Life [of this world] is a mother / Who does not know its signification / its value... and the light of its satisfaction / lives in the dark / dies and conjectures / that he lives on earth / and then loses this life here and the afterlife”

³³ It is an amusement park, Wonderworks.

³⁴ This is a rhyme poetry a-b-b-a-a-b-b, which explains at least the pause to be made here.

2.3.2. Negative protasis: *lam yaf'al*₁

This last example provides us with a transition to the negation of these indefinite conditionals whose protasis is in *yaf'al* and to a very interesting point of this syntactic evolution. The negation of this type of protasis is conventionally done in *lam yaf'al*³⁵, but *lam yaf'al* is at once the negation of *yaf'al* and of *fa'ala*, and then the question arises as to whether *lam yaf'al* is the negation of this or of that. Now, in the context of the emergence of new verb forms concerning protases as well as apodoses, in the future (*sa-/sawfa yaf'alu*, neg. *lan yaf'ala*, see above 2.1) as well as in the present of the indicative (*yaf'alu*, neg. *lā yaf'alu*, see above 2.2), the question of the temporal neutrality of *fa'ala* (neg. *lam yaf'al*) in those indefinite conditional systems arises. Indeed, with the emergence of forms in the future and present of the indicative, it might be possible to speak of “deneutralization” of the forms in *fa'ala* (neg. *lam yaf'al*), which would then indicate formal AND semantic past when *yaf'al* would indicate, on its own, a non-past, even if they both share a same negation in *lam yaf'al*. Only the context will make it possible to distinguish between the two: *yaf'al* neg. *lam yaf'al*₁ and *fa'ala* neg. *lam yaf'al*₂. In the following examples, *lam yaf'al* seems to be the negation of *yaf'al* more than that of *fa'ala*, the interpretation being in the present and not in the past:

(46) *yaqūlu al-sayyid al-masīh 'alay-hi al-salām: man lam yakun laday-hi sayf fa-l-yabi' ridā'a-hu li-širā'i-hi* ('Ahrām 01/06/1999)

“Christ, salvation be upon him, says: ‘Who does not have a sword, let him sell his cloak to buy it!’”

(47) *man lam yakun ma'ī fa-huwa 'alayya* (cité par Ḥayāt 1996)

“Whoever is not with me, he is against me”

These two examples are in fact sententious statements and, for the reasons already given³⁶, *lam yaf'al* is, in all likelihood, the negation of *yaf'al* and not of *fa'ala*.

However, other examples presenting *lam yaf'al* are likely to be read in the present as to be read in the past, thus as the negation of *yaf'al* or of *fa'ala*. Already, example (45) shows that if it is possible to read “who did not know its signification... lives in the dark”, the proposed, classic, reading remains fully admissible. Similarly, the three examples that follow allow this same protasis to be interpreted without difficulty as a past but also as a present (or even a future), just like what the rules of classical Arabic indicate.

The following example presents an apodosis in the future. This one would then make it possible to read *lam yaf'al* as a past in the future (*sa-yata'arraḍu*), rendered in English by a future perfect simple, or as a past in the present (of the enunciation), and thus be rendered by a preterit simple in English (contemporary readings), but can also be read as a

³⁵ And in Qur'anic Arabic, therefore pre-classical and archaic, *lā yaf'al* is the only negative form of *yaf'al* in 'in's systems (see Larcher 2017: 223).

³⁶ See above Ayoub, 2003 and Larcher 2017: 224-225.

non-past and then be read in a classical way. The lack of *fa-* at the beginning of the apodosis would rather indicate a contemporary reading:

(48) [...] *hāṣṣatan ʿanna muhlat al-ʿafw tantahī fī al-ʿawwal min māris al-muqbil wa-ʿanna man lam yaqum bi-taqnīn ʿawḏāʾi-hi sa-yataʿarraḏu li-ʿuqūbāt muḡallaẓa min qibal al-suluṭāt al-saʿūdiyya* (Maṣrī 11/19/2010)

“[...] especially that the grace period ends on March 1st and that whoever does/will not proceed to the regularization of his business will be exposed to very heavy penalties from the Saudi authorities” – classical reading

“[...] especially that the grace period ends on March 1st and that whoever did not/will not have proceeded to the regularization of his business will/would be exposed to very heavy penalties from the Saudi authorities” – contemporary reading

The context of this example is specific (royal pardon whose delay is short), and this example is all the more interesting since its apodosis being of *sa-yafʿalu* form, there is then no reason to suppose that the protasis, negative in *lam yafʿal*, has *yafʿal* for origin. Nevertheless (with a specific context and a protasis whose positive form would be *faʿala*), the temporally neutral reading remains possible.

Other examples also seem to oscillate between the two interpretations, a classic one with a neutral protasis from a temporal point of view, and a contemporary one with a “deneutralized” protasis of past value. The classical and temporally neutral value of *lam yafʿal* is all the more acceptable as the context is general, contrary to (57) and (58) which are specific, which will be shown in (49) and (50):

(49) *fa-l-ṣalāt hiya ʿamūd al-dīn wa-min ʿahamm al-ʿibādāt wa-man lam yaqum bi-hā ʿinkāran la-hā fa-huwa min al-kāfirīn* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Prayer is the pillar of religion and one of the most important acts of devotion, and who does/will not accomplish it by challenging it is/will be part of the infidels” – classical reading

“Prayer is the pillar of religion and one of the most important acts of devotion, and who did not accomplish it by challenging it is part of the infidels” – contemporary reading

(50) *ʿustād al-fiqh al-ʿislāmī wa-ʿuṣūli-hi fī kulliyyat al-ṣarīʿa fī ḡāmiʿat al-yarmūk al-duktūr ʿusāma al-faqīr yaqūlu ʿinna ziyārat al-qubūr ʿamr maṣrūʿ dīniyyan wa-ḡayr muḡarram lākinna-hu fī al-waqt dāti-hi ḡayr wāḡib ʿay bi-maʿnā ʿanna-hu man lam yaqum bi-ziyārat qubūr al-mutawaffīn min ʿaqrībāʾi-him fa-ʿinna-hu lā yuʿattimu/ yuʿattamu*³⁷ (Ḡad 03/06/2011)

“Professor of Muslim fiqh and its foundations at the Faculty of Islamic Law at Yarmouk University, ʿUsāma al-Faqīr says that the visit of tombs is a lawful thing in religion and not forbidden, but at the same time it is not obligatory, that is to say that who

³⁷ Verb absent from Reig 1997 who only gives from it a form I *ʿattima ya ʿattamu*, while the form II is present in Wehr 1994. Moreover, it is Larcher who gives one of the possible keys of understanding here: “A l’article ʿṬM, on trouve le verbe de base *ʿattima* et le verbe II *ʿattama*, ainsi défini : *wa-ʿattama-hu bil-taṣdīd qāla lahu ʿattima* (‘*attama-hu*, avec gémination, lui dire *ʿattima*’). Une telle paraphrase montre que le lexicographe [Ibn Manzūr (m. 711/1311)] considère II comme un déverbatif de I (‘être fautif’), mais de sens déclaratif (‘déclarer fautif’) et non pas factitif (‘rendre fautif’)” (Larcher 2003: 395).

does/will not visit the tombs of the dead among his relatives, he, does/will not sin / cannot/will not be charged with sin” – classical reading

“Professor of Muslim fiqh and its foundations at the Faculty of Islamic Law at Yarmouk University, ‘Usāma al-Faqīr says that the visit of tombs is a lawful thing in religion and not forbidden, but at the same time it is not obligatory, that is to say that who has not visited the tombs of the dead among his relatives, he, does not sin / cannot be charged of sin” – contemporary reading

We therefore notice that *lam yaf‘al* preserves this ambiguity between a neutral interpretation from a temporal point of view, and thus a classical interpretation in non-past, and a deneutralized interpretation, hence able to ensure its own temporal value, namely that of the past, in contrast with that in (*sa- / sawfa*) *yaf‘alu*, which we will now see.

2.4. Protasis in *fa‘ala*

2.4.1. Positive protasis: *fa‘ala*

Let us now consider the cases where the protasis is in *māḍī* of positive form (*fa‘ala*). Because of the existence of the other protases seen so far, the hypothesis of a deneutralization of the form in *fa‘ala* seems to have to be raised, which is shown in the following example:

(51) *al-ba‘ḍ yulqī bi-l-lawm fī mas‘alat tahwīd al-quds ‘alā al-filasṭīniyyīn ‘anfusi-him mim-man bā‘ū buyūta-hum wa-‘arāḍī-him ṭawā‘iyatan muqābil al-māl mim-mā yusqītu ḥaqqā-hum al-qānūnī fī ‘ayy muṭālaba bi-l-‘arḍ? – man fa‘ala ḍālik ḥaraḡa ‘alā ḡamā‘at al-muslimīn fa-lā yuḡsalu wa-lā yukfanu wa-lā yudfanu fī maqābir al-muslimīn wa-‘anā mutamassik bi-hāḍīhi al-fatwā fa-bay‘ al-buyūt ‘aw al-‘arāḍī li-l-yahūd ḥarām šar‘an (Maṣrī 02/26/2010)*

“Some blame the Judaisation of Jerusalem on the Palestinians themselves who sold their homes and lands voluntarily for money, which makes them lose their right to any legal demand on the land? – Whoever did this came out of the community of Muslims and is neither washed nor wrapped in a shroud nor buried in the cemetery of Muslims, and I am attached to this legal opinion: the sale of houses or lands to Jews is forbidden under Islamic law”

It is indeed once again a specific context (and not a general one), reinforced by the use in the question of a verb in *māḍī* (*bā‘ū* “[they] have sold”), which makes us incline towards an interpretation of the *fa‘ala* of the protasis of the indefinite conditional as a past of form and meaning: “those who sold ... and so who did that...”³⁸. The hypothesis of the temporal neutrality of *fa‘ala* is therefore not a priori maintainable in the state of the system, or at least not in the vast majority of cases, as shown by the other elements of the corpus.

³⁸ That said, a classical reading remains possible in a “general” context, since the sale of Palestinian goods to Israelis seems to continue, hence the existence on the internet of “threats” more or less hushed against the sellers.

The following example is taken from the interview given by the Moroccan Minister of Endowment Funds and Islamic Affairs, Abdelkadir M'Daghri Alaoui, to the weekly *Maroc Hebdo International* on July 07 2002, which is almost ten months after the attacks of September 11 2001. As a result of these attacks, the Moroccan authorities sought to better control the sermons in the mosques, chasing the “slippages” and even launching campaigns of “combing”, as the press of the time echoes it ³⁹. It is in this context that the minister pronounces this sentence:

(52) *wa-man fa'ala dālik 'uqiba 'alay-hi* (Taǧdīd02)
 “And whoever did this has been punished”

The minister’s speech is certainly a forward-looking threat against those who would still try to pronounce violent sermons, but, ten months after the attacks and thus the beginning of the reinforced control by the Moroccan state of the mosques, it cannot be a simple warning (then very late and lax) that would mean “And whoever does/will do this is/will be punished”. On the contrary, it is a reminder of the actions of the state to suggest that the situation is now under control without any doubt being possible in the mind of the reader. As we can see, the theoretically possible classical reading here is not admissible, the context indicating instead a past reading of this indefinite conditional system.

For other examples, however, the *fa'ala* protasis seems, as above in *lam yaf'al*, to retain the possibility of a classical and temporally neutral reading. This is the case with the two following examples, where, despite *fa-qad fa'ala* apodosis (which thus ensures the reading in the past of the apodosis), the *fa'ala* of the protasis can be read as a non-past (classical reading) or as a past (contemporary reading). The example (53), which represents the first words of the article, seems to support a better interpretation in the past:

(53) *man qāla 'inna al-ṭarīq li-l- 'iṣlāḥ al-iqtisādī wa-l-iǧtimā'ī mu'abbad bi-man'an al- 'iṣlāḥ al-siyāsī fa-qad 'aḥṭa'a* (Ġad 03/28/2011)
 “Anyone who says/said that the path of economic and social reform is/was possible without that of the political reform has made a mistake”

The same is true of (54), where it is a *contrario* the conclusion of the article and where the author does not refer to any particular person, but states an aphorism ⁴⁰, a general truth meaning “It was necessary to say ‘I do not know’”, which explains why *qāla* of the protasis can be read as much in the past as in the present to state this character of general truth ⁴¹:

(54) *man qāla lā 'a'lamu fa-qad 'aftā...* (Shuruq 05/01/2009)
 “Who says/said ‘I do not know’ provides/provided a *fatwa*”

³⁹ See among others <http://www.maghress.com/fr/lagazette/1626> from 2002 December 23.

⁴⁰ Thus, presented on the Internet, and also expressed *man qāla lā 'adrī fa-qad 'aftā* or *man qāla lā 'a'lamu fa-qad 'aftā*.

⁴¹ Reading in the past would seem more acceptable indicating regret for a past fact, for having made an error, as one of our Egyptian students told me.

2.4.2. Negative protasis: *lam yaf'al*₂

Consequently, some *lam yaf'al* are the negation form of *fa'ala* which is deneutralized from a temporal point of view and thus has a value of past. That is what the following examples will show, even if other *lam yaf'al* retain the neutral value of a non-passed, either as a negation of *yaf'al* or as negation of temporally neutral *fa'ala* (see above).

In the following example, it is the presence of *marra* (“once”) which forces the interpretation to the past of *lam yaf'al*, which is then presented as the negation of a deneutralized *fa'ala*, which will contrast with (47):

(55) *man lam yakun di'ban marra wāhida fa-huwa kalb ft ġild 'insān!* (Ahrām 06/18/1999)
 “Whoever has never been a wolf once, he is a dog in the skin of a human being!”

Other examples are even clearer about the possible past interpretation of *lam yaf'al*:

(56) *man lam yuṣāhid 'ayyan min 'aflām “bātmān” al-sābiqa qad ya 'taqīdu 'anna al-ġuz' al-rābi' “bātmān wa-rūbīn” (** min ḥamsa) laysa 'aktar min našra ġawwiyya muwassa'a* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Whoever has not watched any of the previous ‘Batman’ films might believe that the fourth part ‘Batman and Robin’ (** out of five) is no more than a broad weather report”

Since the apodosis is of *qad yaf'alu* form, the protasis in *lam yaf'al* would be the negation not of *yaf'al* but of *fa'ala*. And in fact, in the context, it is not possible here to interpret otherwise this *lam yaf'al* than as a formal and semantic past.

Another example seems incontestable as to its interpretation, its context allowing to ensure such a reading of the protasis in *lam yaf'al*, neg. of *fa'ala*: it is a snowstorm that affected the populations followed by a speech by the Prime Minister dated 2007 January 07 acknowledging errors, faults and shortcomings and indicating that a ministerial study committee to establish what had occurred would, within a week, make a report in order to prevent the mistake from becoming a political fault. The article, published on 2007 January 17, ten days later, gets impatient and asks for accounts on behalf of the population:

(57) *fa-man lam yaqum bi-wāġibi-hi sawā' kāna wazīran 'aw mudīran 'aw ḥākiman 'aw muwazzafan fa-'alay-hi 'an yadfa'a taman taqṣīri-hi bi-šarṭ 'allā tastaqwiya al-ḥukūma 'alā ṣiġār al-muwazzafīn wa-taġ'ala-hum “'akbās fidā'” li-hādihi al-qaḍiyya* (Ġad 01/17/2007⁴²)

“Anyone who has not done his duty, whether he was a minister, director, governor or civil servant, must pay the price of his breach, under condition that the government does not show itself strong against the petty officials and make them the ‘scapegoats’ of this case”

Here again, the form *lam yaf'al* seems to have to be interpreted as a past, and thus to be rendered by a past tense in English, since it is not a question of saying, in a general way,

⁴² <http://www.alghad.com/articles/548137-؟-مادا-قال-التقرير>

“Whoever does not fulfill/will not fulfill his duty... must/will have to pay the price of his breach”, but to state in a particular and detailed manner that “whoever has not fulfilled his duty... will have to pay the price”.

In the following example, the context is once again specific and not general, so it is not a question of stating a simple aphorism. The context is that of a loan granted by the European Investment Bank and the possibility of another financing for an industrial production of glass panels. It is then specified that:

(58) *naḥnu nuqaddimu mablaġ al-qard ‘alā duf‘a wāḥida ‘aw ‘iddat dufu‘āt ḥasab kull ḥāla li-’anna-hu man lam yaqum bi-binā’ al-mašrū’ laysa min maṣlaḥati-hi ‘an ya’ḥuḍa al-mablaġ duf‘a wāḥida fa-huwa bi-ḍālika sa-yataratabu ‘alay-hi fā’idat 7% (Tawra 07/19/2005)*

“We propose the sum of the loan in one time or in several, according to each case, because who has not yet proceeded to the construction of the project does not have interest to take the sum at one time since it will accumulate an interest rate of 7%⁴³”

In this example, the use of *laysa* (moreover without *fa-*) in the apodosis and thus of a negation of the present can make it possible to read the form in *lam yaf‘al* like being a past in the present, which English renders by a present perfect simple: *who has not proceeded... does not have interest*.

2.5. Protasis in *kāna yaf‘alu*

Finally, let us consider what might be a way to unambiguously state a protasis in the past. It is the use of the verb *kāna* anteposed to the verb to the indicative of the protasis, thus expressing the durative aspect in the past:

(59) *man kāna yuṭṭliqu [sic, yuṭliqu] ḥāḍihi al-fuqqā’āt al-di‘ā’iyya kāna muṭma’innan ‘ilā ‘anna ‘uzlat al-‘irāq hiya ‘uzla istiṭnā’iyya min naw‘i-hā (Ḥayāt 1997)*

“Who was launching these rumors was assured that the isolation of Iraq was an exceptional isolation of its kind”

In this example, it is the apodosis in *kāna* + noun that ensures the interpretation of the protasis in the past. In the following example, it is the contrast between the verbal forms of the protasis and the apodosis, reinforced by the presence of *al-’āna* (“now”), which retrospectively makes the reading of the protasis in the past the prevalent choice:

(60) *man kāna ya’muru fa-huwa yu’maru al-’āna (Ḥayāt 1997)*

“Whoever was giving orders, now he is given”

The negation of this protasis in *kāna yaf‘alu* is naturally done in *lam yakun yaf‘alu*:

⁴³ I thank Issam Chehadat, who assured me of this interpretation.

(61) *wa-man lam yakun yuṣaddiqu dālik min al-‘arab kāna yataṣawwaru ‘anna al-ṣahyūniyya ḥaraka šuyū ‘iyya* (Maṣrī 10/20/2010)

“And who was not believing that among the Arabs was imagining that Zionism was a communist movement”

In this example, it is the apodosis in *kāna yaf‘alu* which ensures the reading of the protasis of the same form (therefore indicating a symmetry of system) in the past and, here, in a preterite progressive. Similarly, it is the apodosis in *fa-qad fa‘ala* of the following example which makes it possible to interpret the *kāna yaf‘alu* of the protasis as a durative in the past, that is to say a preterite progressive:

(62) *‘akṭar min 200 milyūn ‘amrīkī ya ‘taqidūna dālik wa-yataḡarra ‘ūna ta ‘kīdāt dālik ‘alā madār al-sā‘a yawmiyyan min ḥilāl murabba ‘ ṣaḡīr yabuttu “al-ḥaqā ‘iq al-muṣawwara” bi-l- ‘ulūf wa-yad ‘amu-hā bi-l-ḥubarā ‘ al-laḏīn yartadūna rabṭāt ‘unq (wa-rabṭat ‘unq tūhī bi-l-ma ‘rifa ḥasab al-dihniyya al- ‘amrīkiyya) wa-kānat ‘ahḏāt sibṭambir al-dāmiya dalīlan dāmiḡan ‘alā ṣiḡḡat ḥāḏā al-i ‘tiqād wa-man lam yakun yu ‘minu bi-hi min al- ‘amrīkiyyīn fa-qad ṣāra mu ‘minan bi-hi* (Ġad 03/31/2011)

“More than 200 million Americans believe in this and swallow the claims of it 24 hours a day through a small screen that retransmits ‘recorded truths’ by thousands and supports them by specialists who wear ties (and the tie suggests knowledge in the American mentality), and the bloody events of September were overwhelming evidence of the truth of this belief, and whoever was not believing it among the Americans began to believe it”

In the following examples, however, *kāna* appears in a classical way to allow the embedding after *man* of a verb which is, as a matter of fact, an indicative of which one wishes to preserve the durative value, but this time in the present. It will be noted, as elsewhere, that the absence of *fa-* at the beginning of the apodosis seems once again in the following examples to signal the logical implication between *p* and *q*:

(63) *man kāna yaḡṣabu ‘anna al-ṣarikāt al-ra ‘iṣiyya al-ma ‘niyya bi-ṣinā ‘at tiqniyyat al-ma ‘lūmāt ṣahīdat ‘aṣra-hā al-ḏahabī lā budda ‘an yu ‘īda al-naḡar fī ra ‘yi-hi ba ‘da-mā ‘a ‘āda al-mustatmirūn al-tafkīr fī tilka al-ṣarikāt wa-dafa ‘ū ‘as ‘ār ‘ashumi-hā ‘ilā mustawayāt lam tuṣal min qabl* (Ḥayāt 1996)

“Who imagines that the main companies involved in the production of information technology have seen their golden age must review his way of seeing after investors have reconsidered these companies and have raised the price of their shares to levels never reached before”

In this example, the general character, and thus the classical reading in which *kāna* ensures the embedding of *yaf‘alu* to preserve its durative aspect in the present, can be reinforced by the fact that these are the very first words of the article without prior reference. That said, a reading in “Who was imagining ... must” remains possible under the same conditions.

(64) *fa-man kāna yu`minu bi-l-dīktātūriyya al-burūrlītāriyya wa-sahq al-`a`dā` al-`īdiyūlūğīyyīn wa-qatl wa-tasfiyat `a`dā` al-tawağğuh al-tawrī... wa-ğayr dālik min al-maqūlāt kayfa la-hu `an yu`mina bi-hurriyyat al-ta`bīr wa-l-fikr li-ğayri-hi min `aṣḥāb al-tawağğuhāt al-`uhrā huṣūṣan al-muḥālifa* (Tağdīd 02 08/11/2002)

“Whoever believes/was believing in the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the crushing of ideological enemies, in the murder and purification of the enemies of the revolutionary ideas... and in others sayings of this type, how can he believe in freedom of expression and opinion of others among the supporters of other orientations, especially opposed [to his own]”

(65) *fa-man kāna yaḥmilu huwiyyat al-ḥizb al-ḥākim ṣayya `ū-hu `alā `arabat midfa` wa-ṭawwabū la-hu qaṣran fī al-ğanna* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“Whoever wears/was wearing a ruling party card, they drive him to his last home on a war chariot and reward him with a palace in paradise”

(66) *wa-man kāna yaḥmilu fī ḡaybi-hi manšūran hizbiyyan `aw kitāban siyāsiyyan `aw qaṣīda rāfiḍa... ḡa`alū-hu ṭa`āman li-l-midfa`!!* (Ḥayāt 1997)

“And whoever wears/was wearing a partisan publication, a political book or a ‘heretic’ poem in his pocket... they make of him cannon fodder!!”

(67) *wa-man kāna ya`malu `iskāfiyyan ladā al-ḥākim yuḥayyiṭu la-hu ni`āl al-madīh` ayyanū-hu wazīran li-l-ṣinā`a wa-l-`amal wa-l-tiğāra al-ḥāriğīyya... (Ḥayāt 1997)*

“And whoever works/was working as a shoemaker for the leader and makes/was making him sandals of praise, they call him Minister of Industry, Labor and Foreign Trade...”

This is what is found in pre-classical Arabic, cited in the following examples:

(68) *fa-qāma `abū bakr ḥaṭīban wa-qāla: “man kāna ya`budu muḥammadan fa-`inna muḥammadan qad māta wa-man kāna ya`budu allāh fa-`inna allāh ḥayy lā yamūtu* (quoted by Šurūq 29/03/2010, Tağdīd 11/29/2002 and Ṭawra 01/11/2007)

“‘Abū Bakr then got up preaching: ‘who worships/was worshipping Muḥammad, [know that] he is dead; who worships Allah, [know that] He is alive and does not die’”

(69) *qawlu-hu ṣallā allāh `alay-hi wa-sallam: “man kāna yu`minu bi-llāh wa-l-yawm al-`āḥir fa-l-yaqul ḥayran `aw li-yaṣmut”* (cité par Tağdīd 02 06/11/2002)

“His saying, may Allah extend his blessings and his preservation on him: ‘who believes in Allah and the Last Day, may he say good or keep quiet!’”

I will end with a very last example. This is the only example in my corpus with a protasis of *man kāna qad fa`ala* form⁴⁴ and being interpreted as a present perfect simple in English:

⁴⁴ I did not find any type of protases like *man qad fa`ala*, *man qad yaf`alu*, *man kāna sa-/sawfa yaf`alu*, *man yakūnu (qad) fa`ala* or *man yakūnu yaf`alu*.

(70) *wa-ištarāṭa al-dīwān li-l-tasḡīl 'alā al-wazā'if ḍimn al-marḥala al-ḥāmisa li-l-tawzīf 'an yakūna al-mutaqaddim kuwaytiyyan wa-'an lā yaqilla 'umru-hu 'an 18 sana wa-lā ya'mala ḥāliyyan wa-lā mutaqa'idan wa-lā muqayyadan bi-l-dirāsa, wa-man kāna qad taraka al-'amal fī al-qiṭā' al-ḥukūmī yaḡibu 'an yakūna qad maḍā 'alay-hi sana kāmila min nihāyat muddat al-tasḡīl fī 16/11/2001 wa-ḍālik bi-l-nisba li-l-ḥāṣilīn 'alā al-tānawiyya al-'amma fa-'aqall dūn tadrīb (Waṭan 10/04/2001)*

“The Ministry has made as a condition of registration for civil servants in the fifth stage of recruitment that the claimant be Kuwaiti and be no less than 18 years old, not currently working nor retired nor engaged in studies, and anyone who has left a job in the public sector must have spent a full year at least since the end of the registration period on 2011/11/16, and this for people holding a general college [diploma] or without experience”

Being interpreted as a present perfect simple in English, we could be here in the presence of an attempt to disambiguate the *fa'ala* form for the purpose of not interpreting it as a non-past. But being a hapax, this would tend to prove, in reverse, that *fa'ala* has also, alongside its sense of non-past, that of the present perfect simple. This verbal form, placed in indefinite conditionals, would carry its own past meaning, and this perhaps precisely because of the appearance of the other verbal forms which, in themselves, indicate the present (*yaf'alu*) and the future (*sa-/sawfa yaf'alu*), therefore being a sign of *fa'ala*'s deneutralization.

3. Conclusion

As we have just seen, the syntax of the indefinite conditionals in *man* (but not only) of contemporary press Arabic shows a notable evolution. On the one hand, the apodoses are of various types (*kāna (qad) fa'ala, kāna yaf'alu, lam yakun yaf'alu, fa'ala, lam yaf'al, yaf'al, yaf'alu, lā yaf'alu, sa-/sawfa yaf'alu, lan yaf'ala*), which is already the case in the conditional, particularly in *'idā* and *law*. On the other hand, perhaps even more remarkably, the protases themselves, while having only a *māḍī* form in the conditionals, have here the same formal possibilities as those of the apodoses. Finally, even if it does not seem that this is the rule, nor that it is the case in classical Arabic, we note formal symmetries of system where protasis and apodosis show what we must perhaps call the same times.

Indeed, because of the emergence in the systems of indefinite conditionals of both *yaf'alu* marking the present of the indicative but also of *sa-/sawfa yaf'alu* which marks the future, it would be possible to speak of the “deneutralization” of the indefinite conditional's verbal forms, *fa'ala* not ensuring anymore all of these times. In this case it would then be possible to speak, following this deneutralization, of an ambiguization for the systems in *man fa'ala... fa'ala* for their positive side and in *man lam yaf'al... lam yaf'al* for the negative one, oscillating between present or future interpretation on the one hand or, novelty, past interpretation on the other hand.

However, we must remain cautious. Firstly, if Arabic evolves, like any living language, its evolution is not, by definition, fixed and we may not have reached the point where the stability of the system makes it possible to be conclusive on this evolution. It is also necessary to remain cautious because the apocopate *yaf'al* 1. is still used (possibly with a stronger sententious meaning), 2. is interpreted as a non-past and 3. its negation in

lam yafʿal is then interpreted as a non-past. And yet, being also that of the past *faʿala*, the latter can continue to be interpreted in a classic manner as a neutral form, and then oscillate between an interpretation in the non-past or the punctual past like the present perfect simple in English. Finally, the durative past (preterite progressive) would seem to be supported by the protasis of the *kāna yafʿalu* type, which can, however, also mark the durative in the present where *kāna* is then classically set to embed a verb in the present of the indicative (*yafʿalu*) in one of the indefinite conditional tool words.

In any case, the systems exhibited are largely different from what the “classical” grammar of Arabic presents as the only canonical ones, and also, for some of those systems, more complex to analyze from a temporal point of view

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CHARACTERISTICS OF FUNCTIONING OF THE ISLAMIC LAW (*SHARIA*) TERMINOLOGY IN ARAB FAMILY LAW TEXTS (BASED ON THE TEXTS OF THE FAMILY LAW OF MOROCCO, SYRIA AND KUWAIT)

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Abstract. The study of the ways and forms of functioning of the Sharia terminology in the Family Law texts of such Arab states as Morocco, Syria and Kuwait plays a pivotal role in researches of the lexical structure of the Arabic language of law, especially its Sharia segment. There is no doubt that studying the lexical design of the texts of the Arab Family Law influenced by Islamic law in various degrees, as well as, generally, the work with any texts of the Arab Sharia-originated Family Law, in particular, its lexico-stylistic analysis and translation, requires deep knowledge of the sublanguage of the Sharia and understanding not only the meanings of its conceptual apparatus, but also the semantic and notional connections between the terminological elements, which form the terminological system of Sharia law. The present study aims to develop more accurate and effective mechanisms for semantic and functional-stylistic analysis of certain lexical units of a terminological nature, which frequently and versatily appear in the texts of the Family Law of Morocco, Syria and Kuwait.

Keywords: *Sharia, Quran, fiqh, Family law, legal language, term, terminology.*

Introduction

The principal objective of the present paper is explicating the characteristics of functioning of the Islamic Law (*Sharia*) lexicon in the texts of the Family Law of the Kingdom of Morocco, the Syrian Arab Republic, and the State of Kuwait. The Family Law texts corpus of these Arab countries was built to serve as the material of present research to make it maximally representative for demonstration of the specific traits of Islamic Law terminology employment in the texts of the Family Law of those Arab states whose Family Law has strong elements of Sharia law incorporated.

As sources of Sharia terminology represented in the Family Law texts, the law-making Quranic ayahs and hadiths, and the texts of the works on *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), namely:

1. “Fathu l-bārī bi-šarḥi Ṣaḥīḥi l-Buḥārī”, a commentary on the Sunni hadith collection “Sahih al-Bukhari”, composed by Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānī, Egyptian Shafii hadith scholar, judge, and historian (773/1372-852/1449) (Fath al-bārī).

2. “al-Mudawwanatu l-kubrā”, a compendium of the legal opinions of the Mālikī school of jurisprudence (*madḥab*), composed by Saḥnūn (160/777-240/855), a Mālikī jurist (*faqīh*) from Kairouan (al-Mudawwanatu l-kubrā 1994).

3. “al-Muġnī”, a work on Hanbali law of Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, a Hanbali ascetic, jurisconsult and traditionalist theologian (541/1147-620/1223) (al-Muġnī).

4. “al-Muḥallā bi-l-āṭār”, a book of Islamic Law and jurisprudence by Ibn Ḥazm, an Andalusian poet, polymath, historian, jurist, philosopher, and theologian, a leading proponent and codifier of the Zahiri school of Islamic thought (384/994-456/1064) (al-Muḥallā bi-l-āṭār 2003), are taken.

As it is known, the Quran and *sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad, that is the collection of the hadiths (records of the teachings, deeds and sayings, silent permissions – or disapprovals – of the Prophet, namely his judgements and decisions that were taken by him in specific legal cases and therefore acquired legal value) constitute the canonical basis of Islamic Law (Sharia) and form its rules. The Quran, *sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad and the works on *fiqh* are the sources of Islamic Law (Syukiyaynen 1986: 37).

The present paper will deal with the following layers of the Arabic legal language: of the Quran and its exegeses (*tafsīrs*), namely the explanations of the law-making Quranic ayahs; of *sunnah*, namely the law-creating hadiths and commentaries (*ṣarḥ*) to them; of the *madhabs* (schools of thought within Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*)).

1. The codification of the Arab Family Law: historical chronology and legal features, terminological development of the concept of the Family Law

The Family Law was adopted in Syria in 1953. It was named *qānūnu l-’aḥwālī š-šaḥṣiyya* (literally “The Law of Personal Status”). The main feature of Syrian Family Law is its plurality (multiplicity of Personal Status laws that are generally religious-based (Islamic, Christian and Jewish) and courts, either civil (non-religious) or religious, that operate within the legal framework of the state (van Ejik 2013: 3, 51)). A specially appointed committee (*al-laġna*) drafted the Personal Status Law mainly based on Islamic legal sources, namely the Ottoman Law of Family Rights (*qānūnu ḥuqūqi l-’ā’ila*)¹, which had been in force (*ġarā l-’amal ’alay-hi*), the Egyptian legislation with some amendments (*al-qawānīnu l-miṣriyya ma’ ba’ dī t-ta’ dīl*), in accordance with local needs (*li-mā yuwāfiqu l-maṣlahata l-maḥalliyya*) that treat certain matters of personal status, “*al-’Aḥkāmu š-šar’iyya fī-l-’aḥwālī š-šaḥṣiyya ’alā madhabi ’Abī Ḥanīfa an-Nu’ mān*” (Sharia provisions on personal status based on the Hanafī school of jurisprudence), that was compiled in the form of regulatory legal act by the eminent jurist and statesman, Egyptian Minister of Justice (*nāzir li-l-ḥuqqāniyya*) Muḥammad Qadrī Bāšā to regulate all institutions of such branch of law as personal status (Syukiyaynen 1986: 160; Nasir 1990: 29, 31; Qadrī Bāšā 2007)², non-Hanafī opinions and provisions which the committee considered not contrary to Sharia regulations (*mā ra’at al-laġna al-aḥd fī-hi bi-madhab ġayr al-madhab al-ḥanaḥī*,

¹ The Ottoman Law of Family Rights was adopted in 1917. It contained Islamic legal provisions drawn not only from the Hanafī school of law, but also from other schools. Beside Sharia provisions, it included European notions of marriage and family. This Law remained valid in Syria until 1953, when it was replaced by the Law of Personal Status (*qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥṣiyya*) (van Ejik 2013: 27, 34).

² It never was formally enacted, i.e., acquired official status of law but in practice was used as such in Egypt till the 1920s, when the first Family Law was adopted (Syukiyaynen 1986: 160; Nasir 1990: 29, 31).

wa-mā waḍa‘at-hu fī mawādd al-tanzīm allātī lā tunāfi‘ al-ḥukm al-šar‘ī), the draft of Personal Status Law (*mašrū‘ al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya*) written by a Damascus judge (*qāḍī*), al-Šayḥ ‘Alī al-Ṭantāwī (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya 1953a: 4783-4784).

Under article 305 of the Family Law recourse should be made to the most authoritative opinion of the Hanafi school of *fiqh* in the absence of a clause concerning any matter in the Law (*kull mā lam yarid ‘alay-hi naṣṣ fī ḥāḍā l-qānūn yurḡa‘ fī-hi ilā l-qawl al-arḡaḥ fī-l-maḍhab al-ḥanaḥī*) (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya 1953a: 4804). However, it is the general law in Syria that regulates matters of personal status, because, under article 306, it is applied to all Syrians regardless of their religious affiliation (*tutaḥbaq aḥkām ḥāḍā l-qānūn ‘alā ḡamī‘ al-sūriyyīna*) (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya 1953a: 4804).

But in spite of that the provisions of certain articles are not applied to the non-Moslem religious minorities in Syria (Christians, Jews, Druzes). Under article 307 of the Family Law of Syria several provisions applied exclusively to the Druzes are enumerated. It is stated that any provision of the Family Law that violates these provisions is null and void in respect to the Druze community (*lā yu‘tabar bi-l-nisba li-l-ṭā’ifa al-durziyya mā yuḥālif al-aḥkām al-tāliya:...*) (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya 1953a: 4804). Under article 308 of the cited Law, the various Christian denominations and Jews (*al-ṭawā’if al-masīḥiyya wa-l-yahūdiyya*) regulate (*yutaḥbaq bi-l-nisba ilā al-ṭawā’if al-masīḥiyya wa-l-yahūdiyya*) their personal status matters (namely engagement (*ḥuṭba*), terms of marriage (*šurūṭ al-zawāḡ*), its conclusion (*‘aqd al-zawāḡ*), invalidity (*buṭlān al-zawāḡ*) and dissolution (*ḥall al-zawāḡ wa-nfikāk ribāṭi-hi*), marital obedience (*mutāba‘a*), marital maintenance (*al-naḥaqa al-zawḡiyya*), child support (*naḥaqaq al-šaḡīr*), child custody (*ḥidāna*) and dower (*bā’ina/dūta*)) by the provisions of their own religious laws (*mā ladā kull ṭā’ifa min aḥkām tašrī’iyya dīniyya*) (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya 1953a: 4804). Therefore, non-Moslems have limited autonomy in personal status matters despite the fact that they also have to refer to a Sharia court that is competent to hear cases under the Personal Status Law for matters of personal status (van Ejjik 2013: 2-3, 51).

In 2019 the Syrian Personal Status Law was amended. The amendment included a large number of articles, most of which are intended to improve the status of women. Under the old redaction of article 305 of the Personal Status Law, in the case of absence of a clause concerning any matter in the Law recourse was to be made to the most authoritative opinion of the Hanafi school of *fiqh* (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya 1953a: 4804). However, the same article amended states that in order to treat details of any legal matter provided for in this Law recourse should be done to the most authoritative opinion of the school of *fiqh* from which this matter is derived (*Yurḡa‘ fī furū‘ kull mas’ala qānūniyya nuṣṣa ‘alay-hā fī ḥāḍā l-qānūn ilā l-qawl al-arḡaḥ fī l-maḍhab al-ḥanaḥī allāḍī stumiddat min-hu ḥāḍiḥi l-mas’ala*) (Qānūn 2019: article 305/*mukarrar*).

According to J. Nasir, *al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya* as a legal term in Arabic is unknown to the classical Islamic jurists and non-existent in all classical texts of Islamic jurisprudence. This term first appeared in Egypt in the title of the book “*Al-aḥkām al-šar‘iyya fī-l-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya ‘alā maḍhab Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān*” (see 1 above).

In Morocco after the declaration of independence in 1956 the Family Law was codified in 1957-1958 as Code of Personal Status (*Mudawwanat al-aḥwāl al-šaḥsiyya*), based on the Maliki jurisprudence. The law was named *mudawwana* (literally “collection”, “code of law”, the past participle from the form II verb *dawwana* “to put down”, “to

record”) as a reference to “al-Mudawwana al-kubrā”, the classical overview of the Maliki school of jurisprudence (see **Introduction**). In 2004 the revised version of the Family Law named the Code of the Family (*Mudawwanat al-usra*) was ratified in Parliament (Buskens 2010: 100, 113; *Mudawwanat al-usra*). Formally, the new Family Code of Morocco is drawn from the Maliki jurisprudence. Under article 400 of the *Mudawwana* recourse should be made to the Maliki law in the absence of a provision concerning any matter (*kull mā lam yarid bi-hi naṣṣ fī hādhihi l-mudawwana, yurḡa ‘ fī-hi ilā l-madhab al-mālikī*) and the principle of *iğtihād* that shall consider implementation of such values of Islam as justice, equality and a harmonious family life (*wa-l-iğtihād allādī yurā ‘ā fī-hi taḥqīq qiyam al-islām fī l- ‘adl wa-l-musāwāt wa-l-mu ‘āšara bi-l-ma ‘rūf*) (*Mudawwanat al-usra*). But, as a matter of fact, it was adopted to safeguard and advance women’s rights and gender equality within an Islamic legal framework. Its provisions manifest a quite liberal approach to the interpretation of the Sharia Family Law.

In Kuwait the Law of Personal Status (*qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥṣiyya*) was promulgated by the Emir in 1984. Formerly, the Kuwaiti courts applied the provisions of the Maliki school of jurisprudence in matters of personal status. Under article 343 of the Law of Personal Status, recourse shall be made to the most authoritative opinion of the Maliki school of jurisprudence in the absence of any provision (*kull mā lam yarid la-hu ḥukm fī hādā l-qānūn yurḡa ‘ fī-hi ilā l-mašhūr fī madhab al-imām Mālik*) (*Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥṣiyya* 2011). In the case of absence of the most authoritative opinion other opinions are applied (*fa-in lam yūḡad al-mašhūr ṭubbiqa ḡayru-hu*). If none of the provisions are existing therein then the general principles of Maliki law shall be applied (*fa-in lam yūḡad ḥukm aṣl^m, ṭubbiqat al-mabādi ‘ al- ‘amma fī-l-madhab*). Under article 346 of the Law of Personal Status its provisions apply to those whom the Maliki law was applied to (*yūṭabbaq hādā l-qānūn ‘alā man kāna yūṭabbaq ‘alay-him madhab al-imām Mālik*). Non-Maliki Moslems shall be subject to their respective schools of jurisprudence (*wa-fī-mā ‘adā dālika yūṭabbaq ‘alay-him aḥkām-hum al-ḥāṣṣa bi-him*). If non-Moslems of different religions or denominations are litigants, the provisions of the Law of Personal Status shall apply to them (*ammā idā kāna aṭrāf al-nizā ‘ min ḡayr al-muslimīn wa-kānū muḥtalifīna dīn^m aw madhab^m sarat ‘alay-him aḥkām hādā l-qānūn*) (*Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥṣiyya* 2011: article 346/a-b).

2. Classification of Sharia-originated Arab Family Law terminology

Classification of the Sharia terms employed in the Arab Family Law texts is important for several reasons. On the one hand, it allows to trace the main features of the functioning of not only a single Sharia law term, but also a whole set of legal terms of Sharia. On the other hand, its utmost importance lies in:

- identifying the patterns of functioning of the Sharia Family Law terms in the contemporary Arab legal terminology system, that is of mixed nature, containing elements originated both in Sharia and non-Sharia segments of the contemporary Arab legal complex.
- defining the models of functioning of the Sharia Family Law terms in the Arab corpus of legal texts, including both classical and modern interpretations of Sharia, particularly, its sections treating the issues of marriage and family, and the Family Law texts of Morocco, Syria and Kuwait largely based on the Sharia (see 1).

To create a general model of the classification of the Arabic Sharia-originated terminology, particularly its thematic segment utilized to denote the notions that are regarded as subject to the Family Law in modern legislation, several layers of linguistic analysis of legal lexicon may be proposed:

3. Usage

The Sharia Family Law terms may be divided into two groups depending on the extent of their usage in Arabic:

- The terms of common usage, that are widely attested in all areas of the implementation of Arabic, particularly legal ones, expressing any issue related to marital relations.

For example, the word *zawġ* (pl. *azwāġ*) “couple”, “pair” > “spouse” > “husband”, “wife” is widespread in the text of the Quran with the following values:

“spouse” (2;25):

Wa-la-hum fī-hā azwāġ muṭahhara wa-hum fī-hā ḥālidūn “And they have therein companions (pure and holy); and they abide therein (for ever)” (Ali).

“husband” (2;232):

Wa-idā ṭallaqtum al-nisā’ fa-balaġna aġala-hunna fa-lā ta ‘ḍulū-hunna an yankihna azwāġa-hunna idā tarāḍaw bayna-hum bi-l-ma’rūf “When ye divorce women and they fulfil the term of their (‘Iddat) do not prevent them from marrying their (former) husbands if they mutually agree on equitable terms”(Ali).

“wife” (4;12):

Wa-la-kum niṣf mā taraka azwāġu-kum in lam yakun la-hunna walad “In what your wives leave your share is a half if they leave no child” (Ali).

Zawġ and its derivatives *zawġa* “wife” and *zawġān* “spouses” are widely used in the texts of Family Law of Morocco, Syria and Kuwait:

Mawāni’ al-zawāġ al-mu’aqqata hiya: Ḥudūt al-ṭalāq bayna l-zawġayn ṭalāt marrāt, illā an tanqaḍt ‘iddat al-mar’a min zawġ āḥar daḥala bi-hā duḥūl^{an} yu’tadd bi-hi ṣar^{an} “The temporary impediments to marriage: After three successive repudiations, unless the wife’s waiting period (‘idda) has expired following the lawful conclusion and consummation of a marriage to another man” (Mudawwanat al-usra: article 39/3);

Al-mahr ḥaqq li-l-zawġa “The dower (*mahr*) is a wife’s prerogative” (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-ṣaḥṣiyya 1953b: article 60/1);

Yakūn al-zawāġ bāṭil^{an}: Idā kāna aḥad al-zawġayn murtadd^{an}, aw idā kāna l-zawġ ġayr muslim wa-l-mar’a muslimat^{an} “Marriage shall be void if one of the spouses is an

apostate (*murtadd*), or the husband is non-Muslim and the woman is a Muslim” (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥṣiyya 2011: article 49/ğ).

The form II verb *zawwaġa* (denominative from *zawġ*) is used in the Quranic text (33;37):

Fa-lammā qaḍā Zayd min-hā waṭar^m zawwaġnā-ka-hā “So when Zeyd had performed the necessary formality (of divorce) from her, we gave her unto thee in marriage” (Pickthall: 476).

This verbal derivative is frequently attested in the texts of the Arab Family Law, e.g., Kuwaiti:

Li-l-wālī ġayr al-maḥram an yuzawwiġa nafsa-hu min muwalliyati-hi bi-riḍā-hā “It is permissible for a non-*maḥram* (*maḥram* is any of the male agnates of a woman in a degree of consanguinity precluding marriage with her) legal guardian to marry himself with the woman under his guardianship with her consent” (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḥṣiyya 2011: article 32).

The term *zawāġ* is not attested in the text of the Quran. However, it began to gain currency in the commentaries to the hadiths and works on *fiqh*, e.g.:

Nuzūl al-ḥiġāb kāna fī awwal zawāġ al-nabī Zaynab bint Ğaḥš “The descent of the verse (ayah) about the veil (*ḥiġāb*) occurred during the first marriage of the Prophet to Zaynab bint Ğaḥš” (Fath al-bārī, IX: 285).

Qāla ‘Alī: Lam yaḥtalif al-nās fī taḥrīm al-ġam ‘ bayna l-uḥtayn bi-l-zawāġ, wa-ḥtalafū fī l-ġam ‘ bayna-humā bi-mulk al-yamīn “There was no difference between people in the prohibition on combining the two sisters by marriage, but they differed in the prohibition of combining them by marriage if they were slaves” (al-Muḥallā bi-l-āṭār 2003, IX, 132).

The lexeme *zawāġ* is exclusively used as a legal term *marriage* in the Family Law texts of Morocco, Syria and Kuwait, e.g.

Al-ḥuṭba tawā‘ud raġul wa-mra‘a ‘alā l-zawāġ “Engagement is the reciprocal promise of marriage between a man and a woman” (Mudawwanat al-usra: article 5).

The technical terms of Shariah introduced to Arabic legal lexicon by the Islamic jurists (*fuqahā‘*) are extracted from different sources of Islamic law (see **Introduction**). They are employed to denote the legal notions pertaining to the Sharia provisions regulating the matters of marriage and family:

The form I verb *daḥala* (*bi-hā*)/verbal noun *duḥūl* “to consume (marriage)”. The technical term *daḥala* (*bi-hā*) is attested in the Quranic text (4; 23) with the value “to go in (woman)”:

Fa-‘in lam takūnū daḥaltum bi-hinna fa-lā ġunāḥa ‘alay-kum “But if ye have not gone in unto them, then it is no sin for you (to marry their daughters)” (Pickthall: 90).

The form I verb *daḥala* (*bi-hā*) and its verbal noun *duḥūl* are attested in the texts of *fiqh*, e.g., “al-Mudawwana al-kubrā” (see **Introduction**) with the same Quranic sense:

Qāla Mālik: In kāna daḥala zawḡu-hā bi-hā qabla an taḥīd fa-l-walad li-l-awwal, wa-in kāna ba'da ḥayda aw ḥaydatayn fa-l-walad li-l-āḥar “Imam Malik said: “If her husband went in her before her menstrual cycle, the child is of her first husband, if her husband went in her after one or two menstrual cycles, the child is of the other husband” (al-Mudawwana al-kubrā 1994, II: 27).

Qāla: Wa-in kāna lam yaḥlu bi-hā wa-dda 'ā anna-hu ḡaṣiya-hā wa-ankarat dālika wa-lam yu'raf duḥūlu-hu lam yakun 'alay-hā 'idda “[Imam Malik] said: “If (husband) didn't seclude himself with (his wife), but said that he went in her, but his wife denied it and it was unknown whether he had went in her or no, the wife should not abide by the waiting period ('idda)” (al-Mudawwana al-kubrā 1994, II: 49).

The form I verb *daḥala* (*bi-hā*) and its verbal noun *duḥūl* are widely attested in the Moroccan, Syrian and Kuwaiti Family Law texts with the value “to consummate marriage” (semantic shift: “to go in (woman)” > “to consummate marriage”), e.g.

Mawāni 'al-zawāḡ al-mu'aqqata hiya: Ḥudūt al-ṭalāq bayna l-zawḡayn ṭalāt marrāt, illā an tanqaḏī 'iddat al-mar'a min zawḡ āḥar daḥala bi-hā duḥūl^{an} yu'tadd bi-hi ṣar^{an} “Temporary impediment to marriage is the divorce of two spouses three successive times, until the woman has completed the waiting period ('idda) following a marriage concluded and legally consummated with a other spouse”(Mudawwanat al-usra: article39/3).

Lā yaḡūz an yatazawwaḡ al-raḡul imra'a ṭallaqa-hā ṭalāt marrāt illā ba'da nqiḏā' iddati-hā min zawḡ āḥar daḥala bi-hā fi'l^m “It is not permissible for a man to marry a woman whom he divorces three times after the expiry of her waiting period ('idda) from another husband who actually consummates his marriage with her” (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḡsiyya 1953a: article36/1).

Lā yatarattab 'alā l-zawāḡ al-fāsid ayy āṭār qabla l-duḥūl wa-yu'add fi ḥukm al-bāṭil “Irregular marriage has no legal effect before its consummation and is considered invalid” (Qānūn 2019: article 51\1).

Lā yaḡūz an yatazawwaḡ al-raḡul imra'a ṭulliḡat min-hu ṭalāt marrāt illā ba'da nqiḏā' iddati-hā min zawḡ āḥar, daḥala bi-hā fi'l^m, fi zawāḡ ṣaḥīḥ “It is not permissible for a man to marry a woman whom he divorces three times after the expiry of her waiting period ('idda) from another husband who actually consummates a valid marriage with her” (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḡsiyya 2011: article22).

Al-zawāḡ al-fāsid lā yatarattab 'alāy-hi ayy āṭār qabla l-duḥūl “Irregular marriage has no legal effect before its consummation” (Qānūn al-aḥwāl al-šaḡsiyya 2011: article 51).

4. Semantics

The terms of the Arab Family Law generated in Shariah law may be grouped into specific and generic ones.

For instance, the term *ṭalāq* “divorce” (the verbal noun from the form I verb *ṭalaqat*: *ṭalaqat al-mar’a min zawġi-hā ṭalāq^{an}* (TA, XXVI: 92); *wa-ṭalaqat hiya ... ṭalāq^{an}* (TLṢA, IV: 1519); *wa-ṭalaqat min zawġi-hā ṭalāq^{an}* (QM: 904) “She was, or became, divorced, or left to go her way, or separated from her husband by a sentence of divorce” (Lane, V: 1871)/subst. in the sense of the verbal noun from the form II verb *ṭallaqa* (*ṭaṭlīq*): *ṭallaqa l-raġul imra’ata-hu taṭlīq^{an}* (MM: 142; TLṢA, IV: 1519); *aṭlaqa-hā ba’lu-hā wa-ṭallaqa-hā iṭlāq^{an} wa-taṭlīq^{an}* (TA, XXVI: 93) “He divorced his wife; he separated his wife from himself by a sentence of divorce” (Lane, V: 1871); the expression *ṭalāq al-mar’a* “The letting the wife go her way” (Lane, V: 1874) has two meanings (*yakūn bi-ma’ nayayn*): *ḥall ‘uqdat al-nikāh* “the dissolving of the wife’s marriage-tie” (Lane, V: 1874) and *al-tark wa-l-irsāl* “the leaving, and dismissing, of the wife” (Lane, V: 1874) (TA, XXVI: 93, with reference to “al-’Ubāb”); the value of *ṭalaqat* “She was, or became, divorced, or left to go her way, or separated from her husband by a sentence of divorce” was clearly metaphorically developed from its original value “The she-camel was, or became, loosed from her bond” (Lane, V: 1871) (*Ṭalaqat al-nāqa min ‘iqāli-hā* (MṢ: 166)), “The she-camel was, or became, loosed from her bond (*inhalla wiṭāqu-hā* (MM: 143)) to repair to the water (*wa-ṭalaqat ilā l-mā’* (MM: 143))” (Lane, V: 1871)), twice attested in the Quranic text:

Wa-in ‘azamū l-ṭalāq fa-inna l-lāh samī’ ‘alīm (2; 227) “And if they decide upon divorce (let them remember that) Allah is Hearer, Knower” (Pickthall: 40).

Al-ṭalāq marratān fa-imsāk bi-ma’ rūf aw tasrīḥ bi-iḥsān (2; 229) “Divorce must be pronounced twice and then (a woman) must be retained in honour or released in kindness” (Pickthall: 40).

The form II verb *ṭallaqa* “to divorce” is frequently used in the Quran, e.g (2; 231)

Wa-idā ṭallaqtum al-nisā’ fa-balaġna aġala-hunna fa-amsikū-hunna bi-ma’ rūf aw sarriḥū-hunna bi-ma’ rūf “When ye have divorced women, and they have reached their term, then retain them in kindness or release them in kindness” (Pickthall: 41).

In the texts of *fiqh* two types of divorce (*ṭalāq*) are mentioned:
ṭalāq raġ’ī “revocable divorce”:

Fa-in ḥāla’a l-maḥġūr ‘alay-hā bi-lafz yakūn ṭalāq^{an}, fa-huwa ṭalāq raġ’ī, wa-lā yastahiqq ‘iwaḍ^{an} “If (the husband) gave to his legally incapacitated (wife) a verbal *muhāla’a* divorce (divorce for compensation), this divorce is considered revocable and (the husband) is not entitled to claim compensation (of divorce)” (al-Muġnī, X: 307).

ṭalāq bā’in “irrevocable divorce”:

Wa-qāla Abū Ṭawr: Ṭalāq al-mūlī bā'in “Abū Ṭawr said: The divorce of one who took an oath for abstention from his wife is irrevocable” (al-Muḡnī, XI: 46).

Both technical terms denoting two kinds of divorce based on the provisions of Sharia (i.e., revocable and irrevocable) are used in the texts of Family Law of Morocco, Syria and Kuwait:

Al-ṭalāq al-raḡ'ī lā yuzīl al-zawḡiyya wa-li-l-zawḡ an yurāḡi' mutallaqata-hu aṭnā' al-'idda bi-l-qawl aw al-fi'l “Revocable divorce does not annul the marriage and the husband could revoke his divorcée during the waiting period (*'idda*) by word or deed” (Qānūn al-aḡwāl al-šaḡsiyya 1953a: article 118/1).

Al-ṭalāq al-bā'in dūna l-ṭalāq yuzīl al-zawḡiyya ḡā' wa-lā yamna' min taḡdīd 'aqd al-zawāḡ “The irrevocable divorce that has not been pronounced three times immediately terminates the marriage but does not prevent the renewal of it” (Qānūn al-aḡwāl al-šaḡsiyya 1953a: article 119).

Al-ṭalāq naw'ān: raḡ'ī wa-bā'in. Al-ṭalāq al-raḡ'ī lā yuzīl al-zawḡiyya qabla muḡiyy al-'idda. Al-ṭalāq al-bā'in yuzīl al-zawḡiyya fī l-ḡāl “There are two types of divorce: revocable and irrevocable. The revocable divorce does not annul the marriage before the passage of the waiting period (*'idda*). The irrevocable divorce annuls the marriage immediately” (Qānūn al-aḡwāl al-šaḡsiyya 2011: article 98/a-ḡ).

Kull ṭalāq qaḡat bi-hi l-maḡkama fa-huwa bā'in, illā fī ḡālatay al-taṭlīq li-l-īlā' wa-'adam al-infāq “Any divorce granted by the court is irrevocable, with the exception of cases of divorce on the grounds of abandonment and non-maintenance” (Mudawwanat al-usra: article 122).

Kull ṭalāq awqa'a-hu l-zawḡ fa-huwa raḡ'ī, illā l-mukammil li-l-ṭalāq wa-l-ṭalāq qabla l-binā' wa-l-ṭalāq bi-l-ittifāq wa-l-ḡul' wa-l-mumallak “Any divorce pronounced by the husband is revocable, with the exception of a third repudiation, divorce before the marriage is consummated, divorce by mutual consent, divorce in exchange for compensation, and repudiation when the husband has assigned his right to exercise it to his wife” (Mudawwanat al-usra: article 123).

Conclusion

The present research shows that the level of inclusion of technical terms signifying the concepts and notions of Sharia concerning marriage and family matters in the texts of Family Law clearly correlates with, so to speak, the level of Family Law Shariatization. The solidier is the dependence of the Family Law of Morocco, Syria and Kuwait on the basic principles of Islamic law (Sharia) and provisions of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the wider is the usage of the technical terms of *fiqh* within the corpus of its Family Law texts.

Abbreviations

- LA - Ibn Manzūr. *Lisān al-‘arab*, al-Kabīr, ‘Abdullāh ‘Alī & Ḥasaballāh, Muḥammad Aḥmad & al-Šādīlī, Ḥāšim Muḥammad (eds.). Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif.
- MM - al-Fayūmī. 1987. *al-Miṣbāḥ al-munīr*. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān.
- MŠ - al-Rāzī. 1986. *Muḥṭār al-Šiḥāḥ*. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān.
- QM - al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ. 2005. al-‘Araqūsī, Muḥammad Na‘īm (ed.). Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla.
- TA - al-Zabīdī. 1965. *Tāğ al-‘arūs min ḡawāhir al-qāmūs*, Farrāğ, ‘Abdussattār Aḥmad (ed.). al-Kuwayt: Maṭba‘at ḥukūmat al-Kuwayt.
- TLŠA - al-Ġawharī. 1990. *al-Šiḥāḥ. Tāğ al-luġa wa-šihāḥ al-arabiyya*, ‘Aṭṭār, Aḥmad ‘Abdulġaffūr (ed.). Beirut: Dār al-‘ilm li-l-malāyīn.

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ARABIC IN THE NEWS MEDIA

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Abstract. This study investigates the vocabulary and semantics of political, social and cultural articles collected from two news sources: *BBC Arabic*, a prestigious news portal in Modern Standard Arabic by the British Broadcasting Corporation targeting Arab speakers world-wide, and *Al-'arabu l-yawma*, a Jordanian independent daily newspaper published in Modern Standard Arabic, whose target audience is rather local. The purpose of the study is to contrast and compare the extent to which – if any – elements of vernacular Arabic have percolated up to the assumed stable linguistic code of Modern Standard Arabic. The study also contrasts and compares the use of Modern Standard Arabic versus vernacular elements with respect to the type of topic debated, whether political, social or cultural, with political articles being more likely to display less vernacular elements and the cultural articles to display more. The study also looks at the possible shift in the semantics of lexemes from their consecrated use in Modern Standard Arabic to their use in vernacular Arabic.

Keywords: *Modern Standard Arabic, vernacular, vocabulary, semantics, lexemes.*

Modern Standard Arabic, as its name clearly reveals, represents the standard of the Arabic language. It is the language of the written press, official documents, literature, news bulletins and education across all Arab countries. As is well known, it is not the mother tongue of any of the Arab populations that make active use of it, and therefore it co-exists with many Arabic vernaculars. Thus, native speakers of Arabic use their vernacular in conversing with family, close friends and larger community, while at the same time using Modern Standard Arabic in conversing with native Arabic speakers from communities different than their own or while speaking in front of larger audiences in some official capacity. This known phenomenon of *diglossia* has been intensely researched (Ferguson 1959; Zughoul 1980; Abu-Rabia 2000; Saiegh-Haddad 2005), mostly to investigate how speakers make use of two very closely related but nonetheless different languages. The current study rather turns this matter on its head and investigates whether Modern Standard Arabic maintains its claimed robust hold on the language of the press.

Ibrahim (2009) investigates the extent to which Modern Standard Arabic varies from one country to another, finding that there are lexical differences within Modern Standard Arabic that “give away” the country where a newspaper article was published. For example, there are variants of the same Modern Standard Arabic lexeme depending on where it is used: صلاحية *ṣalāḥiyyatun* ‘validity’ in the Middle East and صلوحية *ṣulūḥiyyatun* in North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco).

The current study looks at the use of Modern Standard Arabic in Jordanian media and investigates the vocabulary and semantics of political, social and cultural articles collected from two news sources: *BBC Arabic*, a news portal in Modern Standard Arabic by the British Broadcasting Corporation targeting Arab speakers world-wide, and *Al-'arabu l-yawma*, a Jordanian independent daily newspaper published in Modern Standard Arabic, whose target audience is local. The aim of this study is to contrast and compare the extent to which – if any – elements (whether lexical or syntactic) of vernacular Arabic have percolated up to the assumed stable linguistic code of Modern Standard Arabic.

The Jordan Academy of Arabic was established as early as 1924, but only survived for a brief period of time. It was the second academy of Arabic established in the Arab world, the first being the one in Damascus, established a few years earlier, in 1919. However, the Jordan Academy of Arabic in its current form was established in 1976. In Jordan, all public and private entities as well as professional associations, NGOs, political parties, etc. are required by the Law on the Protection of Arabic [language] to use Arabic (Modern Standard Arabic, as the colloquial Arabic is not recognized) in their formal activities. Thus, the purpose of the Jordan Academy of Arabic is to regulate the Arabic language. As such, it often complains that colloquial Jordanian Arabic is present in TV shows, newspapers and various media outlets instead of Modern Standard Arabic. The Academy also often issues letters to the Minister of State for Media Affairs and Communications, advising of the low standard of language use during talk shows, as participants revert to colloquial Jordanian Arabic, and the editing of Arabic content is below standard.

For the purpose of carrying out the current research, a total of 50 articles from BBC Arabic and from *Al-'arabu l-yawma* ranging over a period of several months on various political, social and cultural topics were analyzed with respect to vocabulary and syntactic structures.

With respect to spelling, the study found that the writing of *hamza*, for example, is totally erratic: it is either not written at all in some articles, or written in some words only sometimes in some articles or it is written incorrectly. Another very frequent slip is the writing of the second person feminine morphology of verbs or the second person feminine of personal pronouns sometimes follows the vernacular, with *kasra* replaced by the letter *yā*, which is characteristic of not only the spoken modern Arabic vernacular, but also of the written Arabic vernacular:

iktašifī 'aḥṭā'an fi l-ḥayāti z-zawġiyyati wa-'alaykī 'an tataġannabī-hā
 'Find out the mistakes in your married life and avoid them.'

With respect to the syntax, very often the VSO of Modern Standard Arabic is replaced by SVO, a word order which is characteristic of modern Arabic vernaculars, Jordanian included:

masīratun li-l-'aḥzābi l-qawmiyyati wa-l-yasāriyyati tarfuḍu ḥuṭṭata Kerry
 'The march of the national parties and of the Left rejects Kerry's plan.'

al-mubādaratu tušakkilu maktaba-hā t-tanfīḍiyya wa-tuwassi'u l-'uḍwiyyata
 'The initiative is forming its Executive Office and is expanding its membership.'

With respect to the prepositions, there is a tendency to use the prepositions that have replaced the Modern Standard Arabic ones in Jordanian vernacular. For example, the preposition *fī* “in” of Modern Standard Arabic was replaced by *‘alā: alā ṭarīqi ‘Ammān* “on the road to Amman”. Also, the preposition *fī* “in” has been almost exclusively replaced with *bi* in the Jordanian vernacular. Note, however, that the authors are not consistent with its use, and freely use both *fī* and *bi*:

ḥarīqun bi-l-wasaṭi t-tiḡārī fī l-‘Aqaba
‘Fire in the commercial center in Aqaba...’

al-mintaqatu llaḍī indala‘a bi-hā l-ḥarīqu
‘The area in which the fire broke out...’

Note also in this last example above the wrong use of the relative adjective: *allaḍī* instead of *allatī*. Colloquial Jordanian Arabic has an invariable relative adjective: *illī*. This makes it difficult for some speakers to use the Modern Standard Arabic relative adjective which changes morphology according to number and gender. When asked to use the more complex form of the relative adjective as expected in Modern Standard Arabic, authors run amiss.

There are also many elements of vocabulary from colloquial Jordanian Arabic that percolated up to the cultural section of *Al-‘arabu l-yawma*, for example *kalām bi-maḥallū* “proven”, “that proved right in real life”, “something said that is sure, something said that has proven true”:

barnāmaḡu kalāmun bi-maḥallū yunāqiṣu mazḥata t-taḍāmuni l-wizāriyyi
‘The show “A Proven Word” discusses the joke about the ministerial solidarity...’

wa-qāla šuhūdu l-‘iyāni (an) l-ḥarīqa l-hā ‘ila ndala‘a ‘aṣra l-yawmi l-‘arbi ‘ā‘i fī ḥufratin kabīratin ista‘amala-hā tuḡḡārun (li-liqā‘i) muḥallaḍātī-him bi-l-qurbi min maḥallātīn tiḡāriyyatin muta‘addidatin
‘Eye witnesses said that the spreading fire broke out Friday afternoon in a big hole close to many shops, used by shopkeepers to dump garbage’.

Note in the last sentence above the use of the Jordanian Arabic *maḥallāt* “shops”. It must be pointed here to the equivocal use of the ‘an/ ‘anna spelled without *hamza*: hence we cannot know whether they mean *‘inna* or a variant closer to dialectal *ennu* following *qāla*. There is also confusion over the spelling of *li-liqā‘i* as an extra *alif* intervenes between the preposition *li* “for” and the following noun, rather than *li* attaching to the noun as proclitic.

The use of colloquial Jordanian Arabic vocabulary reveals some interesting change in semantics, as well. For example, in *‘azmatun murūriyyatun* “traffic congestion”, *‘azma* has changed its meaning from the Modern Standard Arabic “crisis” to mean “traffic congestion”.

In conclusion, the study found that *BBC Arabic*, with its global appeal, is more likely to adhere to a rather conservative approach to language, whereas *Al-‘arabu l-yawma* is more likely to allow for local vernacular, for idioms and cultural symbolism. When we contrast and compare the use of Modern Standard Arabic versus vernacular elements with respect to

the type of topic debated, whether political, social or cultural, we find that the political articles are more likely to display less vernacular elements and the cultural articles to display more.

A significant finding of this study is that while Modern Standard Arabic is still considered to hold a robust position in the written language of the news, especially political news, however vocabulary elements of colloquial Arabic as well as elements of syntax have indeed percolated up to the supposed high level of language use in written media. Elements of colloquial Arabic mostly appear in social news, cultural heritage articles, women's section and local news from Jordan. There is variance from one article to another, as authors' personal knowledge of Modern Standard Arabic and adherence to its norms varies.

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II: BOOK REVIEWS

Georgine Ayoub, Kees Versteegh (eds.). 2018. *The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics III – The Development of a Tradition: Continuity and Change*. Leiden, Boston: Brill. pp. 294. ISBN: 978-90-04-36346-5.

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This book is the third installment in a series of volumes containing, according to the statement of the editors in their introduction (which contains, among other data, a succinct but useful overview of the evolution of traditional Arabic grammar studies in the West from the 1970s to the present day), the proceedings of conferences that were designed to provide a venue for discussing Sībawayhi's work and legacy, as well their reception in modern Western scholarship. This initial objective, still reflected in a plurality of papers, has been broadened so as to encompass a larger array of interests, acquiring an increasingly diachronic dimension and progressively focusing on the ramifications of grammatical and linguistic thought in the Arab world in different contexts and on the basis of a wide array of interests and theoretical frames. These directions are further pursued in this volume, some of whose articles cover topics directly concerning specific points of Sībawayhi's theories, while there are also inroads into different, although still connected, areas, such as the terminology used in certain stages of the evolution of language studies in the Arab world, developments that begin to take off in later ages, the theoretical implications of the different ways in which certain concepts are treated by different grammarians, pedagogical traditions at play in teaching Arabic inside or outside the Arab world.

Georgine Ayoub begins the volume's first article, "Case and Reference – The Theory of *mā yaṣarif wa-mā lā yaṣarif* in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*", by noticing a connection between the modal inflection of verbs and reference in Sībawayhi's thought, pointing to passages where he appears to establish a correspondence between the indicative mood and the realm of factual events or actions, as opposed to the subjunctive and apocopate moods, that are regularly associated with virtual events or actions, and goes on to explore the possibility of a similar connection between case and reference. After a brief review of already trodden paths towards detecting this link (such as the fact that, when the direct object of a verb is topicalized, its case is established based on whether the sentence is assertive or not – p. 12), the author states that another possibility is to look at the way Sībawayhi deals with the declension of diptote nouns, his views on the use of nunation, and, more specifically, its occurrence in the inflection of proper nouns, against the backdrop of his reflections on definiteness. This investigation begins with a look at the terminology used in the *Kitāb* in

connection with these issues (centering on how the verb *šarafa* and other, lexically related, terms have come to be consistently associated with the compatibility of a noun with nunation, and, thus, with its full declinability, then on how nunation is understood as a marker of those nominal forms that are deemed to have priority and, thus, be “lighter”, as opposed to the secondary and “heavier” ones, within different pairs of grammatical categories – pp. 14-18). The test used in the *Kitāb* for the assessment of the distribution of nunation throughout the morphological system consists in observing the behavior of different linguistic units in relation to their “indefinite” state and their “inherently definite” state (i.e., the one they take on when they function as proper nouns), which leads the author to a pivotal question in her inquiry: why, if nunation is supposed to function as a marker of indefiniteness, is there a need for such a test to be applied throughout the chapters dealing with full and partial declinability? The answer to this question enables the author to gradually assert the existence of a link between nunation, which is treated by Sībawayhi as a key element of the declensional system, and reference: stating that different parts of speech, in and of themselves and outside discourse, only have the potential of exerting their referential function, which is fully actualized by using them in discourse, she then notices that of all the grammatical categories that can contribute to the actualization of reference, definiteness is the only one that can be assessed exclusively based on a context provided by discourse (pp. 19-24). As for the attention given to proper names, which have a particular relation to reference and meaning discussed in detail by the author, it finds an explanation in the possibility of transposing all linguistic units, even the non-nominal ones, to proper names, which in turn allows for the study of their morphological treatment both when, fulfilling their primary function, they are inherently definite, and when, designating a nonspecific individual bearing the proper name in question, they become indefinite. However, this operation alone does not clarify the distribution of nunation throughout the system, as the author, after studying a number of rules and analogies applied and discussed by Sībawayhi, concludes that there is no correlation between the referential status of proper names and a “unique and exclusive grammatical behavior or case behavior” (pp. 24-33).

At this point, the previously mentioned hierarchical binomials are brought up again, with a particular emphasis on the qualities associated with the first element of a given pair – *tamakkun* (lit. “(the fact of) being/becoming powerful/masterful”, “(the fact of) becoming (firmly) settled/established”) and *hiffa* (lit. “lightness”) – which, interpreted in the light of a parallel between Sībawayhi’s theory and the modern theory of markedness, are deemed to be very close to qualities that are generally associated with an unmarked element: plasticity, flexibility, a capacity to unrestrictedly perform all the roles that one could expect it to perform. Within this general frame, nunation is seen as the marker, in the nominal realm, of all these qualities, which also implies a wider capacity to engage with reference (pp. 33-45).

Ramzi Baalbaki’s article, “The Grammatical and Lexicographical Traditions – Mutual Foundations, Divergent Paths of Development”, traces some of the most important stages in the evolution of two disciplines lying at the core of language studies in the pre-modern Arab speaking world, labeled with the terms *naḥw* (equated with “syntax”) and *luġa* (which designates disciplines involved with assessing word meanings and dialectal variations). In the first part of the article, the commonalities of the two research fields in terms of methodology, sources and even the profiles of their practitioners are highlighted – the author points, for instance, to the interest exhibited by those pursuing both types of

research in the collection of linguistic data, their trust in the “reliable Bedouins” as informants, their agreement on the “epochs of reliable usage” (p. 52-53); a reason for this closeness is seen in al-Ḥalīl’s impact on the formative stages of both disciplines (p. 56). In the second section of the article, both factors that reinforce and weaken these common grounds are mentioned – on the one hand, the two disciplines share a preoccupation with the uncommon material, labeled with the term *ġarīb*, provided by the corpus they were operating with, and the classification of lexemes in some types of lexicographical works is oftentimes echoed by grammatically oriented works; on the other hand, they tend, in some instances, to become complementary, such as when lexicographers develop semantic relationships signaled in the introductory *Risāla* of Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb* or provide semantic explanations for words cited by Sībawayhi (pp. 58-64). At the same time, quite sharp methodological differences begin to emerge, as lexicographers are generally less reluctant than grammarians to cite *ḥadīths*, and, in more general terms, they tend to be less keen on developing a theoretical basis for defining lexemes and structuring the information provided for each headword; moreover, the semantic issues which are left unanswered by grammarians are picked up, later on, by rhetoricians rather than by lexicographers (pp. 65-68).

Michael G. Carter discusses, in the article “A Twelfth Century League Table of Arab Grammarians”, a classification of Arab grammarians made by the Andalusian ‘Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 521/1127) on the basis of their position on the primary meaning of the particle *rubba*. The three categories identified by al-Baṭalyawsī (those who are of the opinion that this particle primarily denotes paucity, those who think that it originally denotes multitude and those who associate it with both meanings – p. 77-78) are analyzed with the aim of obtaining an overview of the state of affairs in the field of grammar studies in Andalusia and the Maghreb in al-Baṭalyawsī’s era (pp. 78-81). The background preconditioning the approach of al-Baṭalyawsī himself and of those whose opinions he scrutinizes is then highlighted: the etymological considerations and the larger semitic context are never taken into account; the arguments in favor of al-Baṭalyawsī’s own thesis (namely, that *rubba* primarily denotes paucity) pertain to semantics and pragmatics, its association with the meaning of multitude being assumed to come as a result of rhetorical devices that by and large rely on the mechanism of meaning the opposite of the literal meaning of the linguistic expression (pp. 83-88). Finally, the author presents his own account of these issues, not failing to mention that, on etymological grounds, it is the meaning of multitude that should be primarily ascribed to this particle (pp. 88-92).

In the article “Blind Spots in Raḍī l-Dīn al-’Astarābādī’s Grammar of Numerals”, Jean N. Druel takes us through the intricate meanderings of the paths followed by Arab grammarians in their attempt to sort out the reasons lying behind the syntactic behavior of numerals. The main focus is on identifying the underlying assumptions that inform their positions (which is what is designated by the “blind spots” mentioned in the title), and the specificities of al-’Astarābādī’s outlook are projected against the backdrop provided by the endeavors of three other grammarians: Sībawayhi, who, based on morphosyntactic data, argues that numerals should be associated with the category of “adjectives that resemble the active participles”, al-Mubarrad, who divides numerals into two categories – the basic one, made up of the annexable numerals that require the plural form of the counted nouns, and those, either annexable or not, that require the singular, analyzed as a specifying complement, and Ibn al-Sarrāj, who also classifies numerals in accordance with their

syntactic behavior but, unlike al-Mubarrad, argues that all counted nouns are specifying complements. The author deems Sībawayhi's approach "speculative", for not proving convincingly enough the verbal force of numerals, and describes the solution of al-Mubarrad as "atomistic", for not providing a unifying explanation for the diversity of the numeral's syntactic behavior at surface level, while Ibn al-Sarrāj's take on the issue is deemed inconsistent, as he offers no explanation for the same syntactic function being associated with two cases within a theoretical framework that relies heavily on assigning specific endings to different parts of speech (pp. 96-103). As for al-'Astarābādī's approach, it identifies a common denominator for all numerals at an underlying level, by reconstructing a "base" wherein numerals interact semantically and syntactically with the counted nouns as adjectives. It is by relying on this common base that the divergent patterns at surface level are explained, and the theoretical background that enables him to do so is the interpretation of syntactic structures by classifying their constituents into two types – predicative and non-predicative – that are formally marked as such by occupying two types of slots, marked by the nominative and, respectively, the accusative cases, whereas those constituents that are marked with the genitive case have a more complex situation, being viewed as either occupying slots reserved for non-predicative elements or representing mere completions for one of the two types of slots. On this basis, the explanations offered for the variation in the morphosyntactic behavior of numerals center on their displacement, at surface level, from their original slots (pp. 103-109). When comparing the method of al-'Astarābādī with those of the previously mentioned grammarians, the author finds it to be "a synthesis of Sībawayhi's search for consistency at a wider level, al-Mubarrad's endeavor to describe as many issues as possible, and Ibn al-Sarrāj's systematic subdivisions" (p. 111). As for the "blind spots" in al-'Astarābādī's approach, they are the assumptions that "syntactic slots are efficient per se" and that the speaker has the "ability to build meaningful utterances" (pp. 111-112) – this last assumption has an important part to play in helping him circumvent the complexities of the theory of *'amal* by positing that the real *'āmil*, "agent", is the speaker himself (pp. 107-108).

The article of Manuela E. B. Giolfo and Wilfrid Hodges, titled "Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics in al-Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā", is meant to be a "study of interrelations between linguistics and logic in 10th and 11th centuries Arabic scholarship" (p. 115), and the authors have resorted, for this purpose, to a comparison between the linguist 'Abū Sa'īd al-Sīrāfī, who has made a name for himself especially as a commentator of Sībawayhi, and the logician Ibn Sīnā, who were chosen for their openness towards each other's discipline. The first part of their comparison illustrates a common point between the two, represented by both al-Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā highlighting the shortcomings of peripatetic logic, then goes on to show how both of them rely on tools provided by language in order to assess the possibilities of identifying the adequate formulas whereby one could negate a series of statements (pp. 116-121). The following issue is the contrast between treating language and discourse samples within an implicitly conversational framework, detectable in the case of Sībawayhi and al-Sīrāfī, and the use of language as a reasoning tool in the case of Ibn Sīnā, which is seen as a shift from the preoccupation for language "as behavior" to "meaning" – however, this development is not, in the authors' view, determined by the influence of Greek logic, but rather by the impact of later generations of Arab linguists (pp. 121-126). The rest of the article investigates the treatment of definiteness, revolving around what the

authors label “the Equivalence Claim”, i.e., the implicit assumption generally held by Sībawayhi that morphosyntactically defined nouns are also pragmatically defined, and tracing the ways in which al-Sīrāfī and Ibn Sīnā treat those cases that can be taken as counterexamples of this claim, first in general terms (pp. 126-130), then in regard to specific types of nouns or syntactic contexts: proper names (pp. 130-133), nouns occurring as subjects at the beginning of noun phrases (pp. 133-136) and, finally, quantifiers that, according to Sībawayhi himself, represent exceptions to the “Equivalence Claim” (136-143).

Almog Kasher seeks to identify, in the article titled “Early Pedagogical Grammars of Arabic”, traits that can individuate pedagogical grammars of Arabic as a distinct type, that has not always evolved in strict accordance with the “‘mainstream’ of the Arab grammatical tradition”, represented by Sībawayhi and other famous grammarians (p. 148). The case used to illustrate the specific character of these grammars is the term *ḥarf* and the meanings ascribed to it therein: espousing the view that this term did not only designate “particles” in the writings of early grammarians, including Sībawayhi, but also had the more general and vague meaning of “word”, the author traces the use of this term in the aforementioned type of grammars in contexts where it designates lexical items preceding nouns in the genitive and the nominative cases (*ḥurūf al-jarr* and, respectively, *ḥurūf al-rafʿ*). The first category turns out, indeed, to be more inclusive in these grammars than it would be if it were in accordance with the “mainstream” Arab grammatical theory (pp. 148-150), whereas the second one reunites words that, within grammatically sound sentences, are followed by nouns in the nominative – in relation to this last category, the author tries to determine to which extent the nominative case of the nouns implies, either in the eyes of those works’ writers or of other, “mainstream”, grammarians, that the words coming before them are operators requiring this particular case, and admits that in many cases it is difficult to come to a conclusive result in this respect (pp. 150-157). At the end, he states that these peculiarities tend to disappear by the 4th/10th century, under the impact of the “general canonization process” undergone by grammar studies in that era (p. 160).

Aryeh Levin’s article, “What is Meant by *al-ḥāl al-muqaddara*?”, is a study of those circumstantial phrases that are interpreted as designating a state that is not simultaneous with the action designated by the verb, but rather projected in a subsequent time, and of the Arab grammarians’ efforts to accommodate them to a theory that assumes that the action and the state designated by these constituents of a sentence are supposed to be simultaneous. The article contains an overview of how the term *ḥāl* is used by Arab grammarians, including, and beginning with, Sībawayhi himself (pp. 167-168), followed by an explanation of what *al-ḥāl al-muqaddara* means and how its interpretation relies on an underlying structure, reconstructed so as to uphold the aforementioned theoretical background, noticing that this formula is, in fact, originally meant to designate the underlying structure and not the one to be found at surface level (pp. 169-171). In the last section of the article, it is stated that later grammarians accept their predecessors’ theories on the matter, and, even if they use the formula to designate the actual structure and not the underlying one, it appears that they do it rather for the sake of convenience than because of their departure from the preexisting views on the subject (pp. 172-175).

Arik Sadan provides, in his article “Demonstratives in Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb*”, a survey of both the use of demonstratives and their treatment in the text of the *Kitāb*. The article contains tables that provide information about the demonstratives’ forms and occurrences

(pp. 179-181), followed by a section where the author comments on the passages concerning demonstratives in Sībawayhi's treatise, which, as he points out, are not to be found in a single chapter: in it one can find considerations about their inclusion by Sībawayhi in the category of "vague nouns" (*'asmā' mubhama*), the description of their semantic charge and the syntactic contexts in which they occur in the examples adduced and commented on by the grammarian (pp. 182-188).

The first section of Haruko Sakaedani's article, "How Have the Descriptions of *tahdīr* Changed?", begins with a parallel between the classification of utterances as it has been laid out by John Austin and the classifications elaborated within the Arabic grammatical tradition (pp. 191-192), then moves on to the central topic of the article, the structure labeled with the term *tahdīr*, "warning", an "accusative of exclamation" considered a "primary performative" according to Austin's classification, whose definition, description and exemplification in modern and contemporary Arab and Western sources are then presented (pp. 191-194).

The second section of the article focuses on the treatment of this structure by a number of grammarians who cover the period that stretches from the documentable beginnings of Arabic grammar studies, represented by Sībawayhi (who interprets it as an elliptic structure, thus making the nominal parts in the accusative direct objects governed by supposedly omitted transitive verbs), to the 8th/14th century, highlighting the elements of continuity and, at the same time, noticing that in the 5th/8th century there is a shift in the grammarians' focus towards editing textbooks, which led to a marked tendency for systematizing and arranging the material at hand, while the possible influence exerted by the expertise acquired in the legal sciences may have led to a more refined understanding of what is known in modern pragmatics as "illocutionary forces" (pp. 191, 194-201).

Manuel Sartori's article, "Origin and Conceptual Evolution of the Term *tahṣīṣ* in Arabic Grammar", is preoccupied with a concept that, according to the author himself, has seldom been the object of the Arabists' (undivided) attention, to the point of even being omitted from many a grammar or encyclopedic work (p. 203). The term, which is translated as "partial determination", "particularization" or "specialization" and designates, on a definiteness scale, a state of the noun that represents "an intermediate stage between absolute definition and indefiniteness" (p. 207), such as when, being formally indefinite, it is modified by an adjective or when it is the first term of an annexation whose second term is indefinite, is first placed within its own lexical family and defined according to its use in the general, non-specialized vocabulary (pp. 204-205), then it is defined as a technical term, on the basis of both Western and Arab modern or later sources and reference works (pp. 205-207). In what can be described as the central part of the article, the gradual process of terminologization with its different stages (including the preliminary ones, when lexemes sharing the root *ḥ.ṣ.ṣ.* are used as "proto-technical terms") is traced by looking into the earliest sources, beginning with Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, and going all the way up to Ibn Mālik in the 13th century (pp. 207-216). In the following section, the author argues that the origins of this concept lie rather in the realm of *'uṣūl al-fiqh*, where it has been subjected to detailed studies and elaborations, in contrast with its relative marginality in grammar (pp. 217-218), and in the concluding remarks he pinpoints the essential steps taken towards the crystallization of the concept and the understanding that we have of it today (pp. 219-220).

The article has an appendix, where the different takes on *tahṣīṣ* of two grammarians are signaled (pp. 220-221).

In the article “The Classification of the Verb in the Arab Grammatical Tradition – From Sībawayhi to al-Jurjānī”, Zeinab A. Taha looks into the correlations established by two groups of Arab grammarians between form, valency and meaning in their attempts at classifying Arabic verbs. The first group includes Sībawayhi, al-Mubarrad and Ibn al-Sarrāj, who are meant to stand as representatives of an earlier stage in the development of the Arab grammatical tradition (pp. 229-235), and the second one includes al-Zajjājī, al-Sīrāfī, al-Jurjānī, representing a later stage (pp. 235-243). One of the topics discussed is the status granted to the direct object of a transitive verb in a proposition and, within the increasingly detailed presentations of the relationship between verbs and their complements, the bearing that the verbs’ meanings have on this status (among the issues that stand out in this context, one can point to the tension between the close semantic link binding the transitive verb and its direct object and the classification of the direct object, based on syntactic criteria, as a non-essential part of a proposition). There is also an interest in tracking the use of key terms occurring in these grammarians’ expositions, with a special focus on determining the degree to which they incur a process of terminologization leading to their constant association with particular meanings in their respective contexts. As for the differences between the earlier and later groups, they are to be found, in the author’s view, in the precedence given by the latter to the syntactic, formal considerations over the semantic ones, but also in an effort to redefine the semantic relationships between the verb and its arguments so as to make them match their morpho-syntactic behavior.

Kees Versteegh’s article, “Learning Arabic in the Islamic World”, approaches the traditions and methods of learning Arabic in non-Arabic speaking areas of the Islamic world. The author is particularly interested in determining whether there are any differences to be detected between the traditional ways of learning Arabic inside and outside the Arab world, and from the very beginning his attention is caught by the apparent paradox of there being great similarities between the two areas in this regard, despite the obvious differences in terms of linguistic background between their inhabitants: treatises written in the Arab world are popular in vast Islamic areas outside its boundaries, and oftentimes there is much emphasis laid on the memorization of fundamental texts, just like in the Arab world itself. The first section of the article is dedicated to the teaching materials used in different regions of the Islamic world: there are data on sources used for teaching Arabic in South-East Asia (pp. 247-248), East Africa (248-250) and West Africa (p. 250), and the data suggest that there is a considerable degree of overlapping in this area between different regions, although differences and regional specificities are not absent either (pp. 250-251). From a chronological point of view, the information is generally rather scarce for the earlier periods, becoming more available especially from the 19th century onwards (p. 246). The following section of the article focuses on learning methods: the priority given to memorization to this very day is correlated with the enduring prevalence of the idea of a fixed canon (pp. 252-253); on the other hand, there have also been attempts at renewing both texts and methods, even though the results have been, so far, less than spectacular; in the post-colonial period, renewed contacts with the Arab world by centers of Islamic learning lying outside its borders have brought about some changes and an unprecedented impetus towards acquiring proficiency in Standard Arabic (pp. 253-256). Finally, the

author refers to online discussions on the topic between those Muslims that are interested in learning Arabic and the means that this medium provides them with or guides them towards: the recommendations made on discussion forums generally concern the same texts that are also included in traditional curricula, which is possibly due to the predominant interests of the participants, and their eagerness for reading and understanding the canonized texts plays a key role in shaping their approach (pp. 256-263). The article ends with a tentative assessment of the results achieved by applying these methods, noting that, while proficiency in Arabic may not be acquired by their means, they do, in fact, facilitate the students' access to the texts they are interested in (pp. 263-264).

The third volume of the series *The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics* contains articles that offer enticing new information and perspectives on a number of issues concerning the development of grammar and language related sciences and disciplines in the Arab world. The interested reader is taken into a fascinating journey, whose trails and milestones are carefully mapped, with an attention to details and nuances that bears testimony to the writers' keenness for shedding as much light as possible, and in the most faithful way, on phenomena and developments that have played a part both in shaping what has come to be accepted as the "mainstream" grammatical tradition in the Arab world and in launching less known directions of inquiry which, even obscured sometimes by the passage of time, are no less interesting and worthy of attention.

Emanuela De Blasio. 2019. *Il rap nel mondo arabo: una forma d'avanguardia. Analisi di un corpus di area vicinorientale*. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza. 269 p. ISBN: 978-84-1340-042-6.

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Emanuela De Blasio analyzes in her book *Il rap nel mondo arabo: una forma d'avanguardia. Analisi di un corpus di area vicinorientale* ("Rap in the Arab World: a Form of Avant-garde. Analysis on a Middle Eastern Corpus") the trajectory of the hip-hop culture and rapping in the Arab world, focusing on a selection of songs pertaining to three rap artists of Arab origin: Muhammad Abu Hajar, a Syrian rapper, Shadia Mansour, of Palestinian origin, and Lynn Fattouh, a Lebanese artist.

The book is structured in seven chapters, the first one being introductory and containing a presentation of the main objectives and the methods used in the analysis. The author offers three main ideas that will be amply described in the following chapters: the role of language in the Arab rap, the significance gained by rap and the hip-hop culture in the Middle East and, last but not least, the blending of tradition and avant-garde in a modern artistic movement that comes in contact with a rich cultural soil, that is the Arab musical heritage.

The second chapter consists of a detailed presentation of the hip-hop culture in the United States, where the reader finds useful information concerning the birth place of the movement and the social background that might have triggered its birth. Among the topics of the chapter we count the etymology of the term *hip-hop*, which signifies "moving with times", and the four artistic domains of the movement: MCing (or rapping based on rhyming on a musical background), DJing (which creates different beats by using turntables), b-boy (known as breakdancing) and graffiti. Due to the spread of the hip-hop culture all over the world, rapping has evolved and changed in the communities that adopted it, the language of expression is different or there is a mix of linguistic codes (Arabic, English or Hebrew as it is the case of some Palestinian rappers).

The third chapter presents the spreading of this musical genre in different parts of the Arab world beginning with the case of Morocco, which constitutes the first Arab country to have produced a hip-hop culture that attained popularity towards the end of the 90's with the creation of the Zanka Flow group. There are obviously other Arab scenes that embraced this genre, namely Egypt, where we find various artists such as Ramy Essam, an important voice of the Egyptian revolution in 2011, Ramy Donjewan, Zap Tharwat, the band called *Arabian Knightz*. The Palestinian rapping began in the 90's with the band

named DAM, and its main themes are criticizing the Israeli colonialism, the disunity of the Palestinian people, echoing the Afro-American rap themes in terms of racial segregation, discrimination, violence and poverty.

Among the topics of the book, we count the presentation of the Lebanese scene, which accommodated this genre in the 90's and shares some common features with the Palestinian rap, namely the linguistic *mélange* (three languages of expression) that is French, English and Arabic in the case of Lebanon. Three major names considered representative for the Lebanese rapping are the band *Fareeq el Atrash*, Malikah (whose real name is Lynn Fattouh), whose activity occupies half of the 6th chapter, and El Rass (whose real name is Mazin as-Sayyid). The last one brings a breath of fresh air on the rapping landscape through his innovative style, social and political themes such as Muslim Brotherhood and political Islam, social injustice in the Lebanese society, a harsh critique of the Arab oppressive regimes and of their Occidental allies. The final part of this chapter deals with the role played by rap music during the Arab Spring and lists some artists that used their songs as a form of resistance and protest against corruption, despotism and injustice, for instance Ramy Essam, whose song *Irḥal* (Go away!) became the hymn of the Egyptian revolution that caused the arrest and torture of the artist by the Egyptian police. The next three chapters focus on the presentation of the corpus and its analysis. The first corpus presented consists of 11 songs pertaining to the Syrian rapper Muhammad Abu Hajar, member of the Mazaj Rap Band from 2007, one of the voices of "reality rap", that tells the story of the disadvantaged, denounces corruption, poverty and social injustice. Apart from socio-political topics, the rapper expresses the nostalgia for his homeland Tartus. The artist uses the Arab dialect from Tartus as he addresses his folks, for instance, in the song *Harbašāt* ("Scribbles") he speaks from the point of view of a boy who narrates the way he lives on the streets in poverty. However, he addresses in *fusha* (Standard Arabic) or in the dialect used in Damascus when he intends to send the message outside the Tartus community.

The next chapter comprises an exhaustive analysis of the language used in the songs from four perspectives: phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical. Among the examples offered by the author we mention the preservation of the diphthong when a morpheme is added at the end of the word: *sawt-i* (my voice), the form of the plural pronoun for the first person is *lāḥna* ("we"), the demonstratives *hayda* ("this" masculine), *haydi* ("this" feminine), *haydak* ("that" masculine), *haydek* ("that" feminine). The last section of this chapter presents the lexical features: loan words, proverbs and sayings, wordplays, references to traditional food, music, places, religion and myths.

The sixth chapter presents the role played by women in the hip-hop culture in the United States and in the Arab world. On the one hand, rapping (and the hip-hop culture) was considered in the U.S. a form of male expression and only lately there emerged the female pioneers of the genre, who tried to counterbalance the male domination by promoting women's right of emancipation and by attacking the misogynist lyrics of their male fellows. On the other hand, the Arab scene did not see the hip-hop culture as pertaining exclusively to one gender and the songs generally do not include misogynistic elements. The author analyses the songs of two artists born in the Arab Diaspora who chose to express themselves in Arabic dialect. The first one is Shadia Mansour, of Palestinian origin, who emerged in 2003 and distinguished herself through collaboration with other rap artists among whom we mention: The Narcicyst, the Egyptian band Arabian Knightz and

DAM. The author draws an analysis on four songs that depict political and social issues such as: the Israeli occupation of Palestine, the Egyptian revolution, the situation of female prisoners and the Palestinian identity. The second analysis is drawn on three songs of a Lebanese artist, Malikah, who focuses on denouncing corruption and other said realities in the Lebanese society, the women's emancipation and their role in the Arab world. This chapter ends with three appendices consisting of two interviews taken by the author to Abu Hajar and Shadia Mansour and a song in the alawite dialect of Tartus.

The last chapter of the book is reserved to conclusions, wherein the reader finds the main common features shared by the American and Arab hip-hop cultures, such as the critique of the socio-political realities, the focus on identity, creating the image of an enemy, the promotion of human rights. However, rapping in the Arab world bears the influence of the cultural heritage where it emerged and the book presents us with many arguments pointing to this: artists use traditional instruments (*'ūd, qānūn, nāy*), some songs are inspired by Oriental folk songs (*Hōn Ṭarṭūs*, "Here Tartus", belonging to Abu Hajar) or nursery rhymes (*Kull-hon 'and-hon dabbabāt* "All of them have military tanks", Shadia Mansour). Last but not least, the book offers a valuable analysis of the language, such as the dialect from the Syrian Western coast (Tartus region, the alawite dialect of Tartus) used in Abu Hajar's songs, the Lebanese dialect used by Malika and the Palestinian dialect of Haifa and Nazareth in the case of Shadia Mansour.

**Letizia Lombezi. 2019. *Contents and Methods for Teaching Spoken Arabic*.
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Contents and Methods for Teaching Spoken Arabic is a book written by Letizia Lombezi and it is the result of her 2014-2018 research. Having read the book we can state from the beginning that the reader can discover in it a scientific book with a lot of insightful information but also a practical book or, I dare say, a manual for teaching/ learning some varieties of Spoken Arabic. The duality of this book makes it unique in its niche.

In the “Introduction” chapter we are able to identify that the aim of the book is the teaching of Arabic to non-natives with a specific focus on the development of comprehension and communicative skills. In choosing which variety of Arabic to teach, the author grants a privileged place to Spoken Arabic, arguing for this position based on the opinions of many scholars who have stated that “Modern Standard Arabic does a disservice to students, in the sense that it does not equip them with basic tools for a minimal communicative competence” (p.12). In the same “Introduction” chapter Lombezi presents pairs of categories that represented the guiding pillars of the work for this book (prestige – identity; identity – situation; context – use; social structures – linguistic structures; projection – performance; exposition – inference; cooperation – interaction; processing – meanings; speed – experience; creativity – norm) and which can also be understood as a set of values taken into account by the author throughout the work.

The first part of the book deals with theory and the second one with practice. The first part, “Theoretical and Methodological Frame”, is also divided in 4 chapters. In Chapter 1, “General Analysis: Language and Teaching”, we find what the current approach required by the European Framework is and that the type of Arabic which can be used to adhere to this approach is, in Lombezi’s opinion, the Spoken Arabic. The chapter contains fundamental aspects of teaching Arabic, with the opinions of important personalities in this field. We find clarifications concerning a difficult problem in Arabic teaching, the problem of what variety we should teach. We can observe the author’s criticism for the choosing of Modern Standard Arabic, having as an argument the fact that this variety does not and cannot provide the students with communicative competence, a defining aspect in today’s didactics. Lombezi also answers important questions about why dialects have such a bad reputation or why the teaching of the standard variety has been labeled as a real disservice to the student by important researchers.

The second chapter, entitled “Structure and Use of the Language Criteria for a Choice”, is dedicated to the importance of communication and orality in teaching a foreign language. The author claims that “intentionally teaching listening and comprehension is the only way to develop our skills and readiness for interacting, which constitutes the root for success in conversation and the key for enhancing the effectiveness of communication” (p.47). In this same chapter we find particularly useful information about the variation in Arabic and what happens in a real interaction between native speakers. Lombezzi also presents and explains the situation of the so-called Middle Arabic, which is considered to be a variety of Arabic and whose teaching can be a solution for the problem of communication. In teaching a spoken variety of Arabic to non-natives one of the most difficult problems is which one to choose. Lombezzi tries to find a solution to this problem and remarks that we can have about the same problem with the Standard, because this variety also varies. Another important aspect analyzed in this chapter is the possibility and the motivations for the existence of an Arabic for mutual intelligibility, a “spoken interdialectal Arabic”. The third chapter, “Main Criteria and Needs for Teaching Arabic”, starts by taking into consideration how a student becomes able to communicate, which mechanisms should be promoted by the teacher to trigger the student’s communication capabilities. For the procedure proposed by Lombezzi the foundation is knowledge of a vocabulary, useful for speaking, which must be selected from colloquial Arabic. The priority being given to listening and understanding, we find in this chapter an investigation of the “situations of interaction where the individual succeeds in socialization through listening, understanding and communication in general” (p.70). Lombezzi studies how the processing of language works by investigating how the input manifests for the listener. She also presents reasons why listening and understanding pose particular difficulties especially for Arabic and, in the final part of this chapter, we can find a very interesting solution for “how to resolve the conflict between the different approaches to the teaching of standard and dialect” (for university teaching) having as priorities the same listening and understanding competences. Chapter 4, “Selection of Significant Elements and Strategies on the Functional Level”, observes marked and relevant structures which in Lombezzi’s opinion can be used to create a dialect grammar. We can find information about why some features can have greater significance than others and which aspects of the language are influenced by the standard Arabic and which by the colloquial Arabic. Lombezzi claims that “if native speakers are observed, it emerges that their speech is mainly influenced by dialect, their real mother tongue or source language” (pp. 80, 81). So, in this chapter, we also find an analysis of different morpho-syntactic elements from different spoken Arabic varieties compared with Standard Arabic and having as an objective the possibility of an interdialectal Arabic grammar.

The second part of the book is dedicated to “Research and Teaching Practice”. In Chapter 5, “Fieldwork and Results”, we can discover the results and the details of a questionnaire that had a sample of 133 university students that attend Arabic courses in 4 European locations: Roma, Firenze, Cádiz and Leipzig. Lombezzi presents the motivations she had for choosing this research tool and also the issues she had to overcome. We will limit ourselves to saying that among the students who participated there was a percent of natives, but we won’t reveal any other information in this review, because we consider this questionnaire to be very interesting and relevant, so that it would be a shame for the interested people not to verify the entire information. Chapter 6, “Teaching Practice”, as Lombezzi says, is dedicated to instructors and students and it contains indeed very useful information for both of them.

Lombezi talks about important aspects in teaching each component of a language in general and with specific details about Arabic. She starts with the lexicon and the problems implied by this component especially in teaching/learning Arabic and also presents solutions or strategies to overcome them. It also takes into account the aspects of pronunciation and the key factors in teaching it. We find suggestions for teaching the pronunciation of each type of consonant and vowel. Lombezi states the importance of the prosodic features and how mistakes can appear due to misplacement of stresses. Writing and reading are treated both separately and together – we can discover very insightful information about why reading in Arabic is difficult. The construction of meaning is also taken into consideration and what listening, speaking or interacting activities imply and how we can improve them.

The final chapter, “Syllabi”, presents four syllabi which represent a concrete proposal for teaching Spoken Arabic. Lombezi chose to cover different varieties so that the teacher can select the one that serves their didactic scope and students` needs. Thus, the four syllabi concern the Levantine Arabic of Beirut, the Omani Arabic of `Ibrī, the Moroccan Arabic of Rabat and the Egyptian Arabic of Cairo. It is clear for any person familiarized with the linguistic situation of Arabic that the choice made by Lombezi is very representative. Each syllabus starts with an essential guide to the pronunciation of the specific spoken Arabic and continues with 35 modules that contain specific linguistic elements and structures to teach or to learn. Each module has an activation phase for the familiarization with the specific aspect and then a fixation phase. Also, in each module, Lombezi asks the instructor to make a selection of tracks for listening and comprehension activities. It is clear that the focus of each syllabus is to develop communicative skills and the ability to interact.

To conclude, Lombezi`s book has an undeniable value for the field of Teaching Arabic, a field which we all know that it needs to be reformatted and which needs more people interested in improving the way we teach Arabic. This book is an example of a both practical and theoretical approach to a very controversial problem. As she also recognizes, Lombezi takes sometimes a very strong, but clear and argued, position in favor of teaching Spoken Arabic.

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