

AN ANALYSIS OF COLLOQUIAL ELEMENTS IN THE ORTHOGRAPHY AND MORPHOLOGY OF HADÎT 'UŞFÛR AL-MULAQQAB BI-'ABĪ DĪSAH*

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Introduction

The basis of the analysis is philological and its method is the comparison of the orthographic and morphologic elements of the text with the orthography and morphology of classical Arabic. The deviations from the classical norm constitute the amount of colloquial elements found in this text, with the exception of such deviations as could be caused by (scribal) error; frequency of occurrence, thus, is a prime criterion for legitimating a form as a colloquial element.

Where found deviations are treated in other studies (known to the author), these are cited, and when compared herewith it will be possible to define a number of the found deviations in this text in relation to the characteristics of texts treated by other authors. Modern Arabic dialects, mainly the dialect of Cairo, are compared with the language of the text on the ground that this dialect is well known and offers material studied to an acceptably extensive degree. The fact that modern Cairene Arabic is later than that of the text is important, too, as a comparison with (presumably) other stages of the language is made in order to establish tentatively a temporal limit for the text.

I. Orthography

The text contains several deviations from classical Arabic orthography; a number are of such a frequency as to indicate a

* In: *Das Buch der wunderbaren Erzählungen und seltsamen Geschichten*, ed. Hans Wehr. Bibliotheca Islamica 18, Wiesbaden 1956, pp. 235-255.

phonetical basis, whereas others occur less frequently and could be due to scribal error or uncertainty on the part of the author. A few of the less frequent deviations may be classified as insignificant, although they might be significant in a larger context. The limited extent of the text analysed determines this uncertainty.

a. Loss of hamza

Loss of hamza is the rule. Several exceptions are found, but as some of these are owing to the editor (cf. p. XV, line 26–35), no conclusions can be drawn from their presence.

Loss of hamza is known in early Arabic dialects, mostly in Ḥiǧāz (Rabin pp. 130–45), but is generally characteristic of Middle Arabic (Fück p. 58 a.o.; Blau pp. 74–75, 125–26 a.o.) and of modern dialects (cf. e.g. Spitta § 3, 102 and 103; Driver § 4; Mitchell pp. 30–34).

a.a. Word-changes resulting from loss of hamza:

235/14/9	(امرأة)	مرة
236/2/10		
237/2/5		
237/13/9		
245/19/7		
249/13/15		
253/19/13		
237/20/1 e.g.	(بضراء)	بضرا
238/9/4	(يجيئوا/يجيئون)	يجيوا
242/3/1	(يجى)	يجى
254/1/11	(يجيئوا/يجيئون)	يجوا
243/3/9 e.g.	(جاءوا)	جاوا
254/17/11	(جاءوا)	جوا
240/14/8	(جاءنى)	جانى
242/2/11	(الشىء)	الشى
250/8/9		

247/4/11	(وراى)	وراي
250/2/10	(اخبى)	اخبى

b.a. Substitution of ẓ by ḍ:

237/20/1	(بظرا)	بضرا
240/11/6		
240/15/2		
246/3/8		
247/2/7		
250/10/4		
244/18/8	(بظرة)	بضرة
241/16/1	(بظر)	بضرة
240/1/1	(اغتاظ)	اغتناض
248/16/11	(مفتاظ)	مفتاض

b.b. Substitution of ḍ by ẓ:

238/18/3	(ضرط)	ظرط
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c. Emphatization of originally non-emphatic consonants:

238/7/9	(سخام)	صخام
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Merging of ẓ and ḍ in the pronunciation within small population groups is mentioned by authors writing in the second half of the 8th century (A.D.) and would be known earlier (Fück pp. 44, 50); merging is frequent in Middle Arabic (Fück p. 58-59; Blau pp. 76, 126) and is the rule in modern dialects (Driver § 3, cf. Spitta § 2a) where emphasis spreads from a single syllable to the word, suffixes included. In a few cases a de-emphatization is found.

d. Merging of certain forms of verba III w/y:

235/13/4	(ترى)	ترا
237/4/6	(تمشى)	تمشلى
239/12/13	(جرى)	جرا
239/13/8		

e. Merging of forms of verba III w/y with III hamza:

250/2/10 (cf. a.a)

الجبى (الجبى)

Merging of forms of verba III w and III y—already the rule for the derived forms in classical Arabic—are considered to be due to the decrease found in occurrence of verba III w (Ferguson's item III; Blau pp. 12-13 and 105; Blau, Grammar § 91; on modern dialects, see Spitta § 106a; Driver VII § 5).

Common to the deviations from classical Arabic orthography is simplification.

Emphatization of entire words is possibly explained by retention of the secondary articulation of emphasis past the syllable in which an emphatic consonant occurs, and in consequence the following of phonetics on the part of orthography, recording as emphatic all consonants of the word that could be emphatic in classical Arabic, whether they etymologically are so or not.

Loss of hamza and merging of forms of verba III w and y, with the transition of verba III hamzae into III w/y, are also examples of the reduction in number of orthographical elements.

It results that at the time of writing down of the text loss of hamza, particularly in inter-vowel position, was general; *z* and *ḍ* merge so that *z* generally becomes *ḍ*, whereas the single instance of *ḍ* becoming *z* could be explained as hyper-correction ("reflected ignorance", cf. Blau p. 29ff. and elsewhere). The uncertain orthography in the case of verba III infirmae, to which III hamza may be counted at the time when this text originated, indicates a total or partial merging of these.

In conclusion, the deviation from the classical Arabic orthographical norm found in the text show a reduction in the number of elements, a simplification of the system.

II. Morphology

Under morphology is treated scriptio plene, although it could be classified under orthography; the reason is the function of these forms in defining person and gender, especially femininum, as well as verbal forms.

a. Plene-forms:

235/11/10	(انت)	انتى
239/16/4		
241/20/9		
247/8/11		
253/19/14		
254/16/7		
237/16/4	(والك)	والكى
247/7/6		
253/19/15	(حلفت)	حلفتى
247/18/6	(تقول)	تقول
247/6/9	(ح)	روح
247/18/11		
249/11/13		
250/10/6		
252/3/14		
240/12/3	(هنا)	هونا

The three forms listed first show a clear distinction between masc. and fem. forms, where these could not be distinguished with certainty in classical Arabic. Whether the long -î was pronounced or not is not known; the yâ' could be solely an orthographic sign for fem., but could as well be a feature analogical with the imperfect, after its giving up of the ending -na in 2.f.sg. (and 3.m.pl., eventually including 3.f.pl.), thus making the long -î the mark of 2.f.sg. in general, combined with t and k (on antî, cf. Blau pp. 71, 130; Blau, Grammar § 37; on the same forms in modern dialects, cf. Spitta §§ 32a, 33b and 93a, where forms with a long -î are possible; Driver II § 2 and III § 1, where a long -î is possible too; Mitchell pp. 52-53 and 70, where a long -î is not registered as possible, except when combined with a suffix and/or the usually negative particle -š).

Generally short vowels in final position are omitted resulting in merging forms; in certain cases marking of gender is necessary and in consequence the vowel becomes long (so much readier as some vowels in final position originally were long).

taqûl for taqul could be scriptio plene of apocopatus, but could also indicate that the modes of the verb no longer were distinct, that only one mode was current at the originating time of the text (on the general tendency towards scriptio plene in post-classical Arabic, particularly in verba mediae infirmae, cf. Blau pp. 72 note 1 and 129–130; Blau, Grammar § 86.1. Fück, p. 61, notes that the jussive is substituted with indicative in most cases). Taking into consideration the rarely found distinction between the indicative and jussive, substitution of apocopatus with the indicative in this case seems most probable. Lengthening of the vowel in the imperative of verba med. infirm.—in the text rūḥ for ruḥ—could be either scriptio plene or analogy with the imperfect (Blau p. 129; Grammar § 86.1, note 198 in particular. Fück does not mention this change). Paralleled with modern dialects where long vowel is the rule except in cases where construction with a suffix would result in a doubly long syllable (Spitta § 105d; Driver VII § 3; Mitchell p. 81), it seems probable that there is an analogy with the imperfect indicative. Hûnâ could be scriptio plene of hunâ or developed from hâhunâ. Its development from hâhunâ is argued by Blau (p. 70; Grammar § 7.1) based on the existence of hōn in Jewish Arabic, hōna in middle Iraqi, and its not infrequent use in modern dialects; in agreement with Driver (XIX § 1), who has the form in Damascus and Aleppo Arabic as hawn or hōn, a development from hâhunâ is assumed (a development: hunâ > hawna (> hōn) would also be in opposition to the regularity of diphthongization found in Arabic).

b. 3.m.pl. of verba III y having the form of the strong verb in the perfect.

242/11/3

خشيو (خشوا)

This type of form is found most often in Egyptian Arabic and Mahgrebine texts (Blau pp. 57, 62 and 67; Blau, Grammar § 95) but also elsewhere (Fück p. 118). Modern dialects have the form as a rule (Spitta § 106b; Driver VII § 5; Mitchell p. 74). The form makes possible a distinction between verba III w and III y, which in classical Arabic is not possible for verbs having an

“i” or an “u” in the second syllable in the imperfect (in unvo-welled texts it is not possible to distinguish these verbs from verbs having an “a” in the imperfect, either, where *gazawû* becomes *gazaw* and *ramayû* > *ramaw*; Wright I § 166b). Influence from the imperfect where it is possible to distinguish could be the case (as also for 3.f.sg., e.g. *haš(i)yat*).

c. Use of the demonstrative pronoun dā, for classical hādā:

235/11/3 (هَذَا الْوَيْلُ)

238/16/3 ما نذا الا (ما هانذا الا)

هوذا جاني (هو النبي/ قد (؟) جاني) 240/14/7

The demonstrative pronoun dâ is found most frequently in Egyptian Arabic texts (Blau pp. 65–67), and it is characteristic for the modern Egyptian Arabic (where d becomes *d*) (Spitta § 35; Mitchell p. 56). In modern Egyptian Arabic dialect it is usually placed after its noun which must be determined; placed before its noun it carries with it a notion of deprecation. In the two cases listed first dâ stands for *hâdâ* (possibly *dâlika/tilka(?)*), while in the third case the meaning of dâ is not quite clear. In its context dâ defines either the person or the action; defining *huwa* the pronoun retains its character of adjective (in post-position, a characteristic of Egyptian Arabic), whereas its definition of the verbal action would imply function as an adverb.

c.a. Plural variant of *dā*: *dālîk*.

245/4/5 جاور وليك المدمفين

Egyptian Arabic has the plural *dôl* of *da*, both in middle and modern dialect (Blau p. 66, on middle Egyptian Arabic; in modern dialect, cf. Spitta § 35a; Mitchell p. 56), while the form found here is not found in dialects other than Syrian Arabic (Driver II § 4). This form could have developed from *dâ-ulâ'ika*; Blau (Grammar § 32.8) proposes development from *hâ-ulâ'ika* for *hâlik*, and a development in analogy with this of *dâ-ulâ'ika* to *dâlik* could then hardly be considered improbable. Compared

with modern Egyptian Arabic $d\hat{a}-\hat{u}l\hat{i} > d\hat{o}l$ the development $\underline{d}\hat{a}-\hat{u}l\hat{a}'ika > d\hat{u}l\hat{i}k$ should correspond to $\underline{d}\hat{a}$ and $\underline{d}\hat{a}ka$ respectively in classical Arabic. Whether there is a distinction between the forms as to the distance of the object referred to—as in classical use—could not be ascertained in the context given.

d. 'ayš/'êš for the interrogative m\hat{a}

was found as a rule in the text, as is usual for postclassical Arabic (Blau pp. 62, 108; Blau, Grammar § 33.2) and in modern dialects (Spitta § 38b, cf. 146 a on 'êš in Egyptian Arabic outside Cairo; Driver II § 6). In combination with the preposition $li-$ $layš/lêš$ is formed (for classical $lima > li-m\hat{a}$):

255/3/2

ليش فعلت هازا

The shaping of this pronoun and its taking over of the interrogative function of classical $m\hat{a}$ makes the use of negative $m\hat{a}$ less ambiguous. The other functions of $m\hat{a}$ (relative, infinitive, indefinite pronominal) are in modern dialects limited to a small number of conventional constructions (Spitta §§ 144 and 148; Driver II §§ 6 ult., 8, 9 and XVI § 2 (p. 205–06); Mitchell pp. 85 (9), 86 (10 (ii)), 112 (c)) as well as classicizing and in phrases borrowed from the classical language (proverbs, sayings; quotation). A few neologisms with $m\hat{a}$ are coined (a.o. the conjunctions $fi-m\hat{a}$ and $zinda-m\hat{a}$; Fück p. 62).

e. r\hat{u}ḥ + personal suffix used as reflexive pronoun:

238/8/10

ايش عملت بروحك

238/18/5

فارمى بروحه

245/20/9

فاكون قد استوفيت لروحي

254/3/9

ولله اقتل روحي

$r\hat{u}ḥ$ has the function most frequently attributed to $nafs$ in classical Arabic. $Nafs$ as a reflexive pronoun is found in modern dialects (Spitta § 140a; Driver II § 11), together with other reflexive expressions ($r\hat{a}s$, $z\hat{a}t$, $\varepsilon\hat{e}n$); $r\hat{u}ḥ$ in this meaning is found in modern Egyptian Arabic, although not registered in the existing grammatical treatments (but are found in Spiro's dictionary, the 1895

edition as well as that of 1923; the English-Egyptian Arabic version on the other hand does not list it; reflexive *ṛôḥ* is found in e.g. M. I. Hassan: *In-nâs wil-malik*, Copenhagen 1971, *passim*).

f. General omission of the ending -na of 2.f.sg. in the imperfect constructed with personal suffix:

235/12/11	ترید یہم (ترید بینہم)
237/16/8	ترمینی (ترمیننی)
252/4/13	

The case listed last is known in classical Arabic as a possibility (haplogy; Wright I § 186c), but is the rule in postclassical Arabic. The first case could be due to an extension of this possibility so as to become the rule for all suffixes; on the other hand it could be a result of the merging of the modi of the verb (cf. below).

g. The indicative of the verb in short form is found generally:

236/3/3	ویضحکوا الناس علیّ
236/12/5	ویضحکوا علیہ
236/15/3	والناس مجتمعون علیہ ویقولوا
237/14/6	وغدا یجیوا یشنقونی
237/20/2	والک یا عشرة الاف بذرا تقولی صر منجما
239/9/5	وانک تامی الیّ ففعدت لاجلک
239/14/12	قبل ان یدوروا بی فیشنقونی
239/16/6	انتی ما تدوری الّا علیّ هلاکی
240/1/8	هاتوا المنجمین والذین یضربوا بالرمل
241/20/11	انتی امرأة تتعولی علیّ شنقی
244/5/7	ثم رجع الی اصحابه وقال ایض تعملوا؟
244/18/9-13	لا تزالی خلفی حتی تربینی مصلوبا

- 245/9/13 فقال الملك انتم تسمعون كلامه فهل فيكم من يظهره؟
 246/1/11 فقال كم تهونى على المصاييب
 246/2/15 فقال تخرجى مشنوقة ان شاء الله
 248/3/7 كيف يخفى عليهم وهم ما يظهروها؟
 249/12/9-10 لا تزالى روح وانتك على الله حتى اروح نوبة
 249/17/10 والمجمين حوله يحسدونه ولا يقدروا على ان يته الى يوم اجتمعوا
 250/9/10 يشنقى وياخذوا الذهب منك
 254/1/11-13 فتعالى بنا الان حتى وقت يجوا يطلبونى تقولى قد مات

Merging of the indicative and subjunctive in normal consonant script could only be detected in 2.f.sg., 3.m.pl., 3.f.pl., 2.m.pl. and 2.f.pl. where the ending -na is omitted in the subjunctive in classical Arabic. When the desinential flexion of these forms are omitted, it is most probable that the other forms (persons) do not retain the flexion either, and it is furthermore most probable that forms with a short vowel ending have lost the vowel first, and that the other forms eventually have followed the trend (Blau pp. 84-6 and 128; Blau, Grammar § 171; Fück p. 59-60). The short form of the imperfect is almost the only type found in modern dialects (Spitta § 90 a, cf. § 92 and 93 a-b; Driver III § 2; Mitchell p. 70), but forms with a nûn could be found in classicizing contexts (Blau p. 63; Driver loc. cit.; a possible explanation is offered in Blau p. 78 sqq.: an analytical substratum; change in the stability of the short vowels, particularly when ending a word).

To round off, it should be remarked that *modus energicus* is not found in modern dialects (Spitta § 90 a(2)) and hardly in Middle Arabic; in this text no occurrence thereof was registered.

h. Casus obliquus in pl.masc. sanus for casus rectus:

- 241/14/8 ثم انهم قاموا من عند الملك والمنجمين يضحكون عليه
 245/4/6 لولا جاوا نوليك الله منين كما اليوم نشنق
 245/15/2 فامر الملك بان يصفع المنجمين الى باب دار عصفور المنجم وهو راكب
 248/3/1 فقال ايها الملك وهؤلاء المنجمين كيف يخفى عليهم وهم ما يظهروها؟
 250/12/5 فقال له الملك يا حكيم هؤلاء المجتمعين قد اجتمعوا
 254/16/9 اروح انا وانتى معنا خادمين فى الخفية الى بيته
 254/17/10 فلما كان الليل خرج الملك وبنته وخادمين وجوا الى بيت عصفور

This change seems to run parallel with the substitution treated in *g* and for the same reason (Blau pp. 78–79 and 126–27; Blau, Grammar § 112; Fück p. 60 does not say that casus obliquus replaces casus rectus but the examples given all have casus obliquus). Similar changes take place in the dual and in the pluralis fractus as well as pluralis sanus fem.; according to Blau the changes have taken place first in the two latter forms, whose casus was marked by a short vowel, and has later had an effect on the forms with casus endings not having a short vowel alone—as a result of a decreasing use of casus in general. That casus obliquus became the one to take over the function of the other casus must be due to the fact that it occurred most frequently, as it represented two casus: accusative including adverbs, and genitive (Blau p. 79 note 1). The form is general, maybe the only one, in modern dialects (Spitta § 70; Driver XI § 4; Mitchell p. 37–38).

Resuming, the deviations from classical Arabic morphology found in this text are:

A clear tendency towards less ambiguity in the meaning of the single word; towards a more distinct separation of forms that can (could) be mistaken for one another ('antî for 'anti; ḥaš(i)yû); towards a splitting up of the partial meanings of ambiguous words ('ayš/'êš for mâ, rūḥ for nafs); towards a simplification of the verbal system and of the formation of the plural as well as the more rare dual through the dwindling use of desinen-

tial flexion and the resulting changes (and in conclusion modifications are introduced by particles and expressed through position in the sentence). The demonstrative pronoun dâ gains functional area at the cost of hâdâ.

Having determined these deviations from the classical Arabic norm, the analytical tendency in the text becomes clear in contrast to the synthetic structure of the classical language.

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