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Loci and rhetorical functions of diglossic code-switching in spoken Arabic

an analysis of the *corpus* of homilies of the Egyptian hegumen Mattā al-Miskīn (1919-2006)

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	ʕāmmiyya
AA	Algiers Arabic
ADJ	adjective
ART	article
ASP	aspect marker
AUX	auxiliary
CA	Classical Arabic
CD	Catania dialect
CEA	Cairene Egyptian Arabic
CM	code-mixing
CS	code-switching
C	connective particle
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COMPL	complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
D	determinative particle
DEF	definite
DEF ART	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DSA	Damascus Syrian Arabic
DU	dual
EA	Egyptian Arabic
EALL	Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics
F	fuṣḥā
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperfect
INCL	inclusive
INFL	inflection
KA	Kuwaiti Arabic
L1	first language
L2	second language
L-S	lexico-semantic status
MA	Mauritanian Arabic

MEA	Manṣūra Egyptian Arabic
MM	Father Mattā al-Miskīn
MPP	morphophonology
MPPS	morphophonosyntax (morphophonosyntactic)
NA	Native Arabic
NC	nominal classifier
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
NCEA	Non-Cairene Egyptian Arabic
NUM	numeral
OBJ	object
P	plural
PFT	perfect
PM	predicate marker
POSS	possessive
PR	predicate
PREP	preposition
PRON SUFF	pronoun suffix
PRS	present
PRT	particle
PST	past
REL	relative
SA	Standard Arabic
SD	(generic) Sicilian dialect
SG	singular
SI	Standard Italian
TA	tense-aspect marker
TR	transitive
VOC	vocative
YA	Yemeni Arabic

Transcription conventions

/	simple pause (less than 1")
//	long pause (more than 1")
à	non-CEA stress
?	interrogative tone (rising tone)
!	exclamatory tone
|	conclusive tone (falling tone)
a:	lengthening of vowel
abc	SA or +SA segments
abc	EA or +EA segments
…	words not fully pronounced or interrupted
[coughs]	transcriber's comment
[………]	not understandable
[xxxxxx]	doubtful transcription
ehm	hesitation

places of articulation		manners of articulation						
		plosive	fricative	affricate	lateral	trill	nasal	approximant
bilabial		(p) b					m	
labiodental			f (v)					w
interdental			θ ð					
	velarized		ḍ					
dental		t d	s z		l			
	velarized	ṭ ḍ	ṣ ẓ		l**			
postalveolar			š	ğ		r	n	
palatal								y
velar		k g	x ġ					
uvular		q						
pharyngeal			ḥ ʕ					
glottal		ʔ/ʔ*	h					
(x) = marginal, occurring in foreign loans *ʔ = etymologically a /q/ ** every time /l/ appears in the word /alla:h/ it is velarized								

Table 1 Table of consonants. For a more detailed description of phonemic transcription (consonants, vowels, stress, article, prefixes and prepositions, prosody), see appendix 2.

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Preface

This study falls within a broad field of the sociolinguistics of Arabic, namely the diglossic variation between spoken Standard Arabic (SA) and Native Arabic (NA). I borrow the latter term from Owens (2001) which seems to me more "neutral" than 'colloquial' or 'dialect': NA is, in fact, the first variety of Arabic people learn since they are children. It deals with one of the main approaches to variation, code-switching, within a specific region, Egypt, and within a specific genre, Christian homilies. I will use EA to generically indicate Egyptian native varieties. Whenever I need to specify that I deal only with Cairene Arabic, I will use the abbreviation CEA (Cairene Egyptian Arabic).

The general question this study starts from is: if the combined use of SA and NA at various level of Spoken Arabic is a very common practice among Arab speakers, attestable through simple linguistic observation, what are the rhetorical[1] motivations for which Arabs code-switch from SA to NA and vice-versa? And specifically what does code-switching add to the argumentative construction of an oral text, specifically a Christian religious discourse?

The hypotheses posited that will be tested in the course of this study are: 1) diglossic code-switching occurs with considerable frequency in Christian religious discourse as well as in other *genres*; 2) these switches occur only at an intersentential level; 3) switches are always rhetorically functional, that is they help the speaker build his discourse, differentiating textual material, just like other rhetorical mechanisms, such as figures of speech; 4) functions of code-switching are distinguishable from *loci* (i.e., parts of the text where code-switching is most probable to happen); 5) patterns of rhetorical code-switching (*loci* and *functions*) are clearly definable and divisible between "general" (common to all the genres) and "particular" (specific of one genre); 6) frequency of code-switching is related to specific part of discourse. Whenever the term SA will be used, it will mostly refer to Spoken Standard Arabic[2] unless otherwise specified.

Diglossic code-switching cannot be dealt with without retracing the approaches to diglossic variation: from the rigid models of diglossia proposed by Marçais and Ferguson to the several approaches to variation in the Arabic language (the concept of multilayered

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[1] The term "rhetoric" has come to have a variety of uses. I will use it here with two meanings: one broad and one narrow. The broad one sees every symbolic interaction as inherently rhetorical (Burke 1950, Crocker 1977, Perelman & Olbrehts-Tyteca 2008). The narrow one is the Aristotelian sense: rhetoric is persuasive discourse intended for a popular audience.

[2] It is interesting to notice how the distinction between Spoken Standard Arabic and Written Standard Arabic, and between production of SA (both written and spoken) and comprehension, is not always made clear (see Schmidt 1974:12 and chapter 2).

varieties and the *continuum-with-levels*, Educated Spoken Arabic or triglossia, quadriglossia, multiglossia etc.). Moreover one of the main problems which will be faced is how and to what extent one can speak of code-switching in a linguistic situation, such as the Arabic one, where SA and NA used in context (especially spoken contexts) are not always clearly distinguishable. What has to be considered SA or NA and on what bases?

The core of this study is mainly descriptive linguistics. The theoretical framework and the interpretation of the data combine several sociolinguistic approaches which involve the relationships between spoken and written language, rhetorical and genre issues and applied studies in the domain of language contact and variation. In particular, the interpretative frameworks of conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982) has been merged with Auer's *sequential analysis* (1984, 1988, 1995) and with studies on Italian sociolinguistics (Berruto 1980 et al.; Grassi et al. 2006 and others) which I found particularly inspiring for the Arabic situation. In fact, the Arabic linguistic case, although being peculiar, presents many similarities to bilingual situations and to *standard-with-dialects* situations (the Italian situation is one of the latter). One of the main points in common between the Italian situation and the Arabic one is the structural distance between dialect and standard and the remarkable number of shared lexical items. The proximity in some levels and the distance in some others between H and L causes, in both cases, the formation of mixed utterances where the codes are used next to each other or "mixed" up. It is no coincidence that the Italian situation is described as a peculiar diglossic situation, defined by Berruto as *dilalia*[3]. A number of studies on *corpora*, in different linguistic communities, have also been particularly useful in defining the general functions, the *loci* of the CS, the similarities and differences between the Arabic linguistic system and the other situations and between discourse genres. Again the Italian linguistic situation, seemed to me particularly close to the Arabic one. Alfonzetti (1992), who studied code-switching and code-mixing in Catania (Sicily), offered a valuable general qualitative scheme of analysis that I have adapted to the Egyptian situation. Of course, other studies on corpora, concerning the Arabic situation, have been essential for

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[3] In fact, the Italian dilalia shares with the Arabic diglossia several points: a) there are several major dialects, namely native, of the languages named LOW varieties; b) there exists a superposed, in the sense of a secondary, variety, learned after the native variety in formal classroom settings. This variety is named HIGH; c) both L and H varieties coexist in a stable way; d) the H variety is related to the L but structurally distant; e) the H variety is a vehicle for a prestigious literary tradition; f) the H variety is standardized and codified; g) the H variety is used for nearly all (i) written purposes and (ii) formal speech. What separates the two situations is the fact that the H variety in Arabic is mostly used by well-educated people and not especially in ordinary conversation. Standard Italian, on the contrary, seems much more present next to local dialects: a) in primary socialization; b) in ordinary conversation; c) creating a domain overlap between the two codes, besides the exclusive domains of one and the other (see Berruto 2007:192).

contrastive goals, namely Holes (1993), Mazraani (1997), Saeed (1997), Boucherit (2002), Taine-Cheikh (2002), Bassiouney (2006) and Mejdell (2006).

The kind of approach adopted here cannot be only predictive. The predictive approach, in fact, aims at establishing the extralinguistic causes (situational, conversational, social, etc.) that govern, in a stable manner, a linguistic practice observed in speakers. The only predictive approach posits a too rigidly deterministic and too simplistic relationship between context and code-choice. The classical distinction made by Gumperz (1982) between *situational vs. metaphorical code switching*, which seeks to distinguish two classes of factors, social and textual, should not be considered a sharp dichotomy but rather a *continuum* of overlapping phenomena. The communicative situation is dynamically re-interpreted on account of many changing factors, internal and external to the text, which are not always possible to trace entirely. In contrast, the postdictive approach alone risks to lose sight of the presence of the constants of this phenomenon so that it appears a mere irregular mixture of different systems (see Labov 1971:457). The approach which has been adopted is, then, both predictive and postdictive: from working hypotheses, already proposed and tested in other contexts by certain scholars, we seek to test them on the studied *corpus* in its own context. The *corpus* will provide not only further evidence on the phenomenon but also new data that need to be tested in other *corpora*. The phenomenology of the functions of the code-switching certainly needs further evidence. As Owens wrote in 2001 «there is lacking extensive research on the discourse/pragmatic and social framework of Arabic diglossic 'switching'» (2001:433). Much has been done in the last ten years but still what is needed is further systematization.

Many of the scholars have dealt with code-switching within a genre (political discourse, mainly, but also Islamic religious discourse, panel presentation, academic lectures). I focused on another genre, that of the Coptic Christian homilies. Very little has been written on the subject from a sociolinguistic perspective. The only study I could find is Shenouda 1994 which is a socio-demographic research of language variation within sermons in Coptic churches in Cairo. Another reason why I opted for the genre of homilies is that it shares many similarities with other monological genres but it also presents some peculiarities. The *corpus* chosen for the analytical part is part of a more vast unexplored and only partially published *corpus* of homilies of father Mattā al-Miskīn (1919-2006)[4], also known in the English-speaking world as father Matthew the Poor, the spiritual father and hegumen of the Monastery of St. Macarius in the desert of Scetis in

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[4] For some biographical information about MM see Tyvaert (2003), Proche-Orient Chrétien (tome 56 – 2006 – fasc. 3-4:321-329) and MMSM (2006, 2008).

Egypt. As a cultured person, and an important reformer of the Coptic Orthodox church, he was a controversial figure who has left, in addition to publications concerning spiritual, social and political topics, a huge *corpus* of recordings ranging from 1973 to 2001, all affected by the phenomenon of mixed varieties of spoken Arabic (for more details on the *corpus* and on the transcribed homilies see Appendix 1). The reactions to this study showed (once again) the strong ideologization of the Arabic language and the numerous *clichés* about the language that Arab speakers, no matter what religion they belong to, share. Many educated Copts with whom I talked about this work were deeply disappointed when I specified, after saying that I was involved in sociolinguistics, that the field of study was the Arabic language. "Why Arabic?", was the typical question, "Why not Coptic?" It is sure that the first thing they thought was that I was dealing with Islamic studies. The equation which normally took place in their mind was: Arabic Language = Classical Arabic = Islam. When I explained to them that in reality I was dealing with the language used by father Mattā al-Miskīn, they were surprised even if, after all, "Mattā al-Miskīn writes very well". When I further specified that the object of the study was his spoken Arabic and not his books, their looks suddenly got more than perplexed. As a final step, some of them suggested me Coptic figures who spoke more eloquently than father Mattā al-Miskīn. Similar reactions I encountered from the Islamic side. The equation was always the same (Arabic = Classical Arabic = Islam), so educated Muslims were very happy thinking I was dealing with Ibn Rušd or al-Mutanabbī or the Qurʔān itself. In the moment I revealed to them that I was studying contemporary mixed Arabic and, moreover, spoken homilies of a Christian monk, an enigmatic expression got painted on their faces, which I would not describe as sympathetic or positive.

The choice of the *corpus* of one speaker has its motives. Code-switching, especially in monologues, is a powerful rhetorical device, as it will be clear in the course of the present study, and, as such, it must be studied as a tool used differently from a speaker to another, according to personal choices, although following general socially functional patterns (Saussurian *langue et parole*). Abstraction must be derived from concrete linguistic objects, which means, for spoken language, transcriptions. What we know about this phenomenon of spoken Arabic cannot be confirmed and developed but through the study of *corpora*. As Milroy & Milroy put it «some approaches emphasise internal characteristics of the language system itself and do not look to social factors for the primary causes of change. Languages, however, do not exist independently of speakers, and if changes take place in them, such changes must be the reflexes of speaker-innovations, established as new norms by speaker acceptance. In other words, it does not seem possible to account fully for linguistic change (as observed in language systems)

without inquiring into the social origins and social mechanisms of change. It is speakers who innovate in the first place – not languages» (1985:55). Moreover, the choice of one speaker allows us to offer a wider *corpus,* although always limited in space and time, from which to draw more or less partial conclusions. In some studies, conclusions are often drawn on the basis of the comparison of brief transcribed passages of different speakers taken from very limited *corpora.* Thus, the risk of multiple speakers is remaining at the surface although offering a certain limited degree of diversification within the community. The one-speaker-approach, as far as monologues are concerned, can offer more insight into the context, the author (his thought, his leitmotifs, the subjects he deals with), the rhetorical structure of the texts and their internal coherence, shedding light on code-switching as a creative and flexible mechanism.

This study is organized in the following parts: chapter 1 is an introduction and offers a general overview of the problem of the diglossic mixedness in the Arabic linguistic situation (in particular the Egyptian one) starting from the contemporary earliest formulations of the concept of diglossia and passing through the various approaches to mixedness and variation. The second part of the chapter is dedicated to the mechanisms of variation (code-switching, code-mixing and nonce borrowing), their motivations and functions and it focuses on the textual functionality of code-switching or what Gumperz named the *metaphorical code-switching.* Chapter 2 deals with a crucial issue: labelling. If code-switching is a functional passage from one code to another, on what bases can a segment be labelled SA or EA? It critically analyses concepts such as standardness, normativity, correctness and attitude applied to SA. It states the importance of using a double approach, both grammatical (objective) and perceptive (subjective) to define SA, and describes the grammatical features that help us (or prevent us) tag sequences of mixed spoken Arabic in a clear way. Chapters 3 to 5 treat separately the features selected for investigation: quotation (*locus*): persuading, giving expressivity or authority, marking polyphony of speech (*relative functions*); reiteration (*locus*):clarifying, stressing, emphasizing (*relative functions*); argumentative elaboration (*locus*):elaborating, specifying, defining, explaining, exemplifying, focusing, de-focusing, synthesizing, analysing, differentiating rhetorical material (*relative functions*); prayers (*locus*):giving graveness and solemnity to the moment; dramatization of words and clauses (*function without a specific locus*). After a first general introductive part with examples taken from other *corpora*[5], in the three chapters excerpts from the corpus analysed and the comments related to them are presented. The excerpts, which are numbered (EXC1, EXC2 etc.), always precede the

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[5] Some of the examples presented are taken from an article I have published in Pragmatics (Hamam 2011).

commentaries often offering a contextualization within the rhetoric movement from which they are drawn. In the texts analysed some Coptic and Greek expressions also appear. They are taken from liturgical books (Coptic) and the Bible (Greek). This is due to the fact that, although Coptic is not any more a living language, it is still used as the liturgical language *par excellence* and considered as the source language of the later Arabic translations. On the other hand, Greek is considered one of the source languages of the Bible. MM often refers to Greek whenever he disputes what he considers an inaccurate Arabic translation.

In the appendices I have included several elements: Appendix 1 presents some information concerning the greater *corpus* of homilies of Mattā al-Miskīn which the transcribed homilies have been drawn from, its socio-cultural context (composition, extension in time, types of homily, typology of the public) and a brief outline of the homilies transcribed; Appendix 2 is a description of the linguistic and the extralinguistic conventions used for transcription, while Appendix 3 contains the transcriptions of the three homilies that have been chosen. It must be considered that the transcriptions have been divided into minutes (from 0' to 1', from 1' to 2' etc.) and every minute into lines (1, 2, 3 etc.). This means that where an indication such as MM50 - 23'8. → 24'5. is found in chapters 3, 4 and 5, at the bottom of the excerpts, it indicates 'homily entitled "*al-maḥabba*", from the 8th line in the 23rd minute to the 5th line in the 24th minute'. This expedient proved to be very useful when analysing the text and helped keep in mind that transcription is a passage from a *temporal* datum to a *spatial* one.

I hope that the discussion of the theoretical framework and of the data will be found useful, that this study will add additional evidence of the close links between rhetoric and argumentation and CS in Arabic, that it will make available new exploitable transcribed oral data and that it will also give a rare insight into the ascetical thought of a prominent representative of the modern Egyptian monasticism.

Chapter 1 'Diglossic mixedness' between grammatical/formal and pragmatical/functional approach

1.1. Diglossia

1.1.1. Diglossia as seen by Marçais and Ferguson

The situation of the Arabic language has been described, since Marçais (1930), with the technical term *diglossia*[6]. About twenty years ago, Fernández (1993) published a monograph that examined a vast bibliographic review of works concerning the concept of diglossia from 1960 to 1990, including about 3000 titles[7]. The very term 'diglossia' has been intended by the authors, from time to time, in various ways ranging from a very narrow definition, referring to the particular situation of certain regions (the German-speaking Switzerland, the Arab world), to a very wide definition that practically overlaps with that of *bilingualism*[8] (see Berruto 1995:191-204). In this ocean of publications that, for reasons of space and coherence with the subject under investigation, it is not possible to review, it is important to follow some benchmarks. What I will do in the next few pages will be touching on the complex phenomenon of diglossia in a manner functional to my subject.

1.1.1.1. Marçais (1930)

Marçais is considered the minter of the term *diglossia* used for the first time in a 1930 article in which he described the linguistic situation in the Algeria of that time. Marçais, who made an impressionistic description of the situation of Arabic of Algeria without considering either Berber or French, spoke of «*deux aspects* sensiblement différents: 1° une langue littéraire dite arabe écrit ou régulier, ou littéral, ou classique qui seule a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé [...]; 2° des idiomes parlés [...]» (1930:401) or «*deux états* d'une même langue, assez différents pour que la connaissance de l'un n'implique pas la connaissance de l'autre» (1930:409).

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[6] The term is etymologically the same as bilingualism. But instead of the Latin prefix and lexeme (bi- 'two' and lingua 'language') the Greek equivalents have been used (δὶς 'twice' and γλῶσσα 'language').

[7] Titles included (1) index of languages, (2) diglossia in literature, (3) historically oriented works, (4) pedagogically oriented works, (5) theoretical works, and (6) thesis and dissertations. The year before, Hudson (1992) considered 1092 titles.

[8] According to Kaye (1987:675) diglossia refers to a situation in which two varieties of the same language function side by side, in contrast with bilingualism which supposes the existence of two different languages.

Situation	langue littéraire	idiomes parlés
tout ce qui est écrit (ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, articles de presse, actes judiciaires, lettres privées)	•	
seule langue de conversation dans tout les milieux, populaires et cultivés		•

Table 2 The ambits of use of the two varieties of Arabic according to Marçais (1930:401).

As it is evident from table 1, for Marçais diglossia basically means a distinction between a variety which is only written and one that is only spoken.

1.1.1.2. Ferguson (1959)

Although Altoma (1969) cites literary and philological studies about diglossia as early as the ninth century A.D., the real contemporary debate about *diglossia* started with Ferguson's famous article in which he considered the linguistic situation of Greece, Haiti, Switzerland and the Arab countries[9].

Let's start from Ferguson's definition of diglossia:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson 1959:336).

Ferguson develops the intuition of Marçais. According to Ferguson, diglossia exists when the speech community is characterized by the following situations:

(a) existence of primary dialects (Low variety, L);

(b) existence of a secondary variety superposed to dialects (High variety, H);

(c) stable coexistence of L and H;

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[9] Whether the language situation in the Arab world has always been diglottic is not known. The debate is open: favourable (Ferguson 1959:616-617), Eid (1990:7), El-Hassan (1978:113) and others; unfavourable (Ditters 1992:13 for example).

(d) H is a cognate language of L but it is structurally distant from the latter;

(e) H vehicles a prestigious literary tradition;

(f) H is highly codified and standardised;

(g) H is learnt at school through formal education;

(h) H is used in almost all (i) written situations (ii) formal spoken situations;

(i) H is never used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Table 3 synthesizes the main differences between the two varieties in diglossia:

	High	**Low**
KIND OF CODE	standard/superposed	colloquial/primary dialect
PRESTIGE	superior	inferior
LITERARY FUNCTION	classic and literary	popular
ACQUISITION	learnt at school	learnt in everyday life (mother tongue)
STANDARDIZATION	highly standardised	highly varying
GRAMMAR	complex grammar	simple(r) grammar
PHONOLOGY	may have more complicated morphophonemics than L	may have less complicated morphophonemics than H
DIAMESIC[10] USE	(i) almost all written situations; (ii) formal spoken situations; (iii) never used in ordinary conversation.	used in ordinary conversation

Table 3 Characteristics of H and L, according to Ferguson (1959:329).

According to Ferguson, diglossia is different from the standard-with-dialects languages for a number of reasons, mainly for the fact that H is not spoken in ordinary conversation.

Diglossia differs from the more widespread standard-with-dialects in that no segment of the speech community in diglossia regularly uses H (the prestigious variety[11]) as a medium of ordinary conversation, and any attempt to do so is felt to be either pedantic or artificial. In the more usual standard-with-dialects situation, the standard is often similar to the variety of a certain region or social group which is used in

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[10] From *diamesia* (greek: διὰ 'through' + μέσος, 'means'), sociolinguistic variation related to the medium of expression.

[11] The prestige issue will be discussed in §2.4.3.

ordinary conversation more or less naturally by members of the group and as a superposed variety by others (1960:337).

Under this system speakers only know two discrete varieties (H and L), the use of both of them corresponding to certain contextual or communicative functions according to socio-cultural norms. Ferguson himself clearly divides some sociolinguistic settings between H and L. The speaker will use a variety primarily according to one factor: the diaphasic one[12]. From this evaluation follows a rigid categorization of codes commonly used in a number of possible settings:

Situation	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	•	
Personal letters	•	
Speech in parliament, political speech	•	
University lecture	•	
News broadcast	•	
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	•	
Poetry	•	
Conversation with family, friends and colleagues		•
Instructions to servants, water, workmen and clerks		•
Radio soap opera		•
Caption on political cartoon		•
Folk literature		•

Table 4 Situations where only H or L (diaphasic factor), according to Ferguson (1959:329).

This analysis, which was not tailored to the linguistic situation in Arabic-speaking countries and that appears in many ways an idealized image of diglossia, raises numerous issues among which I will consider only a few that strictly relate to the particular situation of the Arab countries and to my analysis :

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[12] *Diaphasis* (greek: διὰ 'through' and φάναι, 'to state') is a parameter of sociolinguistic variation determined by the changing setting in which the speaker communicates: the context, the interlocutors, the circumstances or the purpose of the communication etc.

(i) ONE SYSTEM, TWO SYSTEMS

Do H and L belong to the same linguistic system? In fact, part of the problem is the distance that H and L must have in order to be considered forming diglossia (see Fasold 1995:50ff.; Britto 1986:10-12,321; Kloss 1976)[13]. It is well known that most Arab scholars, especially those who did not study or teach outside the Arab world, adopt the 'one-system option' (see for example Badawī 1973:7 who comments on this).

Hary explains his concept of multiglossia (1996) (see §1.2.6.) in terms of a mono-systemic approach. For him and other scholars, the Fergusonian diglossia, by postulating two "blocks" (even if within a one-system reality), one totally H and one totally L, is unable to explain variation. Variation in the 'two systems theory' is what happens between the two blocks and in order to be explained one has to postulate code-switchings. A real mono-systemic approach means that there is a single prototypic centre which is NA from which the natives move to SA (see fig. 1).
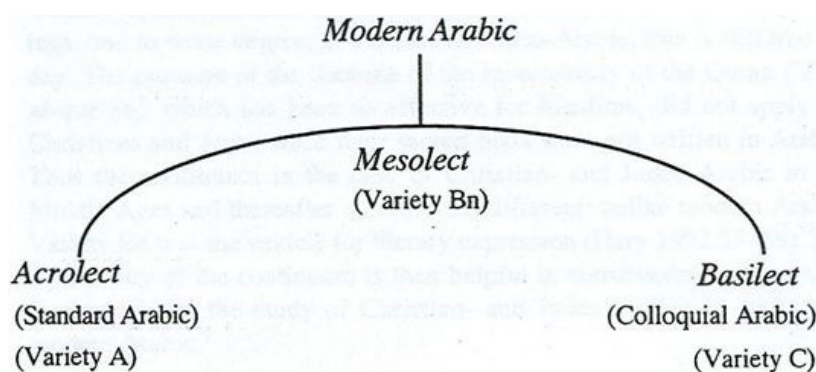
Figure 1 The 'one system' approach according to Hary (1996:73).

Schmidt makes a long analysis of morphophonological variation in the spoken Arabic of Egypt and asks himself whether H and L are 'one system or two'. Basing himself on a series of interdependent rules of phonolexical variation, Schmidt affirms that one can speak of *one grammar SA/EA* (that is one system) because variation is only explicable if one system is considered (1974:184). Yet, basing himself on other analysis of a morphosyntactic type (and not phonetical or lexical) Schmidt states that one must speak of *two grammars* if one wants to explain variation (1974:204-211). The paradox is that «without adopting a *single grammar approach,* it is impossible to adequately describe

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[13] Giacolone Ramat raises the problem of separate systems/single system when it comes to the linguistic repertoire of the bilingual community dialect-with-standard (like the Italian one, in this case of the author). The author argues for separate systems («the two extremes of the continuum are very clearly identifiable as separate systems» (1995:46)) although, within these extremes one can speak of «a continuum with fuzzy boundaries» (1995:46). This continuum is divisible into a number of points, for the sole purpose of the sociolinguistic analysis. We will come back on the concept of continuum in §1.2.2.

variation in Egyptian spoken Arabic. But since it cannot be shown that all underlying forms are shared – in fact, can be shown that some underlying forms are clearly not shared – and since there are areas of the grammars of CA and EC [Egyptian Colloquial] which must not be compromised, it seems to follow that a *single-grammar is inadmissible*» (1974:221; emphasis is mine). Schmidt affirms that diglossia is at one time «one system and two systems» (1974:211): *one system on a phonolexical level*, while *two systems on a morphosyntactic level*. Mejdell adopts this partial systematicity approach (Mejdell 2007:88). This point will be particularly important while discussing about what is SA and what is EA (see chapter 2);

(ii) DISTRIBUTION OF AMBITS

This aspect concerns the ambits of distribution of H and L given by Ferguson (see table 3) and the degree of complementarity between H and L. It is difficult to say that there is always a neat and obligatory separation between the ambits where H or L is acceptable. The grid proposed by Ferguson (table 4) is rarely found in reality and on the contrary «costituirà casi tutto sommato eccezionali, specie nella moderna società dominata dai mass media»[14] (Berruto 1995:194). El-Hassan (1977:113-116) comments on the Egyptian situation by saying that

> A 'sermon in a mosque' (Ferguson H) is quite often (in fact, more often than not) given in educated spoken Arabic, or even in 'pure' colloquial, depending on the type of audience listening to the sermon […] A sermon in a mosque is not categorically H as Ferguson has asserted. Similarly a speech in parliament, or a political speech elsewhere (Ferguson H) is usually given in educated spoken Arabic and sometimes in pure colloquial. Nasser's political speeches are a case in point. Nor is it true to say, as Ferguson does, that a university lecture is given in H invariability. To be sure all depends on what is meant by a university lecture. If by this, Ferguson refers to the language generally used by an instructor of, say, maths, engineering, history, etc. when addressing a class of university students, then it is not nearly correct to say categorically that the instructor uses H. Part of the lecture may be given in H, but the main body of it will almost certainly be in ESA […] The same objection applies to 'personal letters' (Ferguson H). It is true that a personal letter is supposed, by virtue of the fact that it is *written*, to be in H, but all too often parts of a personal letter are in L […] One may take issue with every item of the list of functions which Ferguson correlates with his H and L constructs.

(iii) HOW MANY H VARIETIES?

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[14] «It represents, all in all, exceptional cases, especially in the modern society dominated by mass media».

Is there only one H? (Parkinson 1991:36; Bassiouney 2009:11). Is it Classical Arabic (CA) or Standard Arabic (SA) or both? Has only H got prestige in a given diglottic community, specifically in the Egyptian one? This is a problem will be dealt with in chapter 2;

(iv) DIFFUSION OF H AND L in a given speaking community. Is it necessary for all members of the community to master both H and L in order to speak of diglossia? Or is it enough that only part of the community masters both varieties? This problem will be also discussed in chapter 2 and especially §2.4.3;

(v) VARIATION, SWITCHING, MIXING, INTERMEDIATE FORMS

Does variation exist between H and L? To what extent do H and L mix? Is it possible that H and L can be used together and according to what linguistic and sociolinguistic factors? Can there be intermediate forms between H and L? This is the main issue that will be dealt with because it is strictly related with the object of study and it is also the aspect that has most been criticised in Ferguson's article. In fact, although saying that «in one set of situations only H is appropriate and in another only L, with the two sets *overlapping only very slightly*» (1959:328), he in fact hinted at the possibility of 'mixed' forms (see §1.2.1).

Despite the numerous criticisms that the article suffered, Ferguson's merits were essentially two: (1) having considered «the *spoken language*, thus marking a shift away from the philological Arabicist tradition orientated mainly toward the interpretation of written texts» (Owens 2001:423)[15]; (2) having discredited a certain myth that the so-called 'classical' Arabic was spoken only by intellectuals and that the dialect was the prerogative of the uneducated masses. For Ferguson both varieties, coexisting side by side, are known and spoken with varying proficiency by intellectuals and illiterates. So, according to Owens (2001:425), integrating the two varieties into a single conceptual framework favoured the work on comparison and variation between them that was performed later.

In his own self-criticism (Ferguson 1996), a 'revision' of the 1959 article made after thirty-seven years, Ferguson comes to terms with a literature which is critical of his formulation of the concept of diglossia and he admits that he neglected an important aspect, namely that of 'variability' within diglossia. In this regard, he confirms a number of the statements made in the previous article. He proposes again the existence of sharp boundaries between H and L («the boundary between the high variety and the vernacular in diglossia is behaviourally and attitudinally sharper than in creole continua» (1996:52))

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[15] Of course here Owens refers only to a certain philological Arabicist tradition. In fact, new approaches to Arabic philology are well aware of the importance of considering the spoken language.

and confirms the existence of only two oppositional poles («in the diglossia case the analyst finds two poles [...]; there is no third pole» (1996:59)).

With regard to the linguistic variation, Ferguson proposes a variation H / L - what he calls the super-register variation since both varieties present also register variation within themselves - as a 'register variation' related to the situational factor. The choice of a given variety depends on a number of factors such as *recipient, subject, setting,* etc. This dichotomy is highlighted by the fact that the linguistic variations occur, for Ferguson, almost exclusively within a single variety and not in-between. In this sense, the speaker chooses either H or L and within one of these two varieties he opts for a language level according to a sum of extra-linguistic factors.

It's worth reading what Ferguson writes in this regard:

If we assume that there are two basic dimensions of variation in language, dialect variation correlating with the place of the speaker in the community and register variation correlating with occasions of use, then the H and L varieties of diglossia are register variants, not dialect variants. There may of course be dialect variation in either the H variety or the L variety (typically more in L), and there may even be (regional and/or social) dialect variation in the *pattern of use, the 'functional allocations' of the respective varieties.* But the H and L varieties represent variation by occasions of use, i.e. individual users of the language have the H-L variation as part of their repertoire of variation that can be drawn on for use with different addressees, topics, settings, etc. and their pattern of variation is to a large extent 'conventionalized' and part of the community repertoire. Since both the H and L varieties in diglossia typically include within them other register variation, it might be convenient to have a label that recognizes this 'super-register' status, and I have sometimes used the terms 'macro-register' and 'hyper-register' (Ferguson 1996:56; emphasis mine).

Table 5 outlines such Ferguson's vision of linguistic variation:

H	←←←←← conventional super- register variation →→→→→	**L**
↓ ↓		↓ ↓

$H^{reg/a}$ ← register variation → $H^{reg/b}$	$L^{reg/a}$ ← register variation → $L^{reg/b}$
$H^{dial/a}$ ← dialectal variation → $H^{dial/b}$	$L^{dial/a}$ ← dialectal variation → $L^{dial/b}$
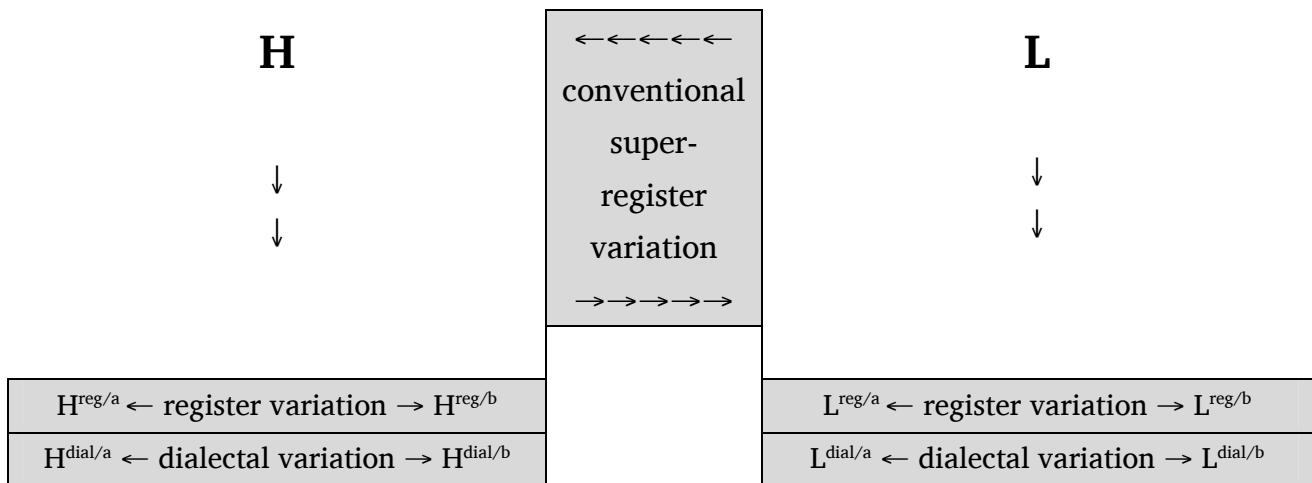
Table 5 The linguistic variation under diglossia, according to Ferguson.

In this dichotomy Ferguson recognised again the existence of intermediate forms that can be described only in the framework of H/L:

> The researcher can document a *continuum* of forms between the H and L varieties, and some linguists have denied the validity of my identification of the diglossia situation on this account. *I recognized the existence of intermediate forms and mentioned them briefly in the article, but I felt then and still feel that in the diglossia case the analyst finds two poles in terms of which the intermediate varieties can be described: there is no third pole.* Also the users of the language in a diglossia situation typically deal with it attitudinally as a two-term relation and use metalinguistic labels that refer to the two poles and 'mixed' or 'in-between' varieties (1996:59; emphasis mine).

This suggests that, in the updated version of his first article on diglossia, Ferguson's position remains essentially the same with respect to linguistic variation considering it at the edge of a bipolar system where variation is intended primarily with respect to an H/L switching ('super register') and where only occasionally the two poles mix up.

As Van Mol said «the dichotomic division between a High variety and a Low variety only gives a very general view of the Arabic language situation […] We take the view that the notion of diglossia is not fine enough to conduct empirical investigations into the spoken language varieties» (2003:49).

As we have seen, the integration of H and L made by Ferguson, has certainly set off a series of comparative work between varieties. What emerged was a new approach that described Arabic language not in terms of diglossia but in terms of a diglossic *continuum* (see Eid 1990:21).

1.2. Variation: how H and L mix in Arabic

1.2.1. *Mixed varieties of spoken Arabic and the terminology issue*

We can start with the observation of the linguistic reality of the Arab world. H and L do mix up, in a very frequent way and on many levels. There exists a range of mixed linguistic varieties/forms/styles, that are not categorizable nor - or exclusively - as SA nor as NA. Part of this category - which could be defined in general as '*mixed varieties*'[16] – are those sentences in which speakers move along a linguistic *continuum* (see §1.2.3.). These forms are well attested in spoken Arabic, since sociolinguistics began to take advantage of the modern means of recording and playback, i.e. late Sixties, beginning of the Seventies.

These types of mixed Arabic represent a very well-attested linguistic phenomenon in the present linguistic landscape of the Arab countries, so much that Boussofara-Omar considers them «a practice that is increasingly growing in the Arab World» (2006a:77). In fact, such mixed forms are easily recognizable not only in all Arab audiovisual mass media, in university lecture halls, in national parliaments, but also in mosques and churches and in all those occasions in which one discusses more or less educated topics. Ibrahim writes that «la possibilité pour un locuteur de passer consciemment d'un système à l'autre à l'intérieur d'un même discours voire d'un même énoncé [...] sans pour autant heurter le sentiment linguistique de ses interlocuteurs, fait partie intégrante de la compétence linguistique des locuteurs natifs scolarisés» (Ibrahim 1978:14).

Ferguson (1959) made a brief mention of the possible existence of what he called '*intermediate varieties*' within the strong dichotomization H(igh variety)/L(ow variety). He said that

> In Arabic, for example, a kind of spoken Arabic much used in semiformal or cross-dialectal situations has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary (Ferguson 1959:332).

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[16] I used this general term simply for convenience, like a 'big container' in which to put, approximatively, the phenomenology of the Arabic mixed forms, both written and spoken, both modern and pre-modern. This, especially in the light of the fact that there is no unanimous opinion among scholars about the terminology to be adopted with respect to these types of varieties. I follow, in this, Larcher («Il faudrait parler en anglais de Mixed Arabic» (2001:605)) and Lentin («Nothing prevents us [...] from regarding Middle Arabic [...] as belonging to a large ensemble that could be labelled 'Mixed Arabic'» (2008:216)). See also §1.2.1.1..

Ferguson alluded to the fact that in the spoken language, between H and L, there are a number of «relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language (Greek mikti, Arabic *al-luġah al-wusṭā,* Haitian créole de salon) and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L» that try to solve «communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation» (1959:332). It is an intermediate in-between space of forms not properly classifiable as either H or L, but with a basically morphological and syntactic L basis where the two varieties, L and H, are exclusive. This bridge between the two varieties is simply represented by the vocabulary that the two poles lend to each other. However, Ferguson, did not bring any empirical evidence for his claims.

The study of the 'real' language, based on the analysis of *corpora,* quickly revealed that native speakers rarely use purely one or the other variant. But it is at the end of the Sixties and the beginning of the Seventies, that is in the time in which sociolinguistics was emerging as a discipline, thanks to the work of Labov and adjunct researches added by other scholars, that the Arabic language was also investigated from a new perspective.

In particular, from the Seventies onwards mixed forms of spoken Arabic have been the subject of in-depth sociolinguistic investigation. One of the first attempts was the definition of a model based on *levels and/or varieties within two poles* (see §1.2.2.). There are two main problems of this approach according to Owens & Bani Yasin 1991: 1. the difficulty, already admitted by Blanc (1960:85), of assigning a given text to one level or another because of the possibility of classifying it differently according to different linguistic and paralinguistic criteria; 2. the use of ideal poles, SA and dialect, without clear definition, the competence of which is not the same for all Arab speakers[17]. Whether it is possible to clearly define SA and EA, and within what boundaries, represents one of the main theoretical aspects of this research. This point will be dealt with later.

Mejdell states that literature about the mixed varieties considers two main starting points:

(i) in line with Ferguson, one of these says that this kind of mixed forms are unstable intermediate forms of the language. This is the opinion of numerous scholars, e.g. Diem who speaks of «als Ergebnis von gegenseitiger Interferenz des Hocharabischen und des Dialekts entsteht häufig eine Sprechweise, die man weder dem Hocharabischen noch dem Dialekt zuweisen kann. *Es ist eine Mischsprache ohne festgelegte Formen und Regeln,* wie auch Ferguson (1960) betont hat» (1974:26; emphasis is mine) while Blau speaks of «*infinitely Varied Mixtures* of Classical and Middle Arabic elements» (1981:25; emphasis is

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[17] For a more comprehensive exploration of the developments of Arabic pre-modern and modern sociolinguistic see Owens (2001). For the main trends of contemporary Arabic sociolinguistics see Bassiouney (2009).

mine) «very similar to the admixture of Classical Arabic with elements of Modern Arabic dialects» (ibid, note 1);

(ii) the other argument is that these forms «are not the product of random mixing or switching or selection, but regulated by rules and constraints of both structural and pragmatic nature, to the extent that switching is, at least to a considerable extent, predictable» (Mejdell 2007:86). Examples of this kind of approach are Schmidt (1974), Eid (1982 et al.), ElGibali (1993 et al.), Mejdell (2006 et al.), Bassiouney (2006 et al.), Boussofara-Omar (2006a) and many others. These authors have dealt with the mixed forms of spoken Arabic according to three main approaches:

(i) *definition of levels and/or varieties within a continuum[18] formed by two poles* (e.g. Blanc 1960, Badawī 1973 and Blau 1981);

(ii) *analysis of stylistic variation within a diglossic continuum or the setting of rules for a grammar of hybridization, especially on a morphologic level* (e.g. Elgibali 1993, Hary 1996 and Mejdell 2006a): what I will call the 'grammatical approach';

(iii) *the use of the concept of CS* (e.g. Eid 1982, Bassiouney 2006, Mejdell 2006a and Omar Boussofara 2006a): what I will call the 'functional approach'[19].

1.2.1.1. terminology used for mixed varieties

As regards terminology, there is no agreement among scholars. Many are, in fact, the terms used by the scientific literature in relation to specific approaches of scholars. The adopted solutions are often ambiguous, limited or generic. Moreover, not all scholars agree about connecting mixed written forms of pre-modern Arabic with mixed spoken forms of contemporary Arabic[20].

For now, we can say that for pre-modern written Arabic, namely the Arabic used in pre-modern Jewish, Christian and Muslim texts presenting varieties of written Arabic which deviate from the 'classical' norm, we find in English the term 'Middle Arabic'[21]; in French 'moyen arabe,' 'arabe moyen,'[22] 'arabe mélangé,' 'arabe mixte' and 'arabe médian';

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[18] I will come again later on the concept of *continuum* (§1.2.3.).

[19] From an interview I conducted with Gunvor Mejdell in 2008 in Cairo.

[20] A brilliant attempt to find points in common between the two study currents was carried out by Mejdell (2008b).

[21] To get an overview of the meanings and of the use of this term see Lentin (2008).

[22] About the use of the word 'arab moyen' Pierre Larcher writes: «Pourquoi continuer à employer le terme de Middle Arabic? L'emploi d'un tel terme, dans un tel sens, est en effet un contre-emploi! Il revient en effet à employer un terme qui, au départ, n'a pas une simple connotation chronologique, mais en fait une dénotation historique, pour désigner, à la fin, ce qui relève d'une sociolinguistique variationniste. Il faudrait parler en anglais de Mixed Arabic et en français, *où la place de l'adjectif épithète est pertinente*, d' «arabe moyen»» (2001:605; italics are mine)

in German 'Mittelarabisch'; in Arabic 'al-ʕarabiyya al-wusṭā', 'al-ʕarabiyya al-wasīṭa' and 'al-ʕarabiyya al-muwallada'. The term 'Middle Arabic' is somehow ambiguous. The question is whether 'middle' is to be intended chronologically (such as a term like 'Middle English'), sociolinguistically intermediate or only linguistically mixed. In Italian, through the distinction 'medio arabo' / 'arabo mediano,' the misunderstanding has been - apparently - solved by providing a double denomination for the double meaning of 'middle': the first one is the term that defines the language of pre-Modern text which deviate from the norm; but it is with the second term, which has a sociolinguistic meaning, that one defines the almost exclusively spoken Arabic which is far from the norm. Now - coming to the contemporary times - this expedient does not solve a further ambiguity that is inherent in the word 'medio' or 'mediano'. In fact, how legitimately can one call these varieties of mixed Arabic 'middle' or 'intermediate'? Moreover, how to define those modern written forms of mixed Arabic (press, prose, poetry etc.) since the linguistic *datum* ('being mixed') and the historical *datum* ('contemporaneity') overlap? Another question is: how to distinguish, within the term 'mediano', morphosyntactic hybrid forms F/A from the phenomenon of *CS* between F and A? Therefore, the two Italian terms do not seem to be indicative as much as the term Middle Arabic.

Perhaps because of this ambiguity, a number of scholars have suggested, regarding contemporary spoken Arabic, a terminology 'independent' from the concept of 'middle Arabic'. Just to name a few authors: Blanc (1960) identifies three levels of language variation between two 'pure' poles, *plain colloquial* and *standard classical*: *koineized colloquial*, which represents any colloquial in which levelling elements are introduced; *semi-literary or elevated colloquial*, any plain or koineized colloquial which is classicized beyond the 'slightly formal,'; *modified classical*: classical Arabic with dialectal elements (see §1.2.2.1.). El-Hassan (1972), Meiseles (1980) and Mitchell (1986) use the term *Educated Spoken Arabic* (ESA) (see §1.2.4.). Badawī (1973) calls the 'mixture level' *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn* (*A of well-educated people*) (see §1.2.2.2.). Meiseles (1986) offers two mixed levels: *Oral Literary Arabic* (OLA) and *Educated Spoken Arabic* (ESA) (see §1.2.5.). Hary (1989) speaks of *Variety B* (opposed to a *Variety A* [standard] and *Variety C* [dialect]) and *Variety Bn* or *mesolect* (opposed to *Variety A/Acrolect/Standard Arabic* and *Variety C/Basilect/Colloquial Arabic*) (Hary 1996) (see §1.2.5.). Mejdell (2006a) speaks of mixed styles.

Some studies such as Eid (1982), Bassiouney (2006), Mejdell (2006a) and Boussofara-Omar (2006a) tend to see in mixed forms of spoken Arabic linguistic and sociolinguistic mechanisms similar, and sometimes identical, to those recorded in bilingual contexts. In this regard, the title chosen by Boussofara-Omar for an article of her

is certainly indicative of this approach: '*Neither third language nor middle varieties but diglossic switching*'.

Even if not yet resolved, the question of terminology brings us to assume this last approach which aims at adapting sociolinguistic studies applied to bilinguals and standard-with-dialect(s) to the Arabic situation.

1.2.2. DEFINING LEVELS AND CONTINUUM-WITH-LEVELS (BLANC 1960 AND BADAWĪ 1973)

1.2.2.1. Levels: Blanc (1960)

After Ferguson, other authors treated the Arabic linguistic situation starting from the spoken language. In 1960 Blanc wrote that: «the practical Arabist must at some point come to grips with the fact that speakers often do not stick exclusively to 'genuine dialect'» (1960:81).

Blanc, who can be considered a precursor of contemporary Arabic sociolinguistics[23], transcribed and analyzed a conversation whose topic was the 'Arabic Language' which took place between four lecturers of Arabic employed in the Army Language School in Monterey, California: Two lecturers were from Baghdad (B1, Muslim, and B2, Christian), one from Jerusalem (J) and one from Aleppo (S).

1.2.2.1.1. the two processes of change in the dialect

Blanc was one of the first to propose a description of the two major processes underlying variation within Arabic dialects which can also occur simultaneously:

(i) LEVELING;

(ii) CLASSICIZING.

(i) LEVELING primarily occurs in situations of inter-dialect dialogue and to avoid localisms in favour of 'koineized' elements, more common or best known. Blanc writes:

> In certain situations, usually interdialectal contact, the speaker may replace certain
> features of his native dialect with their equivalents in a dialect carrying higher

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[23] In the very general sense given by Fishman: «[the sociology of language] is concerned with describing the generally accepted social organization of language usage within speech community (or within speech-and-writing communities, to be more exact)» (1972[1971]:2). Ferguson's article is considered one of the first essays of sociolinguistics in the sense given to it by Fishman, but it did not concentrate only on Arabic (Owens considers that it «probably marks the beginning of Arabic sociolinguistics» (Owens 2001:423)). On the "ancestors" of modern sociolinguistics since the Forties of the Twentieth century, see for example the synthesis of Le Page (1997:15-21). For some notes on the proto-sociolinguistics in the medieval Arab grammarians see Owens 2001:420-423.

prestige, not necessarily that of the interlocutor [...] In limiting case, complete dialect substitution may of course take place (1960:1982).

This process can also happen without the speaker moving from his dialect, by simply avoiding those lexical or phonetic elements that seem too 'local' or 'rustic,' that is socially *marked*.

 (ii) CLASSICIZATION serves to 'formalize'. Classicization is, for example, replacing certain dialect elements with other "classical". For example /q/ replace /ʔ/ (Cairo, Damascus, Beirut etc.) or /g/ (Baghdad).

Classical forms are of daily use for all the educated Arabic speakers. Particular indication of a semi-formal or semi-literary style is the use of the etymologic *hamza* as in /marʔa/ 'woman'.

The classicization is based on a series of extra-linguistic factors («the speaker's personality, his mood, his attitude toward the interlocutor or the topic of discussion» (1960:84)) and concerns phonetic variations (e.g. /bila:d/ for /bla:d/ 'country') or syntactic variations (use of *ʔan* to introduce subordinate clauses) or it can be realized in whole clauses «in some sort of Classical Arabic» (1960:84).

1.2.2.1.2. levels

Blanc distinguishes five linguistic levels [24]:
(i) *plain colloquial*: the simple speech characteristic of a given region. It may have a 'informal' or 'slightly formal' variant;
(ii) *koineized colloquial*: any colloquial in which levelling elements have been introduced, more or less freely;
(iii) *semi-literary or elevated colloquial*: any plain or koineized colloquial that has been classicized beyond the 'slightly formal';
(iv) *modified classical*: CA with dialectal elements;
(v) *standard classical*: CA without dialectal interference (1960:85).

These five levels are based on intuition and on a very limited investigation[25] although Blanc worked in a way which was anything but theoretical – contrary to what Ferguson (1959) did - working on a recorded conversation. Yet, one of the other limits of Blanc's work is that he dealt with koineization and interdialectal contact (i.e. how well-

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[24] A simplified version of Blanc's levels, is given by Blau who distinguishes - for the specific case of Judeo-Arabic - three levels: «1. some kind of Classical Arabic with Middle Arabic admixture; 2. semi-classical Middle Arabic; 3. some kind of 'classicized' Middle Arabic» (1981:25).

[25] For criticism see El-Hassan 1977.

educated Arabs from different countries speak when they meet together) and not with the different levels of spoken language in one region. This would be done by Badawī.

1.2.2.2. *Continuum*-with-levels: Badawī (1973)

Badawī's classic, *Mustawayāt al-ʕarabiyya al-muʕāṣira fī Miṣr* ('The levels of contemporary Arabic in Egypt'), is probably the first investigation in which a scholar speaks of a *continuum* of different levels. In Badawī's sociolinguistic analysis one cannot speak of a *diglossia stricto sensu*, that is of two oppositional varieties (H(igh)/L(ow)) when one speaks about Arabic of Egypt, but rather of a *continuum* which is divisible, for descriptive purposes only, in five linguistic levels (two F levels and three A levels) used by speakers mainly according to the 'education' factor (although not the exclusive reason) rather than the 'setting' one that, according to Ferguson, explains the election of the variety H or L. Badawī writes that «each of these five systems, or levels, contains elements which exist also in one or more of the other levels, but in varying proportions» (Badawī & Hinds, 1991:VIII). As Holes points out «Badawi conceives of these levels as representing both the community's shared repertoire of POTENTIAL styles, the individual's choice of which is determined by communal rules of contextual appropriacy, and at the same time the ACTUAL 'normal styles' of certain socially defined groups» (1993:14; author's small caps). Arabic is seen by Badawī as a *continuum*, the various systems or levels are not to be considered as discrete varieties: it is like a rainbow – just to use Badawī's metaphor - where one finds areas where colours are crisp and areas where colours are melted in those immediately adjacent (see §1.2.2.2.3.). This also means that speakers, starting from a given variety, can move through the linguistic *spectrum* adapting their own language, even in short periods of time (Badawī, 1973:92-93). The analysis proposed by Badawī, which recognizes and demonstrates the dynamic nature of spoken Arabic, although restricted to the Egyptian linguistic reality, can be considered, at least to a certain extent, a scheme of interpretation of other realities of other Arab countries.

1.2.2.2.1. Badawī's mustawayāt

The five levels of Arabic systematized by Badawī are the following:
1. *fuṣḥā at-turāθ* '*fuṣḥā* of the heritage'

<div dir="rtl">

» تختلف فصحى التراث [...] بعض الشيء عن الصورة المثالية التي تركها لنا اللغويون القدامى للغة العربية [...] وما دمنا سنعتبر فصحى التراث بهذه الصورة فلن نكون بحاجة إلى تقديم وصف جديد له بعد أن تكفل علماء العربية القدامى بهذه المهمة « (Badawī, 1973:119-120)[26]

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«the linguistic vehicle of the legacy of Islamic high culture and religion» (Badawī, 1991:VIII);

«it represents the prescriptive Arabic grammar as taught at traditional institutions like al-Azhar University [...]. It is a written language, but *is heard in its spoken form on religious programmes on TV*» (Bassiouney 2009:14-15; emphasis is mine). It is the code used by Islamic linguistically ideologized speakers who want to rehearse traditional texts in their language;

2. *fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr* 'contemporary *fuṣḥā*'

<div dir="rtl">

» فصحى العصر هي السجل المكتوب لعلوم العصر الحديث ومعارفه. وقد يبقى هذا السجل مكتوبا، وقد يقرأ جهرة، وقد يحاول القلة — بشيء من النجاح أحيانا — أن يرتجلوا مثل المكتوب في مستواه اللغوي وفي التزامه بالقوانين التي يجرى عليها « (Badawī, 1973:127)[27]

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«MSA [...] is a modification and simplification of CA created for the need of the modern age [...] It is usually read aloud from texts and, if the speaker is *highly skilled*, may also be used in the commentary to the text» (Bassiouney 2009:15; emphasis mine);

3. *ʕāmmiyyat al-muθaqqafīn* '*ʕāmmiyya* of the cultured'

<div dir="rtl">

» هذا هو المستوى الذي يصل فيه تدهور صفات الفصحى التقليدية إلى حد يصبح معه من غير الممكن أن يبقى داخل حدود — أو من بين درجات — العربية الفصحى [...] هو الحد الذي يصل فيه ارتقاء العامية في اتجاهها نحو الفصحى إلى درجة تصبح معها قادرة على التعبير الشفاهي عن ثقافة العصر «
(Badawī, 1973:148-149)[28]

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[26] «*Fuṣḥā al-turāθ* differs [...] from the somewhat ideal picture left us by the ancient linguists of the Arabic language [...] As long as we will consider *fuṣḥā al-turāθ* in this way, we will not need to provide a description of it, having the ancient Arab grammarians undertaken this»

[27] «*Fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr* is the written record of sciences and knowledge of the contemporary age. This archive can remain written and can be read in public. A minority can try - sometimes with some success - to speak extemporaneously in the same linguistic 'level' and with the grammatical constraints of the written language».

[28] «This is the level in which the corruption of the traditional characteristics of *fuṣḥā* reaches such a level that it can no longer be considered within the limits - or the degrees - of *fuṣḥā* [...] It is the limit in which *ʕāmmiyya*, moving upwards towards *fuṣḥā*, reaches a degree where it becomes able to express, orally, contemporary culture».

« عامية المثقفين تؤدي نفس الغرض الثقافي الذي تؤديه فصحى العصر، ولها نفس إمكانياتها التعبيرية
ونفس مجالها العلمي والحضاري [...] الأولى مطبوعة والثانية مصنوعة » (Badawī, 1973:149;[29]
emphasis mine)

I think Bassiouney makes a good point when she says that *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn*
«may be used for *serious discussion,* but is not normally written. It is used by
'cultured' (i.e. well-educated) people on television. It is often the language used in
formal teaching in Egyptian universities, and it is becoming the *means of educating
students and discussing with them different topics.* In other words, it is becoming the
medium of instruction in Egyptian classrooms» (Bassiouney 2009:15; emphasis mine);

4. *ʕāmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn* ' *ʕāmmiyya* of the educated'

« تمتاز عامية المتنورين بأنها لغة عملية، متباعدة عن المجردات. لغة البيع والشراء والمعاملات والسؤال عن
الصحة والأحوال والأهل والأصدقاء إلخ » [Badawī, 1973:175][30]

«This is the everyday language that people educated to a basic level (but not
university level) use with family and friends, and may occur on TV in a discussion
of sport or fashion or other 'non-intellectual' topics. Cultured and well-educated
people also use it when talking in a relaxed fashion about non-serious topics»
(Bassiouney 2009:15)

5. *ʕāmmiyyat al-ʔummiyyīn* '*ʕāmmiyya* of the illiterates'

« عامية الأميين هي المستوى الذي يقوم على أمية أصحابه بكل ما يتصل بها من مستوى معيشي ونظرة خاصة
للحياة (Badawī, 1973:189)[31]

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[29] «*ʕāmmiyyat al-muθaqqafīn* expresses the same cultural function of *fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr*, it has the same expressive capacities
and it shares the same scientific and cultural domain. The first one is printed while the second one is [orally]
produced».

[30] «*ʕāmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn* is characterized by being a practical language, far from abstractions. The language of
sale, of social life, in which we ask about state of health, living conditions, family, friends and so on».

[31] «*ʕāmmiyat al-ʔummiyyīn* is the level that is based on illiteracy of its speakers with all that it entails in terms of living
standards and outlook about life».
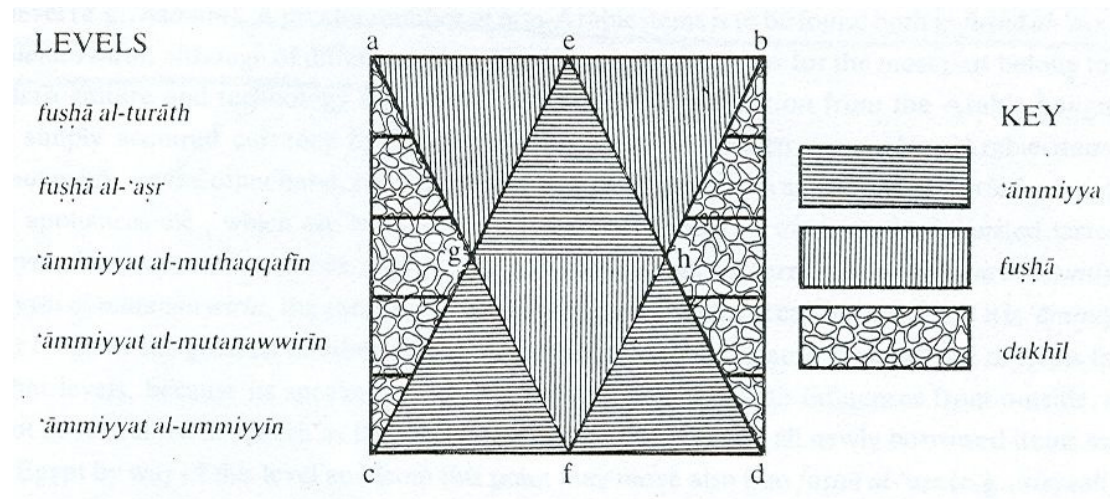
Figure 2 The sociolinguistic levels of spoken Arabic according to Badawī and the distribution of A, F and *daxīl* (foreign) elements (1991: IX).

Levels can interact in various ways («they are in continuous connection and interaction one with another» (Badawī 1973:92; translation mine)) according to sociological and linguistic rules or constraints (1973:93).

As regards the linguistic elements that are perceived to affect the change of level Badawī is mostly vague although he seems to give more importance to some features over others as in this examples quoted in the book (1973:11 et seqq.):

<div dir="rtl">

هذا موضوع يهم كل الآباء والمربين

</div>

'This is a topic which interests all parents and educators'

The sentence is realized in three variants to show the passage from a +F level to a +A level:

BAD1

ha:ða: mawḍu:ʕun yuhimmu kulla l-ʔa:ba:ʔi wa-l-murabbi:n[32] 'This is the first variant that respect the orthoepic norms established by the grammarians'.

BAD2

ha:za(:) mawḍu:ʕ yahumm kulli l-ʔa:ba:ʔ wa-l-murabbi:n[33]

Here there is a phonological variation /ð/ → /z/, pausal realization of vowel endings although in context, verb is not correctly vocalized (*ʕadam ḍabt ḍabṭan ṣaḥi:ḥan*, according to Badawī). Badawī says: this is SA according to the general consensus (*al-ʕurf al-luġawī al-muttafaq ʕalayhi*).

BAD3
ha:za(:) mawḍu:ʕ yihimm kulli l-ʔa:ba:ʔ wa-l-murabbi:n

The difference between sentence BAD1 and BAD2 has increased to a degree that makes it impossible to consider both of the same time. The main difference between BAD2 and BAD3, though, is the EA vocalization of the verb. According to Badawī, the verb here seems to play a stronger role than the SA DET or of other neutral, or share, lexical forms. We will come back again on this issue in chapter 2 and on specific issues treated by Badawī, during the analysis.

1.2.2.2.2. *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn as an essentially mixed variety*

ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn is the level in which SA and EA forms mix up, or as Badawī (1973:151) himself says *tatazāwağ* '[they] combine'.

Badawī describes *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn* as the solution to a linguistic necessity which is the result of the acculturation in Egypt, starting with the French campaign at the end of the 18th century. This necessity has two principal causes: (1) the failure of *ʕāmmiyyat al-ʔummiyyīn* and *ʕāmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn* to express the purposes of the high culture such as art, music, philosophy, modern social problems, etc.; (ii) the incapacity of the vast majority of intellectuals in Egypt to use *fuṣḥā* for spontaneous expression, scientific debates and political discussions (Badawī 1973:150-151). The solution, according to Badawī, is the creation of a new language, the «*luġat al-ḥadīθ ʕind al-muθaqqafīn*» ('the conversational language of the intellectuals') (1973:151) which combines elements from SA and others from EA.

وقد تم ذلك عن طريق التزاوج بين صفات العامية وصفات الفصحى، أو بعبارة أخرى بين ما يحسنه المثقفون من صفات الفصحى وهو اصطلاحاتها وألفاظها وطرق الدلالة المجردة فيها، وبين ما يحسنونه من صفات العامية وهو هيكلها البنائي وطرائق تركيب الجملة فيها بصورة عامة. من هذا التزاوج إذن ولدت لغة الحديث عند المثقفين أو ما أسميناه بعامية المثقفين.[34] (Badawī 1973:151)

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[34] «This has been done by combining characteristics of *ʕāmmiyya* and *fuṣḥā*, or in other words, of those elements of *fuṣḥā* in which well-educated people are competent (technical terms, lexicon and the modalities through which it expresses

This kind of mixed language, which is represented by *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn*, uses rhetorical/stylistic potentialities of SA (besides SA lexicon) and EA syntax. What rhetorical/stylistic potentialities mean, will be explained later when discussing about the rhetorical functions of CS in chapter 3, 4 and 5.

1.2.2.2.3. Language levels as a rainbow

The two main merits of Badawī are (i) having related sociological factors (though not always sufficiently clear) and linguistic factors and (ii) having applied to Arabic the concept of *continuum*. In fact, some years later Holenstein (1980) used the same metaphor of the chromatic spectrum to describe *continua*. In this respect, Badawī writes that the levels have no clear and rigid boundaries separating each one for the other. Moreover, the transition from one level to what neighbours happens gradually so that, in each level, one can distinguish between "a middle region" or the top and "a marginal region", a region in which the features of the two neighbouring regions mix up to an extent that, in some cases, it becomes difficult to judge whether a certain utterance belongs to a given level or to the level which neighbours it (Badawī 1973:96-97).

Arabic is seen by Badawī as a *continuum*, the various systems or levels are not to be considered as discrete varieties: «The divisions between the levels are of course blurred rather than clear-cut, each level can nonetheless be typified by its own specific combination of linguistic and allied social, educational and psychological characteristics» (Badawī & Hinds, 1991:VIII). It is like a rainbow – just to use Badawī's metaphor - where one finds areas where colours are crisp and areas where colours are melted in those immediately adjacent. Social identity, except perhaps in the case of the completely illiterate, does not determine the speakers' style. This means that speakers, starting from a given variety, can move through the linguistic *spectrum* adapting their own language, even in short periods of time, according to what they perceive to be the requirements for appropriate language use (Badawī, 1973:92-93).

While here Badawī speaks of a gradual transition from one level to another, he deals with a more neat transition in the final part of his book. We will return to this point in §1.8.1.. Eid reproaches Badawī the fact that his work is based on intuitions and not on an empirical research on corpora (1990:22). Yet, his work had a vast echo in the Western

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abstract meanings) with the characteristics of *ʕāmmiyya* which they master (morphological structure and syntactic mechanisms in general). From this combination stems oral language of well-educated people, which we called *ʕāmmiyyat al-muθaqqafīn*».

studies of Arabic and the lines he marked for spoken Arabic have been further developped by many other authors.

1.2.3. CONTINUUM OF VARIETIES

One of the developments of the Fergusonian concept of 'diglossia' is the «substitution of dichotomous relations with scales along a *continuum*» (Fernandez 1993:XIX).

The concept of *continuum*[35] has been adopted in many fields[36]. In linguistics, it was first[37] used to describe creoles, generally meaning a linguistic space ranging from a high variety (acrolect) to a low variety (basilect) throughout a range of intermediate varieties (mesolect)[38]. As we have seen, this last perspective has been used by Hary (2006) in his multiglossia theory (see also §1.2.6.). In fact, the main problem of using creole studies for the Arabic situation is in that 'mesolects,' in the creole *continuum*, cover the vast majority of the linguistic usages: basilect has almost disappeared, while acrolect is little attested (see Berruto 1987:29[39]). This is not exactly what happens in the Arabic situation, where all the parts of the *continuum* are used, although basilect or basilectal forms are probably the most employed.

By variety I mean «un insieme di forme linguistiche (lessicali, morfologiche, sintattiche, foniche ecc.) riconoscibile, e riconosciuto in quanto tale dai parlanti»[40] (Grassi et al. 2003:143). All the simultaneously available varieties of standard and colloquial in a given lapse of time compose the *linguistic repertoire* of a community. The *linguistic repertoire* of the Egyptian people if basically formed by: (i) *varieties of SA*; (ii) *varieties of EA;* (iii) *mixed varieties.* Most Egyptians know – or understand - and use *some* varieties of SA and the majority of them know – or understand - and use more than one variety of EA.

It is interesting to notice that in sociolinguistics *continuum* was first used for the geographic variation of dialects and not for the social one: «[la] nozione di continuum in sociolinguistica si rifà alla concezione tradizionale del continuum dialettale, riferito alla

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[35] It is a Latin word, coming from the adjective *continuus*, whose etymology is con + the verb teneo which means "keeping together, containing, comprehending" that is an uninterrupted whole whose parts are continuous and contiguous

[36] E.g. mathematics, physics, music, psychology, philosophy etc.

[37] Berruto (1995:129; footnote 19) says that the first one to use the term was Reinecke & Tokimasa (1934) speaking about the English creole of Hawaii.

[38] Although some authors (Lawton, Edward, Siegel) still prefer to consider creoles as a 'double system', the creole and the lexifier, «usually the language of the group in control of the area where contact occurs» (Siegel 2008:1). Also see Siegel 2008:237.

[39] Berruto quotes Bickerton and Reinecke/Tokimasa.

[40] «A set of linguistic forms (lexical, morphological, syntactic, phonetic etc.) recognizable and recognized as such by speakers»

variazione geografica, con cui si intende una serie di dialetti, di solito geneticamente imparentati, tale che dialetti adiacenti siano fra loro reciprocamente comprensibili, mentre non lo siano più i dialetti all'estremità della serie: in altri termini, i parlanti di un dialetto A comprenderebbero bene il dialetto vicino B (e viceversa), i parlanti di B comprenderebbero il dialetto C (e viceversa), ma i parlanti di A non comprendono più il dialetto, poniamo, M, e viceversa»[41] (Berruto 1987:27). If we move to a specific geographic area, *continuum* is used to describe a space of social variation within this geographic area, the nature of dimensions of variation and their combination.

On the other hand *continuum* refers «in primo luogo al carattere dello spazio di variazione di una lingua, o di un repertorio linguistico, che non conosce compartimentazioni rigide e bene separate ma appare costituito da una serie senza interruzioni di elementi varianti, e, conseguentemente, al fatto che le varietà di una lingua sono in sovrapposizione e si sciolgono impercettibilmente l'una nell'altra, senza che sia possibile stabilire limiti rigorosi, confini certi di dove finisce una varietà e ne comincia un'altra (Berruto 2007:128-129)»[42].

The term *continuum* is thus meant to describe the *space of variation* in the linguistic repertoire, highlighting the continuity of the phenomena of variation, as opposed to a discrete "black and white conception":

> all'interno di una data comunità linguistica […] si osserva, prima di tutto, l'esistenza di due varietà facilmente identificabili […] e che sono identificate dal parlante come la varietà 'più alta' e 'più bassa' […] Tra queste due varietà estreme esiste tutta una gamma di varietà intermedie, che sfumano lentamente dall'una all'altra di esse. Si definisce *continuum* l'insieme di tutte queste varietà (Mioni & Trumper 1977:330)[43]

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[41] «[it] refers to the traditional conception of the dialectal continuum, referred to the geographic variation, with which one means a set of dialects, usually genetically related, in which adjacent dialects are mutually intelligible, while the dialects at the end of the series are no more: in other words, the speakers of an A dialect understand well the close B dialect (and vice versa), the speakers of the B dialect understand the C dialect (and vice versa), but most speakers of A do not understand, let's say the M dialect, and vice versa»

[42] «Primarily to the space of variation of a language or of a linguistic repertoire, which knows no rigid and well separated divisions but it appears formed by an uninterrupted set of varying elements. Consequently, [it refers] to the fact that varieties of a language are overlapping and melting imperceptibly into one another, without it being possible to establish strict limits, definite boundaries of where one variety ends and another begins».

[43] «Within a given language community [...] we observe, first of all, the existence of two easily identifiable varieties [...] and which are identified by the speaker as the 'highest' and the 'lowest' varieties [...] Between these two extreme varieties there is a range of intermediate varieties, which fade slowly from one into the other. Continuum is defined as the sum of all these varieties».

In this perspective, it is believed that in order to capture the complexity of reality, continuous categories are better suited than discrete categories, consisting of focal points with a wide edge that fades into their close categories without precise limits. Single cases are referred to these focal points on the basis of a more or less sharing of sociolinguistic features.

1.2.3.1. a *continuum*-with-condensations

Arabic *continuum* seems to have specific characteristics.

(i) First of all, some authors, including Berruto, argue that the *continuum* is indeed a continuous gradation but it has points of discontinuity. I think what has been agreed upon for the Italian situation can be useful to describe the Arabic situation too. The Italian complex sociolinguistic situation is defined by scholars as a form of diglossia, called *dilalia[44]*, or, in terms of *continuum,* as a *continuum*-with-condensations (Berruto 1987:29-31: *continuum* con addensamento). By the latter term one means that «i tratti variabili tendono a disporsi lungo un asse in maniera molto distribuita, ma tuttavia con addensamenti in punti corrispondenti alle varietà principali della gamma. Questi punti di addensamento sono concepibili sia in termini di cooccorrenza dei tratti sul *continuum*, quando più tratti non standard (marcati) occupano più o meno lo stesso settore dello spazio di variazione, in covarianza con tratti extralinguistici, sociali e situazionali; sia in termini di frequenza nell'uso dei parlanti, quando un certo tratto o una certa variante ricorrano con frequenza più significativa in corrispondenza di certi tratti dei parlanti»[45] (Berruto 1987:30-31). This *continuum* is oriented (to the poles) but not polarized: «L'orientamento del *continuum* dipende dal fatto che si va da usi 'alti' ad usi 'bassi': le varietà appaiono abbastanza ben riconoscibili, e in parte delimitabili fra loro, anche se conservano un'area non indifferente di sovrapposizione e sono lontane dall'essere proiettabili a priori lungo la scala di differenziazione socio-geografica dei parlanti con tutta nettezza»[46] (Berruto 1987:31).

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[44] For the differences between diglossia and dilalia refer to Berruto (2007:204-211).

[45] «the variable features tend to arrange themselves along an axis in a distributed way, though with condensations in points corresponding to the main varieties of the range. These points of condensation are conceivable both in terms of co-occurrences of features on the continuum, when various non-standard features (marked) occupy roughly the same area of the variational space, in covariance with extralinguistic traits, social and situational; and in terms of frequency of use of the speakers, when a certain feature or a certain variant occur with more significant frequency in correspondence with certain traits of the speakers»

[46] «The orientation of the continuum depends on whether one move from 'high' to 'low' uses; varieties appear fairly well recognizable, and partially delimitable between them, despite they retain a considerable area of overlap and they are far from being projectable a priori on the scale of socio-geographical differentiation of speakers with all clarity».

A scheme of a possible spoken SA-CEA *continuum* could be the following:

	A.	B.		A2.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	G2.
1.	lastu	ʕala:	ʕilmin	ø	bi-ma:	qi:la	lahu	fi-ma: yaxuṣṣu	ha:ʔula:ʔi	θ-θala:θa	ø
2.	lastu	ʕala:	dira:yatin	ø	bi-ma:	tamma ʔixta:ri	-hi	bi-šaʔni	ha:ʔula:ʔi	ʔaθ-θala:θa	ø
3.	lastu	ø	ʔaʕlamu	ø	ma: (lla:ði:)	qi:la	lahu	bi-šaʔni	ha:ʔula:ʔ	iθ-θala:θa	ø
4.	lastu	ø	ʔadri:	ø	ma: (lla:ði:)	qi:la	lahu	bi-šaʔni	ha:ʔula:ʔ	iθ-θala:θa	ø
5.	la:	ø	ʔaʕlam(u)	ø	ma: (lla:zi:)	qi:la	lahu	bi-šaʔn	ha:ʔula:ʔ	is-sala:sa	ø
6.	la:	ø	ʔaʕrif(u)	ø	ma: (lla:zi:)	qa:lu:	lahu	bi-xuṣu:ṣ	ha:ʔula:ʔ	is-sala:sa	ø
7.	ma-	ø	ʕaraf	-ši	ma:za	qi:la	lahu	bi-xṣu:ṣ	ha:ʔula:ʔ	is-sala:sa	ø
8.	la	ø	ʕarif	ø	ʔe:h illi	ʔitʔal[47]	lu	ʕan	ø	it-tala:ta	do:l
9.	ma-	ø	ʕaraf	-ši	ʔe:h illi	ʔitʔal	lu	ʕan	ø	it-tala:ta	do:l
10.	miš	ø	ʕa:rif	ø	ʔe:h illi	ʔitʔal	lu	ʕan	ø	it-tala:ta	do:l
11.	ma-	ø	ʕaraf	-ši	ʔe:h illi	wiṣil	lu	ʕala	ø	t-tala:ta	do:l
12.	ma-ni:-š	ø	ʕa:rif	ø	ʔe:h illi	ʔalu-hu:	lu	ʕala	ø	t-tala:ta	do:lat

Table 6 A scheme of the *continuum-with-condensations* in spoken Arabic [Egypt].

This is a fictitious example that, as such, is very limited, simplifying and arbitrary: limited in the possible variations and possible combination between them; simplifying because the spectrum is more vast than this, especially phonologically; arbitrary because I 'cut' where I thought it was right to do it[48]. Here we find eleven possible variables that for simplicity I have grouped under 8 letters:

A. the forms of NEG: *lastu/la:/ma-/miš/ma-ni:-š* (A2. represents the EA NEG suffix)

B. the lexical opposition for 'to know': *ʕala: ʕilm/ʔaʕlamu/ʔadri:/ʔaʕrif/ʔaʕraf/ʕa:rif*;

C. the pronoun in indirect interrogative, the variants of the interdental */ð/* and the COMPL: *bi-ma:/ma: (lla:ði:)/ma: (lla:zi:)/ ma:za/ʔe:h illi*. To simplify I did not consider the common postposition of the EA interrogative pronoun: *ʔitʔallu ʔe:*;

D. the opposition between passive and active form, and variants of */q/*: *qi:la/tamma ʔixta:rihi/qa:lu:/ʔitʔal/ʔa:lu*;

E. the forms of the suffixed preposition: *lahu/-hi/lu*;

F. the opposition complex prepositional syntagms/simple prepositions: *fi-ma: yaxuṣṣu/bi-šaʔn(i)/bi-x(u)ṣu:ṣ/ʕan/ʕala*;

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[47] It is the abbreviated form of */ʔitʔa:l/* because the verb is followed by the composed preposition *lu*.

[48] Berruto states that «la possibilità stessa della descrizione e analisi scientifica è legata alla costituzione di categorie astratte che debbono essere in buona misura discrete» (1995:128; 'the very possibility of the scientific description and analysis is related to the constitution of abstract categories that should be largely discrete').

G.   the forms and the position of DEM: *ha:ʔula:ʔi/do:l* (G2. represents the postponed DEM)

H.   the variants of the interdental: *θ-θala:θa/(i)s-sala:sa/t-tala:ta*;

Table 7 Variable features in table 6.

While utterances from 1 to 4 can be easily labelled as 'a textbook SA' and those from 9 to 12 as 'a textbook CEA', some problems arise from 5 and 8. Utterances 5 and 6 present peculiar phonological characteristics: a sibilant /z/ at the place of the interdental /ð/: /(a)lla:zi:/. Utterance 7 presents syntactical mixing: it has a principal clause which is clearly CEA but a secondary clause which seems to be SA despite the substitution sibilant/interdental and the epenthetization of the /u/ vowel typical of CEA. Utterance 8 has a similar syntactical mixing: it presents a principal clause which is SA (NEG, vocalization of the verb) but a secondary clause which is CEA (interrogative pronoun, passive form, substitution dental/interdental, DEM). When I proposed this table to an Egyptian informant, she told me that utterance 5 was the unmarked SA utterance while utterance 12 was the most socially 'low'. She said: «I would never say something like this, but it does exist». Form 1 was felt as *ṭalʕa min maktab muḥa:mi* ('looks like it comes straight out of a lawyers office') so we could label it as the most SA 'bureaucratic' form (see fig. 3 below). When I proposed utterance 7 and 8 she refused to accept them while another informant accepted them as possible. There are some forms which were felt as +SA like *la: ʔaʕlam(u)* probably because it is the only verb, unlike *ʕarafa/ʕirif* and *dara:/diri*, which is almost exclusive of SA[49]. There are other forms that are, by the way, theoretically impossible:

* lastu ʕala: ʕilmin bi-ma: ʔitʒal-lu ʕan t-tala:ta do:l

* ma-ni:-š ʕa:rif ʔe:h alla:ði qi:l lahu bi-šaʔani ha:ʔula:ʔi θ-θala:θa

Explications to this are linked to *continuum* or CS constraints (see §1.4.):

(1) «le relazioni di cooccorrenza sono per lo più sfrangiate, non discrete, ma se mai probabilistiche»[50] (Berruto 1987:32);

(2) «vi sono comunque anche settori discreti» (Berruto 1987:32), e.g. *ma: lla:ði:* is likely that it is accompanied by *qi:l* (and not /ʔitʒa:l/ for instance);

(3) «le varianti che occupano solo livelli alti e quelle che occupano solo livelli bassi non cooccorrono, mentre nei livelli intermedi c'è una vasta area di possibile cooccorrenza,

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[49] In EA, *ʕalima* is used almost exclusively in relation to God, e.g. *yiʕlam rabbina* 'God knows'.

[50] «the relationship of co-occurrences is mostly fringed, not discrete, if ever probabilistic»

anche se alcune cooccorrenze sono probabilisticamente più normali di altre»[51] (Berruto 1987:32);

(4) consequently, there is a partial implicativity: a form may implicate or exclude another (see §2.6.1.);

(5) CS does not happen when the two grammars conflict;

1.2.3.2. a multidimensional *continuum*

This brings me to a second consideration about *continuum* in general, and Arabic *continuum* in particular. The *continuum*, besides being with condensations, is also *multidimensional* (see discussion in Rickford 1987:22-30). Some authors (e.g. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) have criticized the concept of *continuum*, as defined by creole studies, because of its monodimensionality and because it fits on a single axis (basilect/creole-acrolect/lexifier). According to this approach, the linguistic productions are distributed according to a series of variable traits that can be sorted according to this single dimension. This means that the two varieties are only identifiable when 'pure' and that within each single point of placement it is not identifiable in terms of variety. Sociolinguistics assimilated this criticism of monodimensionality of the *continuum*. Sociolinguistic studies of contemporary Standard Italian proposed the existence of more *continua*, one for each of the four main axes of sociolinguistic variation:

(a) SPACE - *diatopic* variation (linked to a geographical differentiation);

(b) SOCIETY - *diastratic* variation (linked to a sociological differentiation);

(c) FUNCTION - *diaphasic* variation (related to topic, formality, communicational intention etc.).

(d) MEANS - *diamesic* variation (related to the means of communication: written, spoken, televised, broadcast etc.)

The figure below summarizes this multidimensionality of the *continuum* for the Italian situation.

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[51] «those variants that occupy only high levels and those who occupy only low levels not only co-occur, while in the intermediate levels there is a vast area of possible co-occurrences, even if some co-occurrences are probabilistically more normal than others»
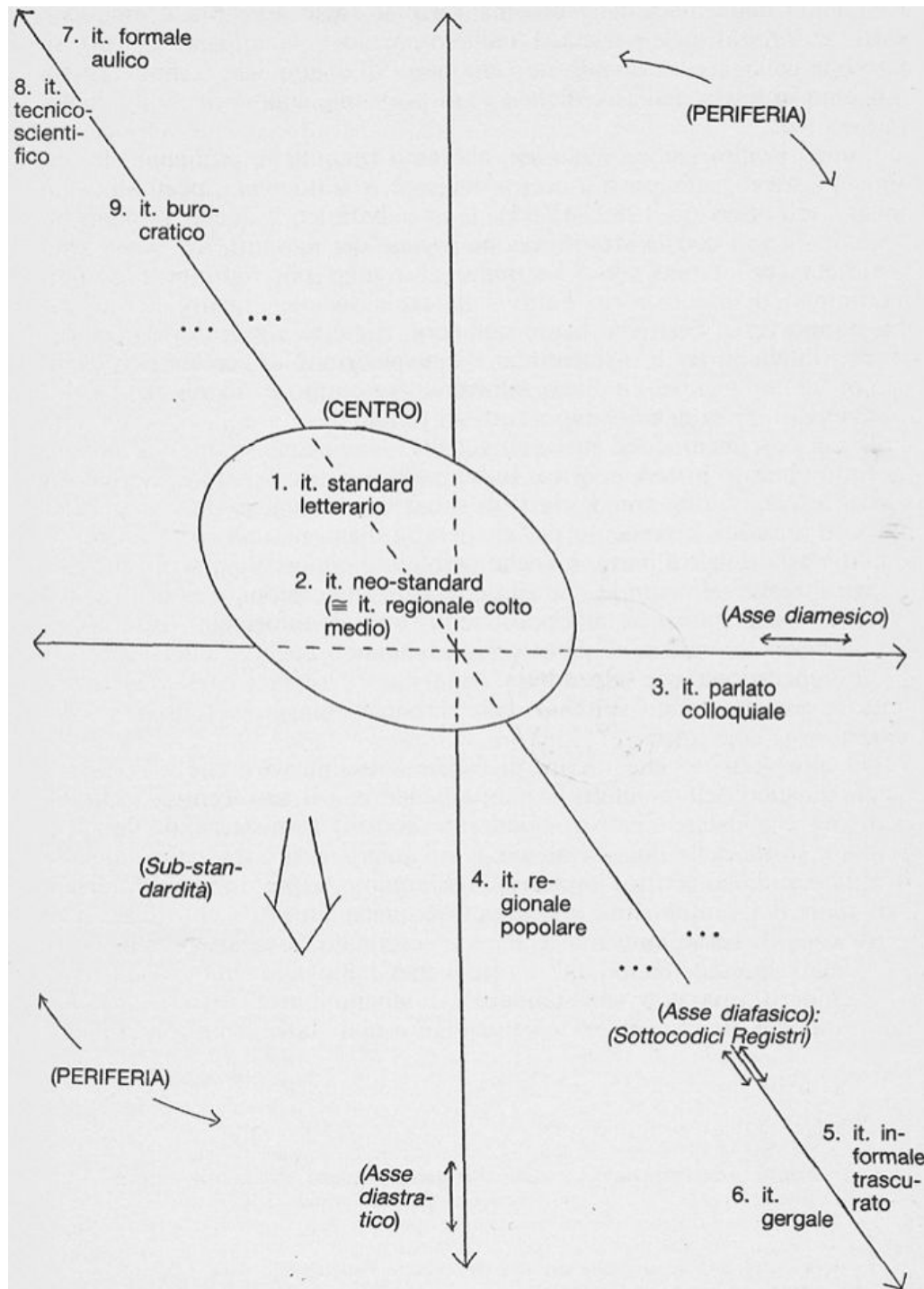
Figure 3 Axes of the Standard Italian *continuum* (Berruto 1987:21): 1. literary Standard Italian; 2. Neo-Standard Italian (middle educated regional Italian); 3. Spoken colloquial Italian; 4. Popular (regional) Italian; 5. Careless informal Italian; 6. Slang Italian; 7. Aulic formal Italian; 8. Technical and Scientific Italian; 9. Bureaucratic Italian. Berruto distinguished the three axes of variation and a centre with a periphery: the centre represented the written and spoken unmarked variety.

These dimensions coexist. It is therefore possible to speak of a *continuum* of *continuua* where utterances may be placed, multidimensionally, intersecting and combining multiple axes of variation and positioning the speakers or the productions on

multiple dimensions simultaneously. It should be remembered that in fig. 3 dialect is excluded. The presence of dialect would certainly have complicated the scheme.

1.2.3.3. fluidity and discreteness

I think that for the Arabic situation, the two approaches mono- and multi-dimensional can live together where the monodimensional approach is an ideal that «captures the essential features of the variability» (Rickford 1987:29). This means that, the *continuum* includes fluidity and continuity but also discrete sections, namely «une gradation d'unités discrètes» (Stehl 1988:38) or a succession of clusters (Downes 1984). As we have seen, one can speak of a *continuum*-with-condensations (Berruto 1987:29-31: *continuum* con addensamenti). This means that one finds clusters of linguistic features in certain points of the *continuum,* with overlaps, since many features are characteristic of different varieties. From table 5 and 6 emerges how each variety is constituted by the features common to all the varieties, the features common to certain varieties and the features specific to that particular variety. Each element of the language which is not part of the common core of the linguistic system can be placed on one or more dimensions (there are, therefore, NON-MARKED ITEMS, that is *neutral* and MARKED ITEMS, that is typical of one or more varieties, see §2.8.). Passages in the *continuum* take place from +A/-B areas to more +B/-A areas. Moreover, not all the theoretically possible variables or varieties or subvarieties are actually realized both because variation is often linked to idiolects, and because, even within the community, these potential variables are not recorded.

Although the concept of *continuum* is theoretically very useful to describe and explain phenomena with a high degree of complexity, however, many scholars find that it is not a practical tool for forecasting and sociolinguistically analysing variation.

1.2.4. EDUCATED SPOKEN ARABIC (ESA) OR RATHER TRIGLOSSIA

Mitchell proposed for the mixed forms the term *Educated Spoken Arabic* (ESA), within a project called 'the Leeds project[52]' under his direction in the late 70's and early 80's. According to Mitchell, ESA «draws upon both MSA and Colloquial Arabic. MSA, ESA and Colloquial Arabic constitute a continuum. These varieties of Arabic are neither discrete nor homogeneous, rather they are characterized by gradation and variation (El-Hassan 1978:32). ESA was considered as an independent variety in itself (Mitchell 1982:155) in

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[52] The Leeds project is based on a corpus of oral data recorded in 1976, comprising «unscripted, unprepared conversations and discussions based on a wide range of inter-personal relationships» (El-Hassan 1977:120). Publications from the Leeds project include Mitchell (1975, 1978, 1980, 1986); El-Hassan (1977, 1978); Mitchell and El-Hassan 1994.

which one finds an «interplay in everyday speech between MSA and vernacular [...] the "literary"-cum-vernacular forms of the language that are in fact its commonest manifestation» (Mitchell 1975:70-71). El-Hassan, Mitchell's collaborator, used also the terms acrolect (SA), basilect (NA) and mesolect (ESA) (1978:54).

Mitchell (1986:10) distinguishes some diverging features between ESA and SA:

(1) *verbs*: no *ʔiʕra:b*; mood is expressed by various analytical devices; passive voices are realized otherwise in ESA although one can find SA forms;

(2) *nouns*: no markers for case and (in)definiteness;

(3) *negation*: *lam, lan, la:* and *ma:* substituted by NA NEG forms; «sentences containing lam and lan, for example, will be heard, but are too high-flown for inclusion in ESA» (1986:10);

(4) *numerals*: vernacular forms are preferred to SA correlates;

(5) *dual*: in ESA dual is marked only in the noun and in F-style adjective.

Mitchell (1980, 1986) also makes a stylistic differentiation in ESA between linguistic forms. He distinguishes between +Formal (+F), which are conform to the orthoepic SA form, and –Formal (-F) which are not. This last category (-F) is divided into 'Careful style' (-Fa) and 'Casual style' (-Fb) in those cases in which there are more than two variants.

Mitchell and El-Hassan's model has received many criticisms. Mejdell, for example, says that the problem is that «Mitchell define 'style' on the basis of linguistic form alone, i.e. based on single variants of a stylistic variable» (2006:50) without relating them with syntax. Van Mol offers a critical discussion (2003:59-70) to the Leeds project which focuses on 5 points: contradictory definitions, indistinct grammatical difference between ESA and the dialects, indistinctly-defined categories of investigation, indistinctly-defined geographical categories, ESA as Educated speech is too limited[53].

1.2.5. QUADRIGLOSSIA (MEISELES 1980)

Meiseles, who investigated spoken Arabic on the radio, poses the existence of another spontaneously spoken variety which approaches SA to a high degree. Given the vagueness of the concept of ESA, he distinguishes not three but four linguistic levels or varieties in contemporary Arabic. These four levels do not nullify, however, the existence of only two basic language systems: Literary Arabic (LA) and Arabic dialects. Each of the four levels may, therefore, orient toward LA or dialects. Meiseles starts from the

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[53] See also Eisele 2002:12-17.

consideration that these two systems form a linguistic *continuum* based language of which they represent the extremes. He writes:

> Arabic is known as the archetype of 'sharp' diglossia: a polar opposition between two related but distinct varieties of the same language. […] But […] the linguistic range between the poles of Arabic diglossia, which is – *de facto* – an uncharted sea of intermediate shades, whose overall picture is one of a state of flux; or, to put it somewhat differently, it seems to be an open language system which has, theoretically, every grade of a finite, but huge number of varieties, ranging from plain local vernaculars to the standard prescriptive non-native LA. These varieties are characterized by the greatest mutual receptivity, which shows a general tendency to moderate the tensions between the literary language and the dialects (1980:120)

Speakers, according to Meiseles, naturally fluctuate from one variety to another along the scale of the linguistic *continuum* of Arabic varieties. This is evident from empirical analysis: «every text», writes Meiseles, «embodies an incommensurable amount of variation and shifts alternative between one variety and another, even within the frame of a sentence» (1980:132).

Meiseles places a series of premises before the analysis. First, the interaction between the different varieties of Arabic depend on factors difficult to control so that determining or predicting the use of these varieties appears as impossible. He admits the great fluidity and the overlapping typical of the Arabic varieties that make the number of the possible varieties, in fact, almost infinite and he claims that the problems of description of these varieties are too complex to reach an easy solution. The same division of the *continuum* implemented by Meiseles appears as motivated by practical and methodological needs and it does not aim at offering a coherent description of the intricate Arabic linguistic reality.

1.2.5.1. Four levels

Meileses posits the following levels, distinguishing two intermediate varieties between the two poles of the Arabic *continuum*:

(1) Literary Arabic (LA);

(2) Sub-Standard Arabic (SsA);

    (2.a) Oral Literary Arabic (OLA);

    (2.b) Informal written Arabic (IWA);

(3) Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA);

(4) Basic plain.

It is worth considering that Meiseles sees that this subdivision applies to both spoken and written Arabic. I will only focus here on his reflections about the situation of spoken Arabic and especially those concerning the level (2), (2.a) and (3).

1.2.5.1.1. Literary Arabic (LA)

LA is «the language Arabs learn in the course of their formal education, and the one they aspire to follow in writing and, at times, in their speech as well» (1980:123). It includes SA and CA. For Meiseles, despite some differences, especially lexical, the two Arabics are essentially identical from a grammatical point of view, although distinct diachronically. LA represents the linguistic system whose grammatical structure is explicitly formulated in grammar books and dictionaries stored in a lexicon. The language used, *par excellence*, in the written texts.

1.2.5.1.2. Basic plain

Basic plain Arabic or vernaculars are spoken, even if occasionally used in the literature. It is used in informal conversations. In more formal conversation, many speakers have the tendency to abandon it in favour of higher varieties, first ESA.

1.2.5.1.3. Sub-standard Arabic (SsA)

Sub-standard Arabic, of which the most important manifestation is oral, is the attempt made by Arabs to speak LA. One seeks to realize the LA model but a number of factors, many of which extra-linguistic (spontaneous speech, poor knowledge of grammar, influence of the native dialect or a foreign language, little formal occasions, etc..) cause a deviation from the standard norm in favour of the inclusion of dialectal elements.

1.2.5.1.4. Oral Literary Arabic (OLA)

OLA - the oral variety of SsA - is used when there is no need to use LA. It is the level generally used by the media on all occasions, formal and semi-formal. OLA is not identical to the variety used for reading aloud written texts (it is essentially LA; see also Killean 1980:177, Morsly 1986:255). OLA differs from LA for a number of elements far from the norm: a preference for analytical structure (rather than synthetic as in the case of L) and the introduction of dialectal elements in a fundamentally SA syntactic structure. Common dialectal elements are aspectual prefix *b-*, *fi:(h)* in the sense of 'there be' and the COMPL *ʔinnu.*

OLA has rules and features shared by its speakers. Meiseles provides some examples: (a) the development of 'symbiotic' forms that preserve the form of the dialectal and the standard element, present in a single structure. An example is the use of SA verbs with the prefix *bi-*: *bi-naqūl, bi-yuṣallūn, bi-yuʕṭī, b-aʕtaqid, bi-yuqāl, bi-yistaṭiʕ, b-arā* (Meiseles 1980:183)[54];

(b) the creation of 'hybrid' forms from the union of dialectal forms and SA forms. Examples: *ʕarif* (LA *ʕarafa* + CEA *ʕirif*), *ʕala: kəllen* (LA *kullin* + DSA *kəll*), *ma:ða: yaʕni: ha:ða:?* (LA *ma: maʕna: ha:ða:?* + CEA *da yaʕni ʔe:*).

Another feature of OLA is that its phonetics is influenced by the dialectal substrate of each speaker.

1.2.5.1.5. Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA)

The process of koineization and borrowings from LA is typical of the ESA. According to Meiseles the spread of education, the influence of mass media, the increasingly frequent contacts between populations have led to the development of a type of dialect characterized by the attempt to get rid of particular marked elements of the speaker's own dialect to increase the mutual intelligibility between Arabic speakers who speak different dialects and to avoid shame. ESA is in fact the primary means of interdialectal communication.

So, for example, while OLA shows dialectal interferences in a SA context, ESA, through the process of classicization (see Blanc §1.2.2.1.1.) introduces, in a dialectal context, SA interferences. ESA cannot always be distinguished from the highest intermediate variety OLA.

1.2.5.1.6. differences between OLA and ESA

How to distinguish OLA from ESA? The boundaries between the two levels are closely intertwined, unstable and vague. In general «a text belongs to SsA when the general character of its sentence structure is in accordance with LA norms; a text belongs to ESA when its sentence structure is in general dialectal» (Meiseles 1980:129). Meiseles traces the following points of possible differentiation. One gets what ESA is in negative.

The lexical choice reveals the will of the speaker to 'ennoble' (style-raise) or not his language. An OLA indicator is the regular substitution of dialectal lexemes with SA-felt counterparts, e.g.: *raʔa* for *ša:f*, *ðahaba* for *ra:ḫ*, *ʔalla:ði:* for *ʔilli:*, *naʕam* for *ʔaywa*, *fa-qaṭ* for *bass*. The use in OLA of SA COMPL *ʔinna* and *(la-)qad* belongs to the same logic.

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[54] When discussing of the grammatical approach, we will see that this easily happens when mixing SA L-S and EA MPP.

Another OLA indicator is predilection of SA terms and expressions not shared by dialects, e.g.: *ʔistaṭaːʕ* for *qadara* (CEA: *ʔidir*); *ʕaːda* for *raǧaʕa* (CEA: *riǧiʕ*), *ladaː* for *ʕinda* (CEA: *ʕand/ʕind*) etc.

An important characteristic of OLA is that it tends to restore *ʔiʕrāb* while in ESA it is absent (whether total or partial, it is not specified by Meiseles). The final vowel -*a* of the 3PS of the PFT (*kataba*) and certain *tanwīn* forms are used more regularly. The major character of non-SA-ness of ESA is the absence of inflected vowels, according to Meiseles.

The OLA speaker makes use of duals with their relative agreements, though numerous, trying not to use dialectal forms (where the agreement is usually with the plural). The hyper-use of the dual form concerns also DEM (e.g. *ha:ðayni l-lafḏ̣ayn*) and even when grammar allows the plural (e.g. *wa-ʔamsaku: yadayhima:*, where the rule would accept *ʔaydiyahum* or *ʔaya:diyahum*).

In ESA verbs are conjugated according to the dialectal MPP and, unlike the nouns, there are no phonetic changes to make them more SA. An index of ESA is the use of the verbal form *ʔitfaʕ(ʕ)al* (like *ʔistanna*) that does not appear in OLA.

Another OLA indicator is the use of NEG *lam* instead of *mā*. Here, too, a form shared with dialect is avoided. OLA also makes extensive use of the COMPL *ʔan* and *ʔanna*, while ESA uses most often asyndetic construction, typical of the dialects. The example given by Meiseles is as follows:

OLA = *narǧu: mina l-ʔusta:z ʕUsma:n ʔan yataḥaddas lana* […]

ESA (egyptian) = *nargu: … yitkallim* (1980:131)

The hyper-use of *ʔan* and *ʔanna* causes them to appear in the secondary clauses where rules prefer asyndetic forms like for the modal verbs *kāda, ǧaʕala, ʔaxaða* etc.

According to Meiseles, one of the concerns of the speaker of OLA is the use of the etymologic /q/ and the interdental while ESA prefers the glottal stop and dentals.

1.2.6. *MULTIGLOSSIA AND 'INFINIGLOSSIA' (HARY 1996)*

The level and *continuum*-with-level approach has showed many weak points, especially when scholars tried to translate it into practical terms using it in the analysis of transcribed corpora. The impression is that this approach is useful only for a very general description of the Arabic language but one cannot actually take advantage of it on real texts. Holes clearly considers the Leads project as failed (1993:16). Another risk is that of creating new levels every time: «rien n'empêcherait alors, sans l'hypothèse d'un tel découpage, *de la segmenter à l'infini,* sans pour autant la saisir dans sa réalité propre; rien

n'indique, en outre, que chaque niveau corresponde à un code linguistique cohérent, homogène et spécifique» (Tarrier 1991:12).

Hary (1996), coined the term *multiglossia*, by dividing the Arabic *continuum* into 9 levels on the basis of a single short sentence: 'I saw him'. He says

> This area in the middle is not composed of only one variety, or of three varieties as proposed by Blanc (1960) or Badawi (1973); there can be an almost *countless number of lectal varieties* on the continuum between the two ideal types. The number of lects is probably not infinite, since the number of Arabic speakers and writers as well as the number of linguistic features is limited, but it seems that we can always find a third intermediate text between two different texts (1996:72; emphasis is mine)

I wonder, with Van Mol (2003:75), if one can describe and divide a language *continuum* (spoken and written) by considering the variation of only a single sentence.

1.3. CODE-SWITCHING

Before introducing the other two approaches to variation, i.e. the grammatical and the functional approach, it is necessary to introduce the mechanism of code-switching (from now on CS) which will be a key concept in the next chapters.

According to Berruto «la commutazione di codice, e il discorso commutato che ne è il risultato, non sono affatto accidenti afunzionali, mescolanze caotiche di pezzi disparati di lingua, bensì hanno una funzione nello svolgimento dell'interazione verbale, sono per lo più dotati di *significato interazionale o sociale e sono governati da principi e restrizioni anche linguistiche*»[55] (Berruto 2007:217; italics are mine). There seems to an evident relationship between these interactional or social meanings of CS and the principles and restrictions that govern it in bilingual contexts and in situations of standard-with-dialect or diglossia (Eid 1980:84).

Many bilingualisms (and diglossia is a special bilingualism as we have seen) and situations of standard-with-dialect share a great deal of motivations, characteristics and mechanisms but, of course, every bilingualism has also got its own peculiarities. There is evidence that Arabic diglossic CS have many things in common with CS in other bilingual systems although there are phenomena that, in Arabic diglossia, do not happen and others

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[55] «Code-switching, and the switched discourse that results from it, are not afunctional accidents, chaotic mixing of disparate pieces of language, but they have a function in the development of the verbal interaction, they are mostly provided with interactional or social meaning and they are governed by principles and restrictions, including linguistic ones».

that are more accentuated. CS is, certainly, a tool that allows the analysis of the mixed forms, also in the Arabic situation.

Approaches to CS and related studies are numerous and the proposed models are often in competition with each other. Mainly, the boundaries and the definition given represent the elements that differentiate an approach from another. CS, in fact, may go from a broad definition that includes all the combination of any grammatical or lexical-grammatical element at all the levels of the sentence to a narrow definition that relates to the functional switch from a code or a language system to another at a higher level of the sentence, namely at an intersentential level (i.e., between sentence boundaries).

Given this breadth of terminology and definitions of CS it becomes important to pose the problem of defining the mechanism of investigation. Here the approaches and the definitions that most befit the situation of contemporary spoken Arabic, with particular attention to the situation in Egypt, will be considered.

In the next chapters, three kinds of switching will be distinguished:

(i) INTERSENTENTIAL - intersentential switching includes those cases in which an entire sentence (complex or simple) or an entire clause within a sentence are switched. In the intersentential switch, the switching point is between a sentence and another, or in other cases between a clause and another. I will label this kind of mechanism and the kind of analysis of it CS, which is normally bearer of pragmatic and rhetoric functionality (see §1.8., 1.9., 1.10.). Alfonzetti says that this kind of switch (and the insertional borrowing) «richiedono [...] una competenza minore, poiché non comportano l'integrazione delle regole dei due sistemi linguistici in contatto»[56] (1992:177);

(ii) INTRASENTENTIAL – the intrasentencial switching is the juxtaposition within a single clause of segments belonging to the two systems in contact. I will call this mechanism and the kind of analysis of it code-mixing (CM). I will consider the intra-word switching, i.e. that which occurs within a word, itself, such as at a morpheme boundary, as part of CM, which is normally not pragmatically or rhetorically functional. Alfonzetti says that this kind of switch «richiede una maggiore abilità in entrambi i codici, in quanto, giustapponendo all'interno di una singola frase costituenti appartenenti a due diversi sistemi grammaticali, il parlante rivela di essere in grado di integrarne le rispettive regole, senza con ciò violare eventuali restrizioni»[57] (1992:177);

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[56] «[it] requires [...] a minor skill, because it does not involve the integration of rules of the two linguistic systems in contact»

[57] «[it] requires greater skill in both codes, because, by juxtaposing in a single sentence constituents belonging to two different grammatical systems, the speaker reveals that he is able to integrate their rules, without infringing potential restrictions»

(iii) INSERTIONAL, TAG OR NONCE BORROWING – it is a kind of intermediate category between the two previous types. It includes honorifics, interjections, fillers, verbal tics, all segments that are less closely linked with the rest of the sentence, since their position is completely or relatively free inside it. I will also refer with this term to those lexemes of a code that only enter once in the context of the other code (and that are therefore not assimilated in the target code; see §1.3.5.)

Since my focus is on the functions of CS, we can start with Gumperz who defines CS as

> the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems (Gumperz 1982:59)[58]

This definition needs to be specified more: it must refer to a same speaker in a same turn, if it is a dialogue, or in a specified unit of speech, if it is a monologue (see Berruto 2007:217).

The definition that will be adopted is that of Grassi et al. who narrow down Gumperz' definition by saying that

> all'interno di un'interazione verbale, [CS] è il passaggio funzionale da un sistema linguistico a un altro, in concomitanza con un cambiamento nella situazione comunicativa: ad esempio nelle intenzioni comunicative, nell'argomento, nell'interlocutore a cui ci si rivolge, nelle funzioni, nella chiave, ecc. (2006:186)[59]

These communicative functions will be seen in details in the part dedicated to the functional approach and in §1.8., 1.9 and 1.10.

Another element that seems to characterize CS is that it happens fluently: «Speakers communicate fluently, maintaining an even flow of talk. No hesitation pauses, changes in sentence rhythm, pitch level or intonation contour mark the shift in code. There is nothing in the exchange as a whole to indicate that speakers don't understand each other. Apart from the alternation itself, the passages have all the earmarks of ordinary conversation in a single language» (Gumperz 1982:60).

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[58] Gumperz speaks of conversation code-switching. We will come back to this subject later.

[59] «Within the verbal interaction, [CS] is the functional transition from a linguistic system to another, in conjunction with a change in the communicative situation: for example in the communicative intent, topic, interlocutor to whom one addresses, functions, key etc.»

CS must not be confused with *code-choice* which is «the bilingual ability to choose one or the other of his two languages in a particular speech situation» (Bentahila & Davies 1983:301).

Although focusing on CS, nevertheless I will also consider CM in the analysis of the macrolevel.

1.3.1. MAIN FACTORS FOR CODE-CHOICE AND CS

Factors that influence *code-choice* and CS, that is the motivations and the goals for which speakers normally code-switch, can be grouped into four types (adapted from Grosjean 1982:136) that we can regroup in two categories:

A) SOCIAL-RELATED MOTIVES AND GOALS

(i) PARTICIPANTS - language proficiency (one knows one code better than the other, in domains one code is seldom used for example); language preference and attitude (one has an ideological or an affective attitude towards one code and prefers it or children of a stigmatized minority may decide not to use their native language with their parents so as not to be differentiated from the children of the majority group); socioeconomic status (real or apparent: a code can be a vehicle for a certain social status); age (youngsters may prefer a code while their grandparents prefer another); sex; occupation; education; ethnic background; history of speakers' linguistic interaction; kinship relation; intimacy; power relation; outside pressure (a state can impose on people to use a certain code in certain situation);

(ii) SITUATION – location (in some area within bilingual situations one code could be preferred to another); setting (degree of formality: formality may elicit a code, while informality, intimacy or familiarity may elicit another); presence of "monolinguals"[60] (it can elicit a CS from one code to another to include monolinguals in the conversation); degree of intimacy (one uses a code only with strangers whereas one switches to another code with friends);

(iii) SOCIAL INTERACTION - to raise status; to create social distance (one can choose a code different from the one of the interlocutor breaking group solidarity); to exclude someone (one may choose one code to exclude someone so that he may not understand); to request or command.

B) DISCOURSE-RELATED MOTIVES AND GOALS

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[60] Of course here I do not mean for *monolingualism* speakers' competence (speakers often master more than just one language) but the use of only one language at a time in a given oral interaction.

(i) CONTENT OF DISCOURSE – topic («some topics are better handled in one language than another either because the bilingual has learned to deal with a topic in a particular language, the other language lacks specialized terms for a topic, or because it would be considered strange or inappropriate to discuss a topic in that language» (Grosjean 1982:140)); type of vocabulary (we will see in §1.8., 1.9. and 1.10 that "topic" is a complex motivation for CS);

Factors often overlap: «rarely does a single factor account for a bilingual's choice of one language over another», says Grosjean (1982:143). Many of these factors work for different speech events although some of them are also valid in a single speech event (and these are those which concern us here). Of course some factors are more relevant in some bilingual contexts, playing a greater role when combined with other factors, while other are less relevant or not at all relevant. Motivations are not totally conscious, although it would be incorrect to consider them totally unconscious. Grosjean stresses that «a bilingual rarely asks the conscious question, "which language should I be using?". Language choice, like the act of speaking itself, is a well-learned and complex behaviour whose extreme complexity only becomes apparent when it breaks down. In everyday life, the bilingual will go through his or her daily activities quite unaware of the many psychological and sociolinguistic factors that interact in what are probably complex weighted formulas to help choose one language over another» (1982:145).

Many of these factors have been already considered when I dealt with the three main axes of variation along the *continuum* (§1.2.3.).

The next table, based on Spanish/English *corpora*, synthesizes the main reasons of CS offering some examples and dividing them between 'response to external factors' (to speech, i.e. social) and 'response to internal factors' (i.e. textual or discourse-related).

	Patterns	Definitions	Examples
Response to External Factors	Situational switches	Related to social role of speakers	Woman uses Spanish to chat with her mother but switches to English to talk to son.
	Contextual switches	Situation, topic, setting, etc., linked to the other language	People may switch to English to discuss numbers or money.
	Identity markers	In-group membership stressed	Ese bato, órale, ándale pues used in English conversations regardless of actual Spanish fluency
	Quotations and paraphrases	Contextual: related to language used by original speaker.	Le dije a la mujer, "I'm gonna get out of line." (Remark was actually made in English)
Response to Internal Factors	Random switches of high-frequency items	Unpredictable; does not relate to topic, situation, setting , or language dominance: occur only on word level.	Very common words such as days of the week or colors— function like English synonyms. No aguanto los Mondays.
	Switches reflecting lexical need	Related to language dominance, memory, and spontaneous versus automatic speech.	Yo tengo un plastic bag grande. Includes the "tip-of-the-tongue" phenomenon; item may be temporarily forgotten or unknown word.
	Triggered switches	Due to preceding or following items	I wanted to pero no podía. (Switch is triggered by the discourse marker pero)
	Preformulations	Include linguistic routines and automatic speech	Por ay, ¿Qué no?, You know, once in a while
	Discourse markers	But, and, of course, etc.	I wanted to pero no podía.
	Quotations and paraphrases	Non-contextual; not related to language used by original speaker	...y dije , "I guess no one is here."
	Stylistic switches	Obvious stylistic device for emphasis or contrast	Me tomé toda la cafetera, the whole coffee pot.
	Sequential switches	Involve using the last language used by the preceding speaker	Certain speakers will always follow the language switches of other speakers; others will not.

Table 8 Reasons for Code-Switching (adapted from Valdes-Fallis 1978b:16)

Table 8 represents motivations for CS before Gumperz' work. In fact, metaphorical CS, which is the heart of this study, is not represented. I will be widely discuss this motivation in §1.8., 1.9., 1.10..

1.3.2. *CS AND ITS CONTRASTIVE VALUE*

The most important factor in this type of CS is its having an *essentially contrastive value*: it breaks up the speech flow and draws attention to a change in code. The contrast created by CS allows the speaker to *highlight, marginalize, emphasize* certain segments helping him argumentatively structure his discourse.

This contrast is readable where the «language chosen for one speech activity must be seen against the background of language choice in the preceding utterance» (Auer 1995:120). As Gumperz writes about an American preacher, «he is contrastively using two ways of speaking, [...] *this contrast is meaningful within the context created by the sermon,* and that the shift along the black-white variable axis, along with the shift in prosodic and lexical cues, is essential to the signalling mechanisms» (1982:194; emphasis is mine). In this sense «in speech act terms [Austin 1965] contrasting standard- and dialect-like

variable here contributes to the *illocutionary force of an act*» (Gumperz 1982:195; emphasis is mine).

1.3.2.1. CS and sequentiality

Auer writes that «any theory of conversation code-alternation[61] is bound to fail if it does not take into account that the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its *'sequential environment'*» (Auer 1995:116; italics are mine). The sequential environment is given by

(1) the immediately previous turn that provides the *contextual frame* and

(2) the following utterance that reflects the interpretation of the previous utterance.

Auer defines CS in this specific sense in this way: «Code-alternation (used here as a cover term, i.e. hyperonym for code-switching and transfer) is defined as a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such» (Auer 1995:116).

Proximity is important and means that segments of the same speaker far from each other or segments of the same speaker but in two different speech events do not fall under this definition. Style-shifting (see §1.3.3.), i.e. a gradual transition dialect ←→ standard, is not included in the definition because it is a non-functional tool.

1.3.2.2. CS as a contextualisation cue

CS can have a value of *contextualisation cue* where contextualisation has to be understood, as Gumperz said, as «the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* each sentence relates to what precedes or follows» (1982:131; italics are Gumperz'), or in Auer's words «all those activities by participants which make relevant/maintain/revise/cancel some aspects of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence» (1995:125). This means that «conversationalists need to provide their hearers not only with well-formed propositions in order to communicate what they want to say, they also have to provide a context in which these propositions can be embedded and in which they become interpretable» (Auer 1984:17). CS has no meaning in itself but it gets it from its context, as seen in the previous paragraph. CS is, therefore, also a sort of prosodic cue (like intonation, rhythm, accent, gestural cues etc.) which can signal various things, for

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[61] Auer uses this term as a cover term, i.e. as a hyperonym for CS (1995:116).

example, that a topic is terminated and a new one is about to begin: «Switching is, in this sense, very similar to other contextualization strategies such as lowering or heightening of pitch level, change of posture (e.g. leaning back, leaning forward), change of speed of utterance delivery (lento vs. allegro speech), and some others» (Auer 1984:18). Bilinguals have at their disposal a further para-linguistic tool "monolinguals" do not have. The importance of the contextualisation clues lies in the fact that their misuse by the speaker, creates a «miscommunication […] regarded as a social faux pas and leads to misjudgements of the speaker's intent», «a speaker is said to be unfriendly, impertinent, rude, uncooperative, or to fail to understand» (Gumperz 1982:13).

CSs must be subjected to analysis in order to have sense:

1. «they do not have referential (decontextualised) meaning of the kind we find in lexical items». It is needed a process of *inferencing*, or sequential analysis, which depends on the context of its occurrence. The same clue might have different interpretations;

2. this analysis/interpretation is twofold:

   (a) *by contrast* the only 'meaning' the cue has is to *indicate otherness*;

   (b) *by inherent meaning potential* this inherent contrast has a restrict number of possible inferences;

3. contextualisation cues often bundle together.

Auer's approach, which is calibrated on conversation, will be adapted to monologues which represent all the texts of my *corpus*.

1.3.2.3. CS and direction of switch

Gumperz states that the direction is essential in understanding CS, its contrastive value and its meaning (see §1.7.2.). For Auer also «the direction of conversational code-alternation enters into its interpretation» (1995:121). Auer quotes Sebba & Wootton (1984) who state that Jamaicans in London switch to the London Jamaican (LJ), in a basically London English (LE) elocution «as having differential status from the adjacent LE material, providing the *principal message content*» (1984:3; italics are mine, see also Sebba & Wooton 1998:266). In contrast, LE stretches embedded in LJ correspond to «material of secondary importance, such as speakers' comments on thematically more important material» (1984:3). Also Gal, in his study on bilingualism in Oberwart, in Austria, said that switching Hungarian → German occurred when one wanted to mark a climax of disagreement or hostility «a last word that was not outdone» (1979:117). So, here, German connotes not only prestige and social distance but also authority.

More on CS, its contrastive value and its creative nature, will be said in §1.8., 1.9., 1.10. and chapter 3 to 5 when discussing the textual and argumentative/rhetorical functions.

1.3.3. CS AND STYLISTIC VARIATION

With CS I do not mean the stylistic shift. Style-shifting, in fact, «will refer to change in language varieties which involves changing only the code-markers; there are variable features which are associated with such social and cultural dimensions as age, sex, social class and relationship between speakers» (Saville-Troike 1982:61). Style-shifting, though, will be integrated whenever it is functional to my analysis of the phenomena in discussion. Although the two phenomena may be regarded as particular manifestations of the linguistic variation, combining CS and stylistic variation in the same category, «fa perdere alla nozione di code switching ogni specifità significativa» (Alfonzetti 1992:18) in the normal daily behaviour of each speaker of any language and linguistic community[62].

1.3.4. CS AND CM (CODE-MIXING)

Scholars[63] do not always make an explicit difference between CS and CM. Such a distinction, however, is useful for the present work. As already mentioned, usually the distinction is formal. As Grassi et al. write code-mixing is a «combinazione – o frammistione – nella stessa frase di elementi di diverse varietà, che danno luogo a *segmenti mistilingui*»[64] (Grassi et al. 2006:189). So, at a formal level, CS is mainly an intersentential switching or a macro-switching, and CM is an intrasentential switching, a micro-switching. But there is also a communicatively functional criterion that can provide a further basis for the distinction between the two. According to Grassi et al., in fact, «diversamente dal code-switching, il code-mixing di norma non è condizionato da cambiamenti nella situazione (contesto, argomento, interlocutore): non è intenzionale, e non ha – almeno apparentemente – una funzione comunicativa specifica, né nel processo comunicativo né nel procedere della singola conversazione[65]» (2006:189).

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[62] I will refer to Mejdell 2006 and Badawi & Hinds 1986 to distinguish CS and stylistic variation in our texts.

[63] Lipski (1978), Timm (1978), Valdes-Fallis (1978), McConvell (1988), Poplack (1981), Woolard (1988), Boix (1990) and others. Other scholars such as Sridhar (1978), Pfaff (1979), McClure (1981), Meisel (1990), Grosjean (1990) and others intend CM, each of them, in a different way depending on the criteria adopted.

[64] «combination - or admixture - in the same sentence of elements of different varieties, that gives rise to linguistically mixed segments»

[65] «Unlike the code-switching, code-mixing is not usually affected by changes in the situation (context, topic, interlocutor): it is not intentional, and has not – at least apparently - a communicative specific function, either in the communicative process or in the progress of the single conversation»

While CS is a communicatively functional passage of codes, CM is an admixture of ᴍᴘᴘ structures of two systems, normally but not necessarily, without a specific communicative function. Often, CM is motivated by a certain degree of overlap of the two grammars. Grassi et al. say that «l'uso incrociato dei due codici è favorito dal fatto che le strutture della lingua e di molti dialetti sono assai simili, soprattutto a livello sintattico: si può dire che il parlante utilizza una sintassi unica, attraversando la morfologia e il lessico dei due codici, in entrambe le direzioni, con grande disinvoltura[66]» (2006:190). Berruto says that «normalmente è difficile assegnare un valore discorsivo o una funzione pragmatica a passaggi di questo genere, che non coincidono con un cambiamento nel flusso della situazione comunicativa e paiono dovuti semplicemente all'equiparabilità funzionale dei due diversi codici e all'interpenetrabilità delle loro grammatiche»[67] (2007:220). A point raised by Berruto is, in fact, that «mentre la commutazione di codice vera e propria, dotata di una riconoscibile funzione, sembra spesso manifestare – e dipendere da – *un conflitto tra i due codici*, l'enunciazione mistilingue pare invece sintomatica di *una situazione non conflittuale*, in cui i due codici coesistono in maniera ampiamente intercambiabile»[68] (2007:220, note 126; my emphasis).

Some examples of CM taken from the *corpus*:

1.

ana	ba-ʔaddim	il-ḥubb	w-baʕde:n	ʔinta
I	preverb-I offer	ᴀʀᴛ-love	and-then	you

I offer love and then it is up to you to

bi-**tafḫas**	**wa-tataðawwaq**
preverb-you examine	and-taste

examine and taste.

(MM50[69] – 18'5. → 18'6.)

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[66] «The cross-use of two codes is favoured by the fact that the structures of language and of many dialects are very similar, especially at the syntactic level: we can say that the speaker uses one single syntax, moving across the morphology and the lexicon of the two codes, in both directions, with great ease»

[67] «it is normally difficult to assign a discursive value or a pragmatic function discursive to passages of this kind, which do not coincide with a change in the flow of the communicative situation and appear to be due simply to the functional comparability of the two different codes and the interpenetrability of their grammars»

[68] «while real code-switching, which has a recognizable function, often seems to manifest - and depend on - a conflict between the two codes, the linguistically mixed enunciation rather seems symptomatic of a non-conflictual situation, in which the two codes co-exist in a largely interchangeable way»

[69] See Appendix 1.

In this example two verbs, that have a +SA MMP form (notice the prefix ca- in both verbs [ta-] and also the interdental in **tataðawwaq**), are inserted in a +EA context (**tafḥas** is also preceded by the EA preverb bi-).

1. | ehm | ʕan | il-maḥabba | fi | l-wa:qiʕ | ma-ʔdar-ši | (EA) |
    |-----|-----|-----------|-----|---------|-----------|------|
    | filler | about | ART-love | in | ART-reality | I cannot | |

    Ehm, as regards love… actually I cannot,

ya	ʔabbaha:t
voc	fathers

    fathers,

3. | **ʔuba:šir** | **waẓi:fati** | **ka-ʔab** | (SA) |
    |-----------|------------|---------|------|
    | I fulfill | my function | as-a father | |

    fulfill my function of father but through love.

ʔilla	**ʕan ṭari:q**	**il-maḥabba**
but	through	love

    but through love.

(MM50 – 18'2. → 18'3.)

Here is a typical example of syntactic CM in Arabic: an EA primary verb + an SA dependent verb: ma-ʔdar-ši **ʔuba:šir** ('I cannot fulfill') with the typical asyndetic EA construction.

1. | fa-ʔiza | **ʔistaṭaʕt** | ʔinnak | ehm // |
    |--------|-----------|--------|--------|
    | so-if | **you could** | COMPL.you | filler |

    If you are able to, ehm,

2. | **tuqaddim** | ehm | il-fiʕl | il-ʔila:hi | ʕala | mustawa |
    |-----------|-----|--------|-----------|------|---------|
    | **you offer** | filler | art-act | ART-divine | on | level |

    offer, ehm, the divine act on the level of

bazl	yamwi:
sacrifice	daily [...]

    a daily sacrifice [...]

(MM50 – 86'3.)

Here there is another typical example where the SA primary verb and secondary verb (**ʔistaṭaʕt** and **tuqaddim**) are used with EA COMPL ʔinn (ʔinnak).

1. ṣala:h   bi-tibʔa   muttagiha   ittiga:h   wa:ḥid
   prayer   preverb-it is   addressed   direction one
   A prayer that is pointed in one direction,

2. **la tatawaqqaf /**   ḥatta   taṣil   ʔila   hadafha   n-niha:ʔi |
   it does not stop   until   it arrives to   its goal   ART-final
   unceasingly, until it arrives to its final goal,

   taṣil   **ʔila**   **qalb**   **alla:**
   it arrives to   heart   God
   it arrives to God's heart.

(MM50 – 86'3.)

This kind of CM which happens at the level of the clause and that aims at highlighting it (in this case, a final clause) will been addressed at the end of this study (§5.4.).

Summarising:

MECHANISM	FORMAL CRITERION	FUNCTIONAL CRITERION
CS	*intersentential* switching (*inter-clause* switching)	*communicative functional* juxtaposition
CM	*intrasentential* switching	*communicative non-functional* juxtaposition

Table 9 Formal and functional criteria in defining code-switching and code-mixing (adapted from Alfonzetti 1992:20)

CM seems to be ruled-governed and many studies have succeeded in defining the main constraints that concern what is not admissible or acceptable. We will discuss the main constraints of CM in Arabic spoken language on various levels in §1.4.

1.3.5. CS, CM *AND TAG OR NONCE BORROWING*

Borrowing is another phenomenon of interference between two codes that will kept distinguished from CS: «it is a form that has spread from one linguistic variety (the 'source') into another variety (the 'target' or 'replica'). In this sense it is nearly

synonymous with 'loanword,' but a borrowing is often really a stem (smaller than a word), and may be a phrase (larger than a word). Borrowing is also the term for the act of incorporation itself, so there is a certain semantic ambiguity between process and result in the usage of the term» (Heath 2001:432)

The difference with CM is that, while CM occurs at a morphosyntactic level, borrowing mainly involves lexicon (single lexemes) but it may also concern grammatical morphemes, like subordinating particles and connectives, or crystallized idioms[70]. According to Grassi et al. borrowing happens when «il parlante prende una parola dell'altro codice e la inserisce nel suo discorso [...] per lo più la adatta fonologicamente e morfologicamente alla lingua che sta usando»[71] (2006:190-191).

Because of the fact that in diglossic systems many cognates (words that have a common etymological origin) are shared between L and H, borrowing is a very common phenomenon in diglossic systems like Arabic, although not always fully recognizable for the same reason: «decision as to what constitutes Standard vs. Egyptian Arabic are often hard to make since we are dealing here with varieties of the same language which, by definition, would have many shared properties. In making such identifications, the analyst […] has to rely on his/her linguistic knowledge (phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical) of similarities and differences between the two varieties as well as extra-linguistic knowledge that involves language use and word choice» (Eid 1988:52).

Borrowing can relate, on the one hand, to stabilized and integrated borrowings into a code (e.g. in EA SA integrations such as word like /θawra/, /ʔiktiʔa:b/, /maglis niya:bi:/ etc. adverbs like /ʔiṭla:qan/, /niha:ʔiyyan/, /ġa:liban/, /ʔawwalan/ etc., verbal syntagms like /la: yumkin, la: yuga:ra/ etc., see also §2.6.). On the other hand, borrowing concerns extemporaneous borrowings, due, for example, to the lack of a precise term or because the term in the code used is not as expressive as the one of the other code (either because the speaker does not know it, or because it lacks in one code) (see Grassi et al. 2006:191). Alfonzetti states that «il criterio della frequenza d'uso e della diffusione comunitaria si rivela decisivo per distinguere il prestito dalla frammistione di single parole»[72] (1992:22). I will use for such non-integrated borrowing the term *tag or nonce borrowing*[73]. The *tag or nonce borrowing* is «a word or phrase from SA or EA occurring in a

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[70] This is similar to what Auer calls transfer (1984:24-30).

[71] «The speaker takes a word from the other code and inserts it in his speech [...] he mainly adapts it phonologically and morphologically to the language he is using»

[72] «the criterion of usage frequency and the spread in the [linguistic] community are crucial to distinguish borrowing from admixture of single words»

[73] Mejdell (2006:396) calls this insertional or tag CS. I borrow from her the term tag but not CS because the definition of CS adopted here is very narrow. *Nonce borrowing* if from Poplack (1990:38).

stretch of speech structurally defined as the other variety» (Mejdell 2006:396). It falls within the Saussurian ambit of *parole* because it concerns the lexical competence of the individual. Sometimes, tag or nonce borrowings can be reported without morphological adaptation or, more frequently, a phonological one. This is clearly reflected in the *corpus* under investigation as well as in many other corpora, where SA words have been grafted into NA contexts without necessarily being adapted phonetically. *Tag or nonce borrowing* can also function as *lexical filler*. It is well known in the literature about CS in bilingualisms that one of the main situations in which bilinguals switch is when «they cannot find an appropriate word or expression or when the language being used does not have the items or appropriate translation for the vocabulary needed» (Grosjean 1982:150). Typical of Arabic speech is that, even if a speakers tries to use SA for his elocution, for whatsoever reason, he will switch to NA when he will encounter numbers. Sometimes there is really no correspondent in the other code but some other times the speaker simply has «not learned or is not equally familiar with the terms in both languages» (Grosjean 1982:150).

Tag or nonce borrowing also works as a synonymic mechanism for a stylistic variation. A speaker can select a word from a code into another just as a synonym for instance to slightly raise or lower the used style.

Some examples from the *corpus*:

1.	w-barḍak	kida			
	CONJ-also	like this			
	And also in the same way				

2.	ʕala	mustawa	il-ga:ʔiʕ	ru:ḥiyyan	ʔaw
	on	level	ART-starving	spiritually	or
	on the level of the spiritually starving or				
	il-ʕaṭša:n	ru:ḥiyyan	hà:kaza	nasqi	wa-nuṭʕim
	ART-thirsty	spiritually	so	we water	we feed
	spiritual thirst, we water and we feed.				

(MM50 – 69'9. → 70'1.)

The EA expression *barḍak kida* (line 1) is used within a +SA context (line 2).

1.	ʔin ka:n il-ʕa:lam taʕba:n ʔin ka:nit ir-rahbana taʕba:na /
	If the world suffers, if monasticism suffers

2. **li-ʔinnaha lam tataʕa:mal baʕd maʕ il-masi:ḥ kama yanbaġi | //**
    it is because they have not yet related properly to Christ.
    ya rabbi ʔaʕṭi:na kullina / ha:ðihi ṣ-ṣu:ra l-gàyyida wa-l-ḥasana giddan
    O Lord, give us all this good, very good image
    ʔannana nataʕa:mal maʕak šaxṣiyyan fi wagh kull ʔinsa:n ga:ʔiʕ wa-ʕaṭša:n
    so that we can relate to you personally through every starving and thirsty
    wa-ḍaʕi:f w-taʕba:n w-mari:ḍ | /// ʔa:h ya rabbi | // kull ḥirma:n mawgu:d
    weak, sick and ill person. Oh Lord, every deprivation existing
    fi l-ʕa:lam la za:l yaḥmiluhu l-masi:ḥ ʕala katifayh mutaʔalliman bi-hi
    in the world is still born on the shoulders by Christ, suffering for it
    ʔakθar min al-insa:n ʔal-mutaʔallim | / yaqif ʔama:mana / yamidd yaddu(h)
    more than the suffering person herself. He stands in front of us, he stretches out his hand
    / sà:ʔilan raḥmatna ka-ʔannahu fi ʔašadd il-ḥa:ga ʔila luqmatna ʔaw
    asking for our mercy, as if he were in great need of our mouthful or
    ku:bat il-ma:ʔi l-ba:rida min yaddina / ʔaw ʔila hidmitna l-ʔadi:ma
    our glass of cold water from our hand, or our old piece of clothing
    ʔaw ʔayy maʕu:na yaḥtagha l-insa:n iḍ-ḍaʕi:f |
    or any kind of help a weak person might need.

(MM50 – 95'3. → 96'4.)

Here an EA *nonce borrowing hidmitna l-ʔadi:ma* ('our old piece of clothing') is inserted into a +SA context (last line in parapraph 2) (use of ʔanna, final vowel in verbal forms *yaḥmiluhu* ['he bears him], dual and diphthongization *katifayh* ['his two shoulders'], *ḥāl* clause *mutaʔalliman bi-hi* ['suffering for it'] etc. that are strong SA markers[74]).

1. **ʔimta ya rabb ʔimta tuṭliq qalb ʔaw ʕiddat qulu:b mìnnana**
    When, o Lord, when will you release one or more hearts among us

2. **li-kay tuma:ris masi:ḥiyyataha ʔaw masi::ḥaha**
    in order that they can put their Christianity or their Christ into action
    ʕaša:n yara:k il-ʕa:lam marratan ʔuxra / ga:ʔilan taṣnaʕ xayran / fi waṣṭ
    so that the world sees you once again, going about doing good, in the midst
    il-ʕumy wa-l-ʕusm wa-l-ʕurg wa-l... wa-ðawi l-ʕa:ha:t /
    of the blind, the withered, the halt, the... and the sick people,
    tašfi l-muḥta:gi:na ʔila š-šifa:ʔ / maka:naka l-mufaḍḍal fi waṣṭ al-fuqara:ʔ /

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[74] See §2.6. and 2.8.

healing those in need of healing, your elected place being in the midst of the poor.

(MM50 – 97'3. → 97'7.)

Notice the EA syntactic nonce borrowing *ʕaša:n* ('so that') in a context which is clearly lexically and syntactically +SA (the following verb *raʔa*, the final vowel in *marratan ʔuxra* ['once more'] or the *ḥāl* clause *ga:ʔilan taṣnaʕ xayran* ['going about doing good']).

1.3.6. *A* CONTINUUM *OF INTEGRATION FROM BORROWING TO CS*

The complexity and the fluctuation of these phenomena do not allow rigid internal categorizations. Alfonzetti proposes a *continuum* of integration that goes from the borrowing to the CS[75]. On the one hand there are «gli items integrati a vari livelli – fonetico-fonologico, morfologico e sintattico – che costituiscono i prestiti stabilizzati e integrati nella lingua mutuante, mentre *dall'altra si ha la completa assenza di integrazione ai vari livelli, che contraddistingue idealmente il code switching*. All'interno di tale *continuum* si collocano categorie intermedie, quali, ad esempio, prestiti non integrati, *nonce borrowings* e il *code switching* caratterizzato, come nella situazione da noi indagata, dall'interferenza sistematica di un codice sull'altro a livello fonetico-fonologico»[76] (Alfonzetti 1992:23; emphasis is mine). To understand this, it is sufficient to consider that if we took the first and the third example quoted in §1.3.4. and looked at them from a lexical perspective (and not a morphological one) we could have considered them as nonce borrowings and not CM. In fact, despite this perhaps not entirely satisfying distinction between CS, CM and nonce borrowing, it is true that the phenomena partially overlap.

Stylistic variation, CM, integrated borrowings or nonce borrowings, unlike CS, are all mainly stylistic mechanisms that operate a *smooth shift*[77] from one code to another (for a single or more few items) through a *continuum* of many variants (see §1.2.3.), especially

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[75] Auer (1998b) would propose a similar model of continuum of language alternation in a range going from CS, to language mixing (LM) and to fused lects (FLs).

[76] «the items integrated at various levels – phonetic-phonological, morphological and syntactic - which constitute the borrowings stabilized and integrated into the borrowing language, while on the other hand is the complete lack of integration at the various levels, what ideally characterizes the code-switching. Within this continuum lie intermediate categories, such as, for example, not integrated borrowings, nonce borrowings and the code switching characterized by the systematic interference of a code on the other on a phonetic-phonological level»

[77] Poplack defines *smooth code-switching* differently (1987:51-77), where smooth means a transition from L1 to L2 «unmarked by false starts, hesitations or lengthy pauses» (1987:54). Here we mean a non clear-cut but a gradual shift or, better, a diffuse admixture especially at a morpholexical and morphosyntactic level, that has no specific rhetorical effect.

MPP, to the extent that is becomes impossible to clearly identify only one code. However, in some occasions it is possible to deduce the syntactic context that can be identified as [±dialectal] or [±standard] in parts of the *continuum* +standard/-dialect or +dialect/-standard, i.e. the peripheral parts of the *continuum*. As seen in §1.2.3., this is not always clear when we deal with the central parts of the *continuum*.

This smooth shift is not the described functional CS since it does not bear rhetorical but only stylistic or social values.

1.4. THE GRAMMATICAL APPROACH (CM) TO MIXEDNESS

Before getting into the discussion of the rhetorical and argumentative functions of spoken Arabic, it is necessary to provide a framework on the situation to which the research arrived to about what I call the 'grammatical approach' to the complex phenomenon of diglossic mixedness. Indeed, without such a framework, it would not be possible to approach the functions of the code-switching. The 'grammatical approach' deals with the *intrasentential level* or *micro-level* of the sentence and tries to answer the question: *how* do varieties or languages or codes mix up? It is, therefore, not interested in WHY, that is for what textual purposes, this happens. It has two principle goals, according to Mejdell: (1) the analysis of stylistic variation within a diglossic *continuum* and (2) the setting of rules for a grammar of hybridization, especially on a morphologic level. As Owens & Bani Yassin say «one of the central themes of Arabic sociolinguistics has been the identification of the parameters defining this variation» (Owens 2001:429).

In contrast to the level and the *continuum*-with-levels approach, the grammatical approach aims to understand the degree of randomness of the SA and NA mixture and to find the possible MPP rules of grammaticality and acceptability on the basis of empirical analysis of transcribed corpora.

I will adopt Mejdell's approach (which is also Schmidt's approach (1974:223)), that of 'PARTIAL SYSTEMATICITY'. According to this approach, the constraints that can be found for the mixed forms «have predictive force only in a negative manner: they claim that certain combinations will *not* occur» (Mejdell 2007:88; emphasis in the original). What is totally or partially unpredictable is what alternative construction will be chosen by the speaker. In fact, there exists evidence that in the same speech many alternative and conflicting constructs may occur. In positive, one can therefore only speak of probabilities, on the basis of the frequencies of occurrences and not of any particular rules.

As we have seen before, there is a significant relationship between the kind of switching that takes place between varieties of the same language and that which occurs

between different languages in the speech of bilinguals. SA and NA elements interact linguistically at several level through CM (see §1.3.4.)

1.4.1. MINIMAL LEVEL: THE WORD AND HYBRIDISATION

At the level of the word, SA and NA determine hybrid forms through hybridisation. Berruto states that «il fatto che le lingue si mescolino in superficie e diano luogo a prodotti linguistici che possono sembrare 'ibridi' non significa ovviamente che anche le grammatiche che possiede il parlante siano ibride: la riflessione teorica sinora esistente porta piuttosto a vedere le due (o più) grammatiche come parzialmente in sovrapposizione o come separate (la struttura profonda di una frase con commutazioni è quindi sempre data da uno dei due sistemi linguistici) ma interagenti attraverso dispositivi di filtro»[78] (2007:224).

Holes (1995:295) gives the following example to illustrate hybridisation, that is mixing at the level of the word:

HOL1

	SA	CEA	
1.	*rama:*	*rama*	'he threw'
2.	*qa:la*	*ʔa:l*	'he said'
3.	*ʕarafa*	*ʕirif*	'he knew'
4.	*raʔa:*	*ša:f*	'he saw'

(1) «the only difference between the citation forms is the length of the final vowel. In spoken MSA this long vowel is neutralised in pre-pause position making it identical with the dialect form, and in both the MSA and the Cairene it is pronounced long if the verb has an object suffix, i.e. *rama:ni:* 'he threw me' for both» (1995:296). In this case the two competing forms are so close to be almost identical;

(2) two differences: the initial consonant and the final vowel of the SA form which does not appear in CEA. The hybrid form is *qa:l* which can be seen, according to Parkinson, as 'dialectalised SA' (loss of person-marker) or 'standardised CEA' (substitution of /q/ for /ʔ/). The surrounding context would normally make it clear if it is the first or the second possibility;

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[78] «The fact that languages mix up at the surface and give rise to linguistic products that may seem 'hybrid' does not mean that also the grammars that the speaker possesses are hybrid: the so far existing theoretical reflection rather brings to see the two (or more) grammars as partially overlapping or separate (the deep structure of a switched sentence is always given by one of two language systems), but interacting through filter devices».

(3) three differences: the vowels in the first and second syllables – a vowel prosody – and the presence/absence of the final inflection as in (2). Possible hybrids: *ʕaraf* (absence of inflection, as in the hybrid of (2)) and *ʕarif* (two CEA features [loss of inflection, change of the second vowel] + one SA feature [first vowel]). According to Holes, *ʕaraf* is +SA while *ʕarif* is +CEA. Here too context will be the decisive factor of whether it is 'dialectalised SA' or 'standardised CEA';

(4) here hybridisation ceases to be a possibility: one can choose either a SA form or a CEA form. Consequently, a lexical shift *raʔa:* → *ša:f* (or vice versa) is seen as stylistically more significant than hybridisation of (1)-(3). This is correct, although it should be specified that this is valid for the 3rd person form: forms like *raʔe:t* (SA stem *raʔ-* + NA inflection *–e:t)*, for example, are well attested.

The process of hybridisation is not random but rule-governed. For instance, in example (3), *ʕiraf is an impossible hybrid in CEA mainly because the vocal concatenation CiCaC in CEA is nominal, never verbal (*ḥilal* 'pots'). Yet, this form is perfectly possible in Baghdad where hybridisation rules are different. Other impossible hybrids would be (2) **ʔa:la* and **ša:fa* because they violate a principle of stylistic compatibility: the final /-a/ inflection are too SA to be combinable with forms as markedly dialectal as the phoneme /ʔ/ instead of /q/ and the lexeme *ša:f*. As Holes correctly says, *ʔa:la* would be interpreted to mean 'tool or 'instrument' while **ša:fa* as a joke form. Hybridisation is not a bidirectional process: rules valid for NA hybridisation may not be valid for SA hybridisation. For example, *ša:f* rules out SA choices (for example SA inflections, i.e. *tašu:fu:n*a) while *qabila* admits NA MPP realisations and combination with NA grammatical morphemes (for example *tiqbalu* [2P] etc.).

1.4.1.1. ambiguous (neutral), intermediate forms (hybrid) and style-shifting

In this context, Eid distinguishes *ambiguous* forms and *intermediate* forms. An ambiguous form is a «form identical in both varieties» (1988:55). This can be example (1). She also says that «ambiguous forms [...] can [...] provide no evidence for/against switching. Hence, in determining whether or not switching occurred, ambiguous forms were simply disregarded» (1988:56; see also 1982:58). Bassiouney calls these forms *neutral* («items that are used in both varieties with the same phonological realisation» 2006:36) to which she adds the SA loanwords into EA that have no EA equivalent (e.g., *maba:diʔ* 'principles').

As for the hybrids of example (3) it is clear that these forms vary from one dialect to another: e.g., *ybǧi* is the preferred Moroccan form to say 'he wants' and it is almost identical to the SA form *yabǧi:*. *yabǧi:* would therefore be an ambiguous form in a

Moroccan setting while it would be an SA form for EA settings where the normal form for 'he wants' is *ʕa:wiz* or *ʕa:yiz*. Speakers tend to avoid ambiguous forms when they intend to style-shift.

Intermediate forms, on the contrary, are «forms identified by speakers as belonging to one variety but given the pronunciation of the other» (Eid 1988:55). Ex. *sala:sa* is SA because there exists a EA alternative, namely *tala:ta*. Bassiouney calls these forms *mixed* (e.g., forms like *yibḥaθ* 'he searches'). She adds to this category forms that are mixed by blending a bound morpheme from one code and a free morpheme from another (e.g., *bi-tunaffað* 'are implemented').

Although on the minimal level a scale seems possible, it is not the same for higher levels in the sentence: «the point that emerged from the study of spoken corpuses drawn from a cross-section of speakers is that the classification of variants according to a pre-set scala ranging between SA [Standard Arabic] and NA [Native Arabic] was problematic. In some instances, as with Sallam's Beirut speakers, discrete correlations do emerge, but with others, as with El-Hassan's demonstratives, they do not. One of the central themes of Arabic sociolinguistics has been the identification of the parameters defining this variation» (Owens 2001:429).

Eid also considers that «the ambiguous, or unspecified, lexicon serves to mediate the difference between the two varieties. It creates a shared, or an in-between space, consistent with the two distinct codes. In doing so, it contributes to this linguistic collage by allowing smooth transitions from one code to the other, thereby blurring the distinction between the two. Hybrid forms, I would add, serve a similar purpose: they can be heard and interpreted as one, the other, or both varieties. The result is a style that does not sound too 'colloquial' (dialectal) or too 'literate' (fuṣḥā) – a balancing act that allows each speaker to accommodate the situation and create personas and identities that are sufficiently separate yet similar enough to be viewed as one» (2007:422). This will be discussed more extensively later, when dealing with the attitude approach to normativity, indicators and code markers (chapter 2).

1.4.2. MORPHOSYNTACTIC (INTRASENTENCIAL) CONTRAINTS: THE DOMINANT-LANGUAGE HYPOTHESIS

The most important thing that has been confirmed by studies on the grammar of CM in Arabic is the assumption that the two varieties, SA and NA, are 'asymmetric' in the sense that «die Interferenz zwischen zwei Sprachen geht überwiegend von derjenigen der beiden Sprachen aus, die das Individuum am besten beherrscht» (Diem 1974:24). This

principle seems to enjoy a certain universality and has been variously formulated and applied to many languages, in particular to bilingualism (e.g. Petersen (1988) and Myers-Scotton (1993, 1995 et al.)).

The 'asymmetry' appears in the restrictions on the combinations of morphemes and lexemes in a single word. This is what Petersen called the 'dominant language[79] hypothesis':

> The dominant-language hypothesis states that in word-internal code-switching, grammatical morphemes of the DOMINANT language may cooccur with lexical morphemes of either the dominant or the non-dominant language. However, grammatical morphemes of the NONDOMINANT language may cooccur only with lexical morphemes of the nondominant language (1988:486).

As Mejdell observes «this formula seems to subsume the general constraints observed for Arabic code interaction, where EA (and the other Arabic vernaculars) must by definition be considered the dominant variety – in the sense of the most deeply entrenched, usually first (naturally) acquired language/variety» (2006:63). This means that one can attach EA grammatical morphemes to SA lexemes but not the other way round.

Ex.:

SA DEM (nondominant) + SA lexical item (nondominant)	*ha:ða (ha:za) l-qiṭa:r* ('this train')
EA lexical item (dominant) + EA DEM (dominant)	*il-ʔaṭr da* (dawwat etc.)
SA lexical item (nondominant) + EA DEM (dominant)	*(i/a)l-qiṭa:r da*
*SA DEM (nondominant) + EA lexical item (dominant)	**ha:ða (ha:za) l-ʔaṭr*

Table 10 Example for the dominant language hypothesis (Petersen 1988:486)

Mejdell also notices that this hypothesis must be extended also to cover not only the grammatical morphemes of the 'dominant' language, but its phonotactics (MPP and suprasegmental phonology). Ex.:

muna:qaša	SA lexical item (nondominant) + SA (Form III) syllable structure (nondominant)
minaʔša	EA lexical item (dominant) + EA syll. struct. (dominant)
munaqša	SA lexical item (nondominant) + EA syll. struct. (dominant)
*mina:ʔaša/muna:ʔaša	EA lexical item (dominant) + SA (Form III) syllable structure (nondominant)

Table 11 The extension of the dominant language hypothesis made by Mejdell (2006:63)

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[79] Dominant language is not exactly the same thing as matrix language (a term coined by Myers-Scotton). The dominant language in the matrix language system is the language that, in bilingualism, supplies system morphemes. The distinction is discussed in Bentahila and Davies 1992 and in Mejdell 1999.

One of the first to illustrate this principle for Arabic was Schmidt who found that the combinations SA + EA were composed of a SA lexical stem + EA grammatical suffix but not EA stem + SA suffix. Examples:

STEM	+	SUFFIX	
SA	+	SA	e.g.: ḥa:rabat ("she fought") [SA ḥa:rab- + SA –at]
EA	+	EA	ḥarbit[80] [EA ḥarb- + EA –it]
SA	+	EA	ḥa:rabit [SA ḥa:rab- + EA –it]
*EA	+	SA	*ḥarbat [EA ḥarb- + SA –at]

Table 12 Adapted from Schmidt 1974:175.

This principle has been proved as correct for the following morphosyntactic structures:

(i) SUFFIX PRONOUNS

SA lexical item + SA PRON   qiṭa:r-uka ('your train')

EA lexical item + EA PRON   ʔaṭr-ak

SA lexical item + EA PRON[81]   qiṭa:r-ak

*EA lexical item + SA PRON   *ʔaṭr-uka

(ii) VERBAL PREFIXES

SA lexical item + SA PREFIX   sa-yaðhab(u)

EA lexical item + EA PREFIX   ha-yiru:ḥ

SA lexical item + EA PREFIX   ha-yaðhab (bi-yaðhab is also ok)

*EA lexical items + SA PREFIX   sa-yiru:ḥ

(iii) DEMONSTRATIVES

SA DEM + SA lexical item   ha:ða (ha:za) l-qiṭa:r ('this train')

EA lexical item + EA DEM   il-ʔaṭr da (dawwat etc.)

SA lexical item + EA DEM   (i/a)l-qiṭa:r da

*SA DEM + EA lexical item   *ha:ða (ha:za) l-ʔaṭr

(iv) RELATIVES

SA REL + SA lexical item   alla(:)ði(:) (alla(:)zi) istaṭa:ʕ…

EA REL + EA lexical item   illi ʔidir…

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[80] Probably Schmidt got confused here (he writes *ḥa:ribit*): the 3PSF of a III form verb has usually the reduction of the first long vowel: 3psm Cv:CvC / 3psf CvCCvC.

[81] «In cases where EA = SA pronoun suffixes (-ni, -na, -ha, -hum, -ka, -ki, -kum [-ka, -ki are not present in EA suffix pronoun system]) speakers and observers alike may consider suffixation on SA stems as just a case of oral SA 'pausal' forms, without considering the effects suffixation has by applying EA phonotactics and syllable structure, e.g. in EA tasli:m + hum > taslimhum; ḍuyu:f + ha > ḍuyufha» (Mejdell 2007:87). See also Mejdell (2006:345-347).

EA REL + SA lexical item	illi ʔistata:ʕ…
*SA REL + EA lexical item	* alla(:)ði(:) (alla(:)zi) ʔidir…

(v) COMPLEMENTIZERS

SA COM + SA lexical item	ʔan yuni:r/ʔann-ahu yuni:r
EA COM + EA lexical item	ʔinn(u) yinawwar
EA COM + SA lexical item	ʔinn(u) yuni:r
*SA COM + EA lexical item	*ʔan yinawwar

(vi) FEMININE STATUS CONSTRUCTUS ENDING (SA –AT/EA –IT)

SA lexical item + SA FSCE	θaqa:fat-uha:
EA lexical item + EA FSCE	naḍḍa:rit-ha
SA lexical item + EA FSCE	lagnat-ha (lagnit-ha)
*EA lexical item + SA FSCE	*naḍḍa:rat-uha

(vii) NEGATIVES (+ VERBS)[82]

SA NEG + SA lexical item	lan yufaḍḍil
EA NEG + EA lexical item	miš ha-yifaḍḍal
EA NEG + SA lexical item	miš ha-yufaḍḍil
*SA NEG + EA lexical item	*lan yifaḍḍil

Interesting is that in the *corpus* the 'dominant-language hypothesis' is not always confirmed, for example in the final clauses, as illustrated in this example:

1. **fa-tagassada**   **l-masi:ḥ**   **wa-taʔannas**   libis   il-insa:n

   so-he was incarnate   ART-Christ   and became man   he put on   ART-man

   So Christ was incarnate and became man, *he put on man*

2. **likay** /   yirgaʕ   ta::ni   li-l-insa:n   li-yukammil

   in order to   he returns   again   to-art-man   to-he fulfills

   so that *he could come back to man to fulfill*

   fi:h   xiṭṭat   alla:

   in him   plan   God

   in him God's plan.

(MM136 – 13'1.)

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[82] For the asymmetry of SA and EA in negative forms, see also Eid (1988).

A SA grammatical item (the final CONJ **likay**) is followed by an EA lexical item (yirgaʕ).

As stated earlier, Mejdell speaks of a *partial systematicity* where to the negative predictive element (the non-occurrence of certain forms) one must add the probable choice of certain competing or alternative forms. In her study Mejdell notes, on the basis of the distribution of the SA:EA variants, that SA DEM and NEG particles are preferred to EA forms while EA COMP and PRON are preferred to SA forms.

highest value SA   >   >   > highest value EA

      DEM/NEG > > >   REL/COMP > > >   PRON

                                                   (Mejdell 2007:89)

1.4.3. INTERSENTENCIAL CONTRAINTS

The intersentencial constraints are more complex. Schmidt's ordering rules and constraints (§1.4.2. and §2.6.1.) do not work syntagmatically, i.e. hold across words at phrase, clause, and sentence level.

On a macrolevel, the base rule is that the switching point will occur where the two grammars do not conflict (Auer 1984 et al.). Eid (1982, 1988) examined occurrences of CM in her data in four syntactic constructions: relative clause structures, subordinate clauses, tense and verb constructions, and negative and verb constructions. The components that marked each of these structures (and especially adverb and pronouns such as *allaːðiː, fiːmaː, sa-, lam* etc.) were called 'focal points'. Eid examined which combinations of SA and EA elements occurred (or were accepted) in the slot immediately preceding and following SA and EA variants of these 'focal points'. What emerges was that the SA or EA variant of the word preceding the 'focal point' was 'free,' i.e. it was not bound to the SA or EA variant of the 'focal point'. If the focal point was from SA, «the element immediately following that focal point must also be from SA» (1988:61). Conversely, if the focal point was from EA, «switching was found to be permitted after all focal points excepted after the negative» (1988:61). This was explained with the incongruity of the two grammatical systems as regards NEG.

She found two constraints:

1. CONTRADICTORY EFFECT CONSTRAINT «switching at some point, P, between two elements A and B is not permitted if the grammars of the two language varieties involved include contradictory conditions applicable to A and B—conditions that cannot be satisfied simultaneously» (1988:74). If the two grammars conflict, there will be no CS;

2. DIRECTIONALITY CONSTRAINT «if the focal point is from SA, switching to EA would not be permitted at the position immediately after that focal point» (1988:74).

1.4.3.1. base language

How to find the base language? That is: in a given SA/EA mixed mophosyntactic construction, how can we decide what is the base language? In this example

BAS0

ʔilli	*bi-taqaʕ*	*ʕala*	*ḥo:ḍ*	*il-baḥr*	*il-mutawassiṭ*
that	MOD-lie	on	basin	the-sea	the-Mediterranean

'that lie on the Mediterranean basin' (BAS0, Bassiouney 2006:45)

what is the base language? Is it SA or EA?

To understand this, Bassiouney (2006, 2009) critically discusses three models for her analysis (the two constraints theory, the government principle and the model of matrix and embedded language) but finally adopts the model of matrix language frame model (MLFM) by Myers-Scotton. Briefly speaking[83] when two languages are brought together by bilinguals, there is a dominant language[84] at work. This language is called *matrix language* (ML) and it can be only one. ML supplies and is defined by grammatical constituents, while content morphemes are supplied by ML and the other language, the embedded language (EL). There are two kind of morphemes: (i) CONTENT MORPHEMES (CM) assign or receive thematic role, like 'agent,' 'experiencer,' 'beneficiary' etc. This category includes noun, descriptive adjectives and most verb stems; (ii) SYSTEM MORPHEMES (SM) cannot assign or receive thematic roles. This category includes inflections, determiners, POSS adjectives and intensifier adverbs. EL can only supply CM. Apparently, in Egyptian Arabic ML is EA and EL is SA. Ex.:

BAS1

il-ʔi:ma:n	*miš*	*ka:fi:*	(Bassiouney 2009:45)
DET-belief	NEG	enough	

SM =
il DEF ART EA
miš NEG marker EA

---

[83] Refer to Myers-Scotton's major works in bibliography.

[84] As we have seen before, the dominant language in this context is not the same thing as the dominant language in Petersen (1988).

CM =

ʔi:ma:n noun SA

ka:fi: adjective SA (see below for a comment on this)

SM are supplied by the ML (=EA) and CM are supplied by EL (=SA).

In a redefined version of the MLFM, Myers-Scotton proposed the 4-M models giving four kinds of morphemes and not just two:

(i) CM;

(ii) EARLY SYSTEMS MORPHEMES – they add semantic/pragmatic information to their heads (CM): e.g. plural markers add specific information to their head;

(iii) BRIDGES or LATE SYSTEM MORPHEMES – possession or association fall into this category: e.g. the English preposition 'of';

(iv) OUTSIDER LATE SYSTEM MORPHEMES – case markers, affixes to nouns and markers on verbs that refer to the subject of the verb.

According to Bassiouney, this model can resolve examples which are not explicable with the MLFM system, when, for example, SA and EA SM cooccur (2009:46-52). However, there is also another model for those cases in which ML is not clear: it is the composite ML (Meyers-Scotton 1998). Ex.:

BAS2

ha:ða	*k-kala:m*	*laysa*	*ka:fiyan*
DEM.M.SG.	DET-talk	NEG	enough.ACC

SM =

ha:ða DEM SA

k- assimilated DEF ART EA

laysa neg SA

-an case marker SA

CM =

kala:m noun neutral

ka:fi: adjective SA

In this example there are SM from both codes. So what is the ML? According to the 4-M model, the ML is SA because k- is an EARLY SYSTEM MORPHEME and so, by adding

specificity to its head (*ha:ða*) is considerable SA. Moreover, says Bassiouney (2009:48-49) the structure of the clause is SA because in EA, DEM usually follows the noun. Later this same example is considered as having a composite ML (2009:56-57) because system morphemes are from both codes.

I have personally found a series of problems with this approach:

(i) the three models proposed by Myers-Scotton (MLFM, 4-M and composite ML) conflict with each other, or at least they conflict with regard to Arabic diglossicly mixed forms. The result given by one model can be reversed by that given by another model, as in BAS2;

(ii) given the extensive MPP overlap of SA and EA, the starting point itself is very questionable, namely the labelling of individual lexical and grammatical items. Changing the labelling of the individual factors, could affect the results provided by the model. For instance in BAS1, Bassiouney considers *ʔi:ma:n* and *ka:fi:* as being SA. On what basis does she decide this? We do not know and we can only imagine that it is because of the long vowelling. In fact they are ambiguous or shared words between EA and SA. Similarly, in example BAS0 (quoted at the beginning of this subparagraph), *ḥo:ḍ* is considered as EA. As we will see in chapter 2, monophthongization of diphthongs is seen as an indicator (see §2.6.1.) and have little effect on the speakers' perception of an element as being SA (Hary 1996:81);

(iii) are these models valid in more complex syntactical examples? If the base language is the result of the counting of the single items, what are the syntactic boundaries for this counting?;

(iv) it seems to me that these models poses again the problem instead of resolving it. The question is, in fact, what is the base language? The use of one of those models should serve to understand to what language or code a given mixed segment belongs. The result is that we can end up having a base language (ML) which is... mixed! So what is the utility? I believe that using insertional borrowings can solve a lot of problems, as we will see in the empirical investigation.

Alfonzetti is also very critical towards the models proposed by Myers-Scotton which she considers inapplicable to her Italian corpus «due to the high degree of parallelism in the syntactic structures of the two systems in contact» (1992:176, note 6). Myers-Scotton herself admits that CS in communities where the two languages show a good deal of morphosyntactic convergence, especially in the case of closely related languages, presents the biggest challenge to her models (see Myers-Scotton 1990:18).

I will come back again on this subject when I will deal with the labelling of the segments (§2.8.1.).

1.5. THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH (CS) TO MIXEDNESS

As we have seen, the 'functional approach' is interested in the *intersentential level* or *macro-level* (of the sentence) and has, as a principle goal, finding functions (or motivations) on various levels but especially on two: there are socially/psychologycally/indentity meaningful CS and sociolinguistically/textually meaningful CS (see §1.3.1.). The functional approach tries to answer the question: WHY do varieties mix up? As Gumperz put it «why should literate individuals who can communicate in one language insist on being allowed to use another which may be quite similar to the first in underlying grammatical and semantic structure? Why should speakers want to preserve and in bilingual situations alternate among several distinct ways of communicating similar referential information?» (1982:21).

The functional approach cannot do without the grammatical approach. It can concern conversations and monologues.

1.5.1. SOCIALLY/IDENTITY MEANINGFUL CS

CS seems to relate to social-group membership communities in bilingual and multilingual societies. CS is related to behaviours and class, ethnicity, and other social dynamics. Auer (1984) clearly suggests that CS does not simply reflect social situations, but that it is a means to create social situations. In fact, CS is one more tool that bilinguals have at their disposal and that they can use in the dynamics of the interactional and verbal communication which are also typical of situations of "monolinguisms" which have been studied by conversation analysis (see Ten Have 2011).

As Grosjean says, the social motivations for CS can be raising one's status, creating social distance, excluding someone, requesting or commanding (Grosjean 1982:136). CS is also linked to identity: speakers use a code or another giving evidence to the symbolic charge of the one or the other code used. This is what Gumperz (1982) calls the 'we-code' and the 'they-code' (see §1.7.1.).

Myers-Scotton (1993:113-150) gives an insight into the socially meaningful CS. She posits that language users choose a language that clearly marks their rights and obligations, relative to other speakers, in the conversation and its setting. She presents various socio-psychological factors as motivations for CS by proposing what she calls the *markedness model*. This markedness model adapts the premise that CS is a reflection of socio-psychological values associated with different linguistic varieties in a specific speech community. CS is essentially used in order to *negotiate a change in social distance between the speaker and other participants in the conversation*. In this model, the social meanings of

code choice, as well as the causes of alternation, are entirely defined in terms of participant rights and obligations. The markedness model comprises the *negotiation principle*, and three maxims namely; the *unmarked choice maxim*, the *marked choice maxim* and the *exploratory choice maxim*. The negotiation principle is modelled on Grice's (1975) cooperative principle. According to Myers-Scotton (1993:113), speakers choose the form of their conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of Rights and Obligations (RO) which the speaker wishes to be in force between him/her and the addressee during the given exchange. Myers-Scotton (1993:150) explains that CS occurs due to one of following four motivations.

(i) CS occurs to make a sequence of unmarked choices such that if situational factors change during the conversation, then a new code becomes unmarked;

(ii) CS is the unmarked choice with the presumption that a person with the sociolinguistic profile of the speaker will need to index the social identities associated with different codes in the same conversation allowing the speaker to switch between these codes thus *realising different identities simultaneously*;

(iii) CS as a marked choice in a case where the speaker negotiates a change in the *social distance* between him/herself and fellow participants with a need to dissociate him/herself;

(iv) CS as an exploratory choice whereby the speaker is uncertain of what language is required either because the interaction is new or that there is no prior sociolinguistic profile of the fellow participants.

According to Myers-Scotton, marked choices are often accompanied by prosodic features such as pauses, or metalinguistic commentaries on the switch. When the unmarked choice is not clear, speakers use code-switching in an exploratory way to establish the favoured social balance.

The Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), developed by Giles (Giles & Clair 1979), seeks to explain the cognitive reasons for code-switching, and other changes in speech, as a person seeks either to emphasize or to minimize the *social differences* between him- or herself and the other persons in conversation. Giles posits that when speakers seek approval in a social situation they are likely to converge their speech with that of the other person speaking. This can include, but is not limited to, the language of choice, accent, dialect, and para-linguistic features used in the conversation. In contrast to convergence, speakers might also engage in divergent speech, with which an individual person emphasizes the social distance between him- or herself and other speakers by using speech with linguistic features characteristic of his or her own group.

1.5.2. DIGLOSSIC CS (NA↔SA) IN CONVERSATION

Holes stated in 1993 that sociolinguistic studies on Arabic had mainly adopted a descriptive-linguistic approach and that the etiological-sociolinguistic approach had still obtained little attention.

> Almost all the work done so far has been addressed to the descriptive problem in answer to questions such as "What is Educated Spoken Arabic?" and "What linguistic features characterize interdialectal Arabic?". Little attention has been paid to questions which seek to explain observed variation like "What factors cause a speaker to switch styles?", "How is a switch signalled, linguistically and paralinguistacally?", and "What range of styles do individual speakers possess, and how do they use them?" (Holes 1993:17)

CS in conversational Arabic contexts mainly interests dialectal koineization when speakers who meet from different Arab countries and try to adapt their language moving back and forth from their own dialect to dialectal forms of the interlocutor or SA form or koineized forms (Holes 1995:293-294). An interesting example of how CS can be used to signal changes in the role a speaker is playing or claiming for him/herself in a conversation is given by Holes (1995:291). He quotes one conversation of the corpus gathered by the Leeds University team (see §1.2.4.) in which a group of two Jordanians (both male diplomats) and a Syrian (female secretary) who all live in Damascus discuss the shortage of housing in the city. The two men begin to speak about the nature of the problem and its cause (rent inflation, lack of prefabricated building materials etc.) in a close approximation to SA. Holes says that they treat the issue impersonally as an abstract 'social problem' and «the tone is one of an academic lecture» (Holes 1995:291). The two Jordanians then ask the Syrian woman to intervene. At the beginning she speaks a «nervous and hesitant» (ibid.) SA but, after a laughter that followed to a quip about whether she, as a Syrian and a house-owner, was one of the causes of the problem, the lady shifted to a more relaxed NA. Holes comments the extracts of the conversation (1995:292) with the two following points:

(i) DEGREE OF DISTANCE – speakers code-switch with relation to the degree of distance they put between themselves and the topic: academicness, detachment, '3rd-person abstract' is more related with SA while concreteness, confidentiality, '1st-person narrative' is more related to NA;

(ii) ORGANISATIONAL DISCOURSE - «even in parts of conversations where speakers are, like the two Jordanian men, giving an authoritative statement of 'how the world is' in a

language level approximating to fuṣḥa:, *parenthetical asides and comments based on personal experience, and invitations to other participants to state their views on the matter at hand are delivered at a more dialectal level»* (1995:291-292; italics are mine).

1.6. SITUATIONAL/METAPHORICAL CS

As we have seen in §1.5. the question that the functional approach of CS have been seeking an answer for is why speakers choose to engage in CS, what are the motivations and the goals for it. Blom and Gumperz's (1972) studied language use in Hemnesberget, a small village in northern Norway. In Hemnesberget, two varieties of Norwegian are used: Ranamål, a local dialect, and Bokmål, the standard variety. The speakers' decisions regarding which variety to use is in no sense arbitrary or haphazard. Blom and Gumperz report that the villagers use these two varieties on different occasions, largely because of the different social meanings they fulfil. Ranamål is used for locally based activities and relationships reflecting shared identities with the local culture. In contrast, Bokmål is used in official activities, such as school, church, and mass media, communicating an individual's dissociation from the local group.

Weinreich (1953:83) also had claimed, before Blom & Gumperz, that people switch because of the level of (in)formality of a given "situation". For example, a professor would use a formal code when he delivers a lecture because of the environment (lecture room). But he would use an informal code when, after the lecture, he would be asked by a student about more personal issues. So in this sense CS is given by the nature of the speech event: topic and participants solicit a certain code or another. Participants do not exercise choice but their switching will be determined by the two main circumstances (topic and participants).

Blom and Gumperz observed that in the villagers' conversations, switching from one variety to the other might occur in response to a more complex number of factors. For example, when an outsider joins a group of locals engaged in a conversation, the locals will often shift from Ranamål to Bokmål. This type of shift, occasioned by a change in participants, is referred to as *'situational' CS*: «the notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation» (1982:424).

Among the types of factors seen in §1.3. there was content of discourse and in particular "topic".

Some topics are better handled in one language than another either because the bilingual has learned to deal with a topic in a particular language, the other language

lacks specialized terms for a topic, or because it would be considered strange or inappropriate to discuss a topic in that language (Grosjean 1982:140)

This more complex type of CS, that occurs in response to a change in topic, was termed by Blom and Gumperz *'metaphorical' code-switch*: «the language here relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters rather than to change in social situation» (1982:425). The classic example of metaphorical CS is of a conversation at the local community administration office, where two villagers switch from the standard variety of Norwegian, in which they have been discussing official business, to the local variety to discuss family and other private affairs.

Blom and Gumperz's study is important because (i) it illustrated that CS is a complex, skilled linguistic strategy used by bilinguals to convey important social messages above and beyond the referential content of an utterance; (ii) sparked an interest in studying CS data in terms of a dynamic, interactional model that focuses on individual choices rather than static factors related to an individual social status; (iii) added new complexity to the factors at the base of CS.

In the example given by Holes (§1.5.2.) we have seen, however, that a same topic ("shortage of housing") could elicit both conflicting codes (in this case SA and NA) for two main reasons: (i) DEGREE OF DISTANCE – speakers code-switch with relation to the degree of distance they put between themselves and the topic: academicness, detachment, '3rd-person abstract' is more related with SA while concreteness, confidentiality, '1st-person narrative' is more related to NA; (ii) ORGANISATIONAL DISCOURSE - «even in parts of conversations where speakers are, like the two Jordanian men, giving an authoritative statement of 'how the world is' in a language level approximating to *fuṣḥa:*, *parenthetical asides and comments based on personal experience, and invitations to other participants to state their views on the matter at hand are delivered at a more dialectal level*» (1995:291-292; italics are mine).

In fact, Gumperz offers a developed version of his definition of metaphorical CS in his 1982 book: "Discourse strategies".

1.7. OUTLINE ABOUT RHETORICAL VALUES OF *CS*

In his 1982 book, Gumperz posits that «rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situation norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood» (1982:61). The individual's choice of a code

has, for Gumperz, a symbolic value and interpretive consequences that cannot be explained simply by correlating the incidence of linguistic variants with independently determined social and contextual categories. He, therefore, coins a new term for metaphorical CS: *conversational CS*.

Gumperz' definition of *conversational CS* is as follows:

the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems (1982:59)

This juxtaposition is meaningful for bilinguals and it is a communicative resource while it could seem unpredictable for 'outsiders'.

This mechanism of spoken language, typical of bilinguals, is thought to bear a number of rhetorical or metaphorical significations or functions similar, in some respects, to the figures of speech: «Detailed observation of verbal strategies revealed that an individual's choice of speech style has *symbolic value* and *interpretative consequences* that cannot be explained simply by correlating the incidence of linguistic variants with independently determined social and contextual categories» (Gumperz 1982:VII; Italics are mine). Monolinguals as well use similar rhetorical mechanisms. They are not accomplished, however, through CS but through some particular prosodic characteristics. Alfonzetti writes, in fact, that the practice of bilinguals is considerable as «an alternative [...] to the other techniques normally used in monolingual discourse, like *self-interruption, vowel lengthening, hesitation pauses, repetition* etc.» (1998:186; italics are mine). From the analyzed *corpus* it is clear how bilinguals use these prosodic features side by side with CS so that, for instance, switching from EA to SA is accompanied by a slowdown in expression, hesitation etc.

As we have seen, the phenomenon is not to be related to *diaphasic* or *diastratic* categories since, even if one fixed diaphasic and diastratic variables, this mechanism would occur anyway.

Given its importance as a rhetorical mechanism, CS could be even considered, for bilingual settings, as the fifth fundamental rhetorical operation, added to the four defined by classical rhetoric (*quadripartita ratio*): addition (*adiectio* = for example, in repetition), omission (*detractio* = for example, in asyndeton), permutation (*immutatio* = for example, in metaphor) and transposition (*transmutatio* = for example, in anastrophe). In reality, CS is not an operation in itself but it helps speakers to realize these four main operations. On a rhetorical level, one would encounter something similar to what occurs, in written texts, with figures of speech, literary devices aiming at creating a particular sound or meaning

effect. Figures of speech are, as it is well known, dozens. However, only some relate to meaning, while others refer to diction, elocution, rhythm. Figures of meaning (*tropes*) are those in which a word or an expression is redirected from its own meaning to a figurative one or it delivers a content other than the original and literal one. What figures of meaning and rhetoric values of CS share is their being metasemantic. Just as the rhetorical meaning of a metaphor or an antonomasia also rhetorical meanings of CS appear clearly only after a metatextual interpretation. However, while usually in metaphor only the figurative meaning represents the real intention of the writer (otherwise there is just no metaphor), in CS the rhetorical sense exists in the same time with the message conveyed by the elocution. So, in spoken language, through the switching from one code to another not only one expresses an extra-textual, rhetorical sense, but the proper meaning of the elocution is preserved. A process of metatextual (rhetorical) interpretation will let an interpretation of this extra-textual sense possible. A further difference between written text and oral conversation is a dynamic dialogic relationship that is established between speaker and listener and that constantly changes during the linguistic interaction with the changing of certain sociolinguistic and/or rhetorical variables. In this regard, Gumperz points out:

> Conversational exchanges do have certain dialogic properties, which differentiate them from sentences or written texts [...]: a. interpretations are jointly negotiated by speaker and hearer and judgements either confirmed or changed by the reactions they evoke; b. conversations in themselves often contain internal evidence of what the outcome is, i.e. of whether or not participants share interpretive conventions or succeed in achieving their communicative ends. (1982:5; italics are mine)

In fact Gumperz quotes Grice's discussion of conversational implicature. Conversation, for Grice, is a cooperative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand the purpose of the activity to be. So what is conveyed in a conversation is (i) the literal meaning in the sense in which that term is understood (ii) a series of indirect inferences based on what Grice calls the cooperative principle: «Make your contribution such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged» (1975:67). The principle is a description of how people normally behave in conversation, although it has been phrased as a prescriptive command. People who obey the cooperative principle in their language use will make sure that what they say in a conversation favours the purpose of that conversation. Yet

Gumperz states that code usage reflects more complex conventions created through networks of interpersonal relationship subject to change. Conversational principles (as the four sub-principles of Grice's cooperative principle) are universal but the way they are articulated in a given situation is culturally specific. This specificity applies to CS too: bilingualisms share a lot of mechanism but everyone of them has its own specificity.

1.7.1. 'WE-CODE' VS. 'THEY-CODE'

The basic distinction in conversational CS is the 'we-code' and the 'they-code'. The 'we-code' is «associated with in-*group and informal activities*» while the 'they-code' is the majority language (he speaks about situation of bilingualisms) which is «associated with the *more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations*» (1982:66; emphasis is mine). This distinction is based on the «*meaningful juxtaposition* of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of *two distinct grammatical systems*» (1982:66; first emphasis is mine, last one is the author's). Gumperz means that a non-meaningful juxtaposition is not a conversational CS but something else (a borrowing, for example). To understand the meaning a detailed investigation of speakers' use of CS strategies is needed based on empirical data. The identity opposition *'we' code/'they' code*, theorized by Gumperz in bilingual conversations, tends to bring significant psycho-social signification. He writes: «participants are likely to interpret 'we' code passages as personalized or reflecting speaker involvement and 'they' code passages as indicating objectification or speaker distance. But this does not mean that all 'we' code passages are clearly identifiable as personalized on the basis of overt content or discourse context alone. In many of these cases it is *the choice of code itself in a particular conversational context* which forces this interpretation»[85]. (Gumperz, 1982: 83-84; Italics are the author's).

1.7.2. METAPHORICAL FUNCTIONS ACCORDING TO GUMPERZ

According to Gumperz, CS has a number of functions, namely «tacit presuppositions which are best recovered through indirect conversational analysis» (1982:75). CS works as a vehicle of metaphorical information aiming at achieving the main purposes of rhetoric: 'distinguishing different parts of the discourse' and 'convincing others':

> The social norms or rules which govern language usage here, at first glance at least, seem to function much like grammatical rules. They form part of the underlying

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[85] For a critical test of the distinction we-code/they-code see Sebba & Wooton 1998.

knowledge which speakers use to convey meaning. Rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood (Gumperz 1982:61]).

Gumperz provides the following possible metaphorical/rhetoric functions of *CS*:

1.7.2.1. *QUOTATIONS* «in many instances the code switched passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech» (1982: 75-76). Gumperz offers an example of this type of *CS*. The speaker recounts his medical examination at the doctor switching from English to Hindi: (GUMP1) "He says: *ye hi medsin kɔntinyu kəro bhai* (continue taking this medicine friend)" (1982:76);

1.7.2.2. *ADDRESSE SPECIFICATION* code is switched depending on the person one talks to, an adjustment to the conversation partner(s)'s language. I wonder if this function is to be considered rhetorical or not. In fact it seems to me not to be text-related;

1.7.2.3. *INTERJECTIONS* «the code switching serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler» (Gumperz 1982:77);

1.7.2.4. *REITERATION* speaker repeats the message or part of it in the other language, in order to clarify or emphasize: «frequently a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message» (Gumperz 1982: 78);

1.7.2.5. *MESSAGE QUALIFICATION* one produces in the other language a segment that qualifies or specifies or comments what is said in one language;

1.7.2.6. *PERSONALIZATION VS. OBJECTIVIZATION* «the code contrast here seems to relate to such things as: *the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact*» (Gumperz 1982:80; Italics are mine).

Since it will be one of the main features found in the analyzed Arabic *corpus*, I think it is interesting to quote the example set by Gumperz (1982: 81) referring to the latter function of the *conversational* CS.

GUMP2
Spanish-English. Chicano professionals. A talks about her attempt to cut down on smoking:
A: ...I'd smoke the rest of the pack myself in the other two weeks.

B: That's all you smoke?

A: Tha's all I smoked.

B: And how about now?

A: *Estos...me los hallé...estos Pall Malls me los hallaron* (these...I found these Pall Malls they...these were found for me). No I mean that's all the cigarettes...that's all. They're the ones I buy.

Later in the same conversation:

A: ...they tell me "How did you quit Mary?" I don't quit I...I just stopped. I mean it wasn't an effort that I made *que voy a dejar de fumar por que me hace daño o* (that I'm going to stop smoking because it's harmful to me or) this or that uh-uh. It's just that I used to pull butts out of the waste paper basket yeah. I used to go look in the...*se me acababan los cigarros en la noche* (my cigarettes would run out on me at night). I'd get desperate *y ahi voy al basarero a buscar, a sacar* (and there I go to the wastebasket to look for some, to get some), you know. [Gumperz' italics]

Commenting on the latter example, the author states: «the code contrast symbolizes varying degrees of speaker involvement in the message. Spanish statements are personalized while English reflects more distance. The speaker seems to alternate between *talking about* her problem in English and *acting out* her problem through words in Spanish». (Gumperz 1982:81; italics are mine). In this passage, Spanish is used to express feelings, convey intimate and personal feelings while English is used to convey facts. This wavering between two linguistic codes show an ambivalence in the attitude of the woman of the example in relation to the question discussed. It appears evident here how CS can be a bearer of meaning as much as of lexical choice, for example.

Gumperz states that in order to really understand the semantic processes that are at work in CS, one must see whether CS's direction is from a 'we code' to a 'they code' or the contrary. He proposes these two examples:

CS THEY CODE → WE CODE	CS WE CODE → THEY CODE
(GUMP3) *Father talking to his five year old son, who is walking ahead of him through a train compartment and wavering from side to side:* Keep straight. *Sidha jao* ('keep straight,' Hindi)	(GUMP4) *Adult talking to a ten year old boy who is practicing in the swimming pool:* *Baju-me jao beta, andar mat* ('go to the side son, not inside,' Hindi). Keep to the side!
(GUMP5)	(GUMP6)

A *Spanish-English sequence taken from a mother's call to children:*	A *Spanish-English sequence taken from a mother's call to children:*
Come here. Come here. *Ven acá* ('come here').	*Ven acá* ('come here'). *Ven acá* ('come here'). Come here, you.

In GUMP3 and GUMP5 the CS is from the 'they code' (English) to the 'we code' (Hindi and Spanish) while in GUMP4 and GUMP6 the CS is reversed. When speakers were asked if there was a changing in meaning, they agreed that the *reversal normally does make a difference*: «the shift to the 'we' code was seen as signifying more of a personal appeal, paraphrasable as "won't you please," whereas the reverse shift suggests more of a warning or mild threat» (1982:92). So 'we code' and 'they code' can in fact have metaphorical extension. They can, in fact, mean the oppositions: warning/personal appeal; causal remark/personal feeling; decision based on convenience/decision base on annoyance; personal opinion/generally known fact (1982:93-94).

Coming back to the similitude figures of speech = rhetoric of CS, in the continuous mixing between multiple linguistic systems, it is possible to see a process of 'sense' building. Sense, here, has to be meant, using Wittgenstein's maxim («*the meaning of a word is its use in the language*»[86]) as the sum of rhetorical uses of commutations. In order to be able to read the steps of this process, both in the oral and in written texts, it is necessary to determine what sense one has to give to the figure of speech. By analyzing the oral language of a Norwegian village, Gumperz believes that this process of 'interpretation' is not simply (socio-)linguistic as it implies also a deep ethnographic knowledge:

> What on surface seemed like a relatively homogeneous, isolated and therefore presumably stable Norwegian community revealed fundamental differences in social values […] It was this difference in values […] that served to explain the basic facts of language usage in the community. All residents spoke both the local dialect and a regional variant of Bokmål, one of the two accepted forms of standard Norwegian. However, all speakers differed with respect to where and for what communicative goals they chose among the two codes. What was normal usage for some in some situations counted as marked for others. Marked forms, moreover, tended to be used to convey indirect inferences which could only be understood by someone who knew both the speaker's family background and his or her position within the local spectrum

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[86] Wittgenstein (1958:43).

of value operations. Language usage in situations such as these is thus not simply a matter of conforming to norms of appropriateness, but is a way of conveying information about values, beliefs and attitudes that must first be discovered through ethnographic investigation, and that in everyday situations define the underlying assumptions with respect to which participants infer what is intended (1982:27).

It should be pointed out that this 'interpretation' of the rhetorical intentions of CS is not always immediate and that it may sometimes be changeable. Garfinkel (1972) showed how a variety of interpretations is sometimes possible while Brown & Yule (1983:11) write that «the perception and interpretation of each text is essentially subjective.»

Gumperz' list of code switching functions inspired many later scholars to refine or propose their own lists of functions (e.g. McClure and McClure 1988; Romaine 1989; Alfonzetti 1992; Nishimura 1997; Zentella 1997 and others). Sometimes, as Auer (1995) suggests, the functions suggested by such lists are often ill defined. For example lists tend to combine linguistic structures (such as interjection) and pragmatic or conversational functions (message qualification etc.) without attempting to trace the relationship between forms and functions.

1.8. RHETORICAL VALUES OF THE *CS* IN SPOKEN ARABIC

1.8.1. *UPWARD AND DOWNWARD SWITCHING ACCORDING TO BADAWĪ*

To these rhetorical and symbolic values of CS, in spoken Egyptian Arabic, Badawī devotes a brief hint in his *Mustawayāt al-ʕarabiyya al-muʕāṣira fī Misr* that we have discussed in §1.2.2.2. According to Badawī (1973:151) the level in which SA and EA 'mix up' in oral elocution is mainly the intermediate level, the *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn*, as seen before in §1.2.2.2.1 and §1.2.2.2.2.

In particular, we have seen how mixed language (which is represented by *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn*) uses rhetorical/stylistic potentialities of SA (besides SA lexicon) to express *abstract meanings* and EA syntax.

This hint was developed by Badawī in a short appendix of his work - a clear sign of the fact that this interpretation of the discursive activity in Arabic was still in an embryonic stage - entitled بعض المسائل المتعلقة بالمستويات بصفة عامة 'some general questions regarding levels'. In section b. of this appendix (أسس الانتقال بين المستويات أثناء الحديث) 'the bases of level switching during conversation', Badawī, (1973:207-213) distinguishes two issues:

1. المستويات التي يتم بينها الانتقال ‘levels between which switch takes place’;

2. اتجاه الانتقال بين المستويات ومداه ‘the direction and the extent of level switching’.

As far as the first point is concerned, Badawī states that, since the cultural factor is an essential characteristic of switching, ʕāmmiyat al-ʔummiyyīn is to be considered excluded from those levels within which switching can take place. This is because, in the Badawian scheme, ʕāmmiyat al-ʔummiyyīn represents the lowest sociocultural level (§1.2.2.2.1.). In addition, switching does not normally occur between fuṣḥā al-turāθ and fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr because the education that the speaker has received - religious or secular - leads him to prefer either one (fuṣḥā al-turāθ) or the other (fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr).

With regard to the second point, Badawī outlines two possible chains of *CS*.

1. *fuṣḥā al-turāθ ↔ ʕāmmiyat al-mutanawwirīn ↔ ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn*
2. *fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr ↔ ʕāmmiyat al-mutanawwirīn ↔ ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn*
(see Badawi, 1973:208)

According to his pyramid model, Badawī speaks of two switching mechanisms between these three levels:

1. الصعود في المستويات ‘UPWARD SWITCHING’;

2. الهبوط في المستويات ‘DOWNWARD SWITCHING’.

1.8.1.1. upward switching

Regarding upward switching, namely the transition from ʕāmmiyat al-mutanawwirīn to ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn or ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn to fuṣḥā al-turāθ or fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr, Badawī (1973:208) writes:

يكون الانتقال صعودًا من الثاني [عامية المتنورين] إلى الثالث [عامية المثقفين] أو من الثالث إلى الرابع [فصحى العصر] ويحدث ذلك عندما يصل المتكلم في حديثه إلى نقطة يريد أن يلخص عندها شيئًا ممــا قاله أو يستخلص منه العبرة.[87]

By presenting some examples of upward switching, taken from his *corpus*, Badawī includes among its functions also expressing a *ḥikma* ‘maxim’. Example:

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[87] «The upward switch takes place from the second level [ʕāmmiyat al-mutanawwirīn] towards the third [ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn] or from the third towards the fourth [fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr]. It occurs when the speaker reaches a point where he wants to epitomize something which has been said or to draw a lesson».

(BAD4) *The interviewer Kamāl al-Malāx asks, in a tv programme "Sīnimāʔiyyāt", the actress Samīra Aḥmad about the role of the dumb she became famous for.*

misa:ʔ il-xe:r / ḍifitna l-le:la ḥa-titkallim / ġari:ba! / maʕa ʔinnaha kanit xarṣa / ʔaw / ʔil-ʔism ʔilli ʔištaharit bi: / ka:nit baṭalit film il-xarṣa / wi-law šafu:ha n-na:s f iš-ša:riʕ ḥa-yiʔu:lu ʔil-xarṣa ʔahè etc.[88] (1973:187)

Lexically and MPP this sentence is perfectly EA.

Then al-Malāx, «suddenly» (1973:209) wants to epitomize the situation or to derive the sense of it and he says:

ʕala kull ḥa:l hiya qudra min il-fanna:n ʔinnu yumassil ʔayy šaxṣiyya yaʕgiz al-insa:n il-ʕa:di ʔinnu yiʔu:m bi:ha[89] (1973:188).

We ignore a lot of elements of this sentence because Badawī could not specify them in his transcription with Arabic letters. We do not know whether, for instance, final vowels are pronounced or not. He only specified that (i) in *qudra*, /q/ is pronounced and (ii) in *yaʕgiz*, the pronominal prefix is vocalized with /a/ «مستوى عالٍ من نطق هذا الفعل» (1973:209)[90]. This means that these are for Badawī features that cause a switch in level (see also §1.2.2.2. and §2.6.1.). In fact he says that in this example a passage from *ʕāmmiyat al-mutanawwirīn* to *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn* takes place. This passage expresses a *ḥikma* 'maxim'. We will come again to some features like the COMP *ʔinnu* or the last EA clause *ʔinnu yiʔu:m bi:ha* embedded in an almost-SA context.

Once the *ḥikma* is expressed, the speaker switches again to a lower level (see 1973:188 and 209): *kam film ʔinti ʕamalti: fi ḥaya:tik?*

1.8.1.2. downward switching

As far as the downward switching is concerned, namely the transition from *fuṣḥā al-turāθ* or *fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr* to *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn* or from *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn* to *ʕāmmiyat al-mutanawwirīn*, Badawī (1973:208) says:

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[88] Transcription adapted from Arabic letters. «Good evening, our guest tonight will speak. Weird! Though she was dumb, or this is the name that made her famous. She was the protagonist of the film "The Dumb". And if people meet her in the street they'll say 'here comes the dumb'»

[89] «In any case, it is the ability of the artist to represent any character that common people fail to perform»

[90] «With a high level of pronunciation of this verb»

يكون الانتقال في الاتجاه المقابل أي هبوطًا من الرابع [فصحى العصر] أو الخامس [فصحى التراث] إلى الثالث [عامية المثقفين] أو من الثالث إلى الثاني [عامية المتنورين] في حالات الـــشرح والتفـــسير، أي عكس المواقف التي تستدعي الصعود. فقد يذكر المتكلم قضية أو مسألة يعتقد أنها من التركيز والإبهـــام بحيث تتطلب منه تخفيف هذا التركيز. وفي تلك الحالة كثيرًا ما يلجأ إلى المستوى الأدنى ليتخذه وسـيلة لتحقيق غرضه.[91]

Badawī gives this example:

(BAD5) *Taken from a conference entitled "al-tarbiya fi Miṣr wa-baʕḍ mašākiliha"* *('Education in Egypt and some of its problems'). The lecturer begins with SA:*

Fa-qad ga:ʔa Muḥammadun ʕAli ʔila: Miṣr fi: bida:yat al-qarn at-ta:siʕ ʕašar wa-wagad at-taʕli:m yanḥaṣir fi: niẓa:mayn: al-niẓa:m ad-di:ni al-qadi:m wa-n-niẓa:m al-ʕaṣri ʔalla:ði: yatamaθθal fi l-mada:ris il-waṭaniyya[92] (1973:211-212)

Here the lecturer feels he must give some explanation («šarḥ») so he changes his tone and he starts saying:

ka:n mawgu:d niẓame:n: niza:m di:ni yitmassil fi l-katati:b wi-mada:ris il-gawa:miʕ wi-da ka:n ʕati:ʔ giddan yaʕni yiʕallim maba:diʔ il-qira:ʔa wi-di:n isla:mi w-qurʔa:n wi-baʕḍ il-ḥisa:b / bi-n-nisba li-l-ʔaʔba:ṭ wi-l-yahu:d il-maṣriyyi:n ka:nu barḍak ʕamli:n

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[91] «The switch in the opposite direction, namely downward, occurs from the fourth [*fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr*] or the fifth [*fuṣḥā al-turāθ*] level towards the third [*ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn*] or from the third towards the second [*ʕāmmiyat al-mutanawwirīn*] in cases of gloss or exegesis, namely in those situations opposed to those that require upward switching. That is, the speaker might quote an issue or a problem that seems condensed or ambiguous enough to require an explanation. In this case, he frequently uses the lower level that he takes as a tool to achieve his own purpose».

It seems that Badawī got confused with regard to the five-level model that we have previously described (Badawī, 1982:89-91). What is not clear (but then everything is understood through context) is whether the levels cited by Badawī should be counted starting from *ʕāmmiyat al-ʔummiyyīn* or *fuṣḥā al-turāθ*. In fact, in the pages where he describes the five-level model the first of these is *fuṣḥā al-turāθ* and the last is *ʕāmmiyat al-ʔummiyyīn*. So, the upward switching should be understood from the fifth (i.e. the last) towards the first one and vice versa with regards to the downward switching while Badawī inadvertently reverses the scale and he talks about an upward switching from the first to the fifth level and a downward switching from the fifth to the first. Also, in the first quotation about the upward switching Badawī does not seem to consider *fuṣḥā al-turāθ* at all.

[92] «Muḥammad ʕAlī came to Egypt in the early Nineteenth century and found that education was limited to two systems: the ancient religious system and the modern system that is represented by the national schools»

nafs in-niẓa:m / taʕli:m di:ni yahu:di ʔaw taʕli:m di:ni ʔaw taʕli:m di:ni ʔibṭi **la yatamayyaz ʕan it-taʕli:m il-isla:mi fi še:ʔ**[93] (1973:212)

Here too, there are a lot of MPP characteristics got lost in the Arabic transcription and could help us understand the nature of this passage better. We don't know, for example, to what extent the consonantic sequence يتمسل is colloquialized (is it /yatamassal/, /yitmassal/, /yitmassil/ etc.) or is عتيق pronounced /ʕati:q/ or /ʕati:ʔ/ (I chose this last one). Badawī says that here is a passage from *fuṣḥā al-ʕaṣr* to *ʕāmmiyat al-muθaqqafīn*. It seems to me that many features confirm that this EA (MPP of verbs like yitmassil, yiʕallim, ʕamli:n etc.; ADV like barḍak etc.). Badawī, though, does not consider the last clause *la yatamayyaz ʕan it-taʕli:m il-isla:mi fi še:ʔ* as a further upward switching. It seems that this last clause becomes a sort of a *triggered switch* (see §3.1.1.) The lecturer, in fact, after giving the *šarḥ*, switches back to SA.

ga:ʔa Muḥammadun ʕAli wa-wagada ha:ða: n-niẓa:m, wa-wagada ʔila: ga:nibihi niẓa:m al-mada:ris al-ʔagnabiyya[94] (1973:212).

Al-ṣuʕūd and *al-hubūṭ fī l-mustawayāt*, as Badawī defines the *diglossic CS*, is not a mere sociolinguistic possibility but it brings in itself clear rhetorical significances.

1.8.2. RHETORICAL USE OF SA AND EA IN POLITICAL SPEECH (HOLES 1993)

Holes is among those who reflected about this rhetorical value of CS in spoken Arabic. In a famous article of his, he confirmed, through the analysis of contemporary oral texts, the function of the interaction *personalization vs. objectivization* that was mentioned by Gumperz (see §1.7.2.) and described by Badawī for the Egyptian situation (see §1.8.1.).

Holes analyzed some political speeches. While admitting that political speeches are a genre in itself, which do not always adhere to the stylistic rules of 'normal' speech, however, he considers that the six excerpts of the Egyptian *leader* Ǧamāl ʕAbd al-Nāṣir that he analysed might be considered patterns of improvised live dialogues in which the interlocutor (most often the 'Egyptian people') was absent. Holes focuses on code

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[93] «There where two systems: religious system represented by the *kuttabs* and mosques' schools and this was very ancient; it taught the basics of reading and of the Islamic religion, Koran and some mathematics. As far as the Egyptian Christians and the Jews are concerned they used the same system: Jewish religious education or Coptic religious education, which did not distinguish itself from the Islamic education at all»

[94] «When Muḥammad ʕAlī came, he found this system and, beside it, the foreign schools»

changings of some of Nāṣir's speeches in which he passes, suddenly, from a SA sentence to a EA, as the following:

> HOL1
> **šaʕa:runa ʔannana sa-nuqa:til, sa-nuqa:til wa-lan nusallim** --- SA
> *'Our slogan is that we will fight, we will fight and will not surrender'*
> da šaʕa:r kulli fard min il-quwwa:t il-musallaḥa, wa-da šaʕa:r kulli fard min aš-šaʕb --- EA
> *'This is the slogan of every individual of the armed forces and this is the slogan of every individual of the people'* (Holes 1996:27; Holes' transcription has been adapted)

Holes explains this sudden change as the differentiation between oral material considered as 'text' (in SA) and material considered as 'comment,' 'exegesis' of the 'text' (in EA). The two sentences are almost identical in meaning. The first sentence says what 'our slogan' is. This 'text' is accompanied by prosodic elements: a pause, both before and after the text, a slow and modulating rhythm. In addition, the output in SA provides him a *certificate of authoritativeness* (see Mazraani 2008:669-670). SA expresses, in fact, *abstraction, idealization and eternal values* because they have become associated in Arab society with «an abstract and idealized form of language, and to be effective to an Arab audience, however dimly some of them may understand the actual words, a message which sets out to appeal to abstractions and ideals should itself be in an idealized form of language, that is, fuṣḥā» (1996:26-27). The second sentence is considered by Holes as the 'comment' to the text. It refers to the 'text,' which has been previously made clear, and specifically reiterates that '*that* (the one expressed in SA) is the slogan' (Holes 1996:27). In the 'exegesis,' prosodic features like *ʔiʕrāb* which are important to the 'scripture' (the 'text'), are inappropriate.

1.8.2.1. SA = truth, abstractness; EA = marginal discourse, concreteness

Holes tries to establish the rhetorical relationship, on the one hand, between types of ideal items and personal systems of reference, and, on the other hand, linguistic codes (dialect, standard, hybrid Arabic). From the analysis of his *corpus,* the author concludes that the 'important' messages, what are perceived as 'truths', 'theorizations' are expressed in SA and are paralinguistically marked by a slow elocution; the 'organizational speech', which is not central to the message, and it is thus marginal, it is said in EA and in a faster way. SA is used by Nāṣir to express abstract, idealized, metaphoric messages, and without any kind of personalization. EA is used, instead, to channel what is felt as concrete and physical and it is strongly linked to the personalization of the facts (see Holes, 1996:33).

EA is also used to express reference to the *mi:θa:q* (Nāṣir's work), rhetorical questions and the asides. The two varieties are used in tandem: SA conveys the abstract aspect of a question and EA amplifies its effects in the real world. Holes (1993:33) summarizes this dynamics stating that «the *ʕāmmiyya* organizes for the audience in 'real time' the 'timeless' *fuṣḥā* text». It is interesting to notice that Holes continues to see as SA («a kind of standardized Arabic» (1993:31-32)) a segment like this:

HOL2

kullina ʕandina tagruba waḍḥa [...] **min ʔabli θ-θawra wa:gihit id-dimuqra:ṭiyya l-muzayyafa lam takun bi-ʔayyi ḥa:l tumaθθil ʔilla: dimuqra:ṭiyyit ir-ragʕiyya [...] id-dimuqra:ṭiyya illi ka:nit mawgu:da ʔabli θ-θawra / lamma ka:nit ir-ragʕiyya tusayṭir ʕala iqtiṣa:d il-bila:d wa sarwit il-bila:d / ka:nat hiya ṣa:ḥibat an-nufu:z / wa-ka:nat ar-ragʕiyya hiya ṣa:ḥibat al-ʔimtiya:za:t / ka:nat dimuqra:ṭiyya muzayyafa [...]**
'We've all got clear experience of this ... Before the revolution, the façade of counterfeit democracy never represented more than the democracy of reactionary forces ... the democracy we had before the revolution, when reactionaries controlled the economy and resources of the country and were influential and privileged, was a fake democracy' (1993:42; Holes' translation; transcription adapted)

Holes considers the COMP *illi* as an «occasional concessions to the colloquial in items chosen to fill certain slots» (1993:31). Despite these EA elements, the «impression is still one of Nāṣir giving an academic exposition» (1993:31).

1.8.2.2. SA = political axioms; EA = false discourses

In another interesting excerpt EA is used to report an anonymous 'they' 's claim that democracy already existed in Egypt.

HOL3

a. ka:nu bi-yʔu:lu nnu fi:h ḥurriyya siya:siyya aw fi:h dimuqra:ṭiyya siya:siyya [EA]
'And they used to say that there was political freedom and there was political democracy'
b. **wa-la:kin il-istiġla:l wa-l-ʔiqta:ʕ wa-raʔs il-maal al-mustaġill qaḍa: ʕala kilmit id-dimu:qratiyya** [SA]
'But exploitation, feudalism and exploitative capital put an end to the idea of democracy'
c. illi ʔalu:ha [EA]
'which they meant'
d. ʕalaša:n kida iḥna bi-nʔu:l [EA]
'so that's why we say'

e. **la: yumkin fi ʔayyi ḥa:l ʔan yuqa:l ʔanna huna:ka ḥurriyya ʔilla: ʔiða: tawaffarat ad-dimuqra:ṭiyya s-siya:siyya maʕa d-dimuqra:ṭiyya al-ʔigtima:ʕiyya** [SA]
'it is impossible in any circumstances for it to be claimed that there is freedom unless democracy exists alongside social democracy' (Holes 1993:32; Holes' translation and division; transcription adapted)

The importance of the passage is that Nāṣir, by using EA, between two SA claims (b. and e.) that present two political axioms ("exploitation, feudalism and exploitative capital put an end to the idea of democracy" + "it is impossible in any circumstances for it to be claimed that there is freedom unless democracy exists alongside social democracy"), wanted to give to their declarations less weight because they have less truth value than his axioms. This will be clear also in our corpus: often EA marks what 'is not correct' or 'shouldn't be done' in relation to what 'is correct' or 'should be done'.

1.8.2.3. Repetition of the same segment to emphasize and as role-specifier

Another aspect of the mixed elocution is especially highlighted by this brief excerpt:

HOL4
a. **al-yawma, ya: ʔixwa:ni:, nanẓuru li-l-ma:ḍi: bi-ntiṣa:ra:tihi / nanẓuru li-l-ma:ḍi: bi-maʕa:rikihi wa-nanẓur li-l-ma:ḍi: bi-šuhada:ʔihi wa-nanẓuru li-l-ʔaʕla:mi llati: rafaʕna:ha: bi-n-naṣr […] wa-nataðakkaru ʔaʕla:mana llati: ḍurrigat bi-d-dima:ʔ**
b. in-naharda, ya: xwa:ni / nbuṣṣ li-l-ma:ḍi bi-ntiṣa:ra:tu […] nbuṣṣ li-l-ma:ḍi bi-maʕa:riku […] nbuṣṣ li-l-ma:ḍi bitaʕna bi-šuhada:ʔu […] nbuṣṣ […] li-l-aʕla:m bitaʕitna illi rafaʕna:ha bi-n-naṣr […] w-niftikir il-aʕla:m bitaʕitna illi ḍurrigat bi-d-dima:ʔ
'Today, my brethren, we look at the past with its victories, we look at the past with its battles, we look at the past with its martyrs, we look at the flags that we raised in victory [...] and we remember our blood stained flags' (Holes 1993:34; Holes' translation; transcription adapted)

Text a. and text b. are identical. Text b. 'rewrites' text a. in another code. According to Holes between the two a process of lexical replacement occurs in the first place: *al-yawm* (a.) → *in-naharda* (b.); *nanẓuru* (a.) → *nbuṣṣ* (b.); *nataðakkar* (a.) → *niftikir* (b.). Then the replacement occurs on a morphosyntactic level: *allati* (a.) → *illi* (b.); *iḍāfa* (a.) → *bita:ʕ* (b.). The need to deliver twice the same concept with two different codes is explained by the fact that the first 'we' (*nanẓur, nataðakkar*) refers to Egypt on a international level, an Egypt that works for peace and stability while the second 'we' (*nbuṣṣ, niftikir*) refers to the Egyptians themselves, to the public. Once again the use of EA is the concrete expression and the location of a rhetorical and world message and becomes the 'comment' to a 'text'

expressed in SA. Somehow the 'tactical' role that Nāṣir wants to assume precedes, according to Holes, the linguistic choice.

Holes emphasizes how these functions have «much wider geographical and social validity» (1993:37) than these Nāṣir's discourses. He quotes the example already mentioned above in §1.5.2. which concerns a Damascene woman and two Jordanian men and briefly recalls some examples from his Baḥraynī *corpus*.

Not far from the conclusions drawn by Gumperz in other linguistic contexts (see Holes, 1993:37), Holes summarizes in three key factors the variation in Arabic: (i) STATUS that the speaker wishes to be accorded to what he is saying and that may change frequently during a conversation; (ii) SPEECH FUNCTION a part of the speech is felt as 'textual' and another 'organizational'; (iii) ROLE which one hopes to play with the interlocutor. We will concentrate on the second point since it is the one which bears rhetorical meanings, while the other two are mostly linked to social factors.

1.8.3. *FACTORS GOVERNING CODE CHOICE IN MONOLOGUES (BASSIOUNEY 2006)*

Bassiouney (2006) analyzed the factors that govern CS in a series of monologues (political speeches, Islamic sermons and university lectures) on the basis of a tripartite grid: *speaker-related factors*, *audience-related factors* and *subject matter-related factors*. The most important part of the analysis is devoted to the identity and the role that the speaker gives himself through the code-choice SA/EA. She shows that in the political discourses of Ḥusnī Mubārak, the former Egyptian president exploits at the utmost the socially symbolic values of SA and EA. Similarly to what we have seen with Nāṣir (§1.8.2.), whenever Mubarak wishes to create distance with the audience and put on the clothes of the *governor* (then assigning to the audience the role of governed) he uses SA; on the contrary, whenever he wants to put on the clothes of the *peasant*, or the 'good old friend' or the 'fellow Egyptian' and thereby reducing the distance and increasing the degree of involvement with the audience, he suddenly switches into EA. The roles at stake, according to Bassiouney, seem to be "president", "friend", "father", "expert advisor". Yet, this code-choice does not apply to another political speech of a member of the Egyptian parliament (whose name is not mentioned by Bassiouney) where SA vehicles involvement in another sense: the speaker uses, in fact, SA addressing himself to the Arab audience to put on the clothes of a pan-Arab citizen. When it comes to sermons, it seems that Bassiouney contradicts herself about the relationship between CS and role played by the speaker in Islamic sermons. After stating that «there is no change in role on his part» (2006:198) and that «in religious sermons there are some speakers, like Sharawy [...],

who manipulate language to the utmost as well, but without any indication of a change in their basic role-relationship with the audience» (2006:205) she asserts, a few lines below, that «Sharawy seems to move from the role of the learned religious teacher to that of the popular preacher who speaks just like his audience [...] However, although, he moves from the role of the formal religious teacher to the role of the popular preacher, in both cases he is still in a didactic mode (still a teacher)» (2006:205). It is not clear why Bassiouney excludes the role of "father" or "fellow-Muslim" whenever Šaʕrawī uses EA in his sermons, as it is the case with Mubārak's speeches. Other sermons (whose authors are not mentioned by Bassiouney) and university lectures (authors unmentioned) do not confirm this relationship between CS and the role played by speaker. So here Bassiouney introduces what she calls «type of ideation, or the way a speaker chooses to tackle a certain subject» (2006:167), i.e. the rhetoric functionality of CS. Nevertheless she does not go beyond considering the use of SA and EA to distinguish analytical parts from synthetical parts. After analyzing the relationship between involvement and code-choice, Bassiouney concludes that «it can be seen from this that involvement by itself is neutral in this regard» (2006:215), i.e. it does not elicit a specific code. On the contrary topic elicits CS in one of the sermons analysed by Bassiouney. According to Bassiouney, a particularly complex philosophical subject could trigger the use of SA. It appears clearly from Bassiouney 2006 that the main reason for CS is actually rhetorical, that it is related to the process of construction of meaning within a given speech event.

1.9. DIGLOSSIA AS A DOUBLE MODALITY OF SPEECH

A text, written or spoken that it may be, is never plain and it is always "hybrid" in some ways, that is it includes different modalities of speech. Classifying a type of text on the basis of situational criteria such as 'field of discourse' (journalistic, scientific, religious, etc..) or 'domain' (literary, didactic etc.) is certainly limiting. As stated by Hatim, who dealt with Arabic argumentation, «texts are multifunctional, normally displaying features of more than one type, and constantly shifting from one type to another» (1991:190). To account for this hybrid nature of all texts, a rhetorical model of the text must take «a view of context which is comprehensive enough to accomodate communicative, pragmatic and semiotic values, the interaction of which ultimately constitutes a given text type» (1991:190).

As we have seen in Badawī and in Holes, not only CS is rhetorically meaningful but also the direction of CS gives a further hint of how CS must be interpreted. Gumperz too stated that the passage we-code → they-code does not have the same meaning as the passage they-code → we-code (§1.7.1. and 1.7.2.). I put forward the hypothesis that in

Arabic (but not only) standard and dialect represent in fact two modalities of speech that have their root in a primitive distinction, that between written and spoken language.

1.9.1. SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE: STATICITY AND DYNAMICITY

The main differences between written language and spoken language are in nature, in *complexity* and in *goals*. The first difference between spoken and written language is *formal*. Speech is an auditory medium: it is produced orally and received by the ear; writing is a visual medium: it is produced manually and received by the eye. Unlike writing, that has no immediate context, speech can rely on a number of situational factors to help to convey meaning. Kay (1977) states, in this sense, that while spoken language is context-bound, written language is decontextualized and autonomous. Bernstein (1958, 1973) distinguishes *restricted and elaborated codes* by saying that the restricted code is implicit, particularistic and context bound, as opposed to the elaborate code more frequently controlled by higher status speakers which is explicit, universalistic and context free. Written language is characterised by an absence of reliance upon immediate context for their interpretation, and by conjunctions such as because, therefore, since which express explicitly temporal and causal relationships between clauses.

When we speak, we use *paralingusitic* features to help our elocution: vocal (intonation, tone, pauses, emphasis etc.) or *non-vocal* (gesture, facial expression). When we speak we can repeat if the message we convey is not clear to the participants. Speaking is primarily a social activity. So vagueness, ellipsis and ambiguity are much more tolerated in speech than in writing (cf. Milroy & Milroy 1985:63).

1.9.1.1. two different processes

Written and spoken language are also characterized by different processes. Halliday states that

> since in the written language we only keep the *final draft*, this grammar gives an idealized picture of what language is. Moreover, it tends to be used in a normative way, as an ideal that everyone should strive for (Halliday 1992[1985]:176; emphasis and retranslation into English are mine)[95].

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[95] Unfortunately I could only find the Italian translation of Halliday's book. From now on, quotes from Halliday are my (re)translations.

What is meant here is that when we analyse written texts we are always confronted with the final product which is the result of corrections and changes we cannot see, unless we possess the drafts, which is a rare case. So we know very little about the complex process which generates the final written text. On the contrary, in spoken language, we analyse the entire process of expression with all its corrections, eliminations, insertions, pauses, re-formulations, interruptions, repetitions etc. Another very important thing Halliday underlines is that

> since the spoken language is a *dynamic image of reality*, so, in giving an account of reality, it emphasizes that aspect, it gives a good picture of *how things work. Thus, for example, verbal instructions are usually easier to follow, provided they are given at the right time to fit the purpose, while the written instructions must often be accompanied by illustrations.* Written language, however, emphasizes the synoptic aspect: *it can offer a better report of the finished product* (Halliday 1992[1985]:179; emphasis is mine).

It is clear that spoken language is *dynamic* in its nature while written language is characterized by *staticness/synopticity*. This statement has been confirmed by Gumperz', Badawī's and Holes' analysis on CS: one code usually conveys dinamicity and the other staticness. As we have seen for Arabic (§1.7. and §1.8.) the we-code (NA) explains, comments what has been said in the they-code (SA). In this sense, Halliday also affirms that spoken and written language «impose different grids to experience. In a sense, they create different realities. Writing creates a world of things, speech creates a world of events» (Halliday 1992[1985]:167). Using a metaphor, Halliday defines the written language as «a diamond shaped under pressure» while the spoken language is metaphorically compared to «a fluid movement as that of a rapidly flowing river» (Halliday 1992[1985]:160).

1.9.1.2. lexical density and syntactic intricateness

The complexity of written language is in its being not also *static* but also *lexically dense*, while the complexity of the spoken language is in its being (i) *dynamic* and (ii) *syntactically intricated*. In spoken language, grammatical intricateness takes the place of lexical density. In the written language 'information' is vehicled by a high lexical density. This means that the number of "words" in a given clause normally exceeds that of particles. Among these words, *names* normally exceed *verbs* which indicates the staticness of written language (see Halliday 1992[1985]:117-129). On the contrary, spoken language is «a process (and it becomes a product only through translation – being

"transcribed" - [that] shows some unquestionable organizational properties» (Halliday 1992[1985]:146). It is *lexically dispersed* (see Halliday 1992[1985]:147). Let's see the examples Hallidays gives (1992[1985]:148):

HAL1 WRITTEN TEXT	HAL2 SPOKEN TEXT
the use of this method of control unquestionably leads to safer and faster train running in the most adverse weather conditions	you can control the trains this way and if you do that you can be quite sure that they'll be able to run more safely and more quickly no matter how bad the weather gets

Table 13 Written and spoken texts (from Halliday 1992[1985]:148).

HAL1 and HAL2 say almost the same thing. In example HAL1 which represents a one long clause, lexical density is 60% (8 grammatical items vs. 12 lexical items). Example HAL2 is grammatically more complex than example HAL1 and it is for this reason that Halliday divides it into 5 clauses (a pair or group of words that consists of a subject and a predicate) in this way:

HAL2 SPOKEN TEXT	HAL3 SPOKEN TEXT
you can control the trains this way and if you do that you can be quite sure that they'll be able to run more safely and more quickly no matter how bad the weather gets	you can control the trains this way || and if you do that || you can be quite sure || that they'll be able to run more safely and more quickly || no matter how bad the weather gets.

Table 14 Spoken text divided into clauses (from Halliday 1992[1985]:125).

In HAL3 lexical density is 60% too but on the whole complex sentence. For Halliday density must be measured as «the number of lexical items per clause» (Halliday 1992[1985]:125). So, if we analyse every single clause we will, in fact, realise that lexical density is 30,2% (average for every clause). So Hallidays states that the spoken language is lexically poorer than the written language but syntactally more complex.

Interesting is the distinction made by Vachek[96] (taking over the division made by Paul[97] at the end of the Nineteenth century) between *standard norms* valid for the written

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[96] Cit. in Bartsch 1987:155.

[97] Cit. in Bartsch 1987:150.

and the spoken language which are different but mutually related. The difference between them is due to their different functions they have. According to Havrànek[98] the spoken norm, compared to that of written language, (i) is less functionally differentiated (ii) one has a less developed consciousness of it (iii) it has a less strict notion of obligatoriness. We will deal with this issue when talking about normativity in chapter 2.

1.9.1.3. message-oriented and listener-oriented functions

Brown distinguishes two main functions of spoken language: a MESSAGE-ORIENTED and LISTENER-ORIENTED style. They have different goals. *Message-oriented* utterances have as a goal «expressing the message [...] communication of a propositional or cognitive (information bearing) message to the listener» (1982:77). *Listener-oriented* utterances, on the other hand, are normally associated with an informal range of styles that aim at establishing or maintaining a relationship with the listener. The exact content of the information conveyed is less or not important. Most children do not normally know how to deal with message-oriented utterances that they learn to use at school. They can chat with their schoolmates but they are often unable «to develop an argument to the class or justify a particular viewpoint» (1982:76). With exercise at school they acquire the tools that allow, on the one hand, synthesis and on the other, analysis. When they state something they are invited to justify it with analysis while, when they tell 'stories,' they are told to synthesize them and find abstract ideas. Telling the story of the battle of Waterloo is not enough, students are asked to express the importance of this battle in the history of Europe.

Brown concludes by saying that «the more the conversation is listener-oriented the *less* of it is, of its nature, highly structured, whereas the more a conversation is message-oriented the *more* it is, of its nature, highly structured» (1982:78; my emphasis). We must not consider "structure" here as syntax but as argumentative complexity. In fact, she says that there are times when it is necessary to produce a clear description, a straightforward narrative, or a complicate argument laying out pros and cons: «the ability to produce and to understand highly structured speech, with information relatively densely packed, while remaining sensitive to the listener's state of knowledge and ability to draw relevant inferences, represents a very complex skill» (1982:81).

1.9.1.3. externally authoritative (centripetal) vs. internally persuasive (centrifugal)

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[98] Cit. in Bartsch 1987:156.

Bakhtin addressed the relationship between written language and authority. By *authoritative*, Bakhtin means a powerful and commanding discourse that inspires adoration and respect. Authoritative discourse is intended by its users and perceived by its hearers or readers as *untouchable, removed and distanced*, and its binding authority seems unquestionable. Bakhtin defines authoritative discourse as that which «demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority already fused to it. The authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher. It is, so to speak, the word of the fathers. Its authority was already acknowledged in the past. It is a prior discourse. It is therefore not a question of choosing it from among other possible discourses that are its equal. It is given (it sounds) in lofty spheres, not those of familiar contact. Its language is a special (as it were hieratic) language. It can be profaned. It is akin to taboo, i.e., a name that must not be taken in vain» (Bakhtin 1981:342). Authoritative discourse takes many forms, but it most often addresses political, ethical, moral, or religious issues and it is the monologic word of parents, elders, or teachers. It commands «our unconditional allegiance» (Bakhtin 1981:343). A discourse is felt as authoritative not only because of the text itself but also because of extra-textual elements (cultural, social etc.). Authoritative texts become untouchable: they speak their "truths" with so much power that readers no longer question their assumptions. In contrast to authoritative discourse, Bakhtin posits what he refers to as the *internally persuasive*: «internally persuasive discourse - as opposed to one that is externally authoritative - is, as it is affirmed through assimilation, tightly interwoven with "one's one word" [...] Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words, that it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition» (1981:145). Internally persuasive discourse, unlike authoritative, is proximate, dynamic, and closely connected to and assimilated into the writer's own words. Internally persuasive discourse does not pretend allegiance but encourages creativity.

Although Bakhtin speaks about different voices within written novels, I believe that this differentiation concerns the nature of written and spoken discourse, on the basis of what have been said so far. Written language is, by nature, an expression of an external authority. Spoken language is learnt naturally and the most general grammatical rules of a language, or dialect of a language, are learnt by the native speaker in infancy and childhood without explicit instruction. Although the basic grammar of the spoken language has already been acquired by the time children go to school (our parents often

'correct' them, thus exercising a sort of authority on them), writing and reading are learnt when learning the rules of language, which are the expression of authority in language. Milroy & Milroy point out to a very basic issue, namely that writing is learnt after speech: «writing, however, is not a 'natural' activity in quite the same way that speech is. Speech is acquired by all normally endowed human beings without explicit instruction, whereas writing has to be taught *after* the basic grammar, phonology and lexicon of spoken language have already been largely mastered. In the experience of the child, writing is built up on already acquired knowledge of speech» (1985:55). Writing is an art, while speech is an innate capacity: «Whereas writing can be described as an art or a skill that is not universal to all human societies, speech is not fundamentally an art, but an innate human capacity that is universal to all societies» (1985:55). The acquisition of the elaborated code (that is of the characteristics of the elaborated code, as we have seen in see § 1.9.1.) is tied up with acquisition of literacy. Moreover teachers, who represent governmental authority in schools, endorse textbooks, which are written, as source of authority. Documents, which represent again governmental authority, are 'written' too.

1.9.1.4. involvement and detachment

In studies on the relationship between oral and written discourse, another concept emerged that synthesizes what we have said till now: that of INVOLVEMENT. Although terminology might vary, spoken mode is felt as characterized as INVOLVED while written mode was described as DETACHED (see Chafe 1979, 1981; Ochs 1979; Tannen 1982b).

Involvement (in spoken language) is seen as the product of the following factors (see Tannen 1982b:8 and 2007[1989]:25-42):

(i) DEVICES by which the speaker monitors the communication channel (rising intonation, pauses, requests for back-channel responses);

(ii) CONCRETENESS and IMAGEABILITY through specific details;

(iii) a more PERSONAL quality; use of 1st person pronouns;

(iv) EMPHASIS ON PEOPLE and their relationships;

(v) EMPHASIS ON ACTIONS AND AGENTS rather than states and objects;

(vi) direct QUOTATION;

(vii) reports of SPEAKER'S MENTAL PROCESSES;

(viii) FUZZINESS.

(ix) EMPHATIC PARTICLES (really, just).

On the contrary, detachment (in written language) is seen as characterized by:

(i) a higher degree of ABSTRACTION;

(ii) as the writer has more time, he will have an INTEGRATED TEXT and deal with more thoughts at once;

(iii) emphasis on STATES AND OBJECTS having things done to them;

(iv) IMPERSONAL aspect;

(v) while involvement deals with events in an 'experiential' and detailed manner, detachment gives a more ABBREVIATED REPORT (Chafe 1983:1099).

Involvement (and its opposite, detachment) is a deep dimension, reflecting what Goffman (1979) has described as *footing,* i.e. changes in alignment we take up to ourselves, others and toward the material or content. While we speak we often shift from one foot to another, signalling this in various way, CS being only one of these signalling devices (1979:22). Switches in footing can range from gross changes in social settings to the most subtle shifts in tone. Therefore, features of involvement and detachment, which Chafe finds characteristic of writing and speaking respectively, can be combined in a single discourse type.

1.9.1.5. CS as a tool for differentiating modalities of speech

Of course one cannot speak of a clear-cut dichotomy written/spoken but of a *continuum* whose ends are "ideally written" and "ideally spoken" discourse, as Lakoff states (1979). Written and spoken language have been dealt with here as abstract concepts.

This discourse is the necessary premise to stress an important fact. In spoken Arabic the use of SA often represents the characteristics and the modality of speech typical of written discourse, while by NA one conveys functions and modalities of speech typical of spoken discourse. So paraphrasing Halliday, for example, we will see how the 'final draft' (§1.9.1.1.) (which is normally represented by the written language) of a discourse will be normally given to speakers in SA while the 'process behind the final draft' or 'the drafts' – what Holes calls 'organizational function' - will be often given in NA. NA will give the *dynamic image of reality* by emphasising the account of reality, and will tell how things *work,* will provide the illustrations to the 'written' instructions given by SA. SA often creates a world of things or facts (in the sense of 'truths'), while NA creates a world of events, as Halliday says speaking about written and spoken language (1992[1985]:167). SA is (i) *static* and (ii) *lexically dense,* while NA is (i) *dynamic* and (ii) *syntactically intricated.* In SA the 'information' is vehicled by a high lexical density, that is that the number of names in a given clause normally exceeds that of particles. NA gives the argumentative process by its possessing «some unquestionable organizational properties» (Halliday 1992[1985]:146) as we have seen in Holes. NA is *lexically dispersed* (see

Halliday 1992[1985]:147). SA is message-oriented, it aims at «expressing the message [...] communication of a propositional or cognitive (information bearing) message to the listener» (Brown 1982:77). NA is listener-oriented, it aims at establishing or maintaining a relationship with the listener: the exact content of the information conveyed is less important. The use of both SA and NA allows the very complex skill of producing *highly structured and complex speech,* with information relatively densely packed, while remaining sensitive to the listener's state of knowledge and ability to draw relevant inferences (see Brown 1982:81). SA is used to give detachment by the abstractness, by emphasizing states and objects instead of actions, by underlining impersonal aspects, by giving an abbreviated report of facts without involving experience. NA is used to convey involvement by concreteness and imageability, by story-telling, by a more personal quality (e.g. the use of the 1st person), by emphasising people and their relationships, by stressing actions and agents, by reporting one's mental processes. Another important point is that written language expresses authority, as we have seen in §1.9.1.3., while spoken language expresses ordinary speech. SA is not only the language of textbooks in school, of the press and of news in television (another expression of authority), but it is itself a bookish language learnt at school (while NA is learnt naturally at home). Speaking SA means to be, somehow, «un livre qui parle», as Taine-Cheikh points out (2002:193). For long time SA has no practical application in Arab children's lives, except learning at school and praying (especially for Muslim children)[99]. That is why SA expresses authority and power (see also Haeri 2003:139) while NA expresses "ordinary speech". Moreover, for Muslims SA/CA expresses even more than simple authority: it expresses sacredness. That is why Saeed (1997:199) finds out in his *corpus* of Muslim sermons, that SA utterances are perceived as «serious, formal, logical» and SA speakers as «powerful, authoritative and/or honest». Also for Christian Arab speakers SA expresses sacredness (the Bible normally used by them is a translation into SA) although in a different way, as we will see when speaking about Arab religious discourse. Schmidt says that «it is reasonable to hypothesize that for some topics or semantic fields the usual channel for discussion has resulted in a more classical or classicized lexicon than for other semantic fields» (1974:60-61). So we have that "more abstract" (e.g. scientific and technical fields, religious and philosophical argumentation, politics and diplomacy) concepts and words are SA while «less abstract» or «concrete semantic fields» as Schmidt says (1974:60,75)

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[99] The changing in language attitude which is taking place in the last five or ten years through the influence that television is having on Arab children, particularly the international satellite channels of cartoons in SA, is remarkable and should be evaluated, although this is not the place to do so. For some reflections on Diglossia and schooling in the Arab world see Alrabaa (1986).

are preferably represented by NA words. NA expresses the sentiment, whereas SA expresses the intellect. Haeri quotes the Egyptian poet Īmān Mirsāl who says that «your knowledge about society passes through fuṣḥā on the level of a cultural experience but not as an experience in your life… as if culture exists in one place and the living of life in another place […]» (2003:122). Īmān comments writing letters in a sort of mix SA/NA and she says that the excerpts that were *akθar ṣidqan* ('more sincere') were in NA «*as if the place for existence of […] emotions were ʕāmmiyya not fuṣḥā*» (2003:122; my emphasis). On the contrary «SA provides an expanded source of vocabulary for conversation about topics which the colloquials can only describe circuitously» (Owens & Bani Yasin 1991:26). Saeed (1997:200), in his Muslim sermons corpus, finds that NA utterances are perceivable as «non-serious, trivial, impractical, nonsense» and speakers, while speakers of NA are seen as «weak, naïve, or cunning».

Diglossic CS is a tool for differentiating this double modality of speech, that we can define *biglossia*. This allow SA and NA to be complementary: in many settings and for many topics, SA and NA are synergic and work together to convey meaning.

WRITTEN LANGUAGE	SPOKEN LANGUAGE
lexically dense	lexically dispersed, syntactically intricated
hypotaxis	parataxis
'final draft'	drafts, 'process behind the final draft'
staticness/synopticity	providing a dynamic image of reality
how things *are* or *should be*	how things *work*
written instructions	illustrations to the written instructions
creating a world of things or truths	creating a world of events
conveying abstractness (abstract semantic field)	conveying concreteness and imageability (concrete semantic fields)
emphasizing states and objects	emphasizing actions and agents
underlining impersonal aspects	emphasising people and their relationships
giving an abbreviated report of facts without involving experience	story-telling with personal quality, reporting one's mental processes
message-oriented	listener-oriented
restricted	elaborated
giving detachment	conveying involvement
authority	ordinary speech
externally authoritive	internally persuasive

centripetal (centre)	centrifugal (periphery)
intellect	feeling

Table 15 Written vs. spoken language: synthesis of the main characteristics.

1.10. RHETORICAL FUNCTIONS OF CS

"Functions" are not a prerogative of CS but belong to the pragmatic aspect of language itself. As we have seen, written and spoken language have different characteristics and also different functions, both lexicosyntactic and pragmatic. With pragmatic functions, we shall mean the use of messages in communicative situations or in a word "how we use language". Several scholars have addressed the issue and there exist many semiotic theories about the functions of language. I will briefly mention two of them.

Using the Socratic term of ὄργανον[100], Bühler (1933, 1934) proposed the "organon model of language" and distinguished three main pragmatic functions of language: *REPRESENTATION*, *EXPRESSION* and *APPEAL*.

(i) *representation* - the function of representation dominates when the focus of the message is on the object of the discourse (Aristotle's *logos*, i.e. the unfolding of the argument[101]);

(ii) *expression* - the function of expression dominates when the focus is on the sender and the sign expresses his or her "interiority" about the object (Aristotle's *ethos*, which has to do with the character of the speaker);

(iii) *appeal* - the function of appeal dominates when the message focuses on the hearer (Aristotle's *pathos*, which appeals to the emotions of the audience).

Each of these functions is to some degree present in any act of communication and some functions only prevail or dominate.

Jakobson extended this theory and posited a six «constitutive factors of verbal communication» (1960:355) to which he correlated six corresponding functions of language.

The model is defined by Jakobson as follows:

> The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message
> requires a CONTEXT referred to […] seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or
> capable to being verbalized; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the

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[100] «A name is an instrument ὄργανον of teaching and of separating reality» (from Plato's Cratylus).

[101] See Aristotle (1991:37-38).

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addresser and addressee […] and finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to stay in communication (Jakobson 1960:353)

CONTEXT

(referential function)

MESSAGE

(poetic function)

ADDRESSER   ---------------------------------   ADDRESSEE

(emotive function)   CONTACT   (conative function)

(phatic function)

CODE

(metalingual function)
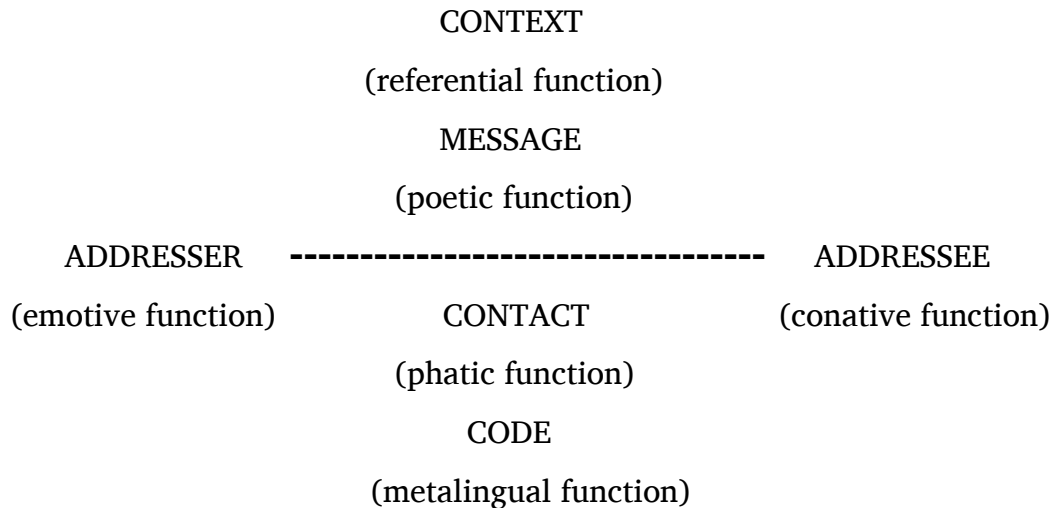
Figure 4 Jakobson's model of the constitutive factors and the corresponding functions of verbal communication (1960:353,357)

The function of message, that corresponds to each of these basic elements of communication, is determined by the communicative "orientation", i.e. the predominant focus on the respective factor of the communicative situation. As in Bühler, many functions can co-exist in the same message but one will be predominant.

(i) *referential function* - it is orientated towards context and it focuses on the cognitive aspect of language (conveying information) (it's Bühler's function of representation);

(ii) *emotive or expressive function* - it focuses on the speaker's attitude toward the content of the message and it conveys emotion (it's Bühler's function of expression);

(iii) *conative function* – it is oriented towards the addressee and it conveys commands (it's Bühler's function of appeal);

(iv) *phatic function* – it concerns contact and conveys «messages primarily serving to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel work ('Hello, do you hear me?'), to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention ('Are you listening?')» (1960:355);

(v) *metalinguistic function* – it is oriented towards language and communication. Talking about "definition" and "spelling" has a metalinguistic function (such as 'What do you mean?') etc.

(vi) *poetic function* – it focuses on the message for its own sake and it is not confined to poetry. It conveys play or pleasure, e.g. play with form: rhyme, repetition, alliteration

(repeat consonants), assonance (repeat vowels), juxtaposition of paronyms (phonetically similar words) etc.; play with meaning: unexpected juxtaposition of words that are quite unlike each other, artful exploitation of synonyms, all forms of ambiguity, deliberate violations of meaning, puns (fat and fiction about margarine), allusion etc.

CS distributes these basic functions. In Arabic, NA is more appropriate for the expressive function while SA for the referential function, as showed in §1.9. Moreover, in §1.3.3. we saw how the very basic function of CS is creating an apposition between two or more codes. As said before, CS has an *essentially contrastive value*. This contrast allows the speaker mainly to *emphasize* the message he wants to convey. This emphasis is obtained by *highlighting, marginalizing, reiterating, reinforcing, focusing, defocusing, stressing* certain segments allowing him to argumentatively structure his discourse. Commenting on the discourse strategies of an American preacher, Gumperz writes that what was meaningful was the contrastively using of two ways of speaking. This is the basis upon which we can deal with rhetorical function of CS.

1.10.1. *LOCI AND FUNCTIONS OF CS*

Auer (1995:120) distinguishes *conversational loci* from functions of CS. He considers *conversational loci* as those parts of discourse, or those rhetorical and argumentative mechanisms, that are particular susceptible to CS. In these *conversational loci*, CS produces a series of functions. For example: *emphasis* is a function, whereas reiteration and elaboration are the *conversational loci* in which this function can take place.

These functions are not at all «a *closed and comprehensive inventory*, but [...] an open list» (1992:59), according to Alfonzetti, who studied CS between Standard Italian (SI) and Catania dialect (CD). Any finite list of functions will be more or less arbitrary, as Nilep (2006:10) suggests: «it will be preferable to observe actual interaction, rather than starting from assumptions about the general effects of code switching». Starting from defining general *conversational loci* and functions, in fact, in chapter 3, 4 and 5 we will discuss specific sub-loci and sub-functions in our *corpus*. Other qualitatively different *corpora* will certainly provide different functions or sub-functions.

Functions usually overlap: in one and the same sequence one can find more than only one function overlapping over one another. Another important point is that not every CS (especially intersentential switches) produced will always perform a specific rhetorical function. Sometimes CSs are rhetorically meaningless, but they might be stylistically relevant. Finding reasons for CSs is not always fully accomplishable. The task

here is often similar to that of finding reasons for a monolingual's choice for one synonym over another.

1.10.1.1. taxonomy of the main loci and functions

Auer (1988:199, 1995:120) finds in his *corpora* these main *conversational loci*:

(i) *reported speech*;

(ii) *change of participant constellation*;

(iii) *parentheses or side-comments*;

(iv) *reiterations*;

(v) *change of activity type, also called 'mode shift' or 'role shift'*;

(vi) *topic shift*;

(vii) *puns, language play, shift or 'key'*.

(viii) *reformulations/elaborations*.

Grassi et al. (2006:186-187) give a more complete list of functions of CS, many of which are typical of discourse (also Auer's *conversational locus* change of participant constellation is typical of discourse). Some of them do not seem to occur in monologues.

1. *rectify an unbalanced proficiency* - the speaker changes the code that best masters;

2. *mark the change of the interlocutor* - the speaker changes code depending on the interlocutor: (i) to help him, (ii) to hinder his understanding;

3. *mark disagreement with the interlocutor*;

4. *mark a change in theme, or a new development of the argument*;

5. *self-correction*;

6. *marking the beginning and the end of a 'storytelling'* - the speaker marks the beginning or the end of a story with a formula in the 'other' code;

7. *comment* - mostly with a strong emphatic nuance;

8. *evaluation* - comment with a strong evaluative content (very positive, very negative);

9. *greetings*;

10. *expressions of courtesy*;

11. *allocutives* - sir, doctor etc.

12. *interjections*;

13. *tics and fillers*;

14. *quotes*;

15. *emphasis* – often one emphasizes by repeating the same segment in the 'other' code[102].

To these one can add a recreational function (CS in order to joke), exploitation of connotative potentials of a code (such as the evocation of an environment) and so on (see Pizzolotto 1991).

The functions identified by Alfonzetti (1992:59) are more rhetorical-focused:

(1) *correction of errors*;

(2) *marking sequential organization*;

(3) *internal structurization of story-telling*;

(4) *elaboration of the message*;

(5) *giving emphasis to the message through mechanisms such as repetition*;

(6) *highlighting the polyphonic nature of discourse, as it happens with quotes*;

(7) *emphasizing the expressive attitude of the speaker*;

(8) *marking the use of polite forms*.

Holes notices that propensity to switch to SA depends also, not only on choice but also on real knowledge of SA: «However, even in what appears to be the 'same' situation, and the 'same' topic, individual speakers' (as well as individual national groups') propensities to classicise differ, and the differences seem to depend as much on attitudinal factors as on their objective knowledge of MSA» (Holes 1995:295) «Case language choice seems to have been governed at least to some extent by affective and political ends» (Holes 1995:314, note 34).

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[102] The list, although presenting a larger number of function, in fact confuses *conversational loci* or mechanisms with function: emphasis, for example, is a function of evelution, quotes, interjections, fillers etc.

Chapter 2 What SA is and what it is not in mixed oral texts: standardness, normativity, correctness and attitude

The main obstacle we face when dealing with mixed forms is mainly defining the boundaries of SA. My hypothesis is that if we understand what SA is and what it is not, we will also understand where are the boundaries of NA in mixed discourse. The question of variation and variability of NA is in fact recognized by linguists, including Arabs (see for example El-Hassan 1977). On the other hand, there is still much resistance in recognizing that SA is variable too. The problem is that language guardians usually want to impose only one usage from a set of equivalent variants and recommend this form as the only 'correct' form. This choice is often arbitrary and the arguments used to support it can be matched by equally good arguments in support of the unaccepted forms.

Is SA really so uniform as purists want to show it? Is there any acceptable variation and what are its boundaries?

I thought it was necessary to put this reflection after the theoretic part about spoken mixed forms and their functions because it is a problem one faces when passing from theory to the analysis of texts or vice-versa. This second chapter will be still, at least partly, theoretic but it will help us in the operation of labelling which is at the core of this thesis.

Before entering the subject, I wish to give a real-life example of how SA and NA are quite 'relative' concepts. During a work-shop organized by the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo (NVIC), March 26th and 27th, 2008, entitled *Mixed varieties of Arabic*, an interesting discussion between Humphrey Davies, a leading translator of Arabic literature into English, and Wafāʔ Kāmil, a member of the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo, took place. Commenting on an Ottoman period text by Yūsuf al-Širbīnī, *Haẓẓ al-quḥūf fī šarḥ qaṣīdat Abī Šādūf*, Davies noticed the presence of the NA form of the geminated verbs at the PFT tense: *lammēt*. Wafāʔ Kāmil argued that these forms can by no means be considered NA: they are perfectly *fuṣḥā* because they are considered by Sībawayhī in his *Kitāb*.

So what is exactly SA, what is NA? What is not SA, what is not NA? What are the phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical boundaries of both? Are there clear boundaries? And in particular what is and what is felt as SA in oral productions? If English forms as "I **loves** Elvis, he's great" or "**there's lots** of museums" (Cheshire 1999:135,138) are considered to be not 'bad English' but (sub)standard English (also

Cheshire 1999:146) can the same be said for those Arabic forms that are not completely adherent to the classical norms?

SA[103] is the first official language of nineteen members states of the Arab League (twenty if one considers Djibouti). It is a living language, used in many circumstances (especially in written text) by a large number of people. Written SA is used daily in publishing, journalism and in every other formal writing setting. Spoken SA is also used on radio and television in many settings especially during news programmes. I agree with what Van Mol also says, i.e. that «MSA is spoken nowadays more than it used to be» (2003:48) and I agree with him that the first step to discuss variation within spoken SA is to distinguish written from spoken SA: «spoken SA is not identical to the written form» (2003:49).

As said before, whereas there is general consensus about variation within Arabic dialects, many and different are the opinions and the positions about variation within CA/SA (there is seldom a clear distinction between both), both on a geographical and a historical level. A great number of contemporary Arab scholars and grammarians, especially those who have not studied abroad, have an 'extreme' position in that Arabic language is synchronically and diachronically (completely) uniform. Yet, in their description of CA/SA they only base themselves on *corpora* of F texts, with the Qurʔān occupying the most important place. They also assume that CA/SA is correct only when every single linguistic level agrees completely with the grammatical rules as established by 'traditional' writings. These rules, mainly deduced out of the Qurʔān and other ancient writings, are found by those purists to be still applicable to contemporary SA. Most of these scholars regard contemporary SA as corrupted and they believe it should be corrected through turning to classical norms. These scholars normally assume that people used to speak F in some historical time, generally in Muhammad's time, and that by time, people stopped speaking it in favour of A. So they see NAs as a corruption of an original, epic language. Therefore, NAs should be avoided so that one day people could eventually return to speak F. About this point of view, which stress the *stability*, the *uniformity* and the *immutableness* of CA/SA as a sort of religious dogma and which we can put under the label of *purist approach* Blau says that «for the majority of Arab linguists, with few exceptions, only one uniform Classical Arabic exists, which alone is worthy of imitation» (1981:150) while Meiseles writes that «most of the linguistic research done so far tends to treat language and varieties thereof as if they were coherent, homogeneous static systems, with a minimum of variation or none at all» (1980:121)[104]. Purist views, like those of

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[103] I will mainly refer to Van Mol 2003:1-21 and Mejdell 2006:1-44.

[104] See also the introduction to the entry "Diglossia" in EALL (Versteegh 2006a:629).

many Arab linguists, exclude any theoretical flexibility: «Values such as those represented in the *traditionalist* notions of linguistic *purism* and cultural *continuity* clash with the *modernist* linguistic valorisation of *linguistic neutrality, "native speaker" usage,* and *linguistic vitality,* while the traditionalist notions of *unity* and *competition* clash with the modernist valorisation of *variation* and the *underlying European-language (and especially English-language) bias of its representations*» (Eisele 2002:11; italics are mine)

Other scholars stress the variation within SA. For example Diem (1974:2) points out the big differences between Eastern and Western SA and states that the impression of unity of SA is due to the great difference in Arabic dialects among themselves. Harrell (1960:3), while stating a relative uniformity of written SA, speaks of a not entirely uniform spoken SA. Ditters (1991:200) holds the view of a strong variation in SA on the basis of «subject-matter, register, genre, style, target-group, frequency of appearance and a few more».

It is then clear that there is no uniformity in defining SA and many contradictory impressions and traditions coexist in parallel.

2.1. TWO MAIN APPROACHES TO SA

There are two main approaches to SA that, according to Parkinson, must not be ignored. Without considering both of them, we will not completely understand the complexity of SA:

(i) the GRAMMATICAL approach that looks at the rules. This approach can be (1) *normative* (and in its extremist positions it can be *purist*) and watches only at the «PRESCRIPTIVE SYSTEM inherited from Classical Arabic, watched over by the language academy» (Parkinson 1993:48). Whatever is outside these boundaries is felt as ungrammatical and unacceptable (for the difference between grammaticality and acceptability see §2.4.2. et seqq.) thus not-standard; it can be (2) *empirical,* and it is concerned with variability of the norm within the prescriptive system;

(ii) the PERCEPTION approach which focuses on SA as «a PART OF A COMMUNICATIVE CONTINUUM of linguistic resources ranging from the deepest colloquial to the most elevated and recherché classical expression», «an IMPERFECTLY KNOWN, BUT FULLY FUNCTIONAL, part of most Arabs' communicative lives, associated with a rather high degree of linguistic insecurity, both respected and revered to the degree that it is viewed as a close relative or descendent of Classical Arabic, and despised and denigrated to the degree that it is taken to be a degeneration of Classical Arabic» (Parkinson 1993:48). Eid (1988:52) favours only this approach when she says «SA here has to be understood as SA as used by EA speakers and not as grammar books tell us it should be». Schmidt (1974:76) also adopted this

approach writing that «what has been recorded and analyzed here is speakers' conceptions of their codes, and [...] what is presented as a CA or EC form by an informant would in many cases be classified differently on linguistic grounds».

2.2. THE GRAMMATICAL APPROACH: BETWEEN NORMATIVITY AND EMPIRICISM

On a GRAMMATICAL level, paraphrasing two concepts in the study of Bartsch (1987) (see also §2.4.2.7.), one can distinguish a (i) NORMATIVE approach and (ii) an EMPIRICAL approach. On a normative level, the limits of F and A are almost clearly definable. In any case, one must always refer himself to a specific grammar textbook, especially for controversial subjects (see §2.4.1.2. for what Mejdell calls 'core' and 'fuzzy areas'). Excepted those morphosyntactic and lexical cases in which 'pure' SA and 'pure' NA are not fully distinguishable because of their linguistic proximity, their linguistic features are normally distinct, both on phonology, morphology and syntax. The question that arises, however, is whether the purely theoretical definition of SA and NA matches the language actually spoken and written. If one turns on television or listens to a more or less 'educated' conversation, one will realize that the use that Arabs make of SA and NA – similarly to the use all speakers of a given language in general make of their available codes – does not often correspond to that described by grammar books. This is even more problematic for SA, to the extent that the Arab speakers' competence of it is normally inferior to that of their own NA, since the latter represents their mother tongue.

At an empirical level, one can realize that SA, just like the vast majority of other standards, has a wide range of variants. In this sense, they can be regarded as SA and are accepted as such by most of the linguistic community (here one must except only the purists). It is perfectly acceptable to say, for example, from a phonetical perspective, *istisnā?* ('exception') instead of *istiθnā?(un)*, or morphosintactically *lam tuta:ḥ li ?al-furṣa* ('I was not given the opportunity') instead of *lam tutaḥ li: l-furṣa* (abbreviation of the long *a:* and *alif madda* in the DEF ART) or *al-sayyidatān waṣalu:* ('the ladies [DU] arrived') instead of *al-sayyidatān waṣalata:* (these last two examples are also well accepted in written SA). In one word, speakers will not feel embarrassed both if they pronounce these expressions or if they hear them: they are acceptable.

The questions I ask myself here are:

(i) is SA actually a standard language or not?;

(ii) is spoken SA as written SA? is it variable and to what extent?

Let's start with what is meant by standard.

2.3. Standard language and the standardization process

Generally speaking a standard is a 'dialect' which has had a political promotion. Standard language is to be understood, according to Bartsch, as «a model of correctness with validity in a speech community for official or public language use» (1989:199). Before or after receiving the standard label, this dialect passes through a standardization process.

Standard language «is a relatively young concept in general linguistics» (Van Mol 2003:11). The term standard does not mean the same thing for all the authors who dealt with it and it is used together with other words such as *Literatursprache, Schriftsprache* etc. Mejdell says, in fact, that «literature on standard languages and standardization does not reflect a unified field of research. It appears to be a particular specialization of Central and East European linguistics» (Mejdell 2006:5).

Garvin gives two different definition of standard language, at a distance of thirty years: (1) «a codified form of a language, accepted by, and serving as a model to, a larger speech community»; (2) «codified variety of a language that serves the multiple and complex communicative needs of a speech community that has either achieved modernization or has the desire of achieving it» (see Mejdell 2006:6). Also cited in Mejdell (2006:6) is the dictionary by Hartmann & Stork (1972) which defines a standard language as «the socially favoured variety of a language, often based on the speech of the educated population in and around the cultural and/or political centre of the language community». As we will see, if we accept this last 'social' definition of standard language we will have to speak of a 'double standard' for spoken SA.

According to Van Mol (2003:11) the term "standard" is often used in two ways: (1) standard language as the norm of good language, as a result of language planning; (2) standard language as sociolect of a certain group in society (§3.4.3.).

As far as the process of standardization is concerned, Ferguson defines it as «the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm – the 'best' form of the language – rated above regional and social dialects, although these may be felt to be appropriate in some domains» (1968:31). Milroy & Milroy suggest that standardisation must be seen «*as an ideology and a standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent*» (1985:23; my emphasis).

In fact, it is interesting to notice that Mejdell affirms that standardization has often been seen in terms of degree[105]. This means that there might be languages which are more standardized than others.

There is also another problem: does one mean by "standard" language written or spoken language or both? The history of language teaching shows how much the standardization of spoken and written language has been for long time felt linked together and, according to time, sometimes people are asked to speak as they write or to write as they speak. This is also true for Arabic. Owens (1991:17) considers the written norm to be the 'standard' so standardization is the gradation with which one can express how far the spoken language approaches the written form.

The difficulty of precisely defining a standard language is, for Cheshire, the fact that linguists are not always able to keep two things distinct: (1) *the description of the language*, including all its varieties; (2) *the description of the norms of speech* for specific communities, including the significance of the use of a particular variety *in a specific situation* (see 1999:146). The reason is that it is difficult for linguists to be 'neutral' towards the prestige of the standard variety and the influence of language norms on their descriptions of the varieties.

With specific regard to the Arabic language, Van Mol (2003:12) sees that there are two different approaches as far as standardization is concerned:

(1) one approach assumes that a standardized written language already exists whose rules have been known for centuries (see Ditters 1991:200; this is the purist approach);

(2) the other approach sees that a process of standardization or re-standardization is taking place right now: «Arabic is undergoing standardization on a vast scale» says Ferguson (1990:49).

In a well-known article, Trudgill affirms that Standard English:

(i) IS NOT a language: «it is only a variety of English among many» (2002:160);

(ii) IS NOT an accent: Standard English does not correspond to an accent;

(iii) IS NOT a style: Standard English has a wide range of styles within it, all considerable Standard English;

(iv) IS NOT a (technical) register: «there is no necessary connection between standard language and technical registers» (2002:165);

(v) IS the most important dialect (one variety of English among others) from a social, intellectual and cultural point of view. It is a social dialect and not a geographical one especially used in writing (2002:159-170).

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[105] Mejdell quotes the Prague school (Jedlička (1982), Garvin (1964 and 1993)); Haugen (1966); Ferguson (1968); Ammon (1987a and 1989a); Bartsch (1987 and 1989).

Cheshire uses the term 'standard English' to refer to «the set of norms to which speaker and writer conform to *a greater or lesser extent*» (1999:146; emphasis is mine) while Milroy & Milroy affirm that «it is difficult to point to a fixed and invariant kind of English that can properly be called the standard language, unless we consider only the written form to be relevant. It is only in the spelling system that full standardisation really has been achieved, as deviations from the norm (however logical) are not tolerated there. When, however, we refer to 'standard' spoken English, we have to admit that a good deal of variety is tolerated in practice, and scholars have often had to loosen their definition of a 'standard' in dealing with speech» (1985:22).

In my opinion, these are valid points for SA too.

2.3.1. *THE PHASES OF THE PROCESS OF STANDARDIZATION*

Haugen (1966:110; 1977:137) affirms that standardization is a process which undergoes a number of phases: SELECTION of norm, CODIFICATION of form, ELABORATION of function, ACCEPTANCE by the community and PROPAGATION. Van Mol adds NORMALIZATION to the process (2003:15). Through this whole process «one variety of a language becom[es] widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm – the 'best' form of the language – rated above regional and social dialects, although these may be felt to be appropriate in some domains» (Ferguson 1997:69).

2.3.1.1. selection

Haugen says that «selection involves the decision among various dialects or pre-existing written traditions or the creation of an entirely new norm. This is essentially a political decision» (1977:137). Trudgill (1992:71) calls this process "language determination" which «refers to decisions which have to be taken concerning the selection of particular languages or varieties of language for particular purposes in the society or nation in question». Coulmas (1989:220-221) affirms that «functionally unrestricted standard language is a modern phenomenon and that at present, too, only a small fraction of all languages belong to this category». Mejdell points out that what is called SA is also the result of a modern process, i.e. *al-nahḍa*, in which intellectuals, especially of the Eastern Arab Word, called for a renewal of Arabic as an intellectual medium. Certainly, the rediscovery of the cultural heritage of the golden age of Islam and its linguistic medium, CA, were a fundamental part of *al-nahḍa.* Authors rediscovered, and in a sense "reselected", an ancient language whose rules were codified in books of grammar and whose vocabulary was contained in dictionaries after centuries in which CA

had lost its prestige in favour of Ottoman Turkish (*osmanlı*) and, at the beginning of the Twentieth century, in the educated classes, in favour of English and French. It is at this historical juncture that secular institutions like the *Dār al-ʔalsun* ('House of languages,' founded in 1837) or *Dār al-ʕulūm* ('House of sciences,' founded in 1932) tore CA from the mere Islamic religious field. With the arrival of European settlers, CA opened up to technology and science and their technical languages. It is at this time that CA and what is called MSA or SA took two different paths.

2.3.1.2. codification and elaboration

Codification means that alphabet, orthography, lexicon and syntax rules are recorded in grammars and dictionaries which give norms authority. The sources of codification of grammar are mainly scientific descriptions of a language but the goal of codification is prescriptive. Lexicon's sources may be varied. Trudgill (1992:17) see codification as the process whereby a language variety «acquires a publicly recognised and fixed form».

Concerning written standard, editors of books and newspaper have an important role in elaborating codification because of their practical role in selecting what is acceptable and what it is not. Elaboration means, in fact, that the standard language is constantly adapted to the changing social and cultural circumstances through developing vocabulary and syntax, within more or less precise limits. The role of the press in shaping a "new" kind of written Arabic during the period of *al-nahḍa* is well known (and its role is undeniable still today). The challenge for Arab élites in that time was, after choosing the archaic, literary norm of CA, to make this language functional for new domains. So news stylistic conventions were invented, new vocabularies were created, or old vocabularies were expanded, new phraseological and syntactic forms were introduced. A major area of linguistic experimentation was the press that contributed decisively to the development of a modern standard language. This process was usually the result of the personal effort of writers who used language in new fields, sometimes with conservative results and some other times with innovative results. The same process, especially at the lexical level, happened when the terminology of the new-born Islam was borrowed from the ancient language of the Bedouin, establishing new meanings that were suited to the new religious precepts and the new cultural environment. Even then, the Arabic language went through a process of 'rejuvenation' or modernization. It is worth noticing that, even in that era of modernization or readaptation of Arabic to the new civilization, there were texts in Middle Arabic, and not just for literary purposes.

Another important point is that the academy did not preside at the linguistic reform of the *nahḍa*, at least not directly. In fact, according to Delanoue (1998), it was only after 1890 that people felt the need to protect F from the European cultural influence and it was only in 1918 that *Mağmaʕ al-luga al-ʕarabiyya* was founded in Damascus, a public institution which aimed at "regulating" the various developments that the Arabic literature was taking and that ended up becoming an institution for the defence of the purity of the Classical language.

Nowadays, most of the Arab grammarians still base their work on older grammars, on poetry and on the Qurʔān and not on contemporary "good" Arabic prose and correctors use Medieval grammars to correct contemporary texts (see Haeri 2003:67).

2.3.1.3. propagation and acceptance by the user community

SA is the official language of all Arabic-speaking countries and is accepted as standard varieties by Arabic speakers. Generally speaking, a standard language has no native speakers. The standard language has an artificial character and its rules are learnt at school. Propagation refers to the spread of the rules mainly through education and media. Van Mol states that the learning of the standard language always ought to be seen as second-language acquisition (2003:20) and that is why one can speak of a sort of *interlingua* when speaking about substandard forms.

2.3.1.4. normalization

Normalization, according to Van Mol, is a process in which «old norms are substituted by new ones, or adapted. It is very well possible that these new norms are generally accepted and applied without being explicitly depicted in a grammar» (2003:17).

This is due to the fact that not everybody, within a certain language community, masters the standard language in the same way. It is evident, especially for Arabic, that *passive knowledge* and *active knowledge* of the standard is not the same (Van Mol 2003:16). Only a minority really masters the standard language according to the norms and they are normally those who work with language: teachers, writers, journalists, politicians etc. This is not always the case, of course, especially for Arabic (see §3.5.2.). When the norm is felt as unattainable for a very large group within a language community, this may cause not only frustration but also – and this is most important thing here - *the emergence of a non-orthoepic form, a sort of interlingua.* This form is normally not codified by a higher authority but it has its 'tacit rules,' or rather its regularities, and its use may be

widespread. These regularities form the *empirical standard* (Bartsch 1987:258; we will come back to Bartsch's theory later) or what Van Mol calls a *non-institutionalized variation* (2003:19), i.e. the variation that might occur in the functioning of the language but which is not generally accepted theoretically.

Garvin (1993:41) states that a successful standard must be stable and flexible. The spoken language shows how flexible the standard norms are and not by chance Trudgill's 1999 article expresses, for the English standard, almost the same idea stated by Parkinson and Kaye for the Arabic standard, namely that it is easier to say what standard is not than to say what it is. Flexibility is therefore intrinsic to the very concept of standards because it is intrinsic to the concept of language (see for example the double saussarian concept of *langue* and *parole*[106]). SA, as well as the standard Czech or the standard German in Switzerland cited by Mejdell (2008a), failed to impose itself on the spoken language. Mejdell indicates also that there is a general trend in other languages (not only Czech and Swiss German, but also English, German, Dutch and Swedish) to «downplaying the formal, toward decreasing concern for 'correct' behaviour, reflected, sociolinguistically, "in less formal registers, in a preference for oral styles" [Haas 1992:321], and a disregard for standard norms – what may be termed 'destandardisation'» (Mejdell 2008a:49).

2.3.1.5. Is SA a standard language?

To conclude this part, one can say with Mejdell's words (2008a:49) that SA is a «typical standard variety» (2008a:49), according to these properties:

(i) CODIFICATION;

(ii) ELABORATION;

(iii) «serving as a VARIETY WITH VALIDITY AS A NORM OF CORRECTNESS for speakers across the Arabic dialect continuum» (2008a:49).

But SA IS NOT a standard as far as POLIFUNCTIONALITY is concerned namely «it does not cover most spoken styles and registers» (2008a:49).

From these considerations it appears clearly that SA, which regulates the written language, is not necessarily or not always a standard for spoken language. Some scholars have shown, on the contrary, how a double standard must be considered in the spoken Arabic and how 'prestige', which should be part of SA, is often given to certain dialects or dialectal forms. On this subject I shall return later (§2.4.3.).

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[106] The same concept of *langue* is highly controversial. As Gumperz notices theoretical linguists tend to see *langue* as a highly abstract set of rules, while other more socially oriented scholars see it as the vector sum of the processes of change in a statistically significant sample of speakers.

2.3.2. ARE WRITTEN AND SPOKEN STANDARD THE SAME?

Another issue to be considered is whether written and spoken standard are the same. In fact, in the sociolinguistic studies, in general, and in those about the Arabic language, scholars not always specify what kind of SA they are talking about. As I said before, written SA and spoken SA have to be distinguished in analysis because they present numerous differences.

The subject 'written and spoken standard' brings us to the larger question as to whether written language is the same thing as spoken language. We have already discussed this subject in §1.9., when analysing the textual modalities of SA and NA and their link to the characteristics of written and spoken language. Written texts are the final product which is the result of corrections and changes we can only rarely be aware of. Spoken language, on the other hand, is a process in which we are conscious of all corrections, eliminations, insertions, pauses, re-formulations, interruptions, repetitions etc. In fact, in order to analyse the spoken language, which is dynamic in nature, we have first to "fix" it statically in a visualized form (a paper, a screen etc.). In this way we make it a sort of final product which still contains all its argumentative processes. Spoken and written language "create" different realities and have different goals: «writing creates a world of *things*; speech creates a world of *events*» (Halliday 1992[1985]:167). Moreover, it seems that written language is normally lexically complex (many lexical items vs. grammatical items) while spoken language is syntactically complex (many clauses).

Although in a first stage, the standard language is selected between a number of varieties (as seen in §2.3.1.1.) which make their impact on writing, in a second stage the opposite direction of influence often take place: this new-selected written standard language starts influencing the spoken language and correction is based on the written standard (see Subačius 2001:127) so that one function of written language and the writing system becomes to «enforce or maintain standardisation» (Milroy & Milroy 1985:59). This is also true for linguists whose intuitions and beliefs are influenced, in their analysis of spoken standard, by formal written standard (Cheshire 1999:145). In fact, most scholars consider standard language to be primarily written because it is there that norms are better realized.

Historically, a spoken standard language emerges approximately as the same time as the written one does (or briefly afterwards). On the contrary, propagation, as a separate stage, can last many years and in fact realistically never be completed. Press and prestigious speakers (as seen in §2.3.1.3.) play a key role in this stage.

Subačius affirms that «historically, a spoken standard is *partially* a copy of the written standard» (2001:134; emphasis mine). The spoken standard represents a differentiated structure and is, only partially, influenced by the written standard. In general, one can say that spoken standard shares only partially the features of written standard and that dialectal or local influence on spoken standard is more evident than in the written standard. Spoken standard is seldom "neutral": accent makes one's origin clear. As far as spoken SA is concerned, Badawī writes that

لا يوجد الآن في مصر ولا في أي بلد عربي آخر من يستطيع مهما بلغت درجة إتقانه للفصحى أن ينطق بها دون أن يكشف عن البلد العربي الذي نشأ فيه. ومعنى ذلك [...] أن نطقنا جميعا للفصحى مشوب بصفات محلية يمكن لنا أن نسمّيها صفات عامية [107] (1973:119)

Approximately the same words are found in Grassi et al. speaking about the Italian situation:

[L'italiano standard] si realizza prevalentemente nello scritto. Nel parlato lo standard vero e proprio è molto raro: di norma, chi parla rende riconoscibile l'area di provenienza, o la classe sociale a cui appartiene, attraverso l'uso di tratti linguistici caratterizzanti. Una varietà non marcata né socialmente né geograficamente è usata solo dai parlanti professionali: gli attori, alcuni annunciatori radiofonici, alcuni insegnanti particolarmente scrupolosi e attenti ai problemi della correttezza linguistica (2006:144)[108]

This influence is more evident the greater the competition of another variety in the spoken language. Subačius states that spoken forms of standard are often to be considered substandard forms (2001:135).

Spoken standard presents features that are «polypragmatic and multifunctional, responding to speakers' needs to plan simultaneously as they go; to take, keep or signal their intention to yield the floor; to present information in manageable chunks; to create interpersonal involvement; to introduce conversational topics» (Cheshire 1999:145).

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[107] «Nowadays there is nobody in Egypt or in any other Arabic country who, regardless of the degree of his mastery of the *fuṣḥā*, is able to pronounce it [fuṣḥā] without revealing the Arab country in which he was been raised. This means that [...] the pronunciation of us all of the *fuṣḥā* is vitiated by local characteristics that we can call colloquial».

[108] «[Standard Italian] is realized mainly in written language. In spoken language, standard itself is very rare: typically, the speaker makes the origin area or the social class to which he belongs recognizable, through the use of characteristic linguistic traits. A geographically and socially unmarked variety, is only used by 'professional' speakers: actors, some radio announcers, some teachers particularly careful and attentive to the problems of linguistic correctness»

Spoken standard is very variable along a formality *continuum* and a *continuum* between planned and unplanned discourse (see Ochs 1979). Depending on the situation, some features may be more present than in others. Planned discourse, for example, will display a greater number of the features typical of the written standard (see Cheshire 1999:145). After discussing some non-orthoepic features in spoken Standard English, Cheshire comments by saying that «[...] the features discussed [...] are not 'bad English' or performance errors, but structures that are functional and appropriate for the situation in which they occur. It is difficult enough attempting to explain that forms such as multiple negation, though not 'standard', are grammatically well-formed and, though stigmatised, often appropriate to the situations in which they occur» (Cheshire 1999:146).

2.3.2.1. the models of 'good spoken SA'

Television has a great role in spreading models of what 'good spoken SA' is. If spoken CA is mainly represented by TV Islamic scholars (in many cases mixed with NA) as well as by certain *musalsalāt* (TV series) on the classical tradition in which one imitates that kind of language, the model for the realization of 'good spoken SA' is typical of professional radio and tv journalists (especially in news broadcasting) that are subject to strict linguistic policies: they are the official voice of authority and therefore they are intended to have normative force, to be models of standard language[109]. Skogseth (2000:21-25) explains that training courses for the national Egyptian radio journalists are meant to establish the linguistic 'norm' to which employees must adapt. Special attention is given to phonetic features such as the emphasis (*tafxīm*), the realization of interdentals, the realization of long vowels and so on. The SA achieved by these professional journalists and also their mixed SA/NA speech, in situations more 'spontaneous' than newsbroadcasts (like talk shows etc.), becomes a competing 'model' with the standard norm. A standard that, as mentioned, often provides a degree of variability due to the

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[109]It is believed that many BBC journalists still continue to use the Received Pronunciation (RP), an accent of spoken English used by educated Anglophone British people for formal speeches, which is therefore also called the BBC English (or Public School Pronunciation). Its morphosyntactic system represents the model used for teaching English to foreigners and is considered the spoken orthoepic standard British English. In realty, since the post-war period, BBC does not impose linguistic choices on its employees and the spoken standard, at least until the Seventies, was affected by a number of 'non-RP speakers'. However, the fact remains that the language used by journalists from BBC is extremely accurate, especially in phonetics, so much so that there is, since 1926, a dedicated group of language experts (Pronunciation Unit) that takes care of examining and listing all the possible correct pronunciations of a given lexeme in a foreign language. (See Olausson/Sangster 2006:41-42). It seems that this care for the standard has passed to the major Arab satellite news channels (Aljazeera, Alarabiya etc..) many of whose journalists come from the Arab sector of the BBC. One could speak of "Aljazeera Arabic".

tension between 'standard' patterns and phonological, morphological and syntactic dialectal patterns.

2.4. NORMATIVITY OF SA: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

2.4.1. IS SA ILL-DEFINED?

In a controversial article, Kaye defines SA an *ill-defined system*. Kaye borrows a couple of terms that the American linguist Charles Hockett first used for linguistics: *well-defined* and *ill-defined system*. According to Hockett «a *well-defined system* is any system (physical, conceptual, mathematical) that can be completely and exactly characterized by deterministic functions» (1968:45), while an *ill-defined system* is all that is not *well-defined*. To explain that, Hockett used the example of scoring in American football where the final score is neither *computable* nor *incomputable,* but *ill-defined* (cf. Hockett 1968:47). Kaye defines SA as an *ill-defined system* because «it is much easier for the linguist to say what MSA is not than what it is» (1972:33). For example, it is not possible to describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of SA with the same precision with which one describes a given NA. Kaye analyzes, for example, the question of the accentuation, summarized in this table:

MSA	NA
MSA form for 'they wrote (fem. dual)' = **graphemically** clear → <ktbtā>, **phonetically** unclear → */katabata:/* = how is the long vowel realised? The forms /kàtabata(:)/, /katàbata(:)/, /katabàta(:)/, /katabatà(:)/ are all possible MSA forms. The pronunciation mostly depends on the phonological nature of NA.	/kità:b/, /bi-yìktib/, /madràsa/ are clearly Cairene accentuation /ktà:b/, /b-yə́ktob/, /màdrase/ are clearly Damascene accentuation /ktàb/, /ka-yektéb/, /medràsa/ are clearly Rabat accentuation

Table 16 The problem of stress in SA (Kaye 1972).

2.4.1.1. some critics to Kaye

Although Kaye offers questionable examples about SA which help confirm his views, he states that the vast majority of the Arabic grammars do not take into account the spoken use of SA but they remain on a purely prescriptive level. For Kaye, Ferguson's

theory of diglossia is false, not because of the known limits of the well-known article, but because the existence of a H variety is far from being demonstrated. In conclusion, Kaye says that «diglossia in Arabic […] involves the interaction of two systems, one well-defined, the other ill-defined» (1972:47) for which Arabic diglossia cannot be considered a «relatively stable situation» as Ferguson describes it (1959:336).

In fact uneducated speakers (who are the majority in most Arab countries because of the high rate of illiteracy), «try to imitate with respect to phonology and morphology, generally, but more importantly, lexically» (1972:39) the speech of the educated people, basing themselves on their exposure to SA. The result is a 'bastardized-corrupt-vulgar' SA according to the purists of the language, i.e. a non-orthoepic or a non-prescriptive SA as Kaye names it.

Kaye cites a number of examples that represent 'incorrect' forms according to the rules but in fact they are more common than the orthoepic forms. He gets them from the reading of Arabic-speaking speakers from various parts of the Arab world (he does not specify where from) of the first fifty pages of the book of Aḥmad Amīn *Ḥayātī*:

/fi: maqha/ instead of /maqhan/;

/kasla:nun/ instead of /kasla:nu/;

/fi: ʔawqa:tin ʔaḥsanin/ instead of /ʔaḥsana/;

/lan ʔaktib/ instead of /ʔaktub(a)/;

/fi: mada:risin/ instead of /mada:risa/.

In his article Kaye shows mainly that:

(i) NA is the only variety that is morphophonosyntactically well-definable;

(ii) NA influences SA phonetics;

(iii) the use of spoken SA provides a wide acceptance outside the rules.

Kaye's article has been questioned by many scholars including Schmidt (1974:19-23), El Hassan (1978:116) and Mejdell (2006:25-26). Schmidt states that:

(i) the possibility of writing a prescriptive grammar of any language is questionable, since not everything that is described in grammars is necessarily prescriptive;

(ii) if lexicon is taken into account, NA too may not be precisely describable, since a word may be expressed in different ways depending on the social *stratum* of the speaker (Schmidt gives the example of 'head' that in his research has been expressed by /ra:s/ or /dima:ġ/). The importance of the variability factor, which is presented in NA too (and which Kaye totally ignores), and the fact that variability is not synonymous with *ill-definedness* is also highlighted by El-Hassan (1978:116);

(iii) Kaye compares two phonetic utterances of two speakers at the ends of the sociolinguistic *continuum*, an illiterate and a professional of language, bypassing the entire

mid-range that exists between these two extremes. Moreover, Schmidt also believes that these same two speakers, very realistically, would not even speak NA in the same way;

(iv) as it is not always easy to say what SA is, so it is not easy to decide what exactly NA is.

Consequently, Schmidt says that:

(a) from his field research Schmidt believes that speakers normally consider a given form to be NA *if it contrasts with a form they consider SA*;

(b) both SA and NA are partially defined by what they are not;

(c) this suggests that linguists should consider SA and NA as abstract poles, opposite ends of a spectrum of which speakers only control certain ranges.

Mejdell states, in line with Schmidt and El-Hassan, that Kaye's model is based on a homogeneity of the linguistic system that is disputed in most studies of sociolinguistics which consider «'internal diversity' and 'inherent variability' as typical of language use whatever the kind of variety involved» (2006:25).

2.4.1.2. are there competent users of SA?

Kaye, like many other authors, has pointed out one the main consequences of the fact that SA has no native speakers:

> I do not think present-day MSA has *native users with their own "native-speaker" intuitions* because this latter notion is, of necessity, intertwined with the overwhelmingly crucial fact that it is their native colloquial dialects to which their respective native-speaker intuitions are, on the whole, related and on which they are dependant (1994:51; emphasis mine)

Mejdell believes that the question of the absence of competent speakers in SA is actually more complex than in many other languages: competent speakers of SA do exist but their expertise is not necessarily the same as that of that of their NA. These 'experts' would be competent for a 'core' of knowledge. This knowledge is the result of their internalisation of an extensive and in-depth linguistic knowledge based on school education and on other SA input (reading, listening to other prestigious speakers etc.). This allows them to judge the acceptability of most of the linguistic SA structures. Around this 'core' there exist 'fuzzy areas' (2006:26) that are not known or introjected in the same way in their linguistic repertoire. Here, judgement becomes uncertain, variable and sometimes contradictory from person to person. Mejdell affirms that the substantial difference between the Arabic diglossic situation and that of standard-with-dialects of

other languages is that the group of competent speakers and the width of this 'core' is significantly smaller.

2.4.1.3. two important points

Despite these critics, I believe that Kaye focuses on two important points:

(i) the difficulty of establishing what has to be considered correct SA and who are competent speakers in SA in order to express value judgments on SA (this point is also highlighted by Mejdell and Parkinson, see paragraph §2.5. et seqq.)

(ii) he emphasizes the fact that the SA described by grammars is a *very ideal* construction and that *substandard forms of Arabic are much more common* than the orthoepic standard described by grammars.

Yet, I agree with Schmidt who says that: «each code must […] be partly described by reference to the other» (Schmidt 1974:76).

2.4.2. NORMS, PERSCRIPTIONS AND CORRECTNESS

Bartsch's analysis of the linguistic norm is essential when we talk about any standard. Bartsch investigates the rules governing the language that she considers «as the social reality of [linguistic] correctness notions» (1987:xiv) without going into «psychological questions about norms» (1987:xiv) which represents also another important perspective. We will see Bartsch's definitions of important terms like *correctness, norms, regularity* etc. and then we will focus on the author's position about the mixed forms and, specifically, the mixed forms in Arabic and their relationship with the standard and dialectal norms.

2.4.2.1. correctness in phonetics, morphology and syntax

Norms reflect the 'ideas of correctness' and in this sense «correctness concepts, which as concepts in a certain sense are *psychic entities*, have a *social reality and objectivity* above or outside the individuals that grasp them by *constructing a psychic representation of them*. Their *correctness is socially established* in varying degrees of formality, from providing models of correctness to providing codifications of the norms» (1987:4; emphasis is mine). What is meant by correctness? Phonetics plays a socially very important role. There exists a process of selection of phonemes on the basis of the social meanings that they involve. This process is transferred to the new generation «through welcoming and rewarding sounds of their language produced by infants, thus reinforcing the production of these sounds; they disregard and discourage the production of other sounds» (1987:5). Bartsch

goes on to explain that the correctness of a given phoneme means that it is within acceptable boundaries of realization in a given context: $X_1, X_2... X_n$ where X is a phoneme and $_n$ the context in which X is realized (see Bartsch 1987:5-6).

For lexicon, each individual speaker bases his judgments of correctness, in the first place, on what is *recorded in his memory*, and only later will he accept what is *recorded in 'public lexica'*. A number of factors of linguistic origin (e.g. morphophonologic structure) or social origin (e.g. prestigious lexeme) or linked to communication needs (is the lexeme really needed?) are at the basis of correctness of new lexemes. As for syntax, Bartsch creates a hierarchy in 4 points regarding the acceptability or correctness of the syntactic form. A given syntactic form can be:

«*syntactically correct* according to the standard of written language»;

«*syntactically incorrect according to the written standard, but acceptable in everyday spoken language*»;

«*syntactically incorrect and not acceptable* in everyday spoken language of native speakers»;

«otherwise incorrect and unacceptable but can, if at least understandable and interpretable, be acceptable when used by people of whom one does not expect correct speech.»

The bottom limit is what is *incomprehensible and uninterpretable*: this is what is totally *unacceptable* (see 1987:16).

An important principle quoted by Bartsch is the 'principle of charity' (see 1987:52) according to which the listener is ready to accept an incorrect sentence, for example pragmatically incorrect (on correctness and pragmatics, see Bartsch 1987:40-70), assuming that the speaker speaks *rationally*, according to a purpose and he does not contradict himself.

2.4.2.2. correctness and norms, central and peripheral models

Correctness and *norms* are not the same notion, despite being linked. Norms are what «create, delimit, and secure the notions of correctness», on the social level (1987:70). According to Bartsch, these norms are based on social balances of power that create models that must be followed. There are more and less central models: the social relations determine who offers these models, who must follow them, what are the acceptable margins of deviation. Bartsch says that the *hierarchy of these models* roughly reflects social hierarchies and, thanks to the media of mass communication, *the central models have become available to usufructuaries of peripheral models. Intellectuals* follow and forge the central models, the less educated follow models of the more educated (their teachers, for example) while the uneducated follow the models of those who are socially in a higher

step if they have the possibility or the desire to climb the social ladder. Norms, therefore, are based on these balances of power that give rise to *norm authorities, norm enforcers, norm codifiers* and *norm subjects*. These models, and the relative social control that is expressed in acts of *correction* which are characterized by *rewards* and *penalties*, represent the strength of the norm.

Hart[110] also distinguishes between *prescription* and *norm*: a *prescription* is a rule whose breaking is negatively sanctioned; while a *norm* is only a guideline for action. So prescriptions accepted by the speakers are norms but not all the norms are prescriptions or prescriptive.

2.4.2.3. norms and mixed forms

Bartsch also refers to the gumperzian concept of *conversational code-switching* (see Gumperz 1982:VII) stating that «people use different languages and varieties as different codes which are connected to different types of situations. People can use two languages with a different stylistic value in different functions, and in a manner that is absolutely natural to them» (1987:95) and interprets it in normative terms, explaining that:

> there are *in-between forms of norm adoption and compromises* which show that the speaker accepts the standard norms to be valid in certain situations, even for himself, and that he has, as far as these situations go, the internal view with respect to the standard norms, although his linguistic behaviour is only partly adjusted to these norms. Acceptance of the standard can also be indicated symbolically by using a few indicators of the standard while at the same time retaining those indicative of his regional and social identity (Bartsch 1987:96; my emphasis)

For Bartsch, therefore, the speaker often assumes *different normative systems* as stylistic or functional devices. These normative systems, in certain situations, may come into conflict or competition. For this reason, some stylistic registers appear linguistically mixed. These mixed forms do not necessarily represent a linguistic incompetence but rather they are the result of *normative conflicts* of strategies to overcome them (cf. Bartsch 1987:98).

Bartsch then distinguishes between *correctness* and *validity* of speech acts. She says:

> Even a non-correctly performed speech act can be valid, if it is not evident that the conditions of correctness are violated, i.e. if the hearer believes (and is justified by the

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[110] Cit. in Bartsch 1987:76.

available evidence in his belief) that the conditions of correctness are fulfilled. This can be the case when *non-satisfaction is hidden in such a way that the hearer cannot realize it* (Bartsch 1987:133; emphasis mine).

2.4.2.4. norm and regularity

Another relation analyzed by Bartsch is that between *norm and regularity*. They are related because the norm implies the expectation of a regularity although it does not depend on whether the regularity is totally realized. Bartsch writes:

> Deviation of a norm, i.e. not realizing the expected regularity, does not *abolish or abrogate the norm as long as such deviation is subject to criticism, correction, and sanction, or is admitted as an exception in special cases*. In this way, a norm is also more than a mere expectation of a regularity. *Such an expectation, to be sure, would be suspended as soon as the expectation has been disappointed several times* (Bartsch 1987:166; emphasis mine)

This seems to echo a Latin maxim which says: *error comunis facit ius* ('common error makes the law'). Bartsch also distinguishes between *norm* and *custom* or *usage. Custom* or *usage* implies a certain expectation of regularity. When this vanishes it makes its use also fade. On the contrary, the norm is continually reinforced by *criticism, correction* and *sanction* which makes the *normative force* of the norm (1987:166).

Bartsch also distinguishes two types of norms of communication:
- *norms of communicative products* that represent the social reality of the correctness notions in phonemic, graphemic, morphemic, syntactic, gestural and intonational properties of expressions;
- *norms of use of communicative means* that represent the social reality of the correctness notions in semantic, pragmatic and stylistic properties of expressions (cf. Bartsch 1987:171).

2.4.2.5. norm description

Norm consists, according to Bartsch, in:
    norm content - it states a regularity;
    norm character - obligatory, optional;
    norm kernel - is formed by norm content and norm character and has a normative force;

agents - norm authorities, norm subjects, norm promoters, norm enforcers, norm beneficiaries, norm victims = roles fulfilled by persons or agencies that are involved in establishing the social reality of a norm;

sanctions - available against norm breakers (cf. Bartsch 1987:176).

Schematized:

```
                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │    NORM      │
                    └──────────────┘
        ┌──────────────────┼──────────────────────┐
┌───────────────┐  ┌───────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
│    Agents     │  │   Sanctions   │      │   Norm Kernel    │
│  Authority    │  │   Criticism   │      │ (it has a normative
│   Subject     │  │  Correction   │      │      force)      │
│  Promoter     │  │    Neglect    │      └──────────────────┘
│  Enforcer     │  └───────────────┘     ┌─────────┴─────────┐
│ Beneficiary   │                  ┌────────────┐  ┌────────────┐
│   Victim      │                  │ Character  │  │  Content   │
└───────────────┘                  │ Obligatory │  │ (it states a
                                   │  Optional  │  │ regularity) │
                                   └────────────┘  └────────────┘
```
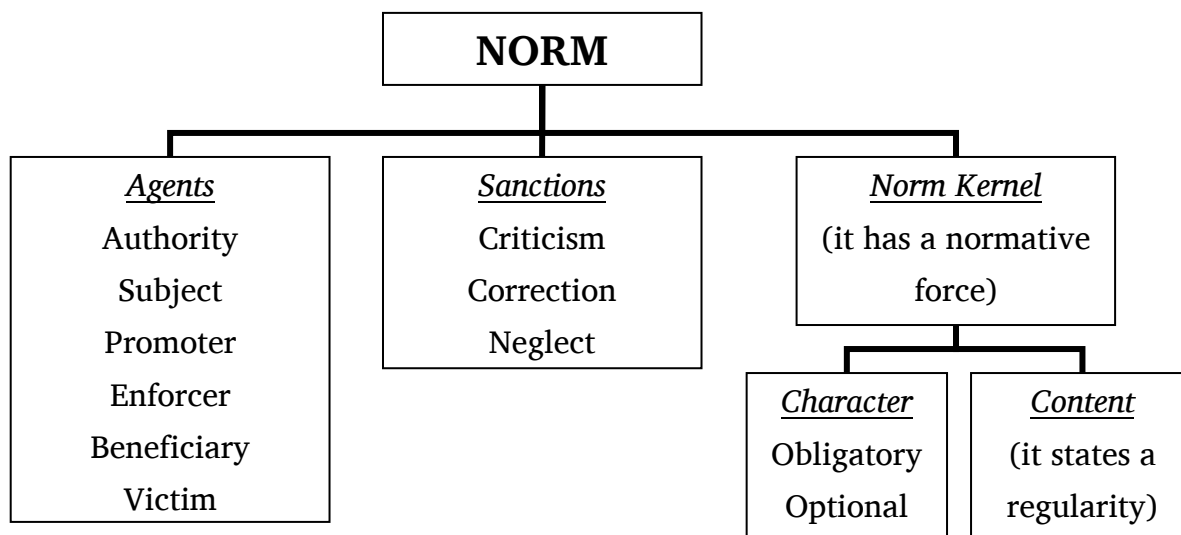
Table 17 Adapted from Bartsch 1987:177.

Norm exists as:

   (A)

norm concept = it conceptualizes an expected regularity;

norm formulation = it is a formulation of the norm concept;

norm codification = it is an official formulation of a norm concept;

norm promulgation = it is the activity of introducing a norm as valid for a population

   (B)

norm N *exists* for a population P as a norm if N is a practice in P, not under pressure (if not we have a prescription). Existence can be natural (N is acquired in primary socialization) or adopted (N is acquired later in life);

norm N is *accepted* by a population P as a norm if correction if favour of N is welcome or at least accepted in P;

norm N is *adopted* by a population P as a norm if N is accepted and comes to exist in P;

norm N is *valid* for a population P as a norm if and only if the members of P are justified in referring to N as the reason for certain behaviour;

norm N is *justified* in a population P as a norm if behaviour according to N does not conflict with a higher norm or a value in P (see Bartsch 1987:177-178).

So we have:

(B₁)

...N *exists* → *existence domain* of N;

...N is *accepted* → *acceptance domain* of N;

...N is *adopted* → *adoption domain* of N;

...N is *valid* → *validity domain* of N;

...N is *justified* → *justification domain* of N

that is the group of people by whom N exists, is accepted, is adopted, is valid and is justified.

There are also situations domains of N in which N is, respectively, a practice, is accepted, is valid, is adopted and in justified.

Norms may exist etc. also only for a part of P (cf. Bartsch 1987:184).

All the rules are justified in relation to what Bartsch calls the *highest norm of communication* (HNC), which is expressed in two parts:

||| SPEAKER 'express yourself in such a way that what you say is recognizable and interpretable by your partner in agreement with what you intend him to understand'

||| HEARER 'interpret such that the interpretation will be in agreement with what the speaker intends' (cf. Bartsch 1987:212).

So when N prevents the satisfaction of the HNC, the satisfaction of HNC precedes the satisfaction of N. A strict correctness with respect to N against HNC may result *in partial or total failure of communication*. When specific Ns are in stark contrast with HNC, this may cause a change in the norms if a significant and regular deviation is set.

2.4.2.6. normative and empirical standard

Bartsch often quotes the doctoral dissertation of Subbayya (1980) which unfortunately was not available to me[111]. The situation of Marathi, a language mainly spoken in the Indian state of Maharashtra, seems to have many points in common with the mixed varieties of Arabic. In Marathi Sanskrit loans and that which Subayya calls 'sanskritization' are elements of a highly formal language found in major newspapers (written Marathi), or in formal speeches (spoken Marathi). Subbayya has proved how Marathi allows a large range of variation according to specific factors. Standard is used next to the local dialects, in specific situations of a certain formality. And there are

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[111] I will briefly refer to the synthesis given by Bartsch (1987:253-278).

varieties that are used next to the standard and considered as *also standard, still standard* or *approximate standard,* a compromise between standard and vernacular. Bartsch writes that standard Marathi «has a range of flexibility in it, by which it is adapted to various needs» (1987:257).

Starting from Subbayya (1980), Bartsch discusses whether the standard is to be regarded as a *range* or a *point.* For Bartsch

> from an *empirical point of view,* the standard is a **range**, namely a set of linguistic means and situations of their use, including a lot of variation recognized and accepted as standard by the population and by language specialists […] from a *normative point of view*, the standard has rather been considered as a **point**, i.e. a single variety with no variation between forms (Bartsch 1987:258; emphasis is mine)

So Bartsch distinguishes two kind of standard:

prescriptive standard «as a *normative* concept of language planners […] [it] has a role as the ultimate model towards which the *submodels* for the standard linguistic usage are oriented. It is identified by linguistic experts, but *it is more a construct or something postulated than something real.* However, there are people in the speech community who are considered to be pretty close to it and are therefore its models»;

empirical standard «as a *descriptive* concept of socio-linguistics […] » (Bartsch 1987:258; emphasis is mine).

Subbayya (1980) postulates a range of linguistic features acceptable as standard to a higher or lower degree. Based on the empirical approach towards Marathi, the observed data can be schematized as follows:
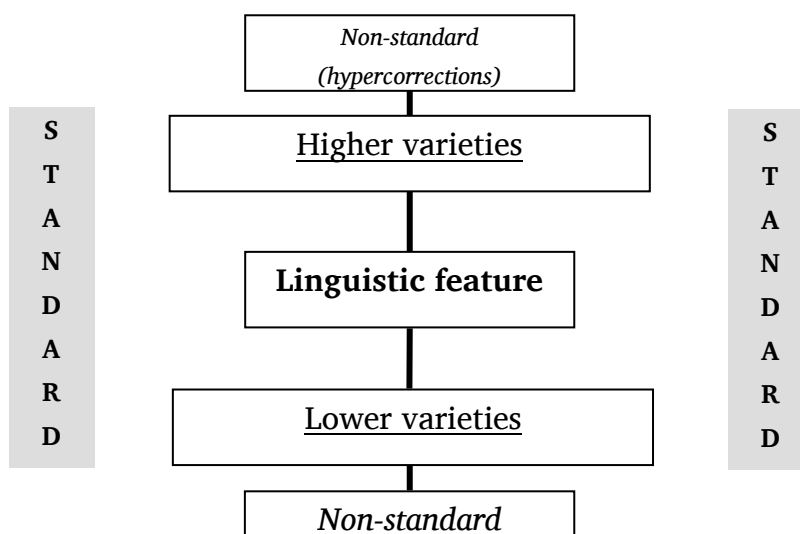
Table 18 From Subbayya (1980) (see Bartsch 1987:260)

Excluding the hypercorrection as non-standard, which is questionable in such a framework (one wonders why it is not then a hypocorrection, for example), one must consider that there is a continuous re-directing to the higher varieties of substandard models and in some ways, then, there are variable boundaries of where the standard ends. It is, in fact, the very essence of the standard to provide some normality and homogeneity (§2.3.) so that a continuous creation of new varieties far from the orthoepic norm could compromise intercomprehension between speakers of the same community. So Bartsch (1987:262) proposes the following model:

$$(\ . \ . \ (\ . \ . \ (\ ... \ ) \ . \ . \ ) \ . \ . \ )$$

WEAKER MODELS …STRONGER MODELS… WEAKER MODELS
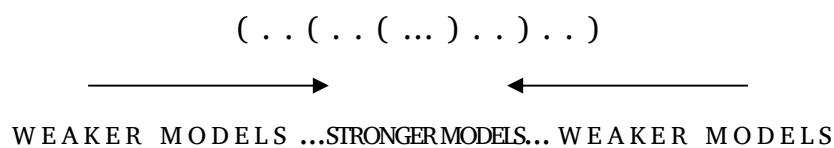
There is a hierarchy of power in the models: the *central*, the NORMATIVE CENTRE or STANDARD, is the strongest and it is the point of orientation for the correct behavior. That force is weakened in the periphery: «the strength or weakness implies that correction takes place in one direction: the strong models overrule the weaker ones» (Bartsch 1987:262). Bartsch says that grammar books, dictionaries and style manuals serve as central models. The speaker's attitude towards what 'is acceptable' depends on where he is located in this scheme: the more central is his position, the less wide will be his range (purists). Some elements of the Bartsch's description of the non-standard variants cannot be applied to Arabic. For example statements such as «these varieties are prevented from being put to use [...] in new functions that arise with modernization» or «they become less useful» (Bartsch 1987:268) are not fully valid for the Arabic situation.

Mejdell (2006:29) applies this scheme to the SA situation with two lexical examples of which I retain one:

[θa:liθun] θa:liθ] θa:lis / sa:lis]

[1   ]
[2   ]
[3   ]

All the three are 'felt' as standard: [1] is the 'normative' standard with inflected vowels; [2] pausal standard form; [3] sibilant variant for interdental. Outside what is considerable as standard one should add, according Mejdell, the dialectal form *ta:lit* whis

is non-standard[112]. In this sense Mejdell states «we have to recognize several norms of the written standard: the strictly orthoepic classical codified norm and wider, more flexible, 'empirical' norms. These norms may have validity with different people – conservative purists vs. modernists; religiously educated vs. 'foreign institution' educated» (2006:29-30).

2.4.2.7. classical and standard languages: the case of Arabic

Bartsch then proceeds to discuss whether the so called 'classical' languages may represent a norm for the standard language and she quotes, of course, also the case of Arabic along with Sinhala and Telugu. The position of Arabic is considered by Bartsch to be «more severe» and with a difficult solution as a result of the religious *datum* that the language represents (1987:273). It is worthwhile to quote what Bartsch replies to the question of whether or not CA can represent a norm for the spoken language:

> Such a *classical standard,* by being too far away from colloquial educated speech, *finally might lose its function as a standard altogether. Awareness of not complying with the norm may be lacking if the colloquial standard emerging from the variety of the educated speakers competes with the old classical standard in everyday life.* People who fill important positions in state and society will neither be able nor willing to conform to the classical standard, but nevertheless, their speech (in a non-classical dialect) will be a model for many other speakers who recognize them as important people in official positions. *These people, by way of their prestige, become models and that implies that their speech receives the certificate 'standard' or 'good speech' by the masses, though not by the religious and classical experts. This way, a competing colloquial standard arises* [...] (Bartsch 1987:274; emphasis mine)

This passage is of a crucial importance in my opinion. It is true that Bartsch here does not make any distinction between CA from contemporary SA and, therefore, she speaks of a possible loss of standard function of CA/SA. While citing the language of the educated people, Bartsch does not consider the possible and actual functions that CA/SA has in their language.

However, it must be acknowledged that Bartsch highlights several points that I consider worthy of note for the Arabic situation:

LACK OF AWARENESS «*awareness* of not complying with the norm may be lacking»;

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[112] See also §1.2.2. and table 6 for other examples of SA-ness on a level higher than the word.

COMPETING STANDARD «the colloquial standard [...] *competes* with the old classical standard in everyday life» (especially in educated people's everyday life, one can add); «This way, a *competing* colloquial standard arises»;

PEOPLE ACTING AS 'GOOD SPEECH' MODEL «*people* who fill important positions in state and society [...] their speech (in a non-classical dialect) will be a *model* for many other speakers who recognize them as important people [...] These people, by way of their prestige, become models and that implies that their speech receives the certificate 'standard' or '*good speech*' by the masses, though not by the religious and classical experts».

It is interesting to note that Bartsch uses the term *colloquial standard* without specifying what it exactly means. I suppose it could mean a colloquial normative system which conflicts with the standard norm. This is a point on which we will return, namely the presence or absence of a double standard in the spoken language (§2.4.3.). Bartsch states that «norms need not and *cannot be complied with in all situations in which they are valid*, but they have, at least, to be strengthened *by showing acceptance and paying tribute to them*. This can be done by *apologizing* for not following them, by *correcting oneself* if that is possible, or by *expressing acceptance of them symbolically*. These proofs of reference to a community's norms are a method to reinforce one's membership» (1987:320-321; emphasis is mine). In many cases, this is exactly what happens in (spoken) Arabic.

2.4.3. A DOUBLE STANDARD FOR FORMAL SPOKEN ARABIC?

As seen before, there are more and less central models of correctness of speech, whose hierarchy is mainly determined on social bases, according do Bartsch. Central models are forged and followed by *intellectuals*, the less educated follow models of the more educated (their teachers, for example) while the uneducated follow the models of those who are socially on a higher step if they have the possibility or the desire to climb the social ladder. These models, and the relative social control that is expressed in acts of *correction* which are characterized by *rewards* and *penalties*, ensure the strength of the norm. Another social consideration is that a kind of language, in order to be accepted and recherché has to be used by people with social prestige. Quoting Haugen, and Ray[113], Bartsch says that a norm must be adopted by the lead of whatever society and the lead is a subset of users who are regarded as imitation-worthy and therefore have prestige: «this not only seems to hold for variants within a single language, but also among speakers of competing languages» (Bartsch 1987:239). Intellectuals, by way of their prestige, become

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[113] Citt. in Bartsch 1987:239

models and that implies that their speech receives the certificate 'standard' or 'good speech' by the masses, though not by the religious and classical experts. «This way, a competing colloquial standard arises», says Bartsch (1987:274).

Prestige, in general, is seen as a positive social evaluation in relation to something, that is the fact of being worthy of imitation, because positively evaluated on the basis of socially favourable characters. In sociolinguistics, the concept of prestige ranges between two extremes, according to Berruto (2007:89): on the one hand, it refers to a *generical good social evaluation of a variety*, a form, or a linguistic behaviour; on the other hand, it refers to *the social importance a variety, a form, or a linguistic behaviour have as means of social advancement*. A variety of language is, therefore, prestigious if it is a necessary condition to climb the social ladder. Various are the factors in defining the sociolinguistic concept of prestige. Berruto establishes at least four elements:

«a) favourable language attitudes of speakers of the members of the community;

b) the symbolic value assigned by the community to the (varieties of) language;

c) being a vehicle of a vast and appreciated literary tradition;

d) being spoken by the dominant social groups» (2007:90).

Point d) is labelled by Berruto as *social prestige* (although he underlines the fact that prestige is always a social concept). Berruto also distinguishes an *open prestige*, one that is overtly recognized by all the members of the community, and a *covert prestige*, that is a prestige that differs from the prevailing values in the community and whose existence is not explicitly admitted (2007:91). If we consider the four points established by Berruto, we will realize that while b) and c) are prerogatives of SA, a) and d) are prerogatives of NA. In this sense one can speak of an overlap between NA and SA in terms of prestige. Both have prestige in themselves, although on different levels. In particular, point d) is controversial for spoken Arabic because the dominant social groups do not speak just one variety, but, at least partially, mixed varieties SA/NA. Moreover, while SA has overt prestige, the prestigious NA has a covert prestige.

2.4.3.1. Prestigious variety vs. SA and sex differentiation

In all the Arab countries there is a L variety which is considered to be prestigious and which is in competition with SA and that Ibrahim calls super-dialectal L. Arab women confirm that the prestigious variety is not SA. In fact, they tend to use more NA prestigious form than men and the reason for this is, according to Ibrahim, the fact that they feel socially and psychologically less secure than men so they are expected to "behave themselves" linguistically by using prestigious forms. These form allow them to "acquire" that social prestige they lack. This is in perfect conformity with many patterns

of language use in other language communities investigated for sex differentiation. In this sense, SA appears to be socially neutral and unmarked with respect to the speaker's class. Of course it does not lack prestige because of its religious, ideological, and educational values but «its social evaluative connotations are much weaker than those of locally prestigious varieties of L» says Ibrahim (1986:125). In fact, prestigious forms of NA, not those of SA, «carry most of the important social connotations that matter to most individuals in life such as socioeconomic class, urban vs. rural origin or affiliation, and social mobility and aspirations» (1986:125).

2.4.3.2. Prestigious variety vs. SA in Baḥrayn and Baghdad

In Baḥrayni prestige varieties is a complex issue. In this little state there exists two big speaking communities: ʕarab, of recent immigration, Sunnis, and the dominant political group in the country, and *baḥārna*, shiite. They speak two different dialects that have many differences. Holes isolates 19 phonomorphological variables for comparison. The author reaches the following conclusions:

(i) Baḥārna tend to move towards the phonetic variants of the ʕarab and the opposite does not happen: baḥārna switch, in certain circumstances, their /ǧ/ to the ʕarab's /y/ like in ya ← ǧa ('venne') although /y/ is stigmatized in SA;

(ii) when there is a common form (baḥārna, ʕarab) other than SA, baḥārna tend to use the SA form; when there is no common form, even if the baḥārna variant is equal to the SA form, baḥārna tend to use the ʕarab's form (thus, not the SA form) (see e.g. Owens 2001:435).

For Holes, this explains that the prestige dialect has great importance and have, in many cases, more 'social weight' than SA has got. So it is clear that (1) ʕarab have some linguistic confidence and move to SA, (2) baḥārna move both towards SA (for example, a common form baḥārna/ʕarab) and to the realization of the ʕarab group. The ʕarab speech is therefore the prestige dialect and it represents a centripetal force together with SA[114]. The same happens in many Arab countries where next to the prestige of the SA one must consider the competitive prestige of the 'spoken' language of the capital.

According to what is usually called the 'standard-vernacular model,' standard variants are generally prestigious:

1. they are the 'model' to which one tends;

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[114] I wonder whether the recent uprising in Baḥrayn (February 14, 2011 until the moment this thesis is being written) will produce any change in the linguistic situation of this little country.

2. they are the basis for overcorrection (when, in order to appear educated, one tends to 'overdo');

3. they represent the linguistic norms of society.

In Arabic, something similar and, at the same time, different takes place. Holes has shown, for example, what happens for the variable [q] in Baḥrayn, where there are three variants:

(i) /q/, SA value;

(ii) /g/ and /ǧ/ (interchangeable), ʕarab values;

(iii) /g/ (not interchangeable with /ǧ/), baḥārna value;

(iv) /ḳ/ (back velar k), baḥārna, mostly rural .

The /q/ variant is not the only prestige variant. In addition to /q/, which appears in SA imported lexemes, Holes has discovered that the ʕarab retain their own variant, /g/ and /ǧ/, specific to this community, while baḥārna, in those lexemes in which they do not pronounce /q/, move, not to the SA variant (i.e. /q/) but by the /g/ of the ʕarab. This confirms that the ʕarab variety is that of prestige in this community and represents a model to which to conform: «it appears that the two forces of social prestige and linguistic 'correctness' are pulling in opposite directions» (1980:81).

A similar statement was done by Abu-Haidar in her study of the Muslim and the Christian dialects of Baghdad. She states that «apart from MSA (the H variety for all Baghdadis), CB speakers [Christian Baghdadi] use their own dialect as a L variety in informal situations at home and with in-group members, while they use MB [Muslim Baghdadi] as another H variety in more formal situations with non-Christians» (1991:92).

2.4.3.3. Prestigious forms vs. SA in Cairo

The predominance of Cairene Arabic in Egypt is a well-known linguistic fact. This means that non-Cairenes, in situations of formality or in presence of non-local people, avoid geographically stigmatized forms in favour of urban Cairene forms. So non-Cairene have to learn not only SA but also an approximation of the dialect of Cairo[115]. The prestige of Cairene Arabic is so strong that SA forms can even become stigmatized by the dominant social classes. Haeri, who worked on the use of /q/ and its variants in Cairene Arabic (CEA), suggests that speakers with the highest level of education do not have the highest frequency of /q/ lexical items in their speech while a middle class college educated man is the most frequent user of qāf lexical items. She excludes that the

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[115] Of course Cairene Arabic is not a homogeneous and static variety and many factors, such as degree of urbanization, exposure to the mass media, religious education and foreign cultures, contribute to the linguistic differentiation of the population (see for example Haeri 1997).

problem is attending private international schools. Although some of the informants have attended this kind of school and their knowledge of SA is 'less' if compared with those who attended public schools, Haeri suggests that using a /q/ variant does not mean knowing or not SA. In CEA, for example, there are a lot of lexemes from European languages normally used by Egyptians which does not mean that they know these languages. Job is not a cause either (1991:138-139). The question is that «other prestige systems are also at work» (1991:139) as Haeri states quoting Schmidt (1986): «Both upper class men and upper class women seem to be responding to a prestige norm which distinguishes between classes but which is not in the direction of classical Arabic». SA is not the only, or the major source of symbolic prestige for them, and, also, it is not a source of social mobility.

2.4.3.4. a double standard

If the linguistic models of the socially dominant class are considered prestigious, the question is what are the models forged by these classes in spoken Arabic?

According to Bartsch, standard language is «a model of correctness with validity in a speech community for official or public language use» (1989:199). This poses a problem in Arabic. SA is certainly a model of correctness for official and public language use but is it the only model? Again Hartmann & Stork (1972) define standard language as «the socially favoured variety of a language, often based on the speech of the educated population in and around the cultural and/or political centre of the language community». If the first part of the definition is acceptable about SA, in the sense that without SA social climbing is impossible (and nowadays in many Arab countries it is also impossible without a foreign language like English), we may certainly say that SA does not represent the speech of the educated population of the cultural and/or political centre of the language community. At least not 'pure' SA. We must then postulate another competing 'standard'.

As we will see in details in §2.5. (Haeri 2003; Parkinson 1991, 1993, 1994; Owens & Bani Yasin 1991), native Egyptian speakers are ready to accept a wide variability of features, all of them perceived as SA. Moreover it is clear how big the discrepancy is between what is grammatically 'correct' and what is 'good' language: they do not always coincide. Grammatically 'incorrect' forms can be still be good language and hypercorrect forms can be bad language, because they are felt to be pedantic and heavy.

In order to understand what the 'empirical norms' of SA are we should observe the linguistic behaviour of those speakers whose language is considered to be 'prestigious'. Being worthy of imitation, these people provide a model of 'good' Arabic and have

normative force in linguistic matters (see §1.9.2.). As Mejdell says «in Egypt, as elsewhere in the modern world, *public broadcasting* is a means for linguistic education» (2006:33). Radio and TV represent a wide range of styles of spoken language. Readings of classical poems and texts, *taǧwīd*, films or *musalsalāt* (TV series) on the classical heritage and the news programmes broadcast by some channels[116] offer the orthoepic norm for CA and SA; educated speech is heard in discussions/interviews on serious topics; urban educated speech is heard in entertainment shows and *musalsalāt*; street or rural level is normally heard in interviews or films.

Public formal or semi-formal sociolinguistic settings (often in the presence of an audience) offer formal and semi-form linguistic education. That is: how should one speak publicly in order to convey his message and not let the audience sleep? Religious discourse is certainly a part of this kind of sociolinguistic settings with similar problems and goals to any other formal setting.

SA is only one of the possible sources of linguistic elements for spoken Arabic. In fact, Ibrahim (1986), Abd-El-Jawad (1987), Holes (1987), Haeri (1991) and others state that when we consider spoken Arabic we cannot do without considering another 'standard' (and by standard here they do not mean a highly codified language but mainly *prestigious*) system which socially conflicts with the H variety or SA. So we must speak of a 'double standard' where the prestige variety concurrent to SA can be labelled 'non-standard (in the sense of non-SA) standard' (in the sense of prestigious code) (for the use of this last term, 'non-standard standard,' see Holes 1986:19,27). The difficulty of finding a socially proper definition for the language spoken by intellectuals stems from the fact that there is an understanding that equates standard language with prestigious language. This is due to the fact that in many standard/dialect languages prestigious and standard variety coincide. And this also explains why for a long time SA has been considered as a prestigious variety: «the identification of H as both the standard and the prestigious variety at one and the same time has led to problems of interpreting data and findings from Arabic sociolinguistic research» (Ibrahim 1986:115).

Ibrahim makes a good point when he says that the problem of prestige has only recently been raised in Arabic sociolinguistic studies. He says that this is one of the consequences of the 1959 Ferguson's article which sees H as superior to L in a number of aspects.

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[116] Newsreaders go through a special training programme to read 'correctly' (see Harrell 1960 and Skogseth 2000:21-25).

2.5. THE ATTITUDE AND PERCEPTION APPROACH

Social psychologists define *attitude* as «a psychological tendency [...] expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour» (see Versteegh 2006b:650)[117]. Language attitude concerns a specific language, language variety, or language practice. Similarly, perception is defined in philosophy, psychology, and cognitive science, as the process of attaining awareness or understanding of sensory information. Attitude is the result of one's perception of reality. Perception, and the resulting attitude, is not reality but how one approaches and interprets reality. The study of language attitude is indispensable if one wants to really understand not only how language is normatively systematized but also how language is used and viewed by their own speakers. There is no doubt that the ATTITUDE AND PERCEPTION approach is unstable and questionable because it is not 'objective'. But the studies that currently exist give us a rather clear picture of trends in the Arabic-speaking people's attitude towards their own or other's SA utterances and of the vast range of variability accepted under the 'SA label'. They also show the difficulty of establishing the limits of SA.

The fact that speakers of SA are not native and do not have native-speaker intuitions should mean that one cannot decide what constitutes SA because their own dialect and the degree of their school learning of it will influence, in ways we will see later, attitude and judgements about SA as Ayoub also says (1981:12). This means that somehow there does not exist a group who imposes normativity of SA to speaker: «the social group responsible for the prestige variety is a sub-set, and nothing more, of the speakers of the low variety, learning SA as a second language in the course of their education. What this means in relation to spoken (as opposed to written) Arabic is that there is no independent group of speakers of the prestige variety to dictate what the spoken norm should be. The speakers of SA are free, as it were, to establish what their spoken norms should be» (Owens & Bani Yasin 1991:25). But this does not mean that there are not 'native users' (Parkinson 1994:51) with their "native-speaker" intuitions, of course related with their native colloquial dialects, and that there are 'experts' (see §2.4.1.2.).

Moreover, as Mejdell states, it is a mistake to consider «non-intentional interference from the vernacular mother tongue on attempts to speak fuṣḥā, [as] only one of many psycholinguistic processes which may produce some kind of mixed style in Arabic. There is much evidence that speakers perceive mixed style as 'THE target' in certain communicative situations, and Arabic speakers, scholars and non-scholars, identify the link between luġa wusṭā and semi-formal situations» (2007:85). By saying «[assuming

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[117] For an introduction to this vast subject, see the entry Language attitudes in EALL (Versteegh 2006b:650).

that] the target is standard Arabic», Mejdell means here 'orthoepic SA'. The use of SA imposes a different flexible norm: «The purism of the official norm authorities [...] preserves the codified orthoepic 'classical' written standard, as taught in the educational system. A more flexible 'empirical standard' imposes itself by its users, with validity according to variable 'notions of correctness' in the language community» (Mejdell 2006:37).

The discrepancy between 'perception' and 'norm' is considerable and it is even more in the spoken language. We will find, in fact, that 'perception' frequently coincides with the Bartschian concept of *empirical standard* (§2.4.2.7.) where the substandard is perceived, along variable limits, as acceptable standard. According to Bartsch «the practice (or existence) domain of the standard variety is much smaller than its validity domain, this means that there are less people who in fact use the standard than there are people for whom the standard is valid» (Bartsch 1989:201) (see also §2.4.2.5. for the concepts of practice domain and validity domain).

The perception of the speakers is one of the epistemological elements to assess the kind of speech we evaluate. While Eid marks on this point by saying that «SA here has to be understood as SA as used by Egyptian Arabic speakers and not as grammar books tell us it should be», Mejdell seems to have a more moderate position when she writes that «[we should] *be very receptive to native speakers' perceptions of what counts as meaningful variation*» (Mejdell 2007:96). Yet, it is clear that a concept like 'perception' is at least very vague, as we said before. Who perceives? Does everybody perceive the same way? However I am convinced that 'perception' is forged on the basis of competence. Thus, in theory, it could be argued that the reference perception is that of those who work with the language (journalists, writers, speakers, etc..) or, better, those who produce educated speeches. These speakers' evaluation can be labelled as 'central perception'.

2.5.1. THE USE PEOPLE MAKE OF SA CHANGES THEIR PERCEPTION TOWARDS IT

A rare study on the wide perception of CA and SA is that of Haeri (2003). Haeri shows how the idea of CA or SA, whose distinction does not exist but for a certain Arab secular élite, varies greatly between speakers depending on the level of education, occupation and age.

Haeri describes how CA is perceived by her interviewees. For Nadia and her family CA represents their daily prayers and Qurʔān. They have a limited daily contact with SA that takes place when they seldom have to read, and even more rarely, to write. SA is not

a means of self-expression for them. All the programmes they watch on TV are not in SA. It is interesting to quote what Nadia says about the tv appearances of *šayx* Šaʕrawī

> Many people said they liked him because he spoke "directly" ('alaa ṭuul) to them, "as if he were sitting" in their "living room". Sheikh Sha'rawi in fact offered interpretations of sections of the Qur'an in Egyptian Arabic in a very friendly tone, with broad smiles and much enthusiasm for his task. He clearly addressed ordinary viewers and not other religious scholars. His program was in fact talked about by many people and a professor of Classical Arabic commented that if one were to transcribe the sheikh's interpretations, one would have for the first time, a written translation of the Qur'an in Egyptian Arabic. Offering Qur'anic interpretations in Egyptian Arabic is probably not that usual. But as many people commented on his use of that language, it does not seem to be very common either (Haeri 2003:32-33).

On the contrary, «lack of mastery of Classical Arabic for oral interaction», says Haeri «on the part of a majority of people "makes its use take time" and is not 'alaa ṭuul» (2003:39). Haeri also points out that for certain people SA means difficulty (*ṣaʕba*), heaviness (*tiʔi:la*); it lacks humour (*ma-fiha:-š xiffit damm*), it is 'pretense and affectedness' (*mutakallifa*) (Haeri 1991:171). On the contrary, CA of Qurʔān is beautiful (*gami:la*), a miracle (*muʕgiza*). Haeri says that it is af if CA of religion is a distinct language from the CA or SA of everything else (2003:43).

Text regulators and correctors have another idea of SA, because they work with it. Although they consult Medieval grammatical treaties during their work (2003:67) for contemporary texts, correctors somehow "make" the language. They have to translate many interviews from EA to SA before printing them[118]. Haeri also points out that there is a sort of battle between the old guard pro-SA and a new guard pro-EA and this battle is fought in real life through censorship, for example, which can even arrive to the extent of closing magazines written in EA in order not to lose the privilege of the censors of being "priests of SA".

2.5.2. HOW DO EGYPTIANS USE SA?

2.5.2.1. What Egyptians mean by SA?

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[118] An interesting case quoted by Haeri is a televised meeting in which the former president of Egypt, Ḥusnī Mubārak, answered every question in EA. The next day all newspapers reported the answers in SA (March 1, 1996; Haeri 2003:68).

Parkinson has dedicated four articles to the survey of the speakers' attitudes towards SA, mainly through the use of proficiency tests[119] on a broad sample of informants.

In his well-known and widely quoted 1991 article, Parkinson states that it is already complicated to explain to native speakers what one refers to by the term MSA and that the definitions of Arabic speakers of MSA and of the specific term F greatly vary depending on *education* and the *ideological position* so much so that «people do not agree on a term, and [...] they do not agree on what specific part of the communicative continuum, i.e., what specific varieties, any particular term should refer to» (Parkinson 1991:33). As Haeri also says, Parkinson insists on the fact that «educated Egyptian [...] appear to be clearly aware that their modern formal language differs in many respects from the classical language, but they differ about whether this is a good or bad thing, and about whether they have a right to use the term *fuṣḥa* to refer to the modern form» (1991:35).

A series of anecdotes and reflections said by Parkinson are very meaningful about perception. I summarize them briefly in seven points:

▸ an Azharī scholar stated that newspapers Arabic IS NOT F but a form greatly influenced by NA;

▸ an Egyptian woman, who has participated in one of the tests, distinguished F from *fuṣḥā fuṣḥā* (repeated twice; 'very fuṣḥā') to distinguish a *normal* from a *convoluted* style;

▸ one of the informants defined as F the language of an article written in a convoluted, archaic, recherché and pedantic style;

▸ a journalist stated that F is also the language of the press;

▸ a professor at Dār al-ʕUlūm told Parkinson that many of his colleagues dispute the Egyptian Nobel Literature laureate, Naguib Mahfouz, because he makes many mistakes in his works;

▸ press and publishing industry produce texts in which words considered NA - and therefore avoided by writers - are returned to their classical etymology, and so they are 'freed';

▸ the same dictionaries, which should present the normative standard, offer a mixture of «archaic, classical, and modern meanings under almost every entry, with no marking whatsoever on which are likely to be understood by modern readers, and which are entirely out of date» (Parkinson 1991:36);

For this reason, Parkinson sees that it is correct to speak about «*many modern fuṣḥās, or many levels of modern fuṣḥā*, some blending almost imperceptibly into a very classicized

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[119] On the linguistic critiques of language tests see for instance Milroy & Milroy 1985:157-174.

medieval style, and others blending imperceptibly into elevated mixed colloquial/fuṣḥā style in such a way that it truly is difficult to define the form without fuzzy edges» (Parkinson 1991:36; emphasis is mine). Parkinson states that although «naming and carefully defining distinct intermediate styles (such as Oral Literary Arabic [Meiseles 1980], Educated Spoken Arabic [Mitchell 1986; El-Hassan 1977, 1978]) [...] focuses our efforts and helps us look for consistencies we might otherwise miss, also has a tendency to *reify that style and give it an independent existence which it may not have for native speakers who apparently have no category for thinking or talking about it* [...] we know we have a broad spectrum of mixed styles on this continuum, but beyond that we simply do not have the information to go much further» (Parkinson 1991:37-38; emphasis is mine). Beyond what *exactly* SA is, SA is certainly a part of the Arabic language *continuum*, and although there are no native speakers, there are 'native users'.

2.5.2.2. Proficiency tests

Parkinson proposes three types of tests (i) MIXED TEXT EXPERIMENT, (ii) READING EXPERIMENT, (iii) LISTENING MATCHED GUISE EXPERIMENT.

(i) MIXED TEXT EXPERIMENT distinguishing between the EA and SA sections of a mixed text, from passages taken from the Egyptian press. In particular, informants have been given a passage by Aḥmad ʿĀdil[120], known for using a mixed SA and EA style in his articles. Two of the informants were linguistically trained native speakers. They were asked to score, with three different colours sections considered as SA, as NA and those on which they were uncertain. Parkinson noted that the trend is that:

▸ in the *syntactically* SA segments «for both experts and the regular subjects, it tended to be true that a single colloquial vocabulary item or grammatical marker would cause them to mark a *whole section* as colloquial» (Parkinson 1991:44; italics are mine);

▸ in the *syntactically* EA segments «it was less true that a fuṣḥā grammatical marker or vocabulary item would cause a text to be taken as fuṣḥā, particularly in the case where colloquial markers were also present. *This indicates that informants assume that colloquial can and will borrow fuṣḥā vocabulary, morphology, and syntax to style-raise, etc., but that fuṣḥā will only rarely borrow colloquial forms*» (Parkinson 1991:45; italics are mine).

So ultimately what can be drawn is that «*mixed forms are thus taken to be colloquial at base, with fuṣḥā borrowings, and only rarely as fuṣḥā at base with colloquial borrowings*» (Parkinson 1991:45; italics are mine). Interestingly, Parkinson notes that, despite some discrepancies, non-experts do not agree on the labels given to the sections clearly labelled

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[120] The text is in Parkinson 1991:42-43.

by experts. It must be said that the Parkinson's examples seem to me to be mainly present in written texts or in a comic spoken context (and in fact the passage analysed is meant to be funny) where the use of both codes is intended to cause hilarity. In this test of Parkinson ambiguity and the resulting difficulty of both labelling the sections of the text as SA or NA and interpreting the results, are in that many segments of the proposed passage can be read in one or more SA or NA readings. I believe that an eventual test based on an oral text (a recording) would have eliminated or at least mitigated this ambiguity.

(ii) READING EXPERIMENT five articles taken from al-Ahrām to be read and linguistically valued through a scale from 1 (+SA) to 7 (-SA): 1. front-page story; 2. article written by a religious *šayx*; 3. a passage by Ahmad ʿĀdil; 4. an article by a member of the Egyptian parliament; 5. a sport article. Two patterns emerged:

▸ ratings were highly *influenced by the topic*: the more the topic was serious, the more the article was considered as SA;

▸ all writings were considered as *SA or close to it* no matter the topic.

APPROPIATNESS: the texts which were considered most appropriate were

▸ the easiest, comprehensible, almost-F: for these people the term F designates a complicated, convoluted and obscure style. Parkinson writes that «fuṣḥā seems to be a moving target. When you are far from it, it seems to function as the ideal style all are aiming for, but as you approach grammatical Arabic, fuṣḥā itself recedes for some into a classicized, metaphor-laden, complex style not achievable by most modern writers» (Parkinson 1991:51). For them, a hypothetical *continuum* is composed of NA, *luġa ʕarabiyya* and F;

▸ the +SA, in view of the fact that SA is the appropriate level for the written word: for these people the term F is also appropriate for modern formal Arabic. For them F as classicized level has no influence on their language judgment.

(iii) LISTENING MATCHED GUISE EXPERIMENT one test chosen by the expert informants as the most elegant was read by a man and a woman in seven different versions (1 + +SA, 7 --SA) with different features especially at the phonetical level (the seventh version also included the insertion of certain dialectal prefixes such as bi- etc.). Informants were asked to rank the performance in a 7 point scale (1 + +SA, 7 --SA). The surprise was that the version 4 was considered +SA than 3. The difference between version 3 and 4 concerns vowelling (3=full vowelling, 4=partial), pausal form (3=modern, 4=incorrect) and phonology (3=/ج/ g and /ث/ θ 4=/ج/ g and /ث/ s). Parkinson then draws the conclusion that «the phonological variable far outweighs the other variables in determining the subjects' ranking» (1991:57). To emerge is also another fact: more than half of all subjects

has labelled each of the seven tests as SA, but when they were given the opportunity to explain the choice they have created a scale between versions, «this appears to indicate that most subjects *have room in their notion of fuṣḥā for all of these various styles*, even though they are clearly able to distinguish between the styles [...] this appear to indicate a *high tolerance of a wide variety of styles* of oral fuṣḥā performance» (Parkinson 1991:58; emphasis is mine). Parkinson also indicates the version 3, that is the one with the interdentals pronounced correctly, the numbers read correctly and with some but not all final vowels as the 'emotional formal target' despite only a minority of Egyptians would be able to reach it.

Parkinson concludes that the 'modern F', as he names it, does exist and that «many of our problems in describing it stem from the fact that it forms a relatively broad but indeterminate section of a much bigger continuum, and while there is general agreement about the continuum, there is little agreement about where the natural breaks in that continuum lie» (Parkinson 1991:60).

2.5.2.2.1. knowledge of SA and knowledge to SA

In another article, the results of two types of proficiency test given to 170 adult speakers show the existence of two kinds of knowledge of SA:

(A) KNOWLEDGE OF SA (theoretical knowledge);

(B) KNOWLEDGE TO SA (practical knowledge).

These may overlap but not necessarily. Parkinson gave the example of a person who knows all 'about' how to drive a bike (gear ratios, pedal straps, mechanics of balance etc.) but who does not really know 'how' to drive a bike. The same can be said of a language. The questions that Parkinson asks himself are: (1) What is SA? (2) What is SA for its speakers? (3) How much does the average urbanized Egyptian knows SA? Parkinson divides testees into groups based on sociological variables of sex, age and education. The latter would be the variable that will prove itself to be more important than all the others. Parkinson distinguishes different levels of education: Lo (=no high school), Mid (=high school), Hi (=graduates), Hi Ar[abic related] (=graduates with a special focus on Arabic language teaching, journalists, broadcasters etc.). People were given a multiple choice grammar test that involved certain production tasks including translating sentences from EA to SA, vowelling the endings of underlined words in a text or filling up gaps with the right word. The general results of the grammatical correctness of the tests were divided by level of education: Hi Ar 73%, Hi 61%, Mid 48%, Lo 21%. The second type of test had no less disappointing results. The eight exercises of the first type concerned the use of: (1) accusative masculine sound plural noun as first term of *iḍāfa*; (2) fist person jussive

form of defective verb of last /w/; (3) accusative vowelling of verbal noun (*maṣdar*) when it is object of a verb; (4) accusative /a/ agreement of feminine singular definite adjective with sound feminine definite plural accusative /i/; (5) internal phonetic shape of the IMP common form I verb (*kataba*); (6) pronoun (*baʕḍ*) referring back to a 3-10 counted noun; (7) vowelling of definite subject of sentence-production test in which subjects were asked to vowel the ending of the underlined word; (8) vowelling of indefinite accusative adjective agreeing with sound feminine plural – production test in which subjects were asked to vowel the ending of the underline word. The results show that:

BASIC ITEMS «there are some very basic items – mostly those similar to colloquial, but also some others – which everyone with at least a high school education appears to have acquired»;

ITEMS SHARED BY HI AR, HI AND MID «there are also a large number of grammar points which Arabic specialists have acquired well and which about two-thirds of those with at least a high school education also appear to have acquired»;

ITEMS KNOWN BY MID AND ABOUT HALF OF HI «there are a few other items with a similar pattern, but which only those with a college education appear to have acquired that well, with less than half of high school graduates showing knowledge of the rule»;

ITEMS IGNORED BY MOST OF THE TESTEED «there are many 'difficult' points which few if any acquire, including the Arabic specialists»

Parkinson interprets these results by saying that:

Although the fully vowelled form may be the only acceptable prescriptive form, *it is clear that there are lesser levels of MSA that appear to be acceptable to many users on specific occasions.* Guests on television cultural programs, for example, can occasionally keep up a fairly good oral MSA, but entirely without the iʕrāb (case vowels) [...] In other words, even within the section of the continuum that most natives might eventually accept as MSA (even if not fuṣḥā), we find a continuum, and it is on this continuum that this grammar test places users. *Most of the more difficult grammar rules turn out to be not very important to the actual communicative process; so when the goal is merely to communicate, people do not feel at a loss, even when they cannot use the language flawlessly* (Parkinson 1993:60; emphasis is mine).

The second type (knowledge to SA) consists in testing their proficiency in four modalities: READING, WRITING, SPEAKING and LISTENING. That is to say one wants to know how much is the average Egyptian able to (1) *read a newspaper* (2) *hold a conversation in SA without using NA and without major grammatical errors* (3) *express himself correctly writing* (4) *understand SA of the mass media.*

The very term 'proficiency' was coined in U.S. government circles - Parkinson recalls - when it was clear that having studied and eventually got good grades in a given language does not necessarily mean mastering it. To test the actual linguistic ability of the candidates, tests of gradual difficulty were prepared to, assessed on a scale of 0-5. It's very interesting to see the summary table of basic skills scores that Parkinson reports:

	LO		MID		HI		HIAR	
READING	1	(0-2+)	2	(1-3)	3	(1-4)	3	(1-4)
LISTENING	1	(0-2+)	2	(1-3)	3	(2-4)	2+	(1-3+)
WRITING	1	(0-2+)	2	(0-3+)	2+	(1+-4)	3	(1+-4)
SPEAKING	0+	(0-2)	2	(0-4)	2+	(1-4+)	3	(0-4+)

Table 19 Proficiency correlates of basic skills scores (from Parkinson 1993:64)

The data in the left column refer to the average performance while those in brackets represent the recorded range. A series of meaningful data emerges:

(i) none of the 170 participants, even among experts, scored 5 and the averages do not exceed 3;

(ii) for everyone (except for experts) there is a mismatch between the passive skills and the active one, the latter are weaker than the first;

(iii) other perhaps obvious datum is that people have obtained the highest score in the fields where they actually use SA, e.g,. some *xuṭabāʔ* scored a comparatively very high score on speaking while passionate readers got a high score in reading.

Parkinson draws the following conclusions for each of the four categories considered, and other more general:

LO SPEAKERS «appear to have a minimal ability to understand basic sentences at a very slow rate, and to express themselves on very concrete straightforward topics; they can use MSA in a pinch, they probably know enough about it that it can influence their colloquial a bit, but efforts at longer communication in MSA are likely to be judged more colloquial than MSA, and longer reading passages are likely to be avoided when not absolutely necessary» (1993:68-69);

MID SPEAKERS «might be described as abominably fluent. These subjects are quite familiar with MSA, use it with a certain amount of ease, and can both take in and produce large quantities of material [...] In the productive skills they are able to make themselves understood in speaking and writing in a form that is not colloquial and which approaches MSA. It is, however, so full of mistakes and colloquialisms that it does not really approach the prescriptive standard, and may not be judged as MSA by native judges» (1993:69).

Limits: «in the receptive skills, they are very good at understanding straightforward narrative and description, but understanding quickly drops when more complicated or analytical texts are encountered» (1993:69);

HI SPEAKERS «could be described as competent user[s] of MSA [...] like Mid's, while they are able to express themselves very fluently, their production is still so flawed that it is far from the prescriptive standard» (1993:69);

HIAR SPEAKERS «while those with a specialized Arabic education do approach that standard [prescriptive standard] in speaking and writing much more closely, they often do not go beyond it to what might be termed professional competence, the ability to use the language in an effective and convincing manner, and to understand it in all its richness» (1993:69).

KNOWLEDGE OF SA FOR COMMUNICATIVE PURPOSES «at least in the case of high school graduates and higher, subjects do not appear to experience MSA as a foreign or 'second' language [...] it must [...] be admitted that these people do know the language well, *certainly well enough for their own communicative goals and purposes*» (1993:70; emphasis mine);

SPEAKERS' ATTEMPTS CONSIDERED SA «their attempts at MSA, their incorrect and iʕrāb-less internal readings and representations of it, *are MSA for them*. It is what they do when they think they are using MSA. And it works for them on a functional level» (1993:70; emphasis mine);

DELIBERATELY AIMING LOWER «there are clearly informal contexts (personal letters, etc.) in which writer may be thought of as 'aiming lower' than MSA for stylistic effect, with the implication that even if they could write more correctly, *they would not do so*» (1993:70-71; emphasis mine);

A CONTINUUM «it is fairly easy to grade what they do use on a continuum from mainly colloquial with some MSA phonological, lexical and grammatical features, to maily MSA with some colloquial phonological, lexical and grammatical features» (1993:71);

SOCIAL AND RHETORIC USE «Mid, and sometimes even Lo, speakers move in and out of MSA in a remarkably seamless fashion, using it to *proclaim personal fatwa's "religious decisions" about moral questions that come up*, for example, to *stress particular points with appeals to authority* [...] as a mark of their religiosity [...] others use it for sarcastic effect» (1993:71);

RETHINKING AND REDEFINING MSA «we need to rethink our characterization of MSA itself [...] What are the implications of the fact that the majority of even highly educated users are 30s in the receptive skills, but not quite 3's in the productive skills, and that the large numerical majority of its users (those with a high school or less education) rarely

rise above the 2 level? [...] *We need to look carefully at our cherished grammar rules, and ask ourselves what role they are playing in real life MSA, since it is clear that one can be a proficient reader without knowing them.* We probably must redefine the functional role of parts of the grammatical system, such as the iʕrāb vowels, looking at possible social and stylistic purposes instead of simply assuming that they play only a grammatical role [...] *We must discover an appropriate language for talking about a form with such a range of manifestations, and with such a clash of overt and covert norms and expectations,* so that we can characterize what people actually do on TV cultural programs, for example, *in addition to simply pointing out its deficiencies in terms of the prescriptive system.* It probably would not be appropriate to multiply descriptions of separate levels (an informal MSA, a slightly formal MSA, a quite formal MSA, a very formal MSA) since that would both miss the relationship of all these levels to each other, and imply that these levels are experienced as separate entities, rather than as a continuous whole. We need to learn how to felicitously describe longer ranges of the continuum within a single description» (1993:72-73; emphasis mine).

LEVEL OF EDUCATION a higher level of education corresponds to a higher performance of SA but Parkinson specifies that «education level is only one of the predictors of good oral fuṣḥā ability» (1994:183) although he underlined, on the one hand, in his 1993 article, that «education is a highly significant variable» (1993:67), «education is highly significant» (1993:68) and, on the other hand, in the 1994 article that one cannot ignore the high rate of illiteracy by which Egypt is affected (1994:207), which implicitly implies that a partial knowledge of SA is due to a lack of education.

Parkinson also dedicated part of his research to the use of *ending vowels* by Egyptian educated non-expert speakers. Among the one hundred people who participated in the interviews, the interviewers chose four persons (experts of Arabic of al-Azhar and Dār al-ʕUlūm) who covered a vast socio-cultural spectrum and various levels of performance, as judged by the expert native speakers. Parkinson does not exclude that 'vowels' may have been a factor that, consciously or unconsciously, affected more than others the rating of the speakers. In fact, the rate of vowelling and the percent of correct vowelling roughly correspond to the total score given by the experts to speakers.

The one before the last in the scale of the score had an interesting use of the final vowel /a/ as a «marker of fuṣḥā» and «general all purpose case marking vowel» (1994:190), that is, «because it sounds fuṣḥā» (1994:194). These examples explain this use:

ʔan yaku:n**a** r-ragul ḥa:zim / wa-taku:n**a** l-kalima kalimatuh / fi l-ʔa:xir / ʔin ka:na ha:ða l-ʔamr(i) ṣaḥḥ(i) yaqu:l**a** ṣaḥḥ / ʔin ka:na xaṭaʔ yaqu:l**a** xaṭaʔ (Parkinson 1994:190; transcription adapted)

fi: ta:ri:x**a** maṣr […] hiya ʕiddat**a** ʔasba:b (Parkinson 1994:194; transcription adapted)

To Parkinson, the use of the final vowel /a/ as fixed voice is so obvious (Parkinson says: the strategy is 'if you want to vocalize something just put the /a/' [1994:92]) that even when used correctly (for example, for the subjunctive) it is paradoxically 'correct by mystake' or 'accidentally correct'[121]. The last speaker, MRM, a professor of a school of art, «has a gift for language, is interested in it, and spends a lot of time with it […] [he] is a full time and enthusiastic participant in the literary culture of Arabic» (1994:202) because of his love for reading. He achieved an excellent result, being able to vocalize «consistently and correctly» (1994:201), and he was so confident that he deliberately vocalized words that would be in pause just to show his proficiency.

Parkinson concludes that:

▸ the most 'disappointing' performance in terms of grammar, is the likely performance of the vast majority of Egyptians. Representativeness drastically decreases with the third speaker who would represent only 10% of educated speakers. The performance of MRM is considered by Parkinson as «utterly unique» (1994:207) and represents a very small percentage of educated Egyptians;

▸ speakers would not recognize two varieties from which to make their own choices: «for them, *Arabic is one thing,* a single very rich source of communicative resources. Rather than placing themselves or their performance on a continuum, speakers stand in front of the continuum of choices, and *must repeatedly choose between competing forms,* just like a diner standing in front of a banquet table» (1994:208; emphasis is mine);

▸ «When they make choices from the fuṣḥā end of the continuum, they are using fuṣḥā. Although a small number of speakers have both the ability and the desire to choose exclusively from the fuṣḥā spectrum, most have neither. In other words, their particular internal fuṣḥā is impoverished to the extent that it simply does not provide all the resources they need to express themselves adequately, so they choose from fuṣḥā what they can, but must fall back on other parts of the spectrum to complete their ideas» (1994:208);

▸ cultivated speakers, while able to use SA, seek a compromise, a language that is acceptable by their interlocutors (and SA alone is not acceptable because, in the long run,

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[121] Parkinson established, through a test, that the speaker did not know how to properly use the rules of the subjunctive.

it is boring and pedantic). Nicely, Parkinson says that MRM «clearly annoyed the interviewer, who had to swallow a couple of times to keep from showing it» (1994:209). MRM seeks no compromise. On the contrary, he wants to show off his excellent language skills, probably because of the artificiality itself of this exercise that had every appearance of being an exam and not a chat, even if an educated chat (see §2.5.2.2. about the primacy of communication on grammar).

2.5.2.3. conclusions

What I think emerges clearly from Dilworth Parkinson' survey is that:

▸ only a number of speakers so small as to be considered exceptional gets close to orthoepy. These speakers are either (1) particularly fond of the Arabic language (Parkinson 1994) or (2) experts in Arabic language (Parkinson 1993). One must also bear in mind that, even among those, none has managed to get the full orthoepy. All the rest have realized something that could be called a pseudo- or sub-standard;

▸ *education is a key variable*, and that is why the group Lo, the one with little education (less than high school), speaks a SA so 'ungrammatical' to be considered by experts to be non-SA and the cause of this is certainly their little or no knowledge of SA that seems to be mostly passive knowledge;

▸ non-orthoepy of graduates and, above all, of experts in Arabic (i.e. native and expert speakers) raises the questions Parkinson asked himself. Yet, what is clear, once again, is that there is a *range of acceptability* whose spectrum is the cultivated speech which functions as a model for the less educated speakers.

2.5.3. SA-NESS OF SOME FEATURES

Owens & Bani Yasin (1991) tested speakers reactions to recorded texts which have different mixtures of SA and NA features. Two variables were considered:
[q] and [g] realization of ق
agreement of the verb with plural abstract nouns.
A text has SA q + NA agreement. Another NA g + SA agreement as in this example:

(1a) ʕala:q-a:t   ṣa:r-an   SA q + NA f pl agreement
      relations-F.PL   became- F.PL

While the other was:

(2a) ʕala:g-a:t   ṣa:r-at   NA g + SA f sg agreement
      relations-F.PL   became- F.SG

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The texts, whose length was of about 20 seconds, were recorded by the same speaker, and were listened twice by 10 evaluators who were then asked to express an opinion about the speaker: (1) the most polite; (2) the one who travelled the most; (3) the person who dresses better; (4) the most healthy; (5) the most friendly.

The result is that the formula SA /q/ + NA f pl was considered the most polite and healthy while the formula NA /g/ + SA f pl as the most sympathetic or friendly. The phonetic datum /q/ has the prominence in determining if a segment is +SA. Owens & Bani Yasin speculate that «SA is not a perceptual whole, that there are certain features in it, like the pronunciation of certain sounds, which evoke associations with SA to a greater degree than do other "equally" SA traits (like agreement)» (1991:20). Still they say something very important: that the mental SA of speakers is not grammatical SA: «an analysis in terms of Col [NA] interference in SA is rendered meaningless to the extent that the SA target which speakers have in mind when they produce an SA utterance is different from the SA as understood by the investigator using standard rules as his/her parameter» (2001:20).

2.6. SA AND MIXED FORMS

2.6.1. INDICATORS, STYLE MARKERS AND SALIENCY

Research on empirical SA has showed how many features numerous scholars feel as important SA characteristics are in fact completely ignored by speakers in the labelling process while few others have a great importance. I am here speaking about indicators and markers the interest for which goes back to Labov's early work on variation:

▸ an INDICATOR is any variable which helps mark varieties of language, but which is not perceived at a conscious level;

▸ a MARKER is a variable which has social value, and is perceived at a conscious level (Labov 1972:188): a sort of shibboleth.

Hence markers are perceived in the labelling process because of their high stylistic value. By style I mean here utterances «characterized by a pattern of recurrent selections from the inventory of optional features of a language. Various types of selection can be found: *complete exclusion of an optional element, obligatory inclusion of a feature optional elsewhere, varying degrees of inclusion of a specific variant without complete elimination of competing features*» (Winter 1969:3; emphasis is mine). Conversely, indicators pass mostly unnoticed because they have no social value. The reason why some features are perceived or not as 'important' is mainly that «greater awareness attaches to forms which are

overtly stigmatized in a particular community. Very often, this overt stigmatization is because there is a high-status variant of the stigmatized form and this high-status variant tallies with the orthography while the stigmatized variant does not» (Trudgill 1986:11). Moreover, «speakers are also more aware of variables whose variants are phonetically radically different» (Trudgill 1986:11) between SA and EA.

SALIENCY is also an important phenomenon. Mejdell says that saliency «reflects an awareness of speakers and listeners with regard to certain features, and this awareness makes the feature amenable to manipulation, to monitoring, to conscious use, to a larger extent than features which are less salient, not at the same level of awareness—it is thus a gradual, not categorical, phenomenon» (2006:387). Holes says that «not all variables are similarly calibrated to the demands of changing formality/informality of context […] and switches on some variables may, from the user's point of view, be more salient and significant than switches on others» (1995:280). Owens and Bani Yasin say that «SA is not a perceptual whole, that there are certain features in it, like the pronunciation of certain sounds, which evoke associations with SA to a greater degree than do other "equally" SA traits (like agreement)» (1991:20).

There exists a hierarchy within markers. Not all markers have the same weight. Mejdell says that «the features do not all play the same sociostylistic role» (Mejdell 2007:95).

2.6.1.1. phonetics

Parkinson says, basing himself on his proficiency tests, that «the phonological variable far outweighs the other variables in determining the subjects' ranking» (1991:57). Schmidt finds a hierarchy of phonetical 'colloquialization' features (1974:77-107) with some exception. In this hierarchy the first feature is the more rapidly switched.

(1) /ǧ/ → /g/ (1974:79-82);

(2) /θ/ → s (1974:91-98);

(3) /ay, aw/ → /e:, o:/ (1974:99-107);

(4) /q/ → /ʔ/ (linked to sex: women apply this more often than men) (1974:82-91);

(5) /θ/ → /t/ (culture: less cultivated apply this more often) (1974:91-98);

It seems that speakers will first switch those particular features which will immediately convince the audience that a switch has taken place: «What is perceived by the speakers as 'salient' in one variety is taken over more easily and faster by the other than what is perceived as 'less salient', and that 'more salient' features of the assimilating variety may be given up more readily than 'less salient' ones» (Auer, Barden & Grosskopf 1998:163-4).

This is also evident from the rules of interdependencies of these variables. In the image the vertical arrow indicates a clear interdependency and an angled arrow indicates a weakly established interdependency.

Ǧ-c o l l o q u i a l i z a t i o n

θ-colloq. (sib.)

AY/AW

Ɂ   Q

θ-colloq. (stop)
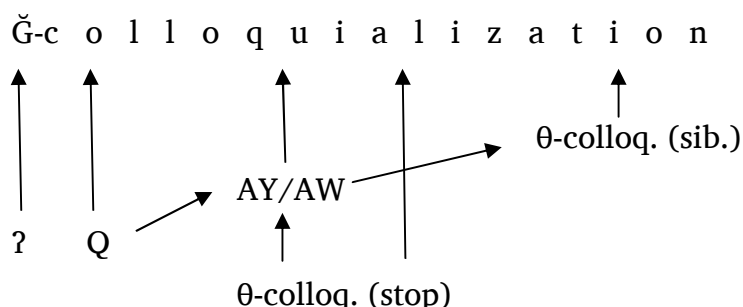
Figure 5 The rule of phonetical interdependencies in colloquialization (Schmidt 1974:159)

This means that, except for (1) and (5), it is clear that unless there is a switch of a given phonetic level, there cannot be a switch in a lower level. So, while *salg* 'ice' is a possible form *salǧ or *talǧ are not possible forms because one has applied colloquialization of level 2 and 5 before level 1 etc. In this sense, Schmidt speaks of a one SA/EA grammar (1974:184). This shows us also another thing: the pronunciation of the sibilant instead of the interdental (θ → s; ð → z; ḍ → ẓ) and the monophthongization of diphthongs (ay → e:; aw → o:) precede colloquialization of /q/ (q → Ɂ) and the dentalization of the interdental (θ → t; ð → d; ḍ → ḍ). While processes 2 and 3 are unmarked and do not affect the SA labelling of a word, processes 4 and 5 are highly marked as EA markers.

PHONETIC INDICATORS

(i) *monophthongization* has little effect on the perception of the speakers of an element as SA (Hary 1996:81). Eid considers, for example, a word such as *raɁ-e:t* (1988:56) as SA;

(ii) the *voiced realization of interdentals* (θ → s) goes almost unnoticed (Harrell 1960:16; Skogseth 2000:60–61; Badawī 1973:136; Mejdell 2006:213);

(iii) the realization of DEF ART *al-* ~ *il-* and fem. endings *-at* ~ *-it* have low stylistic value and the variants are unstressed (Mejdell 2006:386). Although other scholars (Mitchell 1986) stress that the use of *Ɂal-* is one of the important SA markers;

PHONETIC MARKERS

(i) although the sibilant realization of interdentals goes almost unnoticed, yet the SA *unvoiced interdental /θ/* (Elgibali 1993:87) and */ð/* (Mejdell 2006:213) appear to be markers for formal SA;

(ii) /q/ is an important SA marker (Mejdell 2006:383): «In the Middle East at least, the use of q, and perhaps q alone, appears to move the discourse to a more formal SA level, where other variants, agreement or diphthongs for example, lack such strong symbolic character» (Owens 2001:448). In Elgibali's proficiency tests it has emerged that /q/ is in any case felt as less standardizing than /θ/ (1993:87).

This means that, paradoxically, a word like /qo:l/ can be felt as more SA (+SA) than /bayt/ (despite the monophthong).

2.6.1.2. morphosyntax

MORPHOSYNTAX INDICATORS

(i) although a clear indicator of EA, the prefix *bi-* seems to have little stylistic value, i.e. does not function as a marker of EA, but it occurs with SA verbal forms and other SA features (Mejdell 1996:318; 2006:390);

(ii) EA PRON SUFF seems to have a low degree of salience as code markers to native speakers — even to the linguistically trained among them (Mejdell 2006:345). Trained Arab linguists tend to neglect PRON SUFF in their analysis of standard and vernacular features of 'mixed' data: «it might be an indication of low salience of this feature, reflecting low awareness. The relatively high usage level of EA variants, combined with SA head, or host, words, confirms this suggestion» (Mejdell 2006:373);

(iii) EA *ʔinn(-u)* may not be marked, does not bring down the style (Mejdell 2006:386)[122];

MORPHOSYNTAX MARKERS

(i) *ʔiʕrāb* is a SA stylistic marker (high-flown style) but it is avoided or neglected because it is «considered by most speakers as too elaborate, too formal for most spoken purposes» (Mejdell 1996:319);

(ii) EA NEG are perceived as strong EA markers (Mejdell 2006:384);

(iii) SA COMPL *ʔan* and *ʔanna* are clearly perceived as markers of SA, and style markers of non-casual speech (Mejdell 2006:386);

(iv) REL has a medium value of saliency, as the phonetic realizations of the EA and SA variants are not very distant (Mejdell 2006:386);

(v) DEM and NEG are easily taken up as SA variants and given up as EA features in the process of style raising (Mejdell 2006:386);

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[122] An interesting commentary is provided by one of Mejdell's informants: «In the interview, NA2, when I pointed out to him his frequent use of ʔilli, commented that ʔilli or ʔallazi did not do anything to his discourse, while ha:ða/ha:za gave it *a flavour of seriousness*» (2006:386; emphasis mine)

2.6.1.3. lexicon

Generally speaking, Schmidt believes that speakers normally consider a given form to be EA (EA-marker) *if it contrasts with a form they consider SA*. This is what emerges from the lexical comparison he realized between SA and EA items: the more the distance between SA and EA items, the more they are to be considered markers. These 'two parallel' dictionaries SA and EA coexist in a very conscious way, according to Schmidt: «speakers of Egyptian Arabic 'know' that CA and EC forms are 'the same' on some level. Of this anecdotal evidence there is no lack, since Egyptian speakers know the relevant correspondences in a very conscious way» (1974:202).

Here, again, the problem is establishing what is SA and what is EA lexicon. One of the main difficulty in recognizing and distinguishing EA and SA is in the fact that identical or semi-identical forms represent a great part of the lexical pairs.

By analysing 900 pairs of corresponding words, Schmidt arrives to some conclusions as to which kind of lexemes is +EA and which is +SA (1974:53-76). He distinguished:

(i) *identical forms* SA and EA (37,8% of his corpus of 900 pairs, a percentage that would raise to 47% if ǧ is realised /g/ and if interdentals are realised as /s, z, ẓ/ in both EA and SA);

(ii) *non-identical forms*

> (ii-a) *non-cognates* (i.e. EA forms not etymologically derived from the equivalent SA forms)[123]

>> (type 1) *different roots* (the larger group, 19,9% of the corpus; e.g. *faqaṭ/bass* 'only,' *kamā/ẓayy* 'as,' *raʔā/ša:f* 'see,' al-ʔān/dilwaʔti 'now' etc.). Schmidt calls these pairs TRUE DIGLOSSIC PAIRS «since the appearance of one of the alternatives labels speech as CA or EC [Egyptian colloquial]» (1974:56). They are lexical markers;

>> (type 2) *different morphological derivation* (e.g. verbal patterns). Schmidt considers that a major source of lexical differentiation in SA and EA, which can become lexical markers, are EA words that are etymologically SA to which SA normally prefers other forms, e.g. EA *ʔidir* from *qadara* vs. SA *ʔistaṭāʕ* ('be able'), EA *ʔitkallim* from *takallama* vs. SA *taḥaddaθa*. These forms are SA/EA markers;

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[123] This does not mean that they are not etymologically linked to SA in absolute. /imbāriḥ/, for example, quoted by Schmidt is linked to al-bāriḥa and /dilwaʔti/ to (hā)ðā l-waqt etc.

(ii-b) *cognates*, pairs that are distinguished only by phonetical modifications. Schmidt distinguishes:

(ii-b-1) short vowel differences (e.g. SA fahima/EA fihim);

(ii-b-2) SA /ğ/:EA /g/;

(ii-b-3) SA /q/:EA /ʔ/;

(ii-b-4) SA /θ, ð, ḍ/:EA /s, z, z~t, d, ḍ, ẓ);

(ii-b-5) SA /ʔ/:EA /y~Ø/;

(ii-b-6) SA V:EA v;

(ii-b-7) others: emphasis (SA /ṣadr/:EA /sidr/ 'chest'); consonant gemination (SA /huwa/:EA /huwwa/ 'he'); metathesis (SA /zawğ/:EA /go:z/); loss of part of a morpheme (SA /hāðā/:EA /da/ 'this); historical changes (SA /niṣf/:EA /nuṣṣ/) etc. Schmidt considers these pairs as «lexically distinguished» (1974:60), then as markers of EA or SA.

Topic also plays a role in determining lexical markers. Certain formal topics (e.g. scientific and technical fields, religious and philosophical argumentation, politics and diplomacy) may elicit more SA lexicon - in SA or EA syntactic environment -, while other informal topics may elicit more EA lexicon. Schmidt justifies this by stating that formal topics pass through the medium of printed material (which is in SA; see also §1.9.1.5.). What emerges is also that for informal topics or concrete semantic fields, speakers keep the codes apart and may even lack a great deal of the SA equivalents of EA words simply because they never use them. On the contrary, for abstract fields there was much less lexical differentiation of the code and vocabulary was more SA than for concrete fields: EA lacks vocabulary for these fields.

2.7. A DOUBLE APPROACH

We have seen the differences and similarities between the grammar approach and the perceptive approach towards SA. Using Bourdieu's categories we could speak of an OBJECTIVE APPROACH, *external*, *normative*, and a SUBJECTIVE APPROACH, *internal*, *pragmatic*, through the point of view of the object itself or of the individuals involved in it. Bourdieu does not choose one or the other approach but aims at an integration of both these two approaches. According to Eisele the "objective" approach would balance the human perceptions and representations that are «limited» or «biased in some way» (2002:5). An integration of the two approaches would instead promote «the consciousness of this bias into the evaluation of the representation» (2002:5). Because of the great rigidity of the purist/external approach and, on the other hand, the great variability and instability of the pragmatic/subjective, we have adopted a double approach that will take into

consideration speakers evaluation (that is mainly Parkinson's studies, Badawī & Hinds' dictionary and my perception) and also lexical and grammatical reflections (I will mainly make use of the dictionary by Badawī & Hinds and Mejdell 2006).

2.8. Distinguishing the base language in the corpus

2.8.1. Labelling sequences

When in chapters 3, 4, 5, I speak of SA or EA, I will mean areas of the *continuum* that are +SA/-EA and others +EA/-SA. As I showed in table 6 many utterances in the top part of the *continuum*, could be easily labelled as SA and many at the bottom as EA. Only the middle part of the *continuum* created labelling problems. Normally, I do not believe that this middle part carries any rhetorical functions but mainly (sometimes more clear, some others more vague) stylistic significations. I will try to justify the labels I will choose moving on both the levels we discussed in this chapter: *objective* and *subjective*. This is an important point to consider, since many times in my corpus what is labelled as SA or EA is not what purist grammarians have in mind. Sequences often present hybrid elements which, however, do not affect the functional analysis of CS. In fact, what I am concerned with here, is not analysing linguistic constraints or CM, although in many cases it will be indispensable in order to better interpret the intention of the speaker and to label on more solid grounds (see also §1.4., the entire paragraph where I discussed the base language in relation to CM in Arabic).

The studies on the so-called "base language" include at least three different approaches (see Appel & Muysken 1987:121-122):

(i) PSYCHOLINGUISTIC (base language is the dominant language);

(ii) SOCIOLINGUISTIC (base language is the code which is not marked in a particular setting);

(iii) GRAMMATICAL (it is the code that imposes certain restrictions on the possibility of switching). We have seen this last approach in §1.4.3.1.

I think the sociolinguistic approach is the most useful for my *corpus*. Sometimes the context of a sequence, especially when CS happens at an intersentential level, is clearly labellable, despite the presence of some phonetic or morphologic elements which are in fact, as said before, irrelevant. Other times, the mixing happens at a level lower than the intersentential, so that the definition of the context becomes more complex. Mazraani (1997:39) affirms that "the "MSAness" or "colloquialness", that is +SA or +EA, quality of a given passage «is related to the cooccurrence of MSA or dialectal elements from the

phonology, morphophonology, syntax and lexicon occurring in its component sequences: a sequence is the speech between two pauses». This is not always simply applicable in empirical analysis because mixedness can take place, simultaneously, on different levels and what is to be meant by pauses is not always clear, since pauses are very frequent at every level of the elocution. In these cases, with reference to other similar linguistic situation as well, such as the Italian one, I adopted here, as a defining criterion of the 'base language' or 'context,' the number of elements (phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical) in a given segment of the analysed discourse (Alfonzetti 1992:175-177) although this will not be crucial, as for Mazraani. In fact, she correctly says that «simply counting MSA, dialectal or mixed features within a sequence is a crude procedure and would be erroneous since sequences are of varying lengths» (1997:39). Other elements used to determine if a sequence is +SA or +EA are paralinguistic features. Following Mazraani they are: *speed of delivery* (fast versus slow pace and number of words per second); *rhythm and intonation*; *conversational versus oratorical delivery*. Normally, in fact, SA segments are pronounced in a slow pace with a lesser number of words per second, rhythm is slowed down and oratorical tone is used. On the contrary, EA segments are pronounced in a fast pace with a great number of words per second, rhythm is fastened up and conversation tone is used. Paralinguistic factors have a great importance in catching the attention of the audience in cases of CS.

Sequencing has its limitations (I quote from Mazraani 1997:40-41 what is useful for my case too):

(i) *sequences can be very short even consisting of one word*;

(ii) *there might be different labelling for similar items, depending on the context*. Frequently SA elements can be borrowed into an EA context and, less frequently also the contrary happens with different goals;

(iii) *some mixed sequences* (i.e. combining SA and EA elements on various levels) produce a *stylistic fulcrum* which paves the way for a CS. Mixed sequences seem to reflect contrasting textual or rhetorical goals.

It is worth mentioning here that the labels *neutral* and *mixed*, used by Bassiouney in her work of 2006, of these mixed forms, detached from the context, are at least questionable from the point of view of the attitude and perception approach, as seen in §2.5., especially in consideration of the fact that she does not specify whether these forms must be regarded as +SA or +EA. In fact, forms such as *bi-tunaffað* and *ik-ka:riθa* that she quotes, are actually labellable only in regard to the context in which they are used: if the context is +EA they are to be considered as loanwords or nonce borrowings (because of the +SA lexical item); but if the context is +SA the preverb *bi-* and the assimilation of

the /l/ of the article with the /k/ of *ka:riθa* do not lower the level of the utterance which remains in the upper part of the continuum, i.e., +SA. From the attitude approach perspective it has been showed how the preverb *bi-* used with SA lexical items is just an indicator.

In the labelling process, I will base myself on three main factors:

(i) the indicators and the markers (described in §2.6.1.): a sequence that combines SA morphophonosyntactic features such as SA phonemes (especially interdentals and /q/), SA MPP of the verb, COMP ?an + subjunctive or ?anna + substantive, SA NEG, SA REL, SA abstract lexicon, word order (verb-subject), long nominal clauses, *?iʕrāb*, will be considered as SA. On the contrary, a clause or a sentence is EA when it combines EA elements such as: EA phonology (use of /?/ instead of /q/), monophthongization of diphthongs, vowel patterning, asyndetic verb strings, EA NEG, EA REL, EA lexicon, word order (i.e. the use of post-poned demonstrative etc.). Although this is true, this does not happen all the time. Very often we face "mixed" morphophonosyntactic features so that, let's say, a monophthongized word is found in an SA context. Every case must be studied separately;

(ii) the syntactic structure will have priority on lexical elements in labelling sections;

(iii) SA lexico-grammatical elements in EA contexts and EA lexico-grammatical elements in SA which will not influence the textual function in the CS will be considered as functionally irrelevant but stylistically meaningful (I will mainly follow Mejdell 2006). Rare cases of EA elements embedded in SA contexts, will be discussed. As we have seen, in the example given at §1.8.2.1. (page 98), Holes considers the EA COMP *illi* as an «occasional concessions to the colloquial in items chosen to fill certain slots» (1993:31). Therefore, Holes has no doubt in labelling this segment as SA, «a kind of standardized Arabic» (1993:31-32).

Badawī offers a similar example:

ʕala kull ḥa:l hiya qudra min il-fanna:n ?innu yumassil ?ayy šaxṣiyya yaʕgiz al-insa:n il-ʕa:di ?innu yiʔu:m bi:ha[124] (Badawī 1973:188).

?innu yiʔu:m bi:ha is simply ignored by Badawī who considers this sentence as +SA. An hypothesis I advance is that SA switches may in fact end up with some –SA features, as a sort of 'final relaxing fall' after the 'tension' that is perceivable in SA.

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[124] «In any case, it is the ability of the artist to represent any character that common people fail to perform»

What comforts me in these labelling rules is that in other linguistic situations, for example in the Italian one, one finds numerous similarities with respect to Arabic, the same difficulty in labelling and similar solutions. Consider this example taken from the SI/CD *corpus* analysed by Alfonzetti:

per dare da manciare ê me figghi debbo vive/debbo campare sempre io. Si mmoru iù, a mme mugghieri cci rùnunu mità ri pinzioni e i me figghi unni arrèstunu? Peri peri (Alfonzetti 1992:106)
In order to feed my children I should have to live eternally. If I died, they would give my wife half the pension and where will my children go? They would be on the street.

It seems evident that the first sentence does not reflect an orthoepic SI but a regional one: *manciare* (a middle way between SI *mangiare* and CD *manciari*), monophthongization of the preposition *ai* in *ê, me* instead of *miei, figghi* instead of *figli*. Despite regionalisms and a non-bookish SI, Alfonzetti does not hesitate to label the first period as SI since it is in stark contrast with what follows.

Chapter 3 Quotation

After discussing the various approaches to standardness, normativity, correctness and attitude, the importance of using a double approach, both grammatical (objective) and perceptive (subjective) to define SA, and the grammatical features that help us tag sequences of mixed spoken Arabic in a clear way (or prevent us from doing so), we will deal with the *conversational loci* of CS and their functions. A general presentation of the *conversational locus* will be followed by excerpts taken from various *corpora*. Finally, I will present the examples found in the *corpus* under study.

3.1. CONVERSATIONAL LOCUS: QUOTATION (OR REPORTED SPEECH); FUNCTIONS: PERSUADING, GIVING EXPRESSIVITY OR AUTHORITY, MARKING POLYPHONY OF SPEECH

Quotation is the repetition of one sentence or a passage of an author by someone other than the author. Quotations are often well-known or explicitly attributed by citation to their original source, and they are indicated in written texts with quotation marks. In classical rhetoric, quotation «n'est qu'une figure de communion quand elle ne sert pas à ce qui est son rôle normal, appuyer ce que l'on dit par le poids d'une autorité» (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008:240). Klein states that quotation in spoken texts have different pragmatic functions in relation to written texts. In fact, while in the latter - especially scientific and journalistic writings – a quote has the main function of a more or less faithful witnessing of the thought of a certain person, through his own words, in the spoken language other functions are at work, in particular of *distanciation* and *identification*. Distanciation or identification can be stated explicitly before or after the quote, or emphasized through paralinguistic elements.

Quotation can have (or not have) a sequential frame such as:

a) meta-communicative introduction – quotation – conclusion;

b) meta-communicative introduction – quotation;

c) quotation – conclusion (Klein 1994:257).

The meta-communicative introduction states the fact that "now we are going to quote" and this is usually realized through the *verbum dicendi*, i.e. "as that person said," "he or she said," or "quote" etc.

Quotation is particularly common in CS[125]: «Le citazioni vengono spesso usate per riportare fedelmente – sotto forma sia di discorso diretto sia di discorso indiretto – enunciate prodotti in un'altra situazione, dal parlante o da altri. Lo scopo è per lo più persuasivo (si citano le parole estate per dare più autorità alle parole che si riferiscono), o espressivo (si rifà il verso a una certa persona per metterla in una certa luce – ad esempio comica -, o per attirare l'attenzione di chi ascolta...): in generale si cerca, con le citazioni, di riprodurre la polifonicità del discorso così com'è realizzato 'in situazione'»[126] (Grassi et al. 2006:188).

Gumperz considered quotation to be one of the metaphorical functions of CS: «in many instances the code switched passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech» (1982: 75-76; see also Gumperz' example at page 87).

The main functions of reported speech are: to persuade (by quoting authoritative texts) or to create expressivity, provoke hilarity.

Paraphrasing Tannen (2007[1989]:63-64) we can distinguish:

(i) FORMS

self-quotation vs. *allo-quotation* (quotation of others);

(ii) CONTENT

exact quotation and intonation (the same words uttered in the same rhythmic pattern) vs. *pseudo-quotation* (paraphrase: similar ideas in different words) vs. *imaginary quotation* (one quote hypothetical words a person could say with the regard to the points under discussion)

(iii) TIME

intertextuality (see also Auer 1988:88-92).

The main difference between reiteration and reported speech, besides the presence of the *verbum dicendi,* is that reiteration concerns what has been said in the same interaction or monologue, while reported speech concerns what has been said outside the interaction or the monologue. In my corpus there will be another consideration to be made. A major problem of religious texts is to determine where quote ends and where the repetition begins. A same quotation from sacred texts can be repeated over and over again in the same monologue, being repetition and citation are the most used functions in sermons (see chapters 3, 4, 5 on this). Another problem is determining what is and what

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[125] See Auer (1984), Gumperz (1982), Grosjean (1982), Lüdi/Py (1986).

[126] «Quotations are often used to faithfully report - either in the form of direct or indirect speech - utterances produced in another situation, by the speaker or by others. The aim is mainly persuasive (we quote the exact words to give more authority to the words which we relate), or expressive (we moke a certain person to put her a certain light - such as comical - or to attract the attention of the listener...): in general we try, through quotes, to reproduce the polyphony of the speech such as it has been realized 'in situation'»

is not the self-quotation, or self-repetition and allo-repetition. This will be discussed in the conclusions.

3.1.1. *TRIGGERING*

The main problem of CS and reported speech is related to the extension of CS in relation to the extension of the quote: sometimes they coincide, but other times CS extends beyond the boundaries of the reported speech in a mechanism similar to that of the *consequential triggering* described by Clyne (1969) at a lexical level. According to Clyne (1969:349) the *triggering process* (i.e., a word that triggers CS) can be *consequential* and *anticipational* since «switching occurs not only in consequence but also in anticipation of a trigger-word» (1969:345). It happens that the speaker ends the quotation marked by CS and then, instead of returning to the previous code, he goes on in the new code until the end of sentence, or until he feels the need to switch back for an argumentative, conversation or interactional necessity. Clyne writes that the effect of a trigger-word can sometimes continue «until the end of the sentence or clause or until the speaker exhausts the topic under discussion» (1969:346). Example from Italian:

kid:u	*mi*	*ris:i*	*ka*	*kwan:u*	*kjovi*	*l-akwa* (SD)
that one	*me*	*told*	*that*	*when*	*it rains*	*water*
entra,	**pecché**	**puttroppo**		**è fatto**	**al contrario** (SI)
comes in	*because*	*unfortunately*		*it is made*	*contrariwise*
il bagno	e	quindi	ci vuole		
the toilet	*and*	*so*	*is needed*		

'That person told me that when it rains, water comes in because unfortunately the toilet has been made contrariwise and so it is needed'

Grassi et al. comment this CS by saying that considering that the form 'water' is the transition point between a colloquial section and an Italian one: «possiamo ipotizzare che sia proprio la vicinanza strutturale fra i due codici ad agevolare – e in certo senso ad avviare – il passaggio di codice»[127] (Grassi et al. 2006:190)

3.1.2. *VERBUM DICENDI*

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[127] «We can assume that it is precisely the structural proximity between the two codes to facilitate – and in a certain way to start - the transition of code»

The *verbum dicendi* is a word that expresses speech or introduces a quotation, such as "say", "utter", "ask" etc. It can:

(i) be the triggering-word that anticipates CS;

(ii) be the only switched element;

(iii) be preceded by a CS that functions as a *focus marker* (Saeed 1997:165).

(i) It can be the triggering-word that anticipates CS. Example:

ALF5

Sì, sì. Poi la parola ci manca. Poi lui parla. Ma più che questo, perché s'era arrivato a alzare, a camminare, c'è venuto come una forma di depressione (SI)

Yes, yes. Then he just misses the word. In reality, he speaks. But more than this, because he had come to stand up, to walk, he got a form of depression

Rici "Picchì ai'a ccampari?", va, "Accussì non vògghiu campari" (CD)

he's like "Why live?" you know "I don't want to live like that"

(Alfonzetti 1992:121)

In Saeed's corpus there is a similar example. The Kuwaiti speaker explains to the external audience the danger of not teaching Muslim Arab children Arabic. He criticizes the way Muslim parents in the U.S. let their children speak English rather than Arabic. In this example he speaks about an incident in which some Muslim Arab offspring thought that the speaker, wearing his Kuwaiti attire, was a ghost.

SAE2

fa-lamma	**daxaltu**	**ʕalayhim**	**bi-ha:ða:**	**z-ziy**	**wa-ha:ða:**
so-when	I entered	to them	in-this	the-attire	and-this

š-šakil /	**ḥasabu:ni:**	**šabaḥ (SA)**
appearance	they thought me	a ghost

So when I entered in this attire [he was wearing Kuwaiti attire], they though I was a ghost

ga:lu	"a ghost" (KA and English)
they said	"a ghost"

They said "a ghost".

(Saeed 1997:137)

In this example only the *verbum dicendi* triggers a double CS SA→KA→English.

(ii) It can be the only switched element. Ex.:

ALF6

Io perché mi servo sempre dello stesso personale? Sperando un giorno che cesserò l'attività e (SI)
Why do I always use the same staff? Hoping that one day I will close down and
cci ricu (CD)
I'll tell them
"Ve ne dovete andare" (SI)
"You have got to leave"
   (Alfonzetti 1992:122)

Alfonzetti does not see these cases as «cases of admixture of individual lexical items, with no communicative functionality» (1992:121-122). Instead, being very frequent in her corpus, she hypothesizes that this kind of *verbum dicendi* can work as a highlighter of the following quote.

(iii) It can be preceded by a CS that functions as a *focus marker* (Saeed 1997:165). It draws attention to the quotation: "pay attention to what has been said".

SAE3

1 **wa-liða:lik   fi: taʕri:f   ar-riba: /   qa:la   baʕḍu   l-ʕulama:ʔ / (SA)**
   and-thus   in   defining   the-usury   said   some   the-scholars
2 ʔunḍru: l-ʔiḥṭiyya:ṭ   ḥagguhum   (YA)
   look   the-caution   theirs
3 **qa:lu: kullu   qarḍin /   ǧaa:ra   manfiʕatan /   fa-huwa   riba: (SA)**
   they said   every   loan   led   interest   so-it   usury
4 Thus in defining the term 'usury,' some scholars said – look how cautious they are – "Any loan that results in some interest is usury"
   (Saeed 1997:165)

So bilinguals have many possibilities or resources to highlight a quotation, some of which are also common to monolinguals:
   (i) simply modifying the pitch of the voice;
   (ii) using *verbum dicendi*, as a conventional indicator of a reported speech (these first two common to monolinguals);

(iii) CS of the verb only;

(iv) CS extended to all the quote;

(v) CS including *verbum dicendi* and quote (see Alfonzetti 1992:122).

3.1.3. *FIDELITY TO THE CODE QUOTED: POLYPHONY*

Speakers are usually faithful to the code that they quote. Gal states «quoting is relatively predictable. All one needs to know to predict the language in which most quotes will be spoken is the language in which the original utterance was spoken» (1979:109). Sometimes, however, the quoted segment can be in the other code. So the "criterion of faithfulness to the original language" is not, according to Alfonzetti (1992:125), as determinant, or binding as Gal assumed, to the extent that it makes CS predictable. Speakers can choose to be faithful or not. The code used in code-switched quotations is not entirely predictable. Speakers seem to give priority to the need of «distinguere il discorso riportato da ciò che segue e/o precede, o, in termini più generali, di evidenziare la 'polifonia' del discorso, differenziando la pluralità di 'voci' che prendono parte all'interazione»[128] (Alfonzetti 1992:130). Polyphony has been described as the presence in the same discourse «de plusieurs destinateurs et destinataires» (Lüdi & Py 1986:158).

Unlike monolingual speech, where polyphony is not always easy to express since all the voices are expressed in the same language (see Lüdi & Py 1986:158), in bilingual speech, on the contrary, the contrastive juxtaposition of the two codes creates complex polyphony. It is theatrical: «In the *mise-en-scène* set up by the speaker in conversation, the transition from one character to another can be signalled in several ways: by the use of mimicry, tone of voice, imitation of personal ways of talking, different verbs of saying and, last but not least, by different languages assigned to the different 'voices' taking part in this communicative performance» (Alfonzetti 1998:205).

3.1.4. *IMAGINARY QUOTES*

One can also use imaginary quotes. These quotes «occur in the form of illustrative examples, short stories, episodes and scenarios that support the position of the speakers. This strategy – presenting examples or supporting evidence in the form of dialogic scenarios or narrative-like styles – serves to add vividness and is a device to convince the audience of the logic and sensibility of speakers' arguments» (Saeed 1997:143).

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[128] «Distinguishing the quoted speech from the following and/or the preceding one, or, in more general terms, emphasizing the 'polyphony' of discourse by differentiating the plurality of 'voices' who take part in the interaction»

They often have the function of «saying something, but at the same time distancing oneself from what one is saying. The use of the other code makes it possible to *depersonalize* the expressed point of view, attributing it to a voice external to the interaction, with the purpose both of not taking the responsibility for what it is said and to provide it with greater objectivity and meaningfulness» (Alfonzetti 1992:136).

This is clear from this example in which direction in CS is indicative:

SAE4

1	baʕde:n	yugu:llak	bi-šarṭ /	la:zim	širu:ṭ	ʔe:š? (YA)
	afterwards	he says to you	on one condition	must	conditions	what?
2	ga:l	ʔana	ǧi:blak	al-muhandisi:n [...]		
	he said	I	bring to you	the engineers		
3	ǧa:	l-mašru:ʕ	ʔaz-zira:ʕi /	yalla	waddu:h	ʕinda
	it came	the project	the agricultural	alright	take-it	to
4	l-xabi:r |	darasuh	ʔal-xabi:r			
	the expert	he studied it	the expert			
5	**ʔa:h**	**ʔiðan**	**mašru:ʕ na:ǧiḥ /**	**ʔismaʕ**	**sa-naštarik**	**(SA)**
	yes	so	project successful	listen	we will share	
6	**maʕa:k**	**fi:**	**l-ʔida:ra /**	**na:ʔib**	**ʕanna**	**wa-na:ʔib**
	with you	in	the management	representative	for us	and representative
7	**ʕank |**	**wa-l-ʔida:ra**		**taku:n**	**kaða:**	**wa-kaða: ḥa:ḍir**
	for you	and the management		are	such	and such okay

After that he tells you: "On condition". There must be conditions. "What [are they]?". "I supply you with the engineers", he replies [...] When an agricultural project comes, [the Islamic bank says] "Take it to the expert". Once it has been examined by the expert: "Hmm, it is a [potentially] successful project". The Islamic bank then suggests: "Let's be partners in the project. We will administer it together, a representative from our side and one from your side, and the administration should be as such and such

(Saeed 1997:147)

Here we find two imaginary quotes (stories): one between a loan customer and another from a representative of a non-Islamic country or bank (lines 1 and 2) and between a loan customer and a representative of an Islamic bank (lines from 3 to 7). Saeed says that in the first example, the code used is always YA to «show the loan lender's deception» (1997:148) while in the second example the *šayx* switches to SA in order to «convince the audience of the soundness of his categorization of Islamic banks as humane,

and Islamic banking as an honest way of banking» (1997:148), within a function Saeed calls "iconic".

3.1.4.1. iconicity

Here we can introduce what Saeed called 'iconicity' (1997:114-117) or iconic function: «this kind of code manipulation can be considered a form of iconicity, in that the form of the language mirrors the content […] In other words, the H code is used to express what is perceived to be [+ positive] and the L code to express what is seen as [- positive]» (1997:117). When discussing the function of exemplifying he states that in his corpus NA is used for hypothetical, non-real examples while SA is used for real examples. This is very common in Saeed's corpus. The goal, according to Saeed, is to distinguish what has been highly thought of, or what is very serious (SA) (see 1997:142-143) from what «they do not value or respect, possibly to downgrade its importance, or to ridicule it or its significance» (NA) (1997:131). We will deal again with *iconicity* in the corpus in chapters 3,4,5.

3.1.5. *DIRECTION IN CS*

The direction of CS, according to Alfonzetti, is, in fact, only «partially indicative» (1992:137). When it is meaningful it is because the speaker has mimetic intentions, he looks for an unmarked use of a code or in relation to certain other sociolinguistic parameters. However, priority is given to the possibility of differentiating the number of voices even if this could lead to a reversal of the linguistic choice of the quoted speaker. Let's say: if A-speaker is using A-code and wants to differentiate voices, when he quotes B-speaker, he will do it in the B-code, even if B-speaker had originally said what is quoted in the A-code.

3.2. QUOTATION IN THE CORPUS

I will consider as quotations only those that appear in the homilies for the first time. In fact, quotation and reiteration are *loci* that largely overlap in religious discourse. A same quotation from sacred texts is repeated over and over again in the same homily.

In a sense this is typical of every speech act, but especially of homily. Homily is a speech activity (Levinson 1978), i.e. «a set of social relationships enacted about a set of schemata in relation to some communicative goal […] [it] implies certain expectations about thematic progression, turn taking rules, form, and outcome of the interaction, as well as constraints on content» (Gumperz 1982:166). Homily, therefore, is an articulate

speech act that consists of multiple units or rhetorical movements, according to the strategy the preacher establishes for certain intentions. In fact, to convince requires a strategy. Homily involves an ordered sequence: «sermons are a movement of language from one idea to another, each idea being shaped in a bundle of words. Thus, when we preach we speak in formed modules of language arranged in some patterned sequence. These modules of language we will call "moves"» (Buttrick 1987:23).

Homily is *sequential talking* (Buttrick 1987:24) in the sense that, as a type of speech, it takes shape gradually and it must consider that listeners are unable to go back to what has been said. Homily has its own internal logic that aims at *imaging ideas* not only through *syntax* but also by means of *metaphor* and *image*. These sets of moves help build a *plot* as the result of an interaction between the public and the hermeneutics of the preacher. Plots travel. In telling a story, one moves from an episode to another episode. If we wanted to reconstruct the movement of a plot we would find in it an internal logic according to which the story unfolds. In story-telling one always has in mind an audience and a purpose: providing suspense, forming a moral consciousness etc.

As in a normal conversation, the homily may go from smallest to largest or from general to particular, in a logically articulated way. The difference between normal conversation and homily consists in that it targets a group consciousness which needs more time to be formed. That's why rhetorical movements, in order to be engraved in consciousness, must be further developed, without, however, being excessively long and as to lose the public's attention.

3.2.0. *SUBLOCUS: BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS AND PSEUDO-QUOTATIONS*

The main functions of quotation in Mattā al-Miskīn (MM)'s texts are certainly persuading and giving expressivity. Yet, the most common function of quotation is to support his statements with authority, for quotations are normally taken from sacred books: Bible (Old and New Testament), Liturgical books (mainly *euchologion*[129] and *tasbiḥa*[130]) or spiritual books (mainly *Bustān al-Ruhbān*) etc.

In the *corpus,* quotations seem to have a sequential frame such as:

a) meta-communicative introduction – quotation – conclusion or comment;

b) meta-communicative introduction – quotation;

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[129] In Arabic خولاجي, it is one of the chief liturgical books of the Orthodox Church. In the Coptic church it contains the three liturgies currently used: the liturgy of Saint Basil, Saint Cyrill and Saint Gregory of Nazianzus.

[130] «Ein besonderer liturgischer Gottesdienst, aus Psalmen, Theotokien (تداكية) [composition of hymns in honor of the Mother of God], Psali (ابصالية) [hymns with short verses, often with alphabetic acrostics and refrains] und Hōsāt (هوس) [songs] zusammengesetzt» (Graf 1954:57).

c) quotation – conclusion or comment (see Klein 1994:257).

The meta-communicative introduction states the fact that "now we are going to quote" and this is usually realized through the *verbum dicendi*, i.e. *ʔa:l* ('he said'), *ʔa:l* + PRON SUFF, *ʔišʔu:litha* ('as X says…') " etc.

EXC1

1. bi-sm il-ʔa:b wa-l-ibn wa-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus il-ila:h il-wa:ḥid ami:n | ///
   In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God amen.
   ha-nitkallim /// ʕan il-maḥabba // w-ʔaxta:r faṣle:n // ʕaša:n bass yibʔu
   We'll talk about love. I will choose two chapters [of the Gospel] so that they can be
   madxal // ʔaw fi l-wa:qiʕ / miš madxal li-l-mawḍu:ʕ / wala:kin // quwwa dafʕa
   an introduction, or in fact, not a introduction to the subject but a spur
   li-n-nafs // ʕaša:n tuhayyaʔ fi l-ʔiḥsa:s bi-l-maḥabba | // li-ʔinn lamma
   to the soul in order to be prepared to sense love. For
   ha-nitkallim ʕan il-maḥabba // maʕna: ha-nitkallim ʕan / il-ḥaya: kullaha /
   talking about love means talking about life altogether
   li-ʔinnaha ḥaya:t il-masi:ḥ | w-ʔaxta:r faṣle:n // faṣl min famm il-masi:ḥ
   because it is Christ's life. I will choose two chapters, one that contains Christ's words
   w-faṣl min famm / ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus ʕala / lisa:n / bu:lis ir-rasu:l | ///
   and one that contains those of the Holy Spririt by the Apostle Paul's mouth.
   min ingi:l /// yu:ḥanna r-rasu:l il-ʔiṣḥa:ḥ is-sa:biʕ ʕašar | //
   From the Gospel of the Apostle John, chapter 17

2. **takallama yasu:ʕ bi-ha:ða: wa-rafaʕa ʕayne:hi naḥw as-sama:ʔ wa-qa:l /**
   Jesus spoke these words, lifted up His eyes to heaven, and said:
   ʔayyuha: l-ʔa:b qad ʔa:tati s-sa:ʕa / maggid ibnak li-yumàggidak ibnak
   "Father, the hour has come. Glorify Your Son, that Your Son
   ʔayḍan | / ʔið ʔaʕṭaytahu sulṭa:nan ʕala kulli gasad
   also may glorify You, as You have given Him authority over all flesh,
   li-yuʕṭi ḥaya:tan abadiyya li-kulli man ʔaʕṭàytahu | /
   that He should give eternal life to as many as You have given Him.
   ha:ðihi hiya l-ḥaya:t il-ʔabadiyya ʔan yaʕrifu:k / ʔanta l-ʔila:h il-ḥaqi:qi / waḥduk
   And this is eternal life, that they may know You, the only true God,
   wa-yasuʕ il-masi:ḥ illa:ði ʔarsaltu(h) | […]
   and Jesus Christ whom You have sent"[131].

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[131] All the English translations of the biblical verses are taken from the New King James Version.

(MM50 – 0'1. → 2'2.)

Quotation of the sacred texts in SA is a typical *conversational locus* of religious discourse in Arabic. In this example, the introductory Trinitarian doxology (called *basmala* by Arab-speaking Christians) opens up the homily of MM, as it happens in all his homilies. It is a formula taken from the Gospel, and therefore it should be considered SA, but it is so common that it can be considered a SA integrated loan in EA.

Then MM states, in a brief cadenced prologue in a "clean" EA, the main topic of the homily and the two main readings that he will use to give 'a propelling force' to a topic central in life and in Christian faith such as love. After a pause of just over a minute he reads aloud chapter 17 of the Gospel of John in SA (he goes on until 5'3.).

EXC2

1. ʕan famm… ʕan ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus ʕala lisa:n bu:lus ir-rasu:l
through the mouth… from the Holy Spirit by the Apostle Paul's mouth
ṭabʕan ʕarfi:n kurunsus talaṭṭašar niʔra:ha
of course you know Corinthians 13 [the Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 13]. Let's read it
sawa **laʕàllaha yaku:n fi:-ha da:fiʕ** / bi-yirfaʕ nàfsina šwayya ʕan suxṭ il-gasad
*together, **hopefully it will be a incentive** that will relieve us from our tiredness*
xuṣu:ṣan baʕd šuġl in-naha:r kullu w-iḥna s-sa:ʕa sabʕa in-nahar… ilwaʔti ///
especially after working the whole day, and it is seven o' clock right now.
barḍak min risa:lit kurunsus ʔil-ʔu:la nha:yit aṣḥa:ḥ iṭnašar w-bida:yit talaṭṭašar |
Also from the first Epistle [to the] Corinthians, end of chapter 12, beginning of chapter 13

2. **wala:kin giddu: li-l-mawa:hib il-husna: / wa-ʔayḍan ʔuri:kum ṭari:qan ʔafḍal |**
But earnestly desire the best gifts. And yet I show you a more excellent way.
ʔin kuntu ʔatakallamu bi-ʔalsinati n-na:si wa-l-malà:ʔika /
Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels,
wala(:)kin laysa li(:) maḥabba / fa-qad ṣirtu naḥḥa:san yaṭinn
but have not love, I have become sounding brass
ʔaw ṣingan yarinn | / wa-ʔin ka:nat li(:) nubuwwa(h) wa-ʔaʕlam
or a clanging cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand
gami:ʕ il-ʔasra:r wa-kulla ʕilm / wa-ʔin ka:na li(:) kulla l-ʔima:n
all mysteries and all knowledge, and though I have all faith,
ḥatta ʔanqil il-giba:l wala:kin laysa li(:) maḥabba fa-lastu šayʔan | […]
so that I could remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing". […]

(MM50 – 11'1. → 11'9. […])

The same happens here. MM gives a brief meta-communicative prologue to the quote ("We will read this…") in EA (the brief SA embedded CS will be discussed later). then he starts reading from 1Cor 12:31-13:13 for approximately 3 minutes (until 14'7.).

EXC3

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1. **ʔar-rahbana ʔawwalan ḥubb w-ʔa:xiran ḥubb /// fa-hiya / mumà:rasat**
   Monasticism is simply and solely love. It is, in fact, the implementation
   il-waṣiyya l-ʕuẓma ʔaw il-ʔu:la //
   of the greatest and most important commandment

2. li-ʔinn ʔa:l
   because He says:

3. **law ʔaratt ʔan taku:na ka:milan**
   «If you want to be perfect

4. fa-ʔe:ʔ // [voices from the audience] bi:ʕ ʔamla:kak w-ʔe:ʔ w-ʔe:ʔ w-ʔe:ʔ //
   then what? [voices from the audience] sell what you have then what again?
   w-ʔe: kama:n? w-ʔe: kama:n? ṭab ʕawwaḍha b-kilma waḥda baʔ // ʔaʔ haha?
   what again? again? what again? Substitute this with only one word, then. So?
   [………] ʔa ʔu:l [inaudible voice from the audience] / bass / ḥilw | /
   Ok, say. Exacly. Good.

5. ma ʔal-lu
   He did, in fact, tell him

6. **ʔin kunt ka:milan**
   If you are perfect [If you want to be perfect]

7. bi:ʕ w-bi:ʕ w-bi:ʕ w-taʕa:la w-itbaʕ w-bi:ʕ w-baʕde:n mumkin
   sell this and this and come and follow [me] and sell.
   ilwaʔti bi-niʔdar niʕabbar ʕanha
   Now we can express it by saying

8. **ʔiza kunta ʕa:w… an turi:d an kà:milan fa-ʔaḥibb |**
   If you want … perfect, just love [If you want to be perfect, just love]

(MM50 – 15'5. → 16'3.)

This is a more complex quote. After summarizing in SA a long illustrative passage in EA about the relationship between love and monasticism (see below), MM quotes only the first part of Mt 19:21 in SA. The verse:

قَالَ لَهُ يَسُوعُ:«إِنْ أَرَدْتَ أَنْ تَكُونَ كَامِلاً فَاذْهَبْ وَبِعْ أَمْلاَكَكَ وَأَعْطِ الْفُقَرَاءَ، فَيَكُونَ لَكَ كَنْزٌ فِي السَّمَاءِ، وَتَعَالَ اتْبَعْنِي».

Jesus said to him, "If you want to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow Me".

Before quoting the first part of the verse in SA he only switches to EA for the *verbum dicendi*. This is a widespread phenomenon as said in §3.1.2. aiming to highlight the following quote, working as a sort of "frame". After quoting the first part of the verse in SA, MM asks the monks in the audience to complete the verse in order to create suspense and to finally arrive to a reformulation of the verse itself that reaffirms the main theme of the homily, i.e. 'Love is the first and most important law' (line 8). In line 8 there seems to be a selfcorrection *ʕa:w[iz] / an turi:d* but in fact the audio is not clear here and MM might have experienced a *lapsus linguae*: in fact, line 8 does not make much sense grammatically. What seems clear here is that MM emphasizes the 'polyphony' of discourse by differentiating the plurality of 'voices' who take part in the interaction, namely the Gospel, himself and the audience.

EXC4

1. ʔišʔu:litha il-qiddi:s / ʔuġusṭi:nus yiʔu:l
   As Saint Augustine says
2. **ḥibb wa-ʔiṣnaʕ ma šiʔt?**
   Love and do what you will

 (MM50 – 16'.3)

Here CS into SA takes place after the *verbum dicendi*. *ḥibb* instead of the +SA ʔaḥibb can be considered here as a sort of 'relaxed' realization of the IV form.

EXC5

1. yaʕni ʔawwil ma ftataḥ ʔingi:l yu:hanna ʔa:l
   I mean, at the very beginning of John's gospel it says
2. **ha:kaza ʔaḥabba lla:h il-ʕa:lam ḥatta baðala ʔibnahu**
   For God so loved the world that He gave His Son
 (MM50 – 19'6. → 19'7.)

The quotation from Jn 3:16

هَكَذَا أَحَبَّ اللهُ الْعَالَمَ حَتَّى بَذَلَ ابْنَهُ الْوَحِيدَ.

For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son.

is marked again by a CS.

EXC6

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1. fa:::-ṭabʕan ʔintu tiftakaru l-ʔa:ya ʔilli ʔalha l-masi:ḥ lamma wa:ḥid
   And of course, you remember the verse said by Christ when one
   ʔal-lu ʔe:h il-ʔa:ya il-ʕuẓma ʔal-lu ʔil-ʔa:ya l-ʔu:la
   asked him: "What is the greatest verse?". He replied: "The first,
   w-ik-kibi:ra xa:liṣ w-il-ʕuẓma(:)
   greastest and most important verse is

2. **ʔan tuḥibb ir-rabb ʔila:hak min kulli qalbika**
   you shall love the LORD your God with all your heart,
   w-min kulli nafsika w-min kulli fikrika w-min kulli qudratika
   with all your soul, with all your mind, and with all your strength
   ʔàrbaʕa qalb w-nafs w-fikr w-qudra |
   four: heart, soul, mind, strength.

 (MM50 – 23'2. → 23'4.)

Here MM quotes the episode described in Mk 12:28-34 when 'one of the scribes' asks Jesus what is the first commandment of all.

فَجَاءَ وَاحِدٌ مِنَ الْكَتَبَةِ وَسَمِعَهُمْ يَتَحَاوَرُونَ، فَلَمَّا رَأَى أَنَّهُ أَجَابَهُمْ حَسَنًا، سَأَلَهُ: «أَيَّةُ وَصِيَّةٍ هِيَ أَوَّلُ الْكُلِّ؟».

Then one of the scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, perceiving that He had answered them well, asked Him, "Which is the first commandment of all?".

This first part is quoted by MM in EA. Then he quotes Jesus' answer from Mk 12:30 (which is itself a quotation from Deut 6:5) marked by a CS into SA.

تُحِبُّ الرَّبَّ إِلَهَكَ مِنْ كُلِّ قَلْبِكَ، وَمِنْ كُلِّ نَفْسِكَ، وَمِنْ كُلِّ فِكْرِكَ، وَمِنْ كُلِّ قُدْرَتِكَ

You shall love the LORD your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind, and with all your strength.

Here again MM varies the voices in the quotation from the Gospel by leaving in SA the most important part of the quotation, Jesus' words, that on which he will carry on the analysis.

1. fi: ḥubb ʔila:hi ʔa:xar / xa:rigi wa-manḍu:r | / ʔill huwa l-ʔa:ya // lamma: /
    There is another divine love, external and visible, which is expressed by the verse in which
    ʔil-masi:ḥ bi-yitkallim fi ʔawa:xir il-xidma btaʕtu / bi-yiʔul-luhum ʔin ana // ehm/
    Christ speaks at the end of his service and says "I – ehm -

2. **kunt ga:ʔiʕ / fa-ʔaṭʕamtumu:ni wa-kuntu ʕaṭša:n fa-saqaytumu:ni /**
    I was hungry and you gave Me food; I was thirsty and you gave Me drink;
    wa-kuntu ʕurya:nan fa-kasaytumu:ni wa-kuntu mari:ḍan fa-zurtumu:ni
    I was naked and you clothed Me; I was sick and you visited Me;
    wa-kunt masgu:nan fa-ʔe:ʔ // fa-ʔataytum ʔilayya ///
    I was in prison and what? you came to Me.

3. fa-ʔuli:-li [sic] **ya rabb mata raʔayna:k** kida? ʔal-luhum
    "But tell us Lord, when did we see you like this?" He answered them

4. **bi-ma ʔinnukum faʕaltumu: b-ʔaḥad / ʔiṣ-ṣiġa:r fa-bi: qad faʕaltum |**
    "Inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of these My brethren, you did it to Me"

(MM50 – 23'5. → 24'5.).

In this excerpt MM quotes from Mt 25:35-40.

لِأَنِّي جُعْتُ فَأَطْعَمْتُمُونِي. عَطِشْتُ فَسَقَيْتُمُونِي. كُنْتُ غَرِيبًا فَآوَيْتُمُونِي. 36 عُرْيَانًا فَكَسَوْتُمُونِي.
مَرِيضًا فَزُرْتُمُونِي. مَحْبُوسًا فَأَتَيْتُمْ إِلَيَّ. 37 فَيُجِيبُهُ الْأَبْرَارُ حِينَئِذٍ قَائِلِينَ: يَارَبُّ، مَتَى رَأَيْنَاكَ جَائِعًا
فَأَطْعَمْنَاكَ، أَوْ عَطْشَانًا فَسَقَيْنَاكَ؟ 38 وَمَتَى رَأَيْنَاكَ غَرِيبًا فَآوَيْنَاكَ، أَوْ عُرْيَانًا فَكَسَوْنَاكَ؟ 39 وَمَتَى
رَأَيْنَاكَ مَرِيضًا أَوْ مَحْبُوسًا فَأَتَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ؟ 40 فَيُجِيبُ الْمَلِكُ وَيَقُولُ لَهُمْ: الْحَقَّ أَقُولُ لَكُمْ: بِمَا أَنَّكُمْ
فَعَلْتُمُوهُ بِأَحَدِ إِخْوَتِي هؤُلَاءِ الْأَصَاغِرِ، فَبِي فَعَلْتُمْ.

35 For I was hungry and you gave Me food; I was thirsty and you gave Me drink; I was a stranger and you took Me in; 36 I was naked and you clothed Me; I was sick and you visited Me; I was in prison and you came to Me.' 37 "Then the righteous will answer Him, saying, 'Lord, when did we see You hungry and feed You, or thirsty and give You drink? 38 When did we see You a stranger and take You in, or naked and clothe You? 39 Or when did we see You sick, or in prison, and come to You?' 40 And the King will answer and say to them, 'Assuredly, I say to you, inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of these My brethren, you did it to Me᾽.

MM introduces the quote in EA and after a brief hesitation switches to SA to quote by heart verses 35-37. Then he switches again to EA only for the *verbum dicendi* (*fa-ʔuli:-li,*

it might have been a *lapsus* he has not corrected) and subsequently he plays the role of the 'righteous' of the episode and pseudo-quotes them in a code which is not entirely SA. It is as if the EA ADV *kida* 'like this' replaces the words of the King's words ('when did we see You…') that the righteous reiterate from verse 37 to verse 39. The quote ends in SA (the King's words) after the brief EA switch of the *verbum dicendi*.

EXC8

1. fa-l-ʔa:ya l-ʔawwala:niyya iḍ-ḍama:n li:ha
   So, what ensures [the effectiveness of] the first verse
   ʕalaša:n ma-tfarraġ-š il-baṭṭa:riyya lamma titšiḥin bi-yuʔu:l ʔe:?
   so that you don't run the battery down when it gets charged, is in the words
2. **ṣalli fi l-xafa:ʔ**
   Pray in the secret place
(MM50 – 29'2. → 29'3.)

The CS → SA in line 2 is a partial quotation of Mt 6:6 which stresses the duty of praying 'in the secret place'.

وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ فَمَتَى صَلَّيْتَ فَادْخُلْ إِلَى مِخْدَعِكَ وَأَغْلِقْ بَابَكَ، وَصَلِّ إِلَى أَبِيكَ الَّذِي فِي الْخَفَاءِ. فَأَبُوكَ الَّذِي يَرَى فِي الْخَفَاءِ يُجَازِيكَ عَلَانِيَةً.

6 But you, when you pray, go into your room, and when you have shut your door, pray to your Father who is in the secret place; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you openly.

EXC9

1. ḥaya:tak maʕa ʔila:hak ḥubbak l-ila:hi ʕilaqtak
   Your life with your God, your divine love, your relationship [with him]
   la:zim tibʔa fi l-xafa:ʔ // ma-ḥaddi-š yilmaḥḥa ʔabadan |
   must be in secret. Nobody has to behold it.
2. **ʔidxul ba:bak ʔidxul maxdaʕak w-uġliq / ba:bak**
   Go into your room, shut your door
3. ʕaša:n ʔe:? / ʕaša:n ʔe:? ma-ḥaddi-š yišu:fak /
   what for? So that nobody sees you.
(MM50 – 29'5. → 29'6.)

After commenting in EA the excerpt above, MM completes the previous quote (Mt 6:6) in SA to stress again the fact that prayer must be done in secret.

EXC10

1. w-baʕde:n ʔa:yat iḍ-ḍama:n li-l-ḥubb il-ʕamali

   Furthermore, the verse that ensures [the effectiveness of] concrete love

   ʕagi:ba giddan ya ʔabbaha:t | laʔaṭṭaha min il-ingi:l

   is amazing, fathers. I picked it from the Gospel

2. **la tuʕarrif šima:lak ma taṣnaʕ yami:nak**

   Do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing,

 (MM50 – 30'4. → 30'5.)

The quote from Mt 6:3 is marked by a CS → SA without any *verbum dicendi*. For the elaboration of this quote see below.

EXC11

1. di ṣanʕit il-ḥubb ʔana ba-sallim ṣanʕa // w-illi ʕa:wiz yibʔa

   This is the art of love, I am passing an art. The one who wants to become

   ṣana:yiʕi fi l-ḥubb yiftaḥ-li wida:nu walla ʔišʔu:litha l-ʔingi:l

   artisan of love, opens his ears to my words or, as the Gospel says

2. **man lahu ʔaða:n li-s-samʕ fa-l-yasmaʕ | //**

   He who has ears to hear, let him hear.

3. fi l-wa:qiʕ ʔil-ʔa:ya il-ʔawwalaniyya ʔulti-lku ʔinnaha […]

   In fact, the first verse, as I told you, is […]

 (MM50 – 35'7. → 36'1. […])

MM quotes a verse, in SA, that is reiterated six times in the Gospel (for instance Mt 11:15). Here too MM uses it as a closing statement of the previous movement in EA to move on to another explicative part. Elements like the falling final tone of *fa-l-yasmaʕ* and the pause signal the ending of the movement.

EXC12

1. **ʔal-ḥubb huwa ʔiṭ-ṭari:q il-waḥi:d il-muwaṣṣil li-qalb alla: |**

   Love is the only way that leads to God's heart.

2. fi-l-wa:qiʕ il-masi:ḥ karrasu b-dammu / w-id-damm ʔe: ġe:r il-ḥubb

   In fact, Christ consacrated it with his blood. And what is blood but love

ya ʔabbaha:t damm il-masi:ḥ ʔe: ġe:r il-ḥubb? ma

fathers, what is Christ's blood but love? In fact,

3. **ha:kaza ʔaḥabba lla:h ḥatta bazal damm ibnu /**

God so loved the world that He gave His Son's blood.

(MM50 – 49'4. → 50'1.)

Here we find another pseudo-quotation from Jn 3:16

هكَذَا أَحَبَّ اللهُ الْعَالَمَ حَتَّى بَذَلَ ابْنَهُ الْوَحِيدَ.

For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son.

    This time MM adds the word *damm* ('blood') to strengthen his point. The quotation is marked by a CS into SA. It is interesting to note that it is introduced by an EA particle, *ma*, that has a strong emphasizing value (see Badawī & Hinds 1986:809). As a result, the quotation gets highlighted.

EXC13

1. tiʕrafu baʔa ʔinn ir-rahbana

You know that monasticism

2. **taqu:m ʔasa:san ʕala kayfa naʕu:d wa-naṣi:r misl il-ʔaṭfa:l?**

is mainly based on how to return to be childlike?

3. šuftu baʔa iš-šaxṣ / mi:n illi bi-yingaḥ w-mi:n bi-yigri fi s-sikka? huwwa lli

Now, you see the one... who is successful and who proceeds rapidly in this path? The one who

4. **ʕa:d wa-ṣa:r misla ṭifl**

returned to be childlike

(MM50 – 55'7. → 55'8.)

Here MM indirectly quotes Mt 18:3 to affirm one of the basic goals of monasticism (and an evangelical spiritual principle), i.e. 'to become as little children':

وَقَالَ:«اَلْحَقَّ أَقُولُ لَكُمْ: إِنْ لَمْ تَرْجِعُوا وَتَصِيرُوا مِثْلَ الأَوْلاَدِ فَلَنْ تَدْخُلُوا مَلَكُوتَ السَّمَاوَاتِ.

And [he] said, "Assuredly, I say to you, unless you are converted and become

as little children, you will by no means enter the kingdom of heaven.

    The pseudo-quotation is made in SA in the 1st person plural, after an EA segment, but the switch begins in fact earlier in the clause, with the verb *taqu:m* ('is based'). This is a typical problem of CS as a tool for quotation and Alfonzetti suggests that one can speak of *anticipational triggering* (Clyne 1969:349; §3.1.1.). In line 3, MM switches into EA to

specify again the quote (see below) and then he restates the pseudo-quotation this time in the 3rd person singular.

EXC14

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1. mi:n illi bi-yingaḥ w-mi:n bi-yigri fi s-sikka? huwwa lli

    who is successful and who proceeds rapidly in this path? The one who

2. **ʕa:d wa-ṣa:r misla ṭifl** /

    returned to be childlike

3. w-sa:b w-tarak bi-ʔirattu marra w-bi:-ʕaṣa lla:h marra

    and renounced [everything], sometimes of his own free will, other times by God's rod

    wi-bi:-bi-naxs il-ʔa:b marra w-in-naxs bitaːʕi šwayya bi-yibʁa

    sometimes by the Father's prod and my prod is sometimes kind

    marra ḥilw w-marra murr bass ʔana ba-ʕmil maʕa l-ʔa:b yaʕni |

    and other times harsh, but I do work with the Father.

    ʔišʔu:litha [laughs] ʔišʔu:litha bu:liṣ ir-rasu:l

    As the Apostle Paul says

4. **man huwa bu:luṣ wa-man huwa ʔabulluṣ / ʔilla / ʕa:mila:n**

    Who is Paul, and who is Apollos, but workers

    fila:ḥat alla: wala:kin ʔalla:h huwa lla:ði ʕa:mila:n maʕ ʔalla: muš kida?

    God's fellow workers, but it is God who… workers with God, right?

    ʕa:mila:n maʕa ʔalla: / wa-lla: huwa lla:ði yunammi

    workers with God but it is God who gives the increase

5. ʔiḥna bi-nizraʕ wa:ḥid bi-yizraʕ wa:ḥid bi-yisʔi wa-lla: huwwa ʔilli bi-ynammi

    we plant: one plants and another waters but it is God who gives the increase.

6. **iðan la li-ġa:ris šayʔ wa-la li-s-sa:qi šayʔ wala:kin alla:h alla:ði yunammi**

    So then neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters, but God who gives the increase.

    (MM50 – 55'8. → 56'7.)

Here MM opens a parenthesis, within his presentation of the importance of become as children. He makes an SA quote from 1Cor 3:5-7 (line 4 and 6) which is preceded by the *verbum dicendi ʔišʔu:litha* in EA ('as the Apostle Paul said') in the attempt to justify the fact that his 'prod' is part of his working with God through planting and watering. Finally, God is the only one who gives the increase.

فَمَنْ هُوَ بُولُسُ؟ وَمَنْ هُوَ أَبُلُّوسُ؟ بَلْ خَادِمَانِ آمَنْتُمْ بِوَاسِطَتِهِمَا، وَكَمَا أَعْطَى الرَّبُّ لِكُلِّ وَاحِدٍ: 6 أَنَا غَرَسْتُ وَأَبُلُّوسُ سَقَى، لكِنَّ اللهَ كَانَ يُنْمِي. 7 إِذًا لَيْسَ الْغَارِسُ شَيْئًا وَلاَ السَّاقِي، بَلِ اللهُ الَّذِي يُنْمِي.

Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers through whom you believed, as the Lord gave to each one? 6 I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. 7 So then neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters, but God who gives the increase.

MM quotes by heart that's why he asks the monks to confirm that *ʕa:mila:n* is the right word used by the Gospel. The repetition in line 5 is discussed below in §4.2.3.

EXC15

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1. taʕa:la ya bni bi-yiʔul-lu ʔaru:ḥ fe:n? bi-yiʔul-li maʕle:š
   "Come, my son". He [the monk] answers: "Where to?". And He [God] replies: "Don't worry

2. **il-ʔarḍ ʔalla(:)ti ʔuri:k**
   [to] the land that I will show you"

(MM50 – 57'6. → 57'7.)

This is a quotation halfway Biblical and imaginary. The first part, in EA, starts an imaginary conversation between God and the monk. God asks the monk to follow him. When the monk asks him 'where do you want me to go?,' MM makes God reply with a Biblical verse concerning Abraham (Gn 12:1): 'towards the unknown'.

وَقَالَ الرَّبُّ لِأَبْرَامَ: «اذْهَبْ مِنْ أَرْضِكَ وَمِنْ عَشِيرَتِكَ وَمِنْ بَيْتِ أَبِيكَ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ الَّتِي أُرِيكَ».

Now the Lord had said to Abram: "Get out of your country, from your family and from your father's house, to a land that I will show you".

It is interesting to notice that the only SA segment is the quote, while the framing *mise-en-scène* is in EA.

EXC16

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1. ʔil-mustawa l-ʔawwal ʔilli huwwa mustawa muma:rasat il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi bi-ṣ-ṣala:
   In the first level, that of practicing the divine love through prayer
   w-bi-l-ʕala:qa l-muba:šira maʕa alla: il-mustawa d-da:xili /
   and the direct relationship with God – the inner level -
   fi:ha ʔil-masi:ḥ bi-yibʔa qa:ʔid iṣ-ṣala: bitaʕna / sawa:ʔ in kunna fi xu:ras
   Christ himself leads our prayer, no matter if you are in the choir
   walla ʔinta waḥi:d f ṣallaytak huwwa t-ta:ni btaʕak ʔaw
   or if you are alone in your cell. He is your "alter-ego" or,
   ʔin ge:t li-l-ḥaʔʔ miš huwwa t-ta:ni // huwwa ʔinta ʔil-maẓbu:ṭ /
   to be more precise, he is not your alter-ego. He is the one you are supposed to be.

2. **lastu ʔana ʔaḥya bal il-masi:ḥ yaḥya fiyya |**

It is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me.

(MM50 – 59'8. → 60'4.)

Here CS into SA for the quotation from Gal 2:20 is a certificate of authority that further clarifies that 'Christ prays in us' and that he is our the true self.

فَأَحْيَا لاَ أَنَا، بَلِ الْمَسِيحُ يَحْيَا فِيَّ.

It is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me.

EXC17

---

1. ṭaṭe:t li-k-kull wi-xadamt ik-kull
   You have bowed your head to everybody, you have served everybody,
   w-nafsak ʔintahat wi-tmasaḥit xa:liṣ
   your soul is worn-out, completely exhausted
   w-ma-bʔat-š ḥa:ga f za:tak mamsu:ḥa ḥa:ga mawgu:da /
   nothing is left in yourself, everything is over.
   fi l-waʔt da / bi-tilbis il-masi:ḥ / li-ʔinn il-masi:ḥ miš mumkin ʔabadan yilbis
   Only then, you put on Christ, because Christ cannot put on
   ʔinsa:n ʕati:q | lamma l-insa:n il-ʕati:q yixlaṣ / xa:liṣ
   the old man. When the old man is totally over
   yalizz li-l-masi:ḥ ʔinnu yilbis il-ʔinsa:n il-gadi:d | /
   Christ takes delight in putting on the new man.

2. **ʔalla:ði naḥnu ʔallaði:n ʔiʕtamadna**
   That who… We who were baptised…
   miš ʔallaði:na ʔiʕtamadna mutna li-l-masi:ḥ?
   wasn't it we who were baptised, we died into Christ?

3. ʔahù da l-mo:t ʔilli ba-tkallim ʕannu min ḥe:s il-gasad il-ʕati:q min ḥe:s ʔe:
   This is the death I am speaking of, that which concerns the old body, the ehm
   ʔe: ʔe:: gasad il-xaṭiyya min ḥe:s ehm // ʔe:h // ʔil-ḥaya:h ḥasab il-gasad
   ehm the body of sin, that concerns ehm life according to the body.
   yaʕni kullaha / lamma bi-tmu:t /
   I mean all [this life], when you die

4. **naḥnu ʔallaði:na ʔiʕtamadna li-l-masi:ḥ labisna / ʔil-masi:ḥ |**
   We who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ.

(MM50 – 84'8. → 85'6.)

In line 2 and 4 there are two pseudo-quotations. In line 2 CS triggers a pseudo-quotation from Rom 6:3, in SA

<div dir="rtl">

كُلُّ مَنِ اعْتَمَدَ لِيَسُوعَ الْمَسِيحِ اعْتَمَدْنَا لِمَوْتِهِ

</div>

As many of us as were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into His death?

Miš in line 2 is an EA insertional borrowing for what Valdes-Fallis calls *preformulations* (Valdes-Fallis 1978b:16), i.e. linguistic routines and automatic speech. It seems to be much easier here to use *miš* in the sense of 'wasn't it?' than the more marked *ʔa-laysa* or *ʔa-lam yaqul* etc.? It is noteworthy the fact that, although it is not a precise quotation, MM still uses SA to recall and utter it.

In line 4 the pseudo-quotation in SA is from Gal 3:27

<div dir="rtl">

كُلُّكُمُ الّذِينَ اعْتَمَدْتُمْ بِالْمَسِيحِ قَدْ لَبِسْتُمُ الْمَسِيحَ

</div>

For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ.

MM uses the 1PP (**naḥnu ʔallaði:na ʔiʕtamadna … labisna …**) while the verse is in the 2pp (كُلُّكُمُ الّذِينَ اعْتَمَدْتُم… لَبِسْتُمُ).

EXC18

---

1. fi l-wa:qiʕ ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi ehm ʕaddit ʕalayya nuʔṭa
    Actually, my beloved, ehm, I have come across a point that
    ʔaḥibb ʔanabbihku li:ha / lamma bi-yiʔu:l il-masi:ḥ
    I want to draw your attention to. When Christ says

2. **kuntu gawʕa:n kuntu ʕaṭša:n kuntu ʕurya:n kuntu mari:ḍ**
    I was hungry, I was thirsty, I was naked, I was sick,
    kuntu masgu:n fi l-ʕa:lam
    I was in prison in the world

(MM50 – 87'4. → 87'6.)

MM switches to SA for a partial (only the King's words are considered and not his interlocutors') pseudo-quotation (*fi l-ʕa:lam*, for example, is not present in the Gospel) from Mt 25:35-36, introduced by an EA *verbum dicendi*.

<div dir="rtl">

لِأَنّي جُعْتُ فَأَطْعَمْتُمُونِي. عَطِشْتُ فَسَقَيْتُمُونِي. كُنْتُ غَرِيبًا فَآوَيْتُمُونِي. 36 عُرْيَانًا فَكَسَوْتُمُونِي. مَرِيضًا فَزُرْتُمُونِي. مَحْبُوسًا فَأَتَيْتُمْ إِلَيَّ.

</div>

For I was hungry and you gave Me food; I was thirsty and you gave Me drink; I was a stranger and you took Me in; 36 I was naked and you clothed Me; I was sick and you visited Me; I was in prison and you came to Me.

Notice how, while the final *u* vowel of the 1st person singular of the PFT of *kāna* is pronounced, the *xabar kāna* is realized without *tanwīn*.

EXC19
---

1. ʔinta baʔa lamma b-ti:gi tuma:ris ʕamaliyyit it-taʕziyya ʔaw it-tasliyya
    When you dedicate yourself to console and entertain [the others]
    ʔaw / ʔišba:ʕ ʔaw ʔirwa:ʔ il-gaʔiʕ wi-t-taʕba:n wi-l-ʕayya:n wi-l-mari:ḍ
    or to satisfy the hunger and the thirst of the starving, the tired, the sick, the ill
    w-kida w-kida / fi l-wa:qiʕ ʔinta fi mawqif mi:n? ʔinta fi mawqif il-masi:ḥ nafsu | /
    and so-and-so, you are actually acting as who? As Christ himself.
    li-ʔinn il-masi:ḥ huwwa
    For Christ

2. **w-huwa faqaṭ ʔalla:ði yastaṭi:ʕ ʔan yagu:l yaṣnaʕ / xayran**
    alone is the one who is able to go about doing good
    yišfi gami:ʕ il-mutasalliṭ ʕale:hum ʔibli:s wa-/ʕury wa-ʕurg wa-ʕusm
    healing all who were oppresed by the devil, the naked, the halt, the withered
    wa wa ʔila ʔa(:)xirih
    and so on.

(MM50 – 90'2. → 90'7.)

In line 2 MM switches to SA to pseudo-quote from Acts 10:38

[يسوع] الَّذِي جَالَ يَصْنَعُ خَيْرًا وَيَشْفِي حَمِيعَ الْمُتَسَلِّطِ عَلَيْهِمْ إِبْلِيسُ.

[Jesus] who went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil.

The second part of the quote is from Jn 5:3

فِي هذِهِ كَانَ مُضْطَجِعًا جُمْهُورٌ كَثِيرٌ مِنْ مَرْضَى وَعُمْيٍ وَعُرْجٍ وَعُسْمٍ، يَتَوَقَّعُونَ تَحْرِيكَ الْمَاءِ.

In these lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water.

After the final tone and the pause in line 1 the CS starts slowly. The real change in tone and the introduction of SA elements begins in line 2 where the more +SA *huwa* is opposed to the +EA *huwwa*. *yišfi* in line 2 is a EA-flavoured realization of a verb that is cognate (shared) SA/EA: **SA šafā/yašfi**:EA šafa/yišfi. The 'relaxed' realization of only this shared item does not seem to affect the SA-ness of the context.

1. ʕagab di muʕamla ʕagi:ba giddan ya rabbi ʔe:h dah? /
   That's incredible, this is an amazing treatement. What's that o Lord?
   ʔe:h dah? baʔa ʔa:xud min ru:ḥak w-addi:-lak? ya sala::m
   What's that? I take from your Spirit and I give it back to you? Oh my,
   ma bi-yʔulha fi l-ʔudda:s /
   it is said in the Liturgy
2. **min ʔalla:ði lak /**
   from your own
3. ehm? evol xilni eta / ehm ehm no:k [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲉ̀ⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕ]
   from what is thine
4. **ʕala kull ḥa:l min alla:ði laka nuʕṭi:k |**
   for every condition, from what is thine we give

 (MM50 – 93'1. → 93'3.)

To support and give authority to his statement - namely that when one gives from himself one takes from Christ to give Christ himself - MM quotes from the Liturgy of Saint Basil, from the part known as Epiclesis (or invocation of the Holy Spirit), switching from EA to SA. He tries to recall the Coptic expression and repeats in Coptic the first part quoted in SA, i.e. **min ʔalla:ði lak.** He then closes the quotation and the movement switching again to SA. By repeating the quote in Coptic after SA, MM gives to his statement a double certificate of authority. In fact, because of the limited knowledge of it that Copts have, the Coptic language represents a source of authority higher than SA.

1. miš ʔadri:n nišu:f il-masi:ḥ ʔilli bi-yirfaʕ ʕene: li:na w-illi bi-ymidd ʔi:du li:na
   We are unable to see Christ who looks up at us, stretches out his hands
   w-ʕa:wiz maʕu:nitna w-bi-niḥsibha bi-ʕama:na w-xe(:)bitna ʔinn da faʔi:r
   and asks our aid. And because of our blindness and misery, we consider that this is just a poor
   w-ġalba:n ʔaw ʔinn da ʔinsa:n / šaḥḥa:t xusa:ra fi:
   or a wretched man or that this is just a beggar, so much the worse for him,
   walla mustaxsar ʕafiyitu ʔišʔu:litha ʔilli bi-yʔu:l ya ʕamm
   he thinks that wasting his health [in working] is not worth it. As some say
   da ʕandu gitta yidawwar sa:ʔya | ʔabadan da nta ġalṭa:n
   "He has such strength that he could raise mountains, mate". Not at all, you are wrong.
   da l-masi:ḥ bi-ʕaynihi | //

He is Christ himself.

2. **wa-la tansu ʔiḍa:fat il-ġuraba:ʔ ʔalla:ti bi-ha ʔaḍa:fa ʔuna:s kaθi:ru:n**

    Do not forget to entertain strangers, for by so doing many

    malà:ʔika wa-hum la yadru:n |

    have unwittingly entertained angels.

(MM50 – 99'1. → 99'6.)

MM switches to SA after a conclusive tone and a pause to quote a verse from Heb 13:2 to strengthen his opposition to the wrong words of despise of some people towards poor people.

لاَ تَنْسَوْا إِضَافَةَ الْغُرَبَاءِ، لأَنْ بِهَا أَضَافَ أُنَاسٌ مَلاَئِكَةً وَهُمْ لاَ يَدْرُونَ.

Do not forget to entertain strangers, for by so doing some have unwittingly entertained angels.

EXC22

1. w-baʕden fi l-maʕmu:diyya ʔal-lina xudu baʔa ʔintu baʔe:tu wla:di /

    Then, in the Baptism he told us: "Take, then. You have become my children

    ʔilbisu:ni w-iʕmilu ʕamali / middu ʔide:ku / zayy ma na madditha

    put me on, do my works, give a helping hand, as I gave mine

    li-kull insa:n ʔaʕma w-faqi:r ʔitʕabu l-le:l w-in-naha:r

    to every blind and poor man, wear yourselves out, night and day,

    ʔiṭlaʕu fi l-giba:l w-ṣallu

    then climb the mountains and pray

2. **ṣallu wa-la tamallu**

    pray and lose not heart.

(MM50 – 101'3. → 101'6.)

In line 2 MM switches to SA in order to pseudo-quote or elaborate the quote from Lk 18:1

وَقَالَ لَهُمْ أَيْضًا مَثَلاً فِي أَنَّهُ يَنْبَغِي أَنْ يُصَلَّى كُلَّ حِينٍ وَلاَ يُمَلَّ.

Then He spoke a parable to them, that men always ought to pray and not lose heart

This quote emphasizes the previous *ṣallu* as a primary source of strength to work like Christ.

EXC23

1. liza:lik tulaḥzu ʔinn dayman dayman ka:n il-masi:ḥ ʕe:nu min il-magd
    That is why you notice that Christ always had his eye on the glory

2. **ʔal-magd ʔalla:ði ʔaʕṭàtani ʔana ʔaʕṭaytahum /**
    the glory which you gave me I have given them

3. yaʕni huwwa hiyya il-ġa:ya il-ġa:ya n-niha:ʔiyya fi l-ʔa:ya ṣ-ṣuġayyara di |
    so the very aim is in this short verse.

(MM136 – 13'2. → 13'4.)

The quotation from Jn 17:22 is marked by the CS to SA.

EXC24

1. **naḥnu naʕi:š il-ʔa:n màwtana naḥnu / naʕi:š ṣala:t il-mawt**
    We live now our death, we live a prayer of death
    wa-laysat ṣala:t il-ḥaya:h | /
    and not a prayer of life.

2. ʔit-tarti:la bi-tʔu:l
    The chant goes:

3. **ma ʔaḥla: sa:ʕatan ʔaxlu fi:ha maʕa l-ḥabi:b |**
    "How beautiful is that hour that I spend alone with the one I love"

(MM270 – 6'4. → 6'5.)

Here the only code-switched element (EA) is the *verbum dicendi* in an SA context.

3.2.1. *SUBLOCUS: SELF-QUOTATION VS. ALLO-QUOTATION*

EXC25

1. wa:ḥid min il-ʔaba: mutaqaddim fi l-maḥabba baʕat ba:ʕitli fi l-kara:s yiʔu:lli ʔe:
    One of the fathers who loves much, sent me a question in his copybook of confession saying
    ma raʔyak / hal il-maṭa:niyya:t yibʔa ʔaʕmil ke:t w-ke:t w-baʕde:n il-maza:mir
    "Do you think I should make prostrations so-and-so and sometimes it happens
    saʕa:t bi-yiḥṣal ke:t w-ke:t fa-ruḥt ra:did ʕale: li-ʔinnu mutaqaddim giddan
    with the psalms so-and-so. So I answered him, because he loves
    fi l-maḥabba | / ʔult
    much, and I said

2. **ʔallaði:na / ehm / daxalu fi ṭari:q ʔal-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi**

those who, ehm, set out on the way of divine love
wa-nkašafa lahum is-sirr / laysu: / taḥt in-na:mu:s baʕd |
and have been revealed this mystery, are not yet under the Law[132].
(MM50 – 16'3. → 16'8.)

In this excerpt MM recalls that once a zealous but loving monk asked him, in the copybook of confession[133], about how to pray, with how many prostrations and psalms. It is a partial quotation, an allo-quotation in fact (see §3.1.), in EA. Then, after a pause and the *verbum dicendi ʔult*, MM switches to SA when quoting his own reply to the monk. Of course both of them have written what MM quotes, so much probably they have used SA, but SA here is used to create contrast in what Alfonzetti calls a *mise-en-scène*: SA marks the transition from the voice of one character to that of another. Notice also that MM uses SA only to highlight the transition. He then goes back again to EA to specify the self-quotation.

3.2.2. *SUBLOCUS: IMAGINARY QUOTES*

As seen in §3.1.4 imaginary quotes consist in supporting one's point in the form of dialogic scenarios or narrative-like styles.

EXC26

1. **fa-yuʔmin wa-yanṭiq wa-yaṣrux bi-ʔann ha:ða: ḥubb wa-ha:ða ḥubb**
    and believes and says out loud that this is love and that this kind of love
    ʕa:li giddan wa-ha:ða ḥubb muðhil
    is sublime and astonishing.
2. izza:y bi yiʕmilu kida / ʔalla: da ḥubb ʔila:hi / da na šuftu bi-yiʕmil
    "How can they do this? Heavens, this is a divine love! I saw him do
    ke:t w-ke:t w- ke:t |
    this and this…
(MM50 – 25'4. → 25'9.)

Here in line 2 an imaginary person asks himself about people who act with love with each other.

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[132] MM means "no more under the Law" (see Rm 6:14; Gal 5:18).

[133] *Kurrās al-iʕtirāf* is a copybook that every monk has in which he writes down his confession and then brings it to the spiritual father who sends it back with his commentaries.

EXC27

1. **ka:na r-rabb yasu:ʕ il-masi:h yara fi kull mari:ḍin wa-ḍaʕi:fin wa-mašlu:l /**
   The Lord Jesus Christ saw in every sick, weak and paralytic
   ka:na yara fi:hi ṣu:rat xa:liqihi | / ka:na yara miš ṣanʕa…
   the image of his Creator. He was… doesn't [the Bible say]
   halumma naṣnaʕ il-ʔinsa:n ʕala ṣu:ratna?
   "Let Us make man in Our image" [Gen 1:26]?
   fa-ka:na yaliðð li-l-masi:ḥ ṭu:l in-naha:r yagu:l yaṣnaʕ xayran |
   Christ used to take delight in going about doing good all day long.

2. w-baʕden fi l-maʕmu:diyya ʔal-lina xudu baʔa ʔintu baʔe:tu wla:di /
   Then, in the Baptism he told us: "Take, then. You have become my children
   ʔilbisu:ni w-iʕmilu ʕamali / middu ʔide:ku / zayy ma na madditha
   put me on, do my works, stretch out your hands, as I did
   li-kull insa:n ʔaʕma w-faqi:r ʔìtʕabu l-le:l w-in-naha:r
   to every blind and poor man, wear yourselves out, night and day,
   ʔìṭlaʕu fi l-giba:l w-ṣallu
   then climb the mountains and pray.

   (MM50 – 100'7. → 101'5.)

   Line 1 comes after a brief passage in which MM synthesizes the point that on earth we see Christ under the form of the sufferer (see EXC73 in §5.2.4.). Line 2 lightens up the passage by paraphrasing the previous movement and personalizing it in EA with an imaginary dialogue between Christ and believers.

EXC28

1. **tartaqi l-xali:qa l-bašariyya fi l-masi:ḥ li-taṣi:r / xali:qa mumaggida**
   The human creation elevates in Christ and becomes a glorifying creation.

2. ʔe:h raʔyak fi gasad il-masi:ḥ fo:ʔ fi s-sama:ʔʔ?
   What do you think of Christ's body up in the sky?

   (MM136 – 13'7. → 13'8.)

   In line 2 the CS to EA marks the introduction of the voice of an imaginary person (divine or human) who points to Christ's work for humanity, i.e. glorifying creation in himself.

3.2.3. SUBLOCUS: PERSONALIZATION OF QUOTES

As showed before, quotes from the Bible, prayer books and spiritual books are normally expressed in SA. There are cases where MM quotes some episodes of the Gospel in EA in an attempt to personalize them and make them closer to the listeners. What differentiates imaginary quotes and personalized quotes is that the latter reflect real quotations although they are somehow paraphrased; what imaginary quotes and personalized quotes share is that both have as a main function, not to express authority or provide an authoritative support to statements, but rather to involve listeners into the argumentation with a light and friendly tone.

The following example presents no CS but it will be used as a guideline to understand what is meant by personalization of quotes.

EXC29

1. huwwa ʔilli ʕamma:l yišfi
    It is he [Christ] who heals.
2. wu-g-gaʕani:n ʔal-luhum ha:tu ya si:di xamas xubza:t w-samakte:n | /
    And he told the starving: "Bring me five loaves and two fish, my friend"
    gab-lu xamas xubza:t ʔal-lu ʔakkal ʔakkal / he? ʕaṭšani:n?
    They brought him five loaves. So he told them: "Feed, feed". "Huh? Thirsty?
    ʔarwi:ku ʔaḥsan rayy / ha:tu ya si:di ʕandukum kam gurn malyani:n mayya?
    I will quench your thirst at the most. How many full waterpots do you have?"
    ʔal-lu sitta ʔal-lu ʔirwi ši::rbu
    They told him: "Six". He replied: "Quench their (the guests) thirst". And they drank
    miš mayya w-bass w-xamra ʔayḍan |
    not only water but wine as well.

(MM50 – 90'7. → 90'10.)

In line 2 MM quotes two episodes: (1) the miracle of the multiplication of the five loaves and two fish (described in Mt 14:13–21; Mk 6:31-44; Lk 9:10-17 and Jn 6:5-15) and (2) the miracle of Cana of Galilee (described in Jn 2:1-11). He recalls the episodes by heart, not only translating but also re-arranging the core part of them in EA, that part that strengthen his point which is that all the good deeds come from God himself.

The next table shows how this personalization takes place in the first episode (i.e., multiplication of the five loaves and two fish).

EA personalization of the quote	SA original quote
ʔal-luhum ha:tu ya si:di xamas xubza:t w-samakte:n | / gab-lu xamas xubza:t ʔal-lu ʔakkal ʔakkal	فَقَالَ لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ: «لاَ حَاجَةَ لَهُمْ أَنْ يَمْضُوا. أَعْطُوهُمْ أَنْتُمْ لِيَأْكُلُوا». فَقَالُوا لَهُ: «لَيْسَ عِنْدَنَا ههُنَا إِلاَّ خَمْسَةُ أَرْغِفَةٍ وَسَمَكَتَانِ». فَقَالَ:«ائْتُونِي بِهَا إِلَى هُنَا». فَأَمَرَ الْجُمُوعَ أَنْ يَتَّكِئُوا عَلَى الْعُشْبِ. ثُمَّ أَخَذَ الأَرْغِفَةَ الْخَمْسَةَ وَالسَّمَكَتَيْنِ، وَرَفَعَ نَظَرَهُ نَحْوَ السَّمَاءِ وَبَارَكَ وَكَسَّرَ وَأَعْطَى الأَرْغِفَةَ لِلتَّلاَمِيذِ، وَالتَّلاَمِيذُ لِلْجُمُوعِ. فَأَكَلَ الْجَمِيعُ وَشَبِعُوا (مت 14:16-20)
He said to them: «Bring me five loaves and two fish, my friend». They brought to him five loaves. So he told them: «Feed, feed».	*But Jesus said to them, "They do not need to go away. You give them something to eat." And they said to Him, "We have here only five loaves and two fish." He said, "Bring them here to Me." Then He commanded the multitudes to sit down on the grass. And He took the five loaves and the two fish, and looking up to heaven, He blessed and broke and gave the loaves to the disciples; and the disciples gave to the multitudes. So they all ate and were filled (Mt 14:16:20)*

The next table shows personalization in the second episode (i.e., miracle of Cana of Galilee)

EA personalization of the quote	SA original quote
he? ʕaṭšani:n ʔarwi:ku ʔaḥsan rayy / ha:tu ya si:di ʕandukum kam gurn malyani:n mayya? ʔal-lu sitta ʔal-lu ʔirwi ši::rbu miš mayya w-bass w-xamra ʔayḍan	وَكَانَتْ سِتَّةُ أَجْرَانٍ مِنْ حِجَارَةٍ مَوْضُوعَةً هُنَاكَ، حَسَبَ تَطْهِيرِ الْيَهُودِ، يَسَعُ كُلُّ وَاحِدٍ مِطْرَيْنِ أَوْ ثَلاَثَةً. قَالَ لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ:«امْلأُوا الأَجْرَانَ مَاءً». فَمَلأُوهَا إِلَى فَوْقُ. ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُمْ:«اسْتَقُوا الآنَ وَقَدِّمُوا إِلَى رَئِيسِ الْمُتَّكَإِ». فَقَدَّمُوا. فَلَمَّا ذَاقَ رَئِيسُ الْمُتَّكَإِ الْمَاءَ الْمُتَحَوِّلَ خَمْرًا، وَلَمْ يَكُنْ يَعْلَمُ مِنْ أَيْنَ هِيَ لكِنَّ الْخُدَّامَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا قَدِ اسْتَقَوُا الْمَاءَ عَلِمُوا، دَعَا رَئِيسُ الْمُتَّكَإِ الْعَرِيسَ (يو 2:6-9)
"Huh? Thirsty? I will quench your thirst at the	*Now there were set there six waterpots of*

utmost. How many full waterpots do you have?" They told him: "Six". He replied: "Quench their (the guests) thirst". And they drank not only water but wine as well.

stone, according to the manner of purification of the Jews, containing twenty or thirty gallons apiece. Jesus said to them, "Fill the waterpots with water." And they filled them up to the brim. And He said to them, "Draw some out now, and take it to the master of the feast." And they took it. When the master of the feast had tasted the water that was made wine, and did not know where it came from (but the servants who had drawn the water knew), the master of the feast called the bridegroom (Jn 2:6-9)

EXC30

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1. **kuntu gawʕa:n kuntu ʕaṭša:n kuntu ʕurya:n kuntu mari:ḍ**
   "I was hungry, I was thirsty, I was naked, I was sick,
   kuntu masgu:n fi l-ʕa:lam
   I was imprisoned in the world

2. wi-ntum ʔakkaltu:ni kattar xirkum w-šarrabtu:ni w-kasitu:ni w-zurtu:ni
   and you fed me, thank you so much, you gave me to drink, you clothed me, you visited me
   w-ge:tu liyya ʔana mamnu:n xa:liṣ ʔinta ya rabb? ///
   and you came to me, I am really thankful". "You, o Lord?"
   yiʔu:l-luhum ma na kunt fi l-ʕa:lam / ma na ma-šuftu:-š /
   He will answer them: "Yes, I was in the world". "I didn't see him"
   ʔana l-masi:ḥ ʔal-mutaʔallim / ṣaḥi:ḥ
   "I am the suffering Christ. It is true that

3. **ʔana l-mumaggad ʔil-ga:lis ʕan yami:n il-ʔa:b f is-sama:ʔ**
   I am glorified, sitting at the Father's right hand
   wala:kin risa:lat il-ʔalam lam takuff lam tantahi /
   but the mission of the suffering did not cease, did not come to an end yet,
   mawgu:da / ʔana ba-mlaʔ ʔal-ʔarḍ kùllaha kull ʔinsa:n mutaʔallim da šaxṣi
   it is still present. I fill the whole earth up, every suffering man is myself".

(MM50 – 87'5. → 88'1.)

As seen in Holes and Bassiouney (§1.8.2. and §1.8.3.), CS → EA may entail a different role the speaker wants to play *vis-à-vis* the listeners. Starting from the partial

quotation from Mt 25:35, MM uses EA to give a more sympathetic, involved and personal re-arrangement of the dialogue between Christ and the righteous. In line 3 he switches again into SA to give a more detached, hieratic imaginary elaboration of the dialogue (Christ speaks as God) then he goes back to EA to take it closer to speakers' feelings. The last line **ʔana ba-mlaʔ ʔal-ʔarḍ kùllaha kull ʔinsa:n mutaʔallim da šaxṣi** has been considered SA despite the presence of an evident EA exclamatory particle *da* which is normally not translated as in the example given by Badawī & Hinds (1986:273): *da l-burtuʔa:n is-sana:-di ḥilw ʔawi* ('the oranges are nice this year!'). This use of EA exclamatory particles in SA contexts is typical of MM. See also EXC84 in §5.2.6.

From the data, it appears that MM did not find any problems in quoting verses from the Gospel in EA whenever a rhetorical need, such as personalization, requires it. Quotation in SA is not a rule, although it seems more frequent. This seems different from what has been found by Bassiouney who analysed a few sermons of *šayx* al-Šaʕrawī who always quoted verses from the Qurʔān in CA (Bassiouney 2006:197-198).

Chapter 4 Reiteration

4.1. LOCUS: REITERATION; FUNCTIONS: CLARIFYING, STRESSING, EMPHASIZING

It is a common practice for speakers to repeat parts and bits from their own previous speech during conversation: «Repetition of sound and meaning is a pervasive property of all discourse, and it comes in a variety of forms and serves as an array of communicative functions» (Boumans 2002:301). Repetition is also a classical figure of speech (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008:236-238). The basic function of reiteration is to «*reduce the flow of information and to make the discourse less dense*» because «discourse becomes hard to follow if it is semantically too dense» (Boumans 2002:301; emphasis is mine). Reiteration has also a great role in giving *coherency* and *cohesiveness* to discourse, it helps organize discourse. Moreover, it is socially meaningful: it shows listenership or ratification. Reiteration can clarify, stress or emphasize a part of the discourse[134]. Tannen states that the repeated word is produced automatically by speakers (see Tannen 2007[1989]:93-97). From a psycholinguistic point of view this is the result of *priming*: since the lexical item occurs in the immediately preceding speech, it is already activated in our brain when it is resumed again.

Reiteration is particularly important for Arabic rhetoric. Koch (1980, 1981, 1983) has dealt with repetition in Arabic rhetoric and demonstrates how it tries to convince listeners or readers by repeating the same central message through paratactic, adductive and analogical mechanisms. All but one of her texts are on political topics. In some texts repetition appears on all levels: phonological, morphological and lexical, syntactic, and semantic, repetition of form and repetition of content. The repetition seems cohesive, rhythmic, and rhetorical: persuasion is a result of the number of times an idea is stated and the elaborate ways in which it is stated. The repeated discourse is paratactic and polysyndetic: «ideas flow horizontally into one another» (Koch 1983:52). It seems that Arab rhetoric does not aim to convince through logical argument (at least this is not the main mechanism; see also Hatim 1991[135]) but through «instilling in the reader a sense of identification with its point of view» (Tannen 1980:7).

Tannen distinguishes various forms or criteria of repetition, with fuzzy boundaries:

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[134] See also Auer 1984, Berruto 1985, Gumperz 1982, Grosjean 1982.

[135] Hatim described the different pragmatics of the argumentation in Arabic and in English. Argumentation in Arabic follows, according to Hatim, the following pattern: (1) thesis to be supported, (2) substantiation, (3) conclusion [through-argument pattern]. Unfortunately, he does not provide any concrete evidence from texts.

(i) FORMS

self-repetition vs. *allo-repetition* (repetition of others);

(ii) CONTENT

exact repetition and intonation (the same words uttered in the same rhythmic pattern) vs. *paraphrase* (similar ideas in different words). Midway on the scale, and most common, is *repetition with variation,* «such as questions transformed into statements, statements changed into questions, repetition with a single word or phrase changed, and repetition with change of person or tense» (2007[1989]:63-64);

(iii) POSITION

immediate vs. *delayed repetition* «where "delayed" can refer to delay within a discourse or delay across days, weeks, months, and years» (2007[1989]:64). The last one acts as a textual coherer;

(iv) TIME

intertextuality: formulaic language (or fixed expressions) is language repeated by multiple speakers over time (see also Auer 1988:88-92).

4.1.1. REITERATION AND CS

Bilinguals use CS as a tool in order to reiterate parts of speech. As Gumperz says «something may be said in one code and reiterated without pause in the other, or an expression in one code may be repeated in the other code elsewhere in the same conversation» (Gumperz 1982:65). Reiterative CS can happen sequentially or in two different parts of the speech. Saeed calls this *conversation locus focusing function* (Saeed 1997:121). For Grassi et al. «il cambio di codice ha spesso la funzione di sottolineare con enfasi un passaggio del discorso (per esempio il punto culminante di una storia) o di conferire espressività a un commento, rafforzando il punto di vista del parlante»[136] (2006:188).

Gumperz considered reiteration to be one of the metaphorical functions of CS. Speakers repeat the message or part of it in the other language, in order to clarify or emphasize: «frequently a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message» (Gumperz 1982:78). Auer sees reiteration as «quasi-translations into the other language, for example for the purpose of putting emphasis on demands or requests, or for purposes of

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[136] «changing code often has the function of strongly emphasize a passage of the discourse (such as the climax of a story) or to give expressivity to a comment, reinforcing the speaker's view»

clarification, or for attracting attention» (1995:120). This is not any different in Arabic (see for example how Boumans (2002) dealt with this *conversational locus* and its functions).

Examples of the relationships between different content forms and CS is given by Alfonzetti. She distinguishes three types of repetitions: (1) *semantic equivalence* (this is Tannen's *exact repetition and intonation*); (2) *elliptical repetition* (Tannen's *repetition with variation*); (3) *elaborative repetition* (Tannen's *repetition with variation*); (4) *pseudo-formulations* (Tannen's *paraphrase*).

4.1.1.1. semantic equivalence

Semantic equivalence means that «una sequenza in un codice viene [...] 'tradotta' nell'altro, letteralmente o in forma lievemente differente. La funzione in questi casi è prevalentemente quella di *enfatizzare* il messaggio»[137] (Alfonzetti 1992:110; emphasis is mine). Emphasis can be obtained through CS and prosodic elements: exclamatory intonation, emphatic pronunciation of the repeated sequence or of one of the elements, vowel lengthening. CS becomes a further tool, with respect to monolingual discourse, to emphasize a message.

ALF1

E allora chiḍḍi chiḍḍi ca, pìgghia, anu setti casi, uottu casi e non pàvunu nenti? Nê vòlunu ṭruvari (CD)
And so those those who, for example, have seven houses, eight houses and do not pay anything? They do not want to find them.
Non li VOGLIONO trovare (SI)
They do not want to find them.
   (Alfonzetti 1992:110)

Here we have a switch CD → SI with a semantic equivalence. The speaker stresses the word repeated "they do not want" by saying it aloud and slowing down on "vogliono".

The following example is taken from another Arabic *corpus* (Hamam 2011:55-57). In an episode of the Qatari space channel tv Aljazeera programme, *al-ittiğāh al-muʕakis* ('The opposite direction'), a Lebanese poet, Rafīq Rūḥāna is asked by the anchorman, Fayṣal al-

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[137] «A sequence in a code is 'translated' into the other, either verbatim or in slightly different form. The function in these cases is primarily to emphasize the message»

Qāsim, to begin speaking and those who follow are the first two phrases that are interspersed with a remark of Fayṣal al-Qāsim.

HAM1

first part

1.

ʔabəl ma	žœwb-ak	/	badd-i	ʔəʕtəzer
before	I reply-2SG.M	/	want-1SG	I apologize
men	*nafs-i*	*mətəl ma*	*d-dawr*	*əl-ma:ḍi*
From	self-1SG	as	ART-turn	ART-passed

'Before replying to you, I want to apologize as I did it last time

2.

mɪn	sɪne	ʔəʕtazart	/	ʔɪnn-i	ʔana	hallaʔ
ago	year	I apologized	/	COMP-1SG	I	now
bɪdd-i	*hœ:žem*	*ləġġa*	*w-bɪdd-i*			*ḥki:-ha*
want-1SG	I attack	language	and-want-1SG			I speak-3SG.F

'one year ago for that now I want to attack a language and I have to speak it.

3.

Ha:ydi	karmœ:l-ak	/	ʔamma	l-manṭeʔ	kœ:n lœ:zem
This.F	for-2SG.M		as about	ART-logic	one ought to have

ʔɪnn-i	ʔana	ʔeḥki	l-ləġġa	yalli
COMP -1SG	I	speak	ART-language	REL

'I do this for you but logic would have wanted that I speak the language that

4.

bɪdd-i	dœ:feʕ	ʕan-ha	/	miš	ʔəḥki
want-1SG	I defend	from-3SG.F	/	NEG	I speak
ta	*hœ:žem*	*ləġġa*	/	*fi:ya*	/
in order to	I attack	language	/	in-3SG.F	/

'I want to defend[138] and not speak one to attack it.

5.

Bass	karmœ:l-ak	raḥ	nəḥki	bə-l-fəṣḥa	)
But	for-2SG.M	FUT	we speak	in-ART-F	

'Anyway, for you we will speak *F*.'

second

6.

yaʕni	sa-ʔatakallam	il-fuṣḥa:	ʔikra:m-an	la-ka	fi(:)
I mean	FUT-I speak	ART-F	honour-ACC	to-2SG.M	in

'I mean, I will speak *F* as a tribute to you for conceiving

7.

taṣmi:m-i-ka	li-l-bᵊrnæ:mež	/	ʔamma	l-ʔuṣu:l
conceiving-ABL-2SG	of-ART-programme	/	as about	ART-principles

ka:na yažib	ʔan	ʔatakallam-a	l-lubna:niyya

---

138 He mean the Lebanese dialect or the 'Lebanese language' as Rafīq Rūḥāna calls it.

p	it should have been	that	I speak-SBJV	ART-Lebanese language
a				
r	'the programme. With regard to the principles, I ought to have spoken the Lebanese language			
t				

8.   **lla:ti**   **ʔatakallam-u-ha:**   )

          REL.F   I speak-IND-3SG.F   )

          'that I speak'

(Hamam 2011:55-57)

The first part of the sample (HAM1) (from (1)1. to (1)5.) is separated from the second part (2) (from (1)6. to (1)8.) by a short question of Fayṣal al-Qāsim who asks Rafīq Rūḥāna:

     Ma:ða   **taqṣod**   **be-ḍ-ḍabəṭ**   **yaʕni**   /ʔ/

     what(Q)   you mean   exactly   I mean   ?

         'What do you exactly mean, I mean?'

The question brings Rafīq Rūḥāna to change the code.

As can be seen in table 20, a number of elements or markers makes us say without doubt that (1) is colloquial while (2) is standard, with a particular care for the *ʔiʕrāb*.

If one puts in parallel the first and the second part of the sample (1) one will notice how Rafīq Rūḥāna uses colloquial vocabulary, syntax and morphology in the first part and then 'translates' them into standard in the second part.

part 1: NA	part 2: SA	
raḥ nəḥki bə-l-fəṣḥa (5.) ⟶	**sa-ʔatakallam il-fuṣḥa: (6.)**	'we/i will speak F'
karmæ:lak (3.;5.) ⟶	**ʔikra:man laka (6.)**	'for/as a tribute to you'
kæ:n læ:zem (3.) ⟶	**ka:na yaʒib (7.)**	'it had to'
ʔɪnni ʔana ʔəḥki (3.) ⟶	**ʔan ʔatakallama (7.)**	'that I speak'
yalli (3.) ⟶	**(a)lla:ti: (8.)**	'which (REL)'

Table 20 Elements of the first and second parts in parallel.

As can be seen, the intervention (2) of 'retranslation,' with a prosody slower than (1), contains the same colloquial morphological elements of (1) 'translated' into SA.

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Notice also how *karmæ:l* is translated into SA: not *min aǧlik* 'for you' as *karmæ:l* normally means in the Lebanese dialect but going back to the SA "etymological" root of the colloquial expression, *ʔikra:man laka,* which has a stronger sense in F ('in your honour')[139].

Those same features that in (1) make us say that the intervention is colloquial become, in (2), they make us say that (2) is standard (*ra:ḥ / sa- ; læ:zem / yažib ; ʔəḥki / ʔatakallama ; yalli / lla:ti*).

In (1) and (2) the propositions are reversed, the syntax of the pseudo-verb (*læ:zem*) and of the preverbs (*sa-*) changes. The two objective propositions change: *kæ:n læ:zem ʔɪnni ʔana ʔəḥki → ka:na yažib ʔan ʔatakallama.*

As Gumperz would say, here one translates the message to emphasize it. Taking into account Rafīq Rūḥāna's ideology, it appears clear why the change is NA → SA and not vice versa. He is trying to emphasize the fact that he is obliged to speak SA because of language policy of *Aljazeera,* and that, although he is not willing to do that, he feels obliged to.

Three more examples are taken from the corpus of Islamic sermons analysed by Boucherit (transcription adapted).

BOU1
lima: takðab / (SA)
Why do you lie?
ʕla:š takða:b? (AA)
Why do you lie?
(Boucherit 2002:240)

Here there is an exact semantic equivalence: **lima: (SA) →** ʕla:š (AA); **takðab (SA) →** takða:b (AA).

BOU2
unḍuru (SA)
Look
šu:fu šu:fu matalan / l-ʔima:m s-subki (AA)
look for example the imam Subkī
(Boucherit 2002:241)

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[139] Notice also how the speaker uses a IV form, which is felt 'more' standard, rather than a I form *karam(an)* or a II form *takrīm(an)*.

Exact equivalence again: **unḍuru (SA)** → šu:fu (AA). Here we can also see a classical figure of speech: *synonymy*. In fact, Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca describe synonimy as «la répetition d'une même idée à l'aide de mots différents, [qui] utilise, pour donner la présence, une forme qui suggère la correction progressive» (2008:238) as in the excerpt from Le Cid, by Corneille, in which he says:

Va, cours, vole et nous venge (acte 1, sc. VI)

As we have seen, Holes posits that Arab speakers sometimes use different lexical items which have a double realization, one in SA and one in NA (such as *naḍara* and *baṣṣ* in EA), as if they were synonyms.

BOU3
ma: zilna baʕd lam naʕdil maʕa n-na:s / (SA)
We still have not established justice with people [who are our neighbours].
ma:za:l ma-ʕandna:-š ḥatta l-ʔinṣa:f maʕa ʔixwanna (AA)
We have not even established equity with our brothers.
(Boucherit 2002:240)

Here the main difference is that the *šayx* uses a verb in the SA sequence (**lam naʕdil**) and, after a pause, he switches to AA using a sort of AA periphrase to fill the slot of the same verb (ma-ʕandna:-š l-ʔinṣa:f).

4.1.1.2. elliptical repetition

The elliptical repetition is «meno informativa dell'enunciato che viene ripetuto, in quanto ne costituisce una versione ellittica. La funzione prevalente è anche qui quella di conferire enfasi al messaggio»[140] (Alfonzetti 1992:115)

ALF2
E ppoi non ci a fa::zzu iù a ccummattìricci (CD)
and then I cannot cope looking after him
Signora, mi mi creda. Io non ce la faccio! (SI)
Madam, believe me. I just cannot cope!

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[140] «less informative than the utterance that is repeated, since it is an elliptical version of it. The predominant function here too is to give emphasis to the message»

(Alfonzetti 1992:115)

4.1.1.3. elaborative repetition

The elaborative repetition is exactly the opposite case of the eliptical repetition. The repetition is more informative of the preceding sequence and it aims to «elaborare e specificare il messaggio» (Alfonzetti 1992:116).

ALF3

Ma peggio per lui! (SI)

All the worse for him!

pèggiu ppi iddu ca cci a misi ddocu. Iù cci avissi ṣṭṛicatu (CD)

all the worse for him that he put put it [a car] there. I would have scratched it to him

(Alfonzetti 1992:118)

Here again three examples from the Algerian Arabic corpus of Boucherit concerning the elaborative repetition.

BOU4

wa:š yiqullu / (AA)

What did

ʕumar bnu l-xaṭṭa:b? asmaʕ ya / ya ʔaba l-ḥasan ʔaǧlis ʔila xaṣmika l-yahu:di / (SA)

'Umar Ibn al-Khattab say to him? Listen Abū al-Ḥasan, sit next to your jewish adversary

ʔaǧlis maʕa:h kifki:f / ʔiða ka:n ra:k xaṣmi taǧlas mʕa:ya (AA)

sit with him on the same level. If you are an adversary to me, you have to sit next to me.

(Boucherit 2002:245-246)

BOU5

fa-law ʔaqbala kullu ʔinsa:nin ʕala nafsihi / wa-ʔašraḥaha / fa-ʔinnahu yaku:nu bi-ðalika qad naǧa maʕa llah // ʔanǧu bi-nafsik ya sayyidi / (SA)

If every person approched his soul and sincerely spoke to her, he would be saved with [?] God. Get saved, man,

sällak ṛa:ṣäk mʕa llah (AA)

save your head with [?] God.

(Boucherit 2002:236)

BOU6

min ʔayna ǧiʔtum bi-ha:ða / min ʔayna ǧiʔtum biha ya muxarrifi:n / (SA)

Where did you take this [discourse]? Where from did you take it romancers?

mni:n ǧäbtu ha:ða l-kala:m ntaʕkum ǧabtu:h min ʕand nabuliyu:n? (AA)

Where did you take this discourse of yours from? From Napoleon?

(Boucherit 2002:244)

BOU7

qa:la walla:hi la yabġuḍu ši:x l-ʔisla:m ibnu taymiyya ʔilla ǧa:hilun ʔaw ṣa:ḥibu hawa: // (SA)

By God, only an ignorant or one carried away by his passion can abhor of šayx al-islām *Ibn Taymiyya*

ma-yibġaḍ ibn taymiyya ʔilla waḥäd fi:h ǧahl / ma-yafham-š id-di:n w-ma-yaʕraf-š š-šari:ʕa (AA)

only an ignorant who does not understand the [islamic] religion and does not know the šarīʕa can abhor Ibn Taymiyya

(Boucherit 2002:241-242)

The following example, with a CS SA→YA, is taken from Saeed's Muslim sermons *corpus.*

SAE1

laqad	**saʔaltu /**	**r-raʔi:s /**	**ha:ða**	**s-suʔa:l**	**qultu**	**lahu**
INTENSIFIER	I asked	the president	this	question	I said	to him

ha:ðihi:	**manṭiqatun**	**ḥurra**	**min**	**ma:ða:? (SA)**
this	area	free	from	what?

I have asked the president this question. I said to him: "This area is free from what?"

ništi	niʕrif	ʔe:ši:	ḥurra	min	ʔe:š? (YA)
we want	we know	what-it	free	from	what?

We would like to know what it is free from.

(Saeed 1997:124)

Saeed comments this example by saying that «here repetition cannot be motivated by an assumption that the audience may not have understood the wording of the question […] the apparent reason for the repetition is to emphasize the point, and to tell the audience that the speaker put it very plainly and simply to the president, requiring an

interpretation of what was meant» (Saeed 1997:125). He also sees another interpretation for this example. The switched repetitions means: "Mr. President, tell us in plain words!".

4.1.1.4. pseudo-formulations

Alfonzetti quotes Auer (1984:89-90) by saying that pseudo-formulations «pur possedendo un significato letterale differente da quello della prima versione, contengono la formulazione di un diverso aspetto "of the same 'underlying' theme"»[141] (Alfonzetti 1992:118).

ALF4
E ppoi non ci a fa::zzu iù a ccummattìricci (CD)
and then I cannot cope lookin after him
Signora, mi mi creda. Io non ce la faccio! (SI)
Madam, believe me. I just cannot cope!
Iù, comu fa iḍḍa a rresistìricci, iù n… non è na cosa nommali. (CD)
how she does resist to him, I do not … it is not a normal thing
È è na cosa, va', che non ci si può credere. (SI)
It is a thing, let's say, that one cannot believe.
I stissi non ni ponu nàsciri … iù non n'ava vistu mai nâ me vita. (CD)
Like him, no one will ever be born… I had not ever seen like him in my life
   (Alfonzetti 1992:115)

Here "è è na cosa, va', che non ci si può credere" ('*It is a thing, let's say, that one cannot believe*') in SI can be considered, according to Alfonzetti, as a pseudo-formulation of the previous "non è na cosa nommali" ('*it is not a normal thing*') in CD, expressing both the same pragmatic meaning.

4.2. REITERATION IN THE CORPUS

We have already discussed CS as a tool for a typical *conversational locus* such as reiteration in §4.1. Repetition is a fundamental rhetorical strategy of homily when the speaker needs to stress or emphasize a point. It can be *plain* ("God calls us, yes God calls us") or *inverted* ("We must love our neighbours. Our enemies we must love"); it can

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[141] «Although having a literal meaning different from that of the first version, they contain the formulation of a different aspect "of the same 'underlying' theme"»

concern *doublets* ("great and good, holy and happy") or *triadic clauses* ("moral, spiritual and sacred") (see Buttrick 1987).

Here I will distinguish:

(1) *semantic equivalence*; (2) *elliptical repetition*; (3) *elaborative repetition. Pseudo-formulations* will be considered within elaboration because they are *subloci* that seem to overlap. This point will be discussed in the conclusions.

4.2.1. *SUBLOCUS: SEMANTIC EQUIVALENCE*

With the semantic equivalence, CS translates, in the other code, words or expressions uttered in the other code, either *verbatim* or in a slightly different form (see §4.1.1.1.).

EXC31

repeated segment	min ġe:r il-masi:ḥ ʔalla: ḥa-yifḍal // ḥa:ga kbi:ra ʔawi ʔawi ʔawi /ʔawi ʔawi
	Without Christ, God remains something very very very very very big,
	mahu:la
	frightening
repetition	**še:ʔ la niha:yata lahu muxi:f**
	something unending, dreadful.

(MM50 - 6'4. → 6'5.)

Here CS signals a reiteration with a semantic equivalence:

▸ EA ḥa:ga kbi:ra ʔawi ʔawi ʔawi / ʔawi ʔawi ('something very very very very very big'):**SA še:ʔ la nihaya:ta lahu** ('something unending')**;**

▸ EA mahu:la ('frightening'):**SA muxi:f** ('frightening').

MM uses the same words in EA and SA to emphasize the message. This code-switched reiteration triggers an SA segment (until 7'1.).

EXC32

repeated segment	w-huwwa wa:ʔif fi ḥittitu
	And he stands firmly in his place
repetition	**la:: yataḥarrak**
	motionless

(MM50 – 67'1. → 67'2.)

Here the semantic equivalence is realized through negation:

▸ EA wa:ʔif fi ḥittitu ('stand firmly in place'):**SA la:: yataḥarrak** ('he is motionless').

Emphasis is obtained not only through CS but also through prosodic elements such as the lengthening of the vowel /a:/ of the NEG particle *lā*.

EXC33

context	[fa-r-ra:hib šamʕa bi-twallaʕ hina zamaniyyan w-ḍuʔha z-zamani yataḥawwal li-ḍo:ʔ ʔabadi]
	[So the monk is a candle that lights here on earth, whose earthly light turns into everlasting light]
repeated segment	**la:: yanṭafiʔ**
	inextinguishable
repetition	ʔenʔa:titšinu: [ⲛⲁⲧϭⲉⲛⲟ]
	inextinguishable.

(MM50 – 80'5. → 80'6.)

In this example MM repeats the concept of *ʔabadi* 'light'. *ḍo:ʔ ʔabadi* can be considered as an SA borrowing in a +EA sequence (see *bi-twallaʕ* 'it lights,' *hina* 'here'). MM stresses the adjective *ʔabadi* by using once again an SA negation **la:: yanṭafiʔ** ('inextinguishable') then a Coptic adjective ⲛⲁⲧϭⲉⲛⲟ 'inextinguishable'. This Coptic term is found in the *tasbiḥa*[142], the collection of psalms and hymns that the Coptic monks sing every day at dawn and that, for this reason, they finish to memorize, at least partially. MM uses this inference, well-known to the monks to whom he addressed the homily, to stress the concept and give it authority. As we have seen before, for the Coptic quotation in EXC20 in §3.2.0., by repeating the concept in Coptic after SA, MM is not explaining the adjective but giving it more and more credit. *Tasbiḥa*, the source of the inference, also represents in itself an estimated collection of texts, especially for matters concerning Coptic Christian theology, as important as the Euchologion. Here too, the lengthening of the vowel /a:/ NEG particle *lā*, is a further tool aiming to emphasize.

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[142] See note 131. Specifically this adjective is present in the *širat* (hymns of praise for the Virgin Mary, from the Coptic (originally Greek) word χερε meaning 'Hail to…') of the Saturday *lubš* (conclusion of a religious song with a paraphrasis of the previous verses with biblical quotations and a prayer, from the Coptic word lwbs meaning 'conclusion' or 'interpretation').

EXC34

repeated segment	**il-qalb yaṭfir yaṭfir**
	the heart capers
repetition	yaʕni yurʔuṣ / yurʔuṣ bi-stimra:r
	that means it dances, it dances continuously

(MM50 – 66'4. → 67'2.)

Here MM uses a term (**yaṭfir**) found in the Arabic translation of the Bible (Van Dyck), the version normally used by the Coptic church outside liturgy. Repetition in EA here clarifies in simpler words the +SA term. The repetition comes after *yaʕni* that, according to Owens & Rockwood, can introduce information of the same status, as for instance in a paraphrase in order to clarify (2008:92).

EXC35

repeated segment	**fa-tagassada l-masi:ḥ wa-taʔannas**
	So Christ was incarnate and became man
repetition	libis il-insa:n
	he put on man

(MM136 – 13'1.)

The verb **taʔannas** of the quotation from the Euchologion (Liturgy of Saint Basil, Anaphora) is further specified with a repetition in EA.

In these last two cases, unlike the previous examples, the repetition aims at clarifying and not at highlighting and takes place from SA → EA.

EXC36

context (1)	**[fa-ma ba:lakum yasmaʕ li-ṣ-ṣa:rixi:na ʔilayhi wa-huwa]**
	[So how much more does he [God] listen to those who cry out to him though he]
repeated segment	**mutamahhil ʕalayhim**
	bears long with them
repetition	miš bi-yismaʕ ʕala ṭu:l
	he does not answer at once
context (2)	[ʕaša:n yiṣarraxu ʔaktar w-yiṣarraxu ʔaʕla
	so that they cry out more and louder]

(MM270 – 8'6. → 9'1.)

CS here highlights and clarifies better what MM means for 'being slow'. Repetition triggers a CS → EA that will continue after the *locus* itself.

EXC37

repeated segment	il-masi:ḥ in-naharda mawgu:d fi: l-... maʕa:na ʕala l-ʔarḍ
	Christ, today, is present in... with us on earth
	bass fi ṣu:rat mutaʔallim /
	but in the form of the sufferer
context (1)	**[fi ṣu:rat kull insa:n ga:ʔiʕ wa-ʕurya:n wa-ʕatša:n wa-mutaʔallim /**
	in the form of every starving, naked, thirsty and suffering man,
	muslim masi:ḥi / hindi / bu:zi / yahu:di / ʔafrangi / ʕarabi /
	Muslim, Christian, Hindou, Buddhist, Jew, Westerner, Arab
	ʔiṭla:qan la yu:gad farq kull insa:n ga:ʔiʕ
	there is no difference whatsoever: every hungry person,
	ʕala mustawa gasadi ʔaw ru:ḥi huwa huwa l-masi:ḥ | /
	on a physical or a spiritual level, is Christ himself.]
repetition	**fa-l-masi:ḥ innaharda bi-yuma:ris wugu:du fi wasaṭana fi l-ʕa:lam**
	So Christ today is present in our midst in the world,
	bàynana ʕala hayʔa ʕala hayʔat mutaʔallim | /
	among us, in the form of, in the form of the sufferer.
context (2)	[w-ʔadi l-ʕamal iθ-θa:ni / miš bi-tiʕmilu fi n-na:s
	So here is the second [kind of] work: you don't do it to people
	da nta bi-tiʕmilu fi šaxṣ il-masi:ḥ muba(:)šaratan
	you do it directly to Christ.]

(MM50 – 89'3. → 89'8.)

Here we have what we can call a climax. In classical rhetoric, climax is a well-know figure of speech in which words, phrases, or clauses are arranged in order of increasing intensity (or importance). So here the switch begins slowly in the first contextual part and it increases with SA markers such as *la yu:gad farq* (SA NEG + /q/) until it closes the move (consider the final falling pitch and the following EA switch in context (2) line). Notice the use of the EA nonce borrowing *innaharda* ('today') in the repeated segment.

il-masi:ḥ in-naharda mawgu:d fi: l-...	**fa-l-masi:ḥ innaharda bi-yuma:ris**
maʕa:na ʕala l-ʔarḍ	**wugu:du fi wasaṭana fi l-ʕa:lam bàynana**
Christ, today, is present in… with us on earth	***So Christ today is present in our midst in the world, among us***
bass fi ṣu:rat mutaʔallim	**ʕala hayʔa ʕala hayʔat mutaʔallim |**
but in the form of the suffering	***in the form of, in the form of the suffering.***

4.2.2. SUBLOCUS: ELLIPTICAL REPETITION

EXC38

repeated segment	**ʔan tuḥibb ir-rabb ʔila:hak min kulli qalbika**
	You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart,
	w-min kulli nafsika w-min kulli fikrika w-min kulli qudratika [...]
	with all your soul, with all your mind, and with all your strength [...]
repetition (1)	**tuḥibb ar-rabb ʔila:hak min kull il-qalb wa-n-nafs**
	You shall love the Lord your God with all the heart, with all the soul,
	wa-l-fikr wa-l-qudra [...]
	with all the mind and all the strength [...]
repetition (2)	iṣ-ṣala il-muqaddama min kull il-qalb w-min kull il-nafs
	the prayer offered with all the heart, with all the soul,
	w-min kull il-fikr w-min kull il-qudra	[...]
	with all the mind, and with all the strength [...]
repetition (3)	unfuḍ kull ʔilli fi l-ʔalb w-illi fi l-fikr w-illi fi n-nafs w-kull qudritna [...]
	Shake off all that is in the heart, in the mind, in the soul and all our strength [...]
repetition (4)	daxalna fi ḥaḍrit alla: fi ṣ-ṣala: ma-fi:-ši
	Once we enter into God's presence during prayer, nothing,
	kull il-ʕaʔl w-kull il-ʔalb w-kull il-fikr l-rabbina li-rabbina [...]
	all our mind, all our heart and all our mind is for the Lord alone.
repetition (5)	ʔawwil ma tu:ṣal lì-di yibʔa ṣala: b-ḥubb
	Once you arrive to this point, your prayer will turn into a prayer of love
	min kull il-qalb min kull in-nafs min kull il-fikr min kull il-qudra [...]
	from all the heart, all the soul, all the mind and all the strength [...]
repetition (6)	bassi ʔilli bi-yibluġha huwwa ʔilli bi-yidxul
	but the one who reaches it [this kind of prayer] is the one who practices
	min kull nafsu w-min kull qudritu w-min kull ehm fikru [...]

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	from all his heart, all his strength, all his, ehm, mind […]
repetition (7)	la yumkin insa:n yiṣalli l-alla: **min kull qalbihi**
	*It's impossible for anyone to prayer to God **from all the heart,***
	w-min kull nafsihi w-min kull fikrihi w-min kull qudratihi […]
	***all his soul, all his mind and all his strength** […]*
repetition (8)	ni:gi hina wi-nḥiss ʔinn ʔiḥna baʔe:na kba:r
	We come here [the monastery] and we feel that we have become great,
	w-baʔe:na baʔa wuʕʕa:ẓ muqtadiri:n w-niʕarraf w-naʕallim
	we have become expert preachers, we teach and instruct
	wi-nkkabar wi-nsawwi w-in-na:s bi-tbu:s ide:na
	and we want to seem older, do great things while people kiss our hands.
	ʔa:::h ti:gi tuʔaf li-ṣ-ṣala la tiltiʔi fi: ʔalb kullu l-alla:
	Oh, then you stand to pray, you will find that neither your heart is all for God
	wa-la l-ʕaql kullu l-alla: wa-la ha:da wa-la ha:da […]
	nor your mind is all for God, neither this nor that […]

(MM50 – [repeated segment] 23'2 → 23'4. […] [repetition 1] 25'1. → 25'4. […] [repetition 2] 36'1. → 36'3. […] [repetition 3] 36'6. → 37'2. […] [repetition 4] 47'4. → 47'7. […] [repetition 5] 50'6. → 50'7. […] [repetition 6] 51'9. → 52'2. […] [repetition 7] 59'1. → 59'4.)

This is an example of a very complex delayed repetition of the verse Mk 12:30 (which is itself a quotation from Deut 6:5):

تُحِبُّ الرَّبَّ إِلَهَكَ مِنْ كُلِّ قَلْبِكَ، وَمِنْ كُلِّ نَفْسِكَ، وَمِنْ كُلِّ فِكْرِكَ، وَمِنْ كُلِّ قُدْرَتِكَ

You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind, and with all your strength.

The repetitions go on for at least half an hour and they are all elliptical (only the second part of the initial quote is repeated). The quote is repeated in an equivalent or elliptical way in SA (repetition 1,2,3,7), while MM elaborates in EA the repeated verse by applying it to prayer in the monastic life. The four elements of the quote (*qalb, nafs, fikr, qudra*) do not appear with the same order (see repetition 3 and 6), sometimes MM adds slightly different elements (ʕaʔl, repetition 4), or omits an element (*qalb* is omitted in repetition 6) or both (repetition 8: added element: ʕaʔl; excluded elements: *fikr, nafs, qudra*). The function here is not only to emphasize but to grave the verse in the monks' mind. In this sense, repetition helps homily take shape gradually in the mind of the listeners who are unable to go back to what has been previously said.

4.2.3. *SUBLOCUS: ELABORATIVE REPETITION*

We have seen the characteristics of the elaborative repetition in §4.1.1.3. Here are some examples from the corpus.

EXC39

repeated segment	ehm ʕan il-maḥabba fi l-waːqiʕ ma-ʔdar-ši ya ʔabbahaːt
	Ehm, as regards love… actually, fathers, I cannot
	ʔubaːšir waẓiːfati ka-ʔab ʔilla ʕan ṭariːq il-maḥabba | /
	fulfill my function of father but through love.
	miš mumkin ʔaṣallaḥ ʔayy ġalṭa f wusṭ il-gamaːʕa ʔilla bi-l-maḥabba
	I cannot fix any error in the community but through love.
repetition	**laː ʔastaṭiːʕ ʔinni ʔazawwidlak fi numuwwak ir-ruːḥi**
	I cannot increase your spiritual growth,
	ehm qayda šaʕra ʔaw qayda ðiraːʕ / insaːn
	by one inch or one cubit, according to the measure of a man
	ʔaw malaːk ʔilla ʕan ṭariːq il-maḥabba |
	or of an angel[143], but through love.

(MM50 – 18'2. → 18'5.)

Spiritual fatherhood means also correction but correction cannot bear fruits if it is not carried out with love. MM emphasizes 'I cannot' by repeating it twice in EA and once in SA and 'through love,' elaborating differently what 'fulfilling the function of spiritual father without love' means after every negation.

I cannot	ma-ʔdar-ši	miš mumkin	**laː ʔastaṭiːʕ**
but through love	ʔilla ʕan ṭariːq il-maḥabba	ʔilla bi-l-maḥabba	**ʔilla ʕan ṭariːq il-maḥabba**

EXC40

repeated segment	**la tuʕarrif šimaːlak ma taṣnaʕ yamiːnak […]**
	do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing […]
repetition (1)	**la tuʕarrif šimaːlak ma taṣnaʕ yamiːnak […]**

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[143] See Rev 21:17.

	do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing [...]
repetition (2)	ma-xalli-š ʔi:di š-šima:l tiʕraf ʔe:h illi bi-tiʕmilu l-ʔi:d l-yimi:n [...]
	I do not let my left hand know what the right hand is doing [...]
repetition (3)	ma-tiʕraf-š šima:lak ʔabadan li-ġa:::yit il-ʔa:xir li-ġa:yit in-niha:ya /
	may your left hand never know, until the end, until the very end,
	li-ġa:yit il-mo:t li-ġa:yit il-qabr	
	until death, until the grave
repetition (4)	**la tuʕarrif šima:lak ma ṣanaʕathu yami:nak	[...]**
	do not let your left hand know what your right hand has done [...]

(MM50 – 30'5. [...] 31'5. [....] 32'1. [...] 34'5. → 34'6.; 34'6. → 34'7.)

Delayed repetitions are found here. They do not happen one after the other but after the interpolation of a commentary (see below). This quotation from Mt 6:3 is repeated four times:

<div dir="rtl">

مَّا أَنْتَ فَمَتَى صَنَعْتَ صَدَقَةً فَلاَ تُعَرِّفْ شِمَالَكَ مَا تَفْعَلُ يَمِينُكَ

</div>

But when you do a charitable deed, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing.

MM uses the verb *ṣanaʕa* instead of *faʕala*. In the quote the code is SA and the verb is in the IMP tense without returning pronoun (*taṣnaʕ*). In repetition (4) the code is still SA but there is a slight difference: the verb is in the past tense and a returning pronoun is attached to it (*ṣanaʕathu*). Repetitions (2) and (3) are in EA and function as a personalization of the quote (see below). Although in repetition (2) verbs and REL pronouns are in the 1st person, a periphrasis is used instead of the imperative as in the quote, it is still an exact repetition of the verse. Repetition (3) is in the 2nd person, it uses the IMP tense (*ma-tiʕraf-š*) and it is an elaboration of the repeated quote, though incomplete. In fact, MM repeats (repetition 4) the first part again in SA and closes the quote in the same code.

la tuʕarrif šima:lak	**ma taṣnaʕ yami:nak**
do not let your left hand	***what your right hand is doing***
la tuʕarrif šima:lak	**ma taṣnaʕ yami:nak**
do not let your left hand	***what your right hand is doing***
ma-xalli-š ʔi:di š-šima:l tiʕraf	ʔe:h illi bi-tiʕmilu l-ʔi:d l-yimi:n
I do not let my left hand know	*what the right hand is doing*
ma-tiʕraf-š šima:lak ʔabadan li-ġa:::yit	Ø
il-ʔa:xir li-ġa:yit in-niha:ya / li-ġa:yit	

il-mo:t li-ġa:yit il-qabr

may your left hand never know, until the end,

until the very end, until death, until the grave

la tuʕarrif šima:lak **ma ṣanaʕathu yami:nak**

do not let your left hand *what your right hand has done*

EXC41

repeated segment	**man huwa bu:luṣ wa-man huwa ʔabulluṣ / ʔilla / ʕa:mila:n**
	Who is Paul, and who is Apollos, but workers
	fila:ḥat alla: wala:kin ʔalla:h huwa lla:ði ʕa:mila:n maʕ ʔalla:
	God's fellow workers, but it is God who… workers with God,
	muš kida? ʕa:mila:n maʕa ʔalla: / **wa-lla: huwa lla:ði yunammi**
	right? **Workers with God but it is God who gives the increase**
repetition (1)	ʔiḥna bi-nizraʕ wa:ḥid bi-yizraʕ wa:ḥid bi-yisʔi
	we plant, one plants and another waters
	wa-lla: huwwa ʔilli bi-ynammi
	but it is God who gives the increase.
repetition (2)	**iðan la li-ġa:ris šayʔ wa-la li-s-sa:qi šayʔ**
	So then neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters,
	wala:kin alla:h alla:ði yunammi
	but God who gives the increase.

(MM50 – 56'3. → 56'7.)

Here MM quotes by heart 1Cor 3-5:7 (see §4.1. when discussing the quote)

<div dir="rtl">

5 مَنْ هُوَ بُولُسُ؟ وَمَنْ هُوَ أَبُلُّوسُ؟ بَلْ خَادِمَانِ آمَنْتُمْ بِوَاسِطَتِهِمَا، وَكَمَا أَعْطَى الرَّبُّ لِكُلِّ وَاحِدٍ: 6 أَنَا غَرَسْتُ وَأَبُلُّوسُ سَقَى، لكِنَّ اللهَ كَانَ يُنْمِي. 7 إِذًا لَيْسَ الْغَارِسُ شَيْئًا وَلاَ السَّاقِي، بَلِ اللهُ الَّذِي يُنْمِي.

</div>

5 Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers through whom you believed, as the Lord gave to each one? 6 I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. 7 So then neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters, but God who gives the increase.

He then repeats part of the verse 6 in EA and then again in SA:

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wa-lla: huwa lla:ði yunammi

it is God who gives the increase

wa-lla: huwwa ʔilli bi-ynammi

> *it is God who gives the increase*
> **wala:kin alla:h alla:ði yunammi**
> *it is God who gives the increase*

repeated segment	w-baʕde:n ʔil-ha:ga ʔilli law ʔitʕallaʔna min gufu:n ʕe:ne:na
	Morevoer, the thing that even if we did the impossible
	ʕalaša:n naḥṣul ʕale:ha miš mumkin naḥṣul ʕale:ha ʔilla
	to obtain it, we won't obtain but through
	bi-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi │ ehm
	divine love, ehm
repetition	**kayfa nufarriġ ðawa:tina min ðawa:tina? /**
	is how to empty ourselves from our selves?
	kayfa naʕbud alla: min kull il-qalb min kull in-nafs
	How to worship God from all the heart, all the soul
	min kull il-fikr min kull il-qudra la yumkin ʔilla
	all the mind, all the strength. This is impossible but through
	bi-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi │ ʔil-ḥubb lahu l-qudra ʕala t-tafri:ġ
	divine love. Love has the capacity of emptying
	w-it-taṭhi:r
	and purifying
repetition (2)	ma-lha:-š masi:l │ kull wa:ḥid taʕba:n min nafsu w-ʕa:wiz
	which is beyond comparison. Everyone who suffers from himself and wants
	yifaḍḍi nafsu ma-ʔuddamu:-ṣ ġe:r ṭari:ʔ wa:ḥid ma-lu:-š ta:ni
	to empty himself he has no other way
	huwa l-ḥubb huwa l-ḥubb
	than love alone.

(MM50 – 103'1. → 103'6.)

The repeated segment in EA generally states the problem. MM switches to SA to give it more emphasis, by adding more information to what exactly we cannot obtain but through love. Then again he switches to EA and reiterates the idea expressed in the last SA line (**ʔil-ḥubb lahu l-qudra ʕala t-tafri:ġ w-it-taṭhi:r**).

context	?ana nabbaṭṭ ʕannu ?imba:riḥ walla ?awwil lamma
	I hinted at this yesterday, or the day before, when
	kunt ?a:ʕid ʕa s-su:r maʕa:ku /
	I was sitting with you beside the wall
repeated segment	ba-ʔu:l ?i:di š-šima:l di tuʕabbir ʕan / in-nafs iṭ-ṭamu:ḥa ?illi ʕawza
	and I said that the left hand symbolizes the ambitious soul that seeks
	it-tazkiyya w-ʕawza l-kara:ma | /// w-il-?i:d il-yimi:n ?illi bi-tumassil
	honor and respect. While the right hand represents
	/ ehm in-niʕma / wa::-ehm fa:ʕiliyyitha fi n-nafs bi-?ìnnaha ʕawza
	ehm, Grace that causes that the soul does not want
	?alla: waḥdu ?illi yatamaggad miš il-?insa:n | /
	but that God alone be glorified, not man.
repetition	**fa-š-šima:l taʕbi:r ʕan iṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-bašariyya**
	So the left hand symbolizes the human nature
	?il-muḥibba li-l-kara:ma w-il-ma(:)l /
	that loves dignity and money
	w-il-yimi:n taʕbi:r ʕan ?iṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-?ila:hiyya l-maġru:sa fi /
	while the right hand symbolizes the divine nature, planted in
	ehm il-?insa:n il-gadi:d ?illi la tumaggid
	ehm the new man which does not glorify
	wa-la taṭi:q ?an yumaggad ?illa l-?a:b
	and does not tolerate that anyone be glorified other than the Father
	wa-l-?ibn wa-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus |
	and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

(MM50 – 32'2. → 32'9.)

Here MM repeats the explanation of the meaning of 'left hand' and 'right hand' (Mt 6:3), in SA, by paraphrasing the idea. The use of the 1st person singular in the first part of the repeated segment (in EA) gives to the segment a personalized 'flavour,' a way to involve the listeners. The SA conclusive segment, with the final conclusive tone, gives a more objective definition.

repeated segment (EA)	repetition (SA)
ʔi:di š-šima:l di tuʕabbir ʕan / in-nafs iṭ-ṭamu:ḥa ʔilli ʕawza it-tazkiyya w-ʕawza l-kara:ma	**fa-š-šima:l taʕbi:r ʕan iṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-bašariyya ʔil-muḥibba li-l-kara:ma w-il-ma(:)l /**
the left hand expresses the ambitious soul that seeks honour and respect	***So the left hand expresses the human nature that loves dignity and money***
w-il-ʔi:d il-yimi:n ʔilli bi-tumassil / ehm in-niʕma / wa::-ehm faʕiliyyitha fi n-nafs bi-ʔìnnaha ʕawza ʔalla: waḥdu ʔilli yatamaggad miš il-ʔinsa:n	**w-il-yimi:n taʕbi:r ʕan ʔiṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-ʔila:hiyya l-maġru:sa fi / ehm il-ʔinsa:n il-gadi:d ʔilli la tumaggid wa-la taṭi:q ʔan yumaggad ʔilla l-ʔa:b wa-l-ʔibn wa-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus**
while the right hand represents ehm, Grace that causes that the soul does not want but that God alone be glorified, not man.	***while the right hand expresses the divine nature planted in, ehm, the new man which does not glorify and does not tolerate that anyone be glorified but the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.***

EXC44

context	**il-masi:ḥ ka:n bi-yara fi kull insa:n mari:ḍ ka:n bi-yara / nafsu //** ***In every sick man, Christ saw himself*** **ka:n bi-yara ʕamal ʔe:de: / ka:n bi-yara ṣu:ratu / bal ṣu:rat** ***he saw the work of his hands, he saw his image, even the image*** **il-ʔa:b //** ***of the Father.***
repeated segment	**ʔin ga:za ha:za /** ***If this is conceivable***
repetition (1)	miš ga:yiz da hu ga:yiz miyya l-miyya w-ṣaḥḥ miyya l-miyya *conceivable? This is perfectly conceivable and perfecly correct,*
repetition (2)	**ʔin ʔistaṭa:ʕ ʕaqlak ʔan yugi:z ha:za ʔaw yataṣawwar ha:za** ***if your mind is able to conceive this or imagine it.***

(MM50 - 100'.5 → 100'.8)

The parenthetical repetition (1), in EA, has a very strong impact on the hearer because it is interpolated in a slow and meditated SA context. It is as if MM, by using SA, wanted to keep distance from the statement but then he just can't cope with that so he switches to EA to give a more 'personal' and clear opinion about the fact that it is possible. Then he switches again to SA to repeat the same idea again. Repetition (2) is, in fact, a corrected elaborated version of the repeated segment.

EXC45

repeated segment	**yaʕni l-masi:ḥ lan yataxalla: ʕan gasadu ʔaw ʕan ʔinsaniyyitu**
	I mean Christ will not get rid of his body or his humanity.
	ʔabadan ma la la yumkin tataṣawwarha fi l-ʔabadiyya
	Absolutely not, this is unconceivable in the eternal life.
repetition	yaʕni miš ha-yi:gi f yo:m yitxalla ʕan gasadu fa-xala:ṣ
	I mean, he won't get rid of his body some day. Not at all.
	gasad il-masi:ḥ ʔaw ʔinsaniyyitu ʔilli xadha yasu:ʕ ʔil-ḥilw
	Christ's body or the humanity, that was taken by the good Jesus
	ʔilli ʔitrabba ʕala ḥuḍn il-ʕadra da:: xala:ṣ dah daxal il-magd
	who was raised by the Virgin, is now in the glory.

(MM136 – 14'6. → 15'3.)

Here MM repeats in EA the same idea expressed in SA, by elaborating it a bit further, i.e. that 'Christ will not get rid of his body'.

repeated segment (SA)	*repetition (EA)*
yaʕni l-masi:ḥ lan yataxalla: ʕan gasadu ʔaw ʕan ʔinsaniyyitu ʔabadan ma la la yumkin tataṣawwarha fi l-ʔabadiyya	yaʕni miš ha-yi:gi f yo:m yitxalla ʕan gasadu fa-xala:ṣ gasad il-masi:ḥ ʔaw ʔinsaniyyitu ʔilli xadha yasu:ʕ ʔil-ḥilw ʔilli ʔitrabba ʕala ḥuḍn il-ʕadra da:: xala:ṣ dah daxal il-magd
I mean Christ will not get rid of his body or his humanity. Absolutely not, this is unconceivable in the eternal life.	*I mean, he won't get rid of his body some day. Not at all.* *Christ's body or the humanity that was taken by the good Jesus who was raised by the Virgin, is now in the glory.*

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repeated segment	**bi-taštahi nafsi ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi / taštahi šahwa /**
	My soul, my beloved, fervently desires
	ʔan yatʕallam / ʔawla:d alla: ṣ-ṣura:x […]
	that God's sons learn to cry out [to him] […]
repetition	ma-fi:-š / ḥadd / min ʔawla:du / itʕallimu ṣ-ṣura:x / layla naha:r? //
	Has nobody of his chidren learnt to cry out night and day?

(MM270 – 0'1. → 0'4.)

Again, MM code-switches to reiterate an elaborated version of the same concept (in an interrogative form):

repeated segment (SA)	*repetition (EA)*
bi-taštahi nafsi ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi / taštahi šahwa / ʔan yatʕallam / ʔawla:d alla: ṣ-ṣura:x […]	ma-fi:-š / ḥadd / min ʔawla:du / itʕallimu ṣ-ṣura:x / layla naha:r? //
My soul, my beloved, fervently desires that God's sons learn to cry out [to him] […]	*Has nobody of his chidren learnt to cry out night and day?*

Chapter 5 Argumentative elaboration, prayers and dramatization of words and clauses

5.1. CONVERSATIONAL LOCUS: ARGUMENTATIVE ELABORATION; FUNCTIONS: ELABORATE, SPECIFY, EXPLAIN, EXEMPLIFY, FOCUS, DE-FOCUS, SYNTHESIZE, ANALYSE

The *locus argumentative elaboration* is the most complex because it includes a large number of functions and sub-functions, all sharing a common rhetorical mechanism of argumentative elaboration of the text. Alfonzetti agrees that this *locus* not always presents sufficiently precise formal features (1992:105). Instead, one can speak of a plurality of heterogeneous structures.

Argumentation is how speakers, in a given speech, reach conclusions through a process of logical reasoning, that is, express claims based (or not) on premises. Elaboration, which means constructing rhetorically complex discourses, is the mechanism through which this is done. Argumentation is *strictu sensu* the ensemble of the «moyens discursifs […] pour obtenir l'adhésion des esprits […] la technique utilisant le langage pour persuader et pour convaincre» (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008:9). This seems the same definition of "rhetoric" given by Aristotle in his homonymous work: «the ability in any particular case to see the available means of persuasion» (I, 2, 1355b). We will see later some important points on argumentation in religious discourse.

Because of its capacity to create contrast, CS is greatly suitable to be used as a primary tool in the argumentative elaboration in a spoken text, in bilingual contexts. This is evidenced by the fact that elaboration and argumentation is a *locus* that has been found in many studies on CS. Here CS is strictly linked to the organization of discourse (see §1.8.2. and Taine-Cheikh 2002:195). As Taine-Cheikh states «il apparaît que la variation linguistique est mise au service d'une véritable stratégie discursive» (2002:197).

Alfonzetti describes the relationship between CS and argumentative elaboration in this way: «il parlante commuta codice nel produrre enunciate che servono ad *elaborare, specificare, precisare, spiegare, esemplificare* ecc. quanto detto precedentemente nell'altro codice»[144] (Alfonzetti 1992:105; emphasis is mine), «spiegare concretamente» (Alfonzetti

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[144] «The speaker code-switches to produce utterances that serve to elaborate, specify, define, explain, exemplify, and so on, what has been mentioned earlier in the other code»

1992:107). Gumperz considered two metaphorical elaborative functions: message qualification and personalization vs. objectivization. In message qualification «one produces in the other language a segment that qualifies or specifies or comments what is said in one language» (1982:79) while in personalization vs. objectivization «the code contrast here seems to relate to such things as: *the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact*» (Gumperz 1982:80; Italics are mine). Grosjean (1982:155) too says that CS can be used for «qualifying what has been said»[145]. Berruto (1985) labels this locus *thematic progression, narrative or argumentative development*. Auer (1988:199) calls it *reformulations/elaborations* and in another situation he speaks about *answer/account or explanation of the answer* (198484) which also seems to me to be a function of this locus.

5.1.1. topicalization

Functions of this locus are multiple, as said before. Elaboration in itself can be realized in many ways one of which is the distinction between what is text, topical, conceptualization vs. comment, paraphrase, glossa. This *locus* is considered by Auer (1995:120) as a clear case of topicalization through CS. It is well-known that topicalization is a wide-spread subject in linguistics which falls within the domain of the interpretation of the utterance as *information* and is accompanied by many pragmatic mechanisms. By varying the distribution of the informative and the evaluative elements, the speaker helps the listener understand the message he wants to convey. Utterances are provided with what is called *communicative dynamism*: the lowest communicative dynamism is carried by the known elements, shared among the interlocutors while the highest communicative dynamism is carried by the non-shared or new elements that constitute the peak of information. The two main informative functions of the utterance are *topic* (also theme) and *comment* (also rheme or focus).

Topic refers to the informative element presented as "subject" of the utterance, that about which one intends to speak. By placing an item in the topical position, the speaker invites the interlocutor to store the following information as relative to the proposed topic. Comment refers to the portion of the statement that contains the higher degree of communicative dynamism. Normally the comment is placed in final position.

In an ordinary SVO sentence, topic is represented by the subject:

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[145] Other authors such as Huerta-Macias (1981) and Montes-Alcalà (2005) call this function "elaboration".

(1) *Police* arrested Gary.

(2) *Gary* was arrested by police.

Although the two sentences have the same meaning, they have different topics. In the first sentence "Police" is the topic and "arrested Gary" is the comment. The comment talks about what the subject did. In the second sentence "Gary" is the topic and "was arrested by police" is the comment. In the second sentence we are concentrated on Gary while in the first on what police did. Of course, more complex syntactic structures are possible such as:

(3) I don't care if they agree or not.

(4) If they agree or not, I don't care.

Here the subject is in both cases "I" so the topic is not the subject. In (3) topic is "I don't care" while comment is "if they agree or not" which specifies what I don't care about. In (4) topic is "if they agree or not" while comment is "I don't care" which specifies what is the opinion about the fact that they agree or not. Of course languages topicalize in many ways and different languages have different ways to topicalize: not only word order, but also intonation, syntax (passivisation for example) or lexicon ("As far as…"). In modern Romance languages and Arabic, (returning) pronouns play a key role in topicalization, for example:

(5) Le professeur, je l'ai vu hier ('I have seen the professor yesterday'; *le* (in this case shortened to *l'*) is post-poned and refers to "le professeur")

(6) Il professore, l'ho visto ieri (*lo*, shortened to *l'*, is post-poned and refers to "il professore")

(7) al-ʔustāðu raʔayatuhu ʔamsi (-hu is post-poned and refers to "al-ʔustāðu")

(8) il-usta:z šuftu mba:riḥ (-u is post-poned and refers to "il-usta:z")

In such a sentence, topicalization can take place on four elements at least: I, saw, yesterday or professor (like in the examples). Word order allows the speaker (or the writer) to focus on a particular part of the phrase or the sentence.

The topic is, therefore, the starting point of an utterance and, as such, it has a low degree of communicative dynamism. A particular type of topic is called *antitopic* that serves to enact or re-enact a topic identifiable by the interlocutors, but that the speaker believes may be inactive for the listener. This topic is placed in final position. In Romance languages this is obtained, for example, through pronouns:

(9) L'hai visto poi, quel film? ('Did you finally watch that film?')

A typical topicalization in Arabic is, of course, *al-ǧumla al-ismiyya* (=nominal sentence; see Holes 1995:160-175 and Schreiber & Anshen 1974). That which is one of

the two possible phrase structures in CA, is composed by two basic elements: *mubtada?* ('the beginning element') and *xabar* ('the piece of news, the informational element').

	mubtada?	*xabar*	
(10)	al-ðahab(u)	maʕdan(un)	'Gold is a metal'
(11)	al-qāḍiyān(i)	yaḥkumān bi-l-ʕadl	'The two judges judge with justice'
(12)	?an tattaḥidū	xayrun lakum[146]	'It is good for you to unite'

Both are *ǧumla ismiyya* ((10) and (12) are a predicative clause) because a noun starts them and not a verb. In general the *mubtada?* comes at the beginning of the phrase (*mubtada?* means 'the one which we begin with') and it is *maʕrifa* ('determinate') with some exceptions (Niʕma n.d.:29). *Xabar* gives us information about the *mubtada?* and specifies to us the content and the meaning of the *mubtada?*. Without *xabar* the phrase would be meaningless ('*ġayr mufīda*') or incomplete. *Mubtada?*, though, can be post-poned to the *xabar* (thus creating an antitopic):

	xabar muqaddam	*mubtada? muʔaxxar*	
(13)	mamnūʕ(un)	at-tadxīn	'Smoking is forbidden'
(14)	xayrun lakum	?an tattaḥidu	'It is good for you to unite'[147]
(15)	fī t-taʔannī	salāma	'Slow and steady wins the race (lit. 'In slowness safety')'

It is clear here that what is highlighted is the *xabar muqaddam*: the information has more relevance than the object or the person we are speaking about and therefore it gets focused on. Other topicalizers in Arabic are the COMP *?inna* (*?inna l-ðahaba maʕdanun*), *la-* (*la-zaydun ?afḍalu min ʕamr*), *bi-n-nisba li-*, *?amma … fa-* etc.

Topicalization is a typical mechanism of classical rhetoric too, in figures of speech like *anastrophe* (She looked at the sky dark and menacing [Normally: She looked at the dark and menacing sky), *hyperbaton* (Why should their liberty than ours be more?), *epergesis* (I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing) etc.

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[146] All the examples for the *ǧumla ismiyya* are taken from Niʕma (n.d.: 27-35)

[147] Example (11), if reversed, would become a *ǧumla fiʕliyya* because a verb would begin the phrase.

CS serves also as a topicalizer, because of its natural characteristic of creating opposition within the speech, and helps distinguishing parts felt as topic from parts felt as comment, marginal sequences (parenthesis) from core discourse, maxim from argumentation that brings to the maxim or exegesis of the maxim or generalization of the maxim, narration from moral. CS can mark a change in argumentative 'mode' to the narrative 'mode,' or within the narrative mode, a change in the informative 'block' to a comment 'block (see Grassi et al. 2006:186-187), synthesis from analysis, theory from practice, subjectivity from objectivity (as we have seen in §2.1 and §2.2).

Direction of CS seems very important. The passage from the we-code to the they-code, in fact, usually means a passage from comment to topic, from marginal sequences (parenthesis) to core discourse, argumentation to maxim, narration to moral, analysis to synthesis, practice to theory, subjectivity to objectivity for the motives described in §1.9. Arabic does not seems to be any exception. While in the two previous *conversational loci*, direction was not always meaningful, in this case the direction of CS NA ←→ SA is even more important than, for example, in the Italian case of Catania described by Alfonzetti.

5.1.2. written text vs. oral comment

Textual elements can be only quoted (§3.1.) or be elaborated with comments. These examples show the insertion of quotation, as texts, and their elaboration.

HAM2

1.

yaqu:l	**šəbli: šmayyel**	**yaḥṣal**	**il-ʔentexa:b**
he says	Šiblī Šmayyil	it happens	ART-election
iṭ-ṭabi:ʕi:	**ʔalla:ði:**	**men**	**nati:žati-hi**
ART-natural	REL	from	result-3SG

'Šiblī Šmayyil says: «A natural election takes place whose result is'

2.

mula:ša:t	**il-ḥudu:d**	**bayn**	**il-luġa:t»**	/
annihilation	ART-borders	between	ART-languages	/
yaʕni	*ha:ydi*	*radd*	*ʕala*	
I mean	DEM.M	response	to	

'the annihilation of the borders between languages». I mean, this is a response to'

3.

ʔınn-o	*fi-:*	*ʕıšri:n alf*	*ləġġa*	*bayn*	*il-bila:d*	*il-ʕarabiyya*
COMP-3SG	in-3SG.M	twenty thousand	languages	between	ART-country	ART-Arab

'the fact that there are twenty thousand languages in the Arab countries.'

4. *ši(:)   ṭabi:ʕi   il-ʔəntıxa:b   iṭ-ṭabi:ʕi   b-yxalli   wœḥde   /,/*
    thing   natural   ART-election   ART-natural   MOD.PART-it lets   one
    'It's a natural fact…the natural election lets…'
    (Hamam 2011:59-60)

The speaker quotes from a book in SA. Immediately after, he starts to comment on this quote in NA: *'I mean, this is a response to the fact etc.'* then he gets interrupted. We are in front of a clear contrast 'text' / 'comment' where the text is actually a text (a quote) and the comment is a commentary to that text. This is a typical example of what happens in mosques and churches where sacred texts are read or quoted by heart in SA and then commented in NA.

In the Muslim *xuṭab* ('sermons') analysed by Saeed, comments can also appear in SA. The reason is, according to Saeed, that the opinion of the speaker (iconicity, §3.1.4.1.) influences the message commented on. In one of the examples given by him (1997:133) the speaker comments in SA a story in which he shows the benefits and the fruitful consequences of the Islamic banking system.

5.1.3. written text vs. parenthetical oral comments

Comments to a quote (especially, if it is an oralized written text) can also be inserted *during* the reading of the written text, in the other code, marking, again, a contrast between what is text and what a parenthetical oral comment to the text. Holes (1993:27) comments this mechanism by writing that «the rhetorical principle is exactly that of the imam or the schoolteacher reading the scriptures or the set book, and then looking up from his tome to explain to the congregation or class what it means». Taine-Cheikh comments this function by saying that «le changement de code, qui marque un commentaire, est l'équivalent à l'oral de l'ouverture d'une parenthèse» (2002:196).

This *conversational locus* is very common in many bilingual communities and it is also very typical of Arabic religious discourse. Yet, I could not find any of these examples in Saeed's work (1997). In fact he did not even consider comment as a general category in his analysis, a fact which, at least, arouses curiosity. Saeed did not provide the transcribed virgin *corpus* but just his analysis and this has made it impossible to check whether or not this function is present therein.

5.1.4. marginal sequences (exophoric) vs. core discourse (endophoric)

This function is to be understood as highlighting marginal exophoric (extracontext) segments whose main purpose is to allow the execution of a series of secondary activities with respect to the endophoric *datum* (main flow or context) of the conversation. It is a kind of *suspension of the speech,* after which one returns to the main sequence. It is a phenomenon that also exists in monolinguals' speech.

ALF7

Fintanto che non c'è questo / bisogna utilizzare quello là. Però io non è che a quelli ehm ho dato il disco rigido / che che può supportare il word quattro e:: / e tutte queste cose qua. Perciò:: praticamente ci andrò / (SI)

As long as this is not there / we need to use that one. But I did not give them ehm my hard disk / that that can support Word 4 e:: / and all these things. So at the end I will go there.

Ma comu mai non sunò ccà stu cazzu ri sveglia? (CD)

But how come that this damn alarm didn't ring?

Non ha suonato! / E io praticamente poi ci andrò di pomeriggio quando devo stampare (SI)

It didn't ring! And so I will go there in the afternoon when I have to print.

(Alfonzetti 1992:72)

In example (1) M. speaks to this friend G. on the phone. the built-in alarm of M.'s computer did not ring on time. So M. suddenly stops the thread of the speech on the phone with his friend G. and comments on this fact aloud in dialect. The switch has the effect of marking the marginality of the commentary in relation to the main content. The immediately following repetition in SI serves as emphasis (double function in one segment). In the last line, M. goes back to his discourse about a laser printer.

HAM3

1. **ʔal-luġa**   **l-ʕarabiyya**   **mawžu:da**   **qabl**   **il-qurʔa:n**

    ART-language   ART-Arabic   existing   before   ART-Quran

        il-kari:m   **wa-l-luġa**   **l-ʕarabiyya/,/**

        ART-noble   CONG-ART-language   ART-Arabic

    'The Arabic language has existed since before the Noble Quran and the Arabic language…'

2.   *ma*   *tʕa:ṭəʕ-ni*   *ya*   *ʔəstœ:z*   *ʔil-i*

        NEG   you interrupt-   VOC   professor   to-1SG

            1SG

	sœ:ʕa	*ʔa:ʕed*	*sœ:ket*
	hour	I keep (being)	silent

'don't interrupt me, sir, I've been silent for an hour!'

3.	**ža:ʔa**	**l-Qurʔa:n**	**bi-ha:ðihi**	**l-luġa**
	it came	ART-Quran	with-DEM.F	ART-language
	fi	**ħæ:lat-in**	**mɪna**	**t-taṭawwor**
	in	state-ABL	from	ART-development

'The Quran came in this language in a state of development'
(Hamam 2011:57-58)

In this example (HAM3), CS has divided the SA period into two interpolated by a colloquial statement which represents a sort of 'interruption' of the main stream. The role of code interpolation is, in fact, interrupting the linguistic main flow to attract attention onto an issue out of context: '*do not stop me because I have been silent for an hour!*'

The first line and the second line of the phrase can be reunited, thus highlighting the 'intrusion' occurred in another code:

wa-l-luġa l-ʕarabiyya mawžu:da qabl il-Qurʔa:n

interruption

ža:ʔa l-Qurʔa:n bi-ha:ðihi l-luġa fi ħœ:latin mɪna t-taṭawwor

5.1.3. theory (metaphorical text) vs. practical application (metaphorical comment)

HAM4

1.	**ʔal-luġa**	**fi**	**taṭawwuri-ha:**	**yaħsal**	**maʕa-ha:**
	art-language	in	developpement-3SG.F	it happens	with-3SG.F
	ʔamræ:n	/	**tuṣbiħ**	**ʔaxṣar**	/
	thing.DU	/	she becomes	shorter	/

'Two things happen to a language as it develops: it becomes shorter,'

2.	*ʔaʔall*	*kammiyye*	/	**wa-tuṣbiħ**	**ʔaqall**	**qawa:ʕed**	)
	less	quantity	/	CONG-she becomes	less	rules	)

'- it gets smaller - and grammar lessens.'

3.	*hallaʔ*	*ʔɪza*	*ži:t*	*la-tœ:xod*	*luġa*	/,/
	now	if	you came	to-you take	language	/,/
	ʔana	*ʔeza*	*bɪdd-i*	*ʕallem*	*bə-ž-žœ:mʕa*	*dars*
	I	if	want-1SG	I teach	in-ART-university	lesson

'Now, if you take a language… if you want to teach a course[148] at university'

4.

b-yæ:xod	*maʕ-i*	*settᵊ*	*sni:n*	*be-l-ʕarabe*	*w-b-yæ:xod*
MOD.PART-it takes	with-1SG	six	years	in-ART-Arabic	CONG-MOD.PART-it takes

maʕ-i	*seni*	*ʔaw*	*sentãy(n)*
with-1SG	year	or	year.DU

'it will take you six years with Arabic (F) and one or two'

5.

be-l-ləbnæ:ne	*hu:*	*zæ:t-o*	*)*	*ma*
in-ART-Lebanese language	3SG.M	self-3SG.M	)	NEG

b-zi:d	*w-ma*	*b-naʔʔeṣ*	*kalæ:m*
MOD.PART-it increases	CONG-NEG	MOD.PART-it decreases	speech

'with Lebanese and it is the same course. I won't add or remove anything!'
(Hamam 2011:60-61)

The first part is the exposition of a personal theory (text) while the second part is the concretization of that theory.

The 'text' opens, in SA:

ʔal-luġa fi taṭawwuriha: yaḥṣal maʕaha: ʔamrœ:n / tuṣbiḥ ʔaxṣar / wa-tuṣbiḥ ʔaqall qawa:ʕed

ʔaʔll kammiyye 'in less quantity,' here, is a semantic equivalence repetition, a 'translation' of *ʔaxṣar*. The speaker seems to feel the need to clarify or emphasize 'in other words'.

After the text in SA (1-2), the 'exegesis' is in NA. This time, this part of the speech conveys a 'practical aspect' of' the text which has been formulated before. That is that it presents in a concrete way the rule expressed before: 'the language gets shorter... there I explained how, in practice,' 'in plain Arabic this means that...'.

Gumperz also finds this function when commenting on a black American preacher. He writes that «to the question of what the minister was trying to achieve by talking that way, the answer was that he was *personalizing his message* to increase audience to come to Church, rather than simply suggesting they come, and in the second case his switched remarks had the quality of *confidential 'down-to-earth' talk*» (Gumperz 1982:195; emphasis mine)

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[148] Lit. 'lesson'.

5.1.4. detachment vs. involvement

BOU8

wa:š yiqullu ʕumar bnu l-xaṭṭa:b? asmaʕ ya / (AA)

What did 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab say to him? Listen

ya ʔaba l-ḥasan ʔaǧlis ʔila xaṣmika l-yahu:di / (SA)

Abu al-Hasan, sit next to your Jewish adversary /

ʔaǧlis maʕa:h kifki:f (AA)

sit with him at the same level

(Boucherit 2002:245)

The passage is in AA. SA gives the objective 'text' that is then personalized, to involve the listeners.

BAS3

1 **θa:niyan / ʔiṣla:ḥu l-xalali fi l-miza:ni t-tuga:ri / ʕan ṭari:qi ziya:dati**   (SA)

   Secondly, redressing the deficit in the trade balance, by increasing

   ṣ-ṣadira:t wa-tarši:di l-ʔisti:ra:d / fa qaḍiyyatu ṣ-ṣa:dira:ti l-miṣriyya

   exports and controlling imports. This is because the issue of the Egyptian exports

   qaḍiyyatun maṣi:riyya / yagib ʔan tašǧala ʔihtim:ami kullu l-fiʔa:t /

   is a crucial issue that has to occupy the minds of everyone

   allati tataḥammalu ga:niban min ʕibʔ / wa-masʔu:liyyati l-ʔinta:gi fi maṣr /

   who is is involved in Egyptian production. This issue should also occupy the mind

   wa kullu l-muʔassasa:ti / allati taʕmalu min agli sala:mati l-ʔiqtiṣa:di l-maṣri /

   of all establishments that work for the security of the Egytpian economy

   [...]

2 da ʔana marra ʔana kunt / fi šarm iš-ši:x / ʕarfi:n iṭ-ṭayyara:t   (EA)

   I was in Sharm El Sheikh the other day. Do you know these kites

   illi kunna b-niʕmilha fi l-fallaḥi:n di / il-waraʔ di / wi-nilzaʔha bi-bu:ṣ

   we used to make in the countryside? the ones made from papers, the ones we used to fix with reed

   wi-kuryit duba:ra wi-nṭayyarha / gaybinha mi l-barazi:l /

   and a piece of string and then we would let them fly? They import these kites from Brazil!

   / ṭabʕan da mablaġ ha:yif / bi-yʔul-lak

   Of course this is a trivial amount of money. Then someone comes and tells you

   wi-da mablaġ? / ʔana ba-ḍrab masal /

   "is this an amount worth bothering about?" But I am just giving and example.

šaryinha mi l-barazi:l [applause]

They buy them from Brazil! [applause]

(Bassioney 2006:174-175; translation is the author's, transcription slightly adapted)

Bassiouney comments this excerpt of one of the discourses of the former Egyptian president Ḥusnī Mubārak twice: when talking about the role the speaker wants to play *vis-à-vis* the audience and when discussing detachment and involvement. In the first case, she says that CS signals the passage from the role of 'governor – governed' to that of 'good old friend' or 'fellow Egyptian' (see also §1.8.3.). In the second case (involvement) she comments the CS by saying that «Mubarak decides to *tell a story* to explain a fact, which increases the level of involvement of the audience. The story is very appealing to the audience because it involves *allusions to shared childhood memories*» (2006:212; her emphasis).

SAE5

1 **?amma   fi: bila:di   l-muslimi:n /   fa-?inna   l-muslimi:n /   (SA)**
   as for   in   countries   the-Muslims   CONJ-INTENS   the-Muslims
   In Muslim countries, instead, Muslims

2 **la   yuġa:miru:na   fi: d-dixu:li   fi: ḥarbin   maʕa   alla:h /   (SA)**
   not   they venture   in   the-entering   war   with   God
   do not venture to launch a war against God

3 la: la: la: la: la: ma-ba-dxul   ?aḥa:rib   alla:h /   (YA)
   no   no   no   no   no   no-MOD-I enter   I fight   God
   No, no, no, no,no – I will not fight God

4 **yuʕarriḍu:na   ?ima:nahum   li-ḍ-ḍaya:ʕ [...]   (SA)**
   they jeopardize   their faith   to-loss
   They jeopardize their faith to be lost.

(Saeed 1997:125)

Saeed comments this example by saying that, in order to emphasize this point further, the Muslim Yemeni scholar, al-Zandanī, repeats the message by assuming «the voice of an ordinary Muslim individual, who prefers to remain poor rather than deal with usury, uttering the words that such a Muslim might say when asked to join in usurious dealing» (1997:126). This takes place in YA. In doing this, the speaker shows involvement and brings himself closer to his audience. It appeals to the audience's emotions to amplify

the point and make himself more convincing. NA is used «as a marker of the less sophisticated, weak or innocently naive» (Saeed 1997:127).

5.1.5. contrastive elaboration

Contrastive elaboration serves to distinguish what should be done from what is the actual reality.

BOU9
ʕindama: taġḍub / qul l-ḥaqq / (SA)
When you get angry / say the truth
/ aḥna ʕindama[149] yiġḍub / l-ʔinsa:n yimḥi:lu kull il-ḥasana:t nta:ʕu / ma-yibayyin ʔilla s-siyyiʔa:t nta:ʕu (AA)
when man gets angry (from another) he wipes out (from memory) all his good deeds and he only stresses his bad deeds
(Boucherit 2002:238)

CS can be elicited in rhetorical questions that concern contrastive elaboration.

BOU10
[a] l-ʕadlu huwa ʔasa:su l-ḥaya:t / bihi qa:mat is-samawa:tu w-l-ʔarḍ // (SA)
Justice is the base of life. Through it skies and earth were founded
wi:n l-ʕadl ḥna bi-l-mutaxa:ṣim? // il-ʔinṣa:f ma-ʕandna:-š (AA)
where is justice? We argue. We don't have justice.
(Boucherit 2002:237)

In this example the switch is SA → AA although it could be the reverse too. Here I suppose that it is a real-life question ('Justice is theoretically the base but where is it in our lives').

BOU11
ixtalaft nta w-ʔinsa:n fi masʔala fiqhiyya qa:la / walla:hi fula:n na:da / fi kaθi:r min masa:ʔila ʔuṣi:b / wala:kin fi ha:ðihi ʔaxṭaʔa / (SA)
If you and a person diverge over a jurisprudential matter, he says "By God so-and-so has said the right thing in a lot of questions but he was wrong in so-and-so".

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[149] I consider this a tag borrowing. Boucherit also considers line 2 as AA.

ḥna nqu:lu la ha:ða ma-yafham-ši fi:ha / ma-yaʕraf-š ḥatta ši (AA)

As for us, we say: "Oh no, this man does not understand anything, he knows perfectly nothing"

(Boucherit 2002:242)

Here too, it is evident that here it is the contrary: SA marks what it is not correct and AA what is the correct evaluation.

HAM5

1. | *Yaʕni* | *ha:ydi* | *radd* | *ʕala* |
    |---|---|---|---|
    | I mean | DEM.M | response | to |

    'I mean, this is a responseto'

2. | *ʔınn-o* | *fi-:* | *ʕıšri:n alf* | *ləġġa* | *bayn* | *il-bila:d* | *il-ʕarabiyya* |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | COMP-3SG | in-3SG.M | twenty thousand | language | between | ART-countries | ART-Arab |

    'the fact that there are twenty thousand languages in the Arab countries.'

3. | *ši(:)* | *ṭabi:ʕi* | *il-ʔəntıxa:b* | *iṭ-ṭabi:ʕi* | *b-yxalli* | *wœḥde* | ... |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | thing | natural | ART-election | ART-natural | MOD.PART-it lets | one | |

    'It's a natural fact…the natural election lets one…'

4. | **ʔal-luġa** | **la** | **tataġayyar** | **bi-qara:r** | **mın** | **muʔassasa** | **wa-law** |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | ART-language | NEG | she changes | with-decision | from | institution | and-if |

    'Language does not change by decree even if'

5. | **kæ:nat** | **il-muʔassasa** | **dikta:to:riyya** | **/** | **la** | **yastaṭi:ʕ** | **ʔayy** | **zaʕi:m** |
    |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
    | she was | ART-institution | dictatorial | / | NEG | he can | any | leader |

    'it were a dictatorial institution to issue it. No leader of any state of the region [Middle East] can'

6. | **il-yãw(m)** | **fi** | **duwal** | **il-manṭeqa** | **ʔan** |
    |---|---|---|---|---|
    | ART-day | in | states | ART-region | that(DECL) |
    | **yaqu:l** | **sa-ʔuġayyer** | | **il-luġa** | | |
    | he says | FUT-I change | | ART-language | | |

    'say, today: I will change language.'

7. | **ʔal-luġa** | **tataġayyar** | **ʕıbr** | **il-ḥaya:t** |
    |---|---|---|---|
    | ART-language | changes | through | ART-life |

    'Language changes through life.'

    (Hamam 2011:61-62)

In the latter example (HAM5) the NA part, which represents the comment to the quote, opens up. After this short analytical part in NA, the speaker switches to SA and offers a 'maxim,' the synthesis of what he has said so far: *ʔal-luġa la tataġayyar bi-qara:r min muʔassasa* 'language does not change by decree of an institution'. The expression sounds like a slogan. Another maxim that has just been expressed has got a gloss that goes on in SA (4-5). Then again, a new maxim: *la yastaṭi:ʕ ʔayy zaʕi:m il-yãw(m) fi duwal il-manṭeqa ʔan yaqu:l sa-ʔuġayyer il-luġa* 'No leader of any state of the region [Middle East] can say "I will change language"'. After saying what language *is not*, RR explicits what language *is*. The used code remains SA which expresses a further maxim: *ʔal-luġa tataġayyar ʕibr il-haya:t* 'Language change through life'. To paraphrase Holes' words about 'Abd al-Nāṣir's speeches, we face a maxim that count for all times, a dogmatic explicitation that might be also an excerpt from a book of linguistics. It is SA to be felt as a tool to convey this synthesis.

5.1.6. analysis vs. synthesis

HAM6

1.
lamma	*ʔənt*	*bə-tbaṭṭel*	*bak*	*təstaʕmel*	
when	2SG.M	MOD.PART-you stop	COMP.2SG.M	you use	
ʔawœ:ʕed	/	*w-bə-tbaṭṭel*	*təʕtal*	*hamm*	*ki:f*
rules	/	CONG-MOD.PART-you stop	you bear	concern	how

'When you stop using rules, you stop getting concerned'

2.
bak	*tfakker*	*ʔıza*	*be-tʔu:l*	*ḍamma*	*ʔaw*	*fatḥa*
COMP.2SG.M	you think	if	MOD.PART-you say	*ḍamma*	CONG	*fatḥa*
ʔaw	*kasra*	*ʔaw*	*muʔannas*	*ʔaw*	*muzakkar*	/
CONG	*kasra*	CONG	feminine	CONG	masculine	/

'with using 'u', 'a' or 'i'[150], male or female,'

3.
sa:ʕıt-a	*fi:-k*	*təbdeʕ*		
hour-3SG.F	in-2SG.M(=you can)	you are creative		

'by then you will be able to be creative.'

4.
ʔızan	**la:**	**ʔıbdæ:ʕ**	**bi-luġa**
then	NEG	creativity	in-language
lam taʕod		**maḥkiyyi**	
NEG returns(=not anymore)		spoken	

---

[150] *Ḍamma, fatḥa* and *kasra*.

'So no creativity with a language which is no more spoken.'
(Hamam 2011:62)

This example represents the opposite of the function written text vs. oral comment (§5.1.2.). There, analysis follows the maxim or the general statement. Here, as in the example quoted by Badawī (§1.8.1.1.), synthesis follows analysis. The final statement expresses the natural result of the discourse, it condenses it into a single period which is expressed in SA, after an NA elocution.

5.1.7. fixation of rules

CS to SA can have the function of fixing rules, especially negative rules.

TAI1

ḥadd ka:məl ma: yaʕṛav maʕnæ l-quṛʔa:n (MA)

The one who does not know the meaning of the Quʔān

la: yusamma: ʕa:liman (SA)

cannot be named ʕālim

(Taine-Cheikh 2002:195)

5.1.9. (story) frame vs. (story) climax

Telling stories, in general, represents, in bilingual contexts, an important occasion in which *CS* is involved and, in particular, its ability to create a linguistic contrast. Alfonzetti writes that «the contrastive function of code-switching may also be exploited to enact other changes in footing that occur during story-telling: for example *to underline the climax of a story, to set off the setting from the events, to report the utterances of the characters in the story, to frame comments, to differentiate narrative from evaluative talk*» (1998:195; italics are mine).

The next example is taken from Alfonzetti (1998:195-196)

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1   **Na volta, di carnevale, avevo diciotto anni,** non è ca rici era vecchia, **e m'aveva comprato, mia mamma me l'aveva regalato, un vestito. Era bellissimo, però era molto scollato di dietro, davanti no […] (SI)**
     Once, it was Carnival, I was 18, you can't say I was old, and I had bought myself, my mother had given it to me as a present, a dress. It was wonderful, but it was very low cut at the back, not at the front. […]

2   Pecciò iù rissi 'non mi nni mettu' picchì si vireva dda striscia di reggipettu. Rissi 'Non mi nni mettu'. Rissi 'non ci rugnu a ssèntiri nenti'. Ni nni emu a bballari. Tannu èrumu, unni èrumu? â Pedara. **Insomma, era un bel locale**. Tutti, me cugnati, amici, cosi. Lei cci criri? mentri ca èrumu ddà, fìcimu u primu bballu…u secunnu …si nn'accuggìu!

So I said to myself 'I'm not wearing a bra' because you could see a strip of the bra. I said 'I'm not wearing one'. I said 'I won't let him know'. We went dancing. That time we were, where were we? At Pedara. Anyway, it was a nice night-club. Everybody, my sisters and brothers-in law, my friends, everyone. Would you believe it? While we were there, we had one dance…then another…then he noticed!

Alfonzetti comments this example by saying that the story is introduced by a conventional temporal locating device, followed by some information on the setting, in SI. Then the speaker switches into dialect to give an evaluative comment on her age at the time of the events being told. In doing this she differentiates *objective information* (*avevo diciotto anni* 'I was 18') and *personal evaluation* (*non è ca rici era vecchia* 'you can't say I was old'). Later on in the story, there is a second comment - in which the speaker positively evaluates the night-club where they had decided to go dancing (*Insomma, era un bel locale* 'Anyway, it was a nice night-club'), this time in SI. In Alfonzetti's corpus, in fact, the direction in CS is seldom meaningful. What is important is creating a contrast. She says: «This is a pattern which regularly occurs in almost all the stories in the data» (Alfonzetti 1998:196). Here SI frames the story while CD marks the climax.

HAM7

1. **yaʕni**   **ʔana**   **lada-yya**   **ʔamθɪla**   /   *bass*
     I mean   1SG   at-1SG   examples   /   CONG
     bɪdd-i   *ʔəqul-l-ak*   *šaġle*   /   *yaʕni*   *fi-:*
     want-1SG   I say-a-2SG.M   thing   /   I mean   in-3SG.M
     'I mean, I've got some examples, but I want to tell you one thing. I mean,'

2. *karikate:r*   *šəft-o*   *qabəl*   *fatra*   *ʕam*
     cartoon   I saw-3SG.M   before   period   DUR
     b-qu:l   *yaʕni*   *wa:ḥed*   *ža:yeb*   *ʔəbn-o*
     MOD.PART-it says   I mea   one   bearer   son-3SG.M
     some time ago, I saw a cartoon which tells about a person who took his son'

3. *ʕala*   *madrase*   /   **ʔata:**   **bi-bni-hi**
     to   school   /   he came   with-son-3SG.M

	ʔila	l-madrasa	wa-yaqu:l	li-l-muʕallem	/
	to	ART-school	CONG-he says	to-ART-teache	/

'to school...he took his son to school and said to the teacher:'

4.

	ʔaržu:-k	ʔan	tuʕallem	ʔɪbn-i	ʔal-ʔinkli:ziyya
	I beg-2SG.M	COMP	you teach	son-1SG	ART-English language

	ʔaw	il-faransiyya	ʔaw	šu	sm-o
	CONG	ART-French language	CONG	what(Q)	name-3SG.M

'I beg you to teach my son English or French or – what's its name? -

5.

	ʔaw	il-balži:kiyya	ʔaw	il-ʔespa:niyya	ʔaw	ʔila
	CONG	ART-Belgian language	CONG	ART-Spanish language	CONG	to

	ma	huna:lek	bass	ʔo:ʕa	tʕalm-o	ʕarabi	/!/
	what	there	CONG	move away	you teach-3SG.M	Arabic language	/!/

'Belgian or Spanish but don't dare teach him Arabic!'
(Hamam 2011:63-64)

This example shows how CS is used to tell a story, in particular, a joke. It is known that few Arabs would dare tell jokes in SA because it is likely that they would become themselves a standing joke. If a well-known anchor-man as Fayṣal al-Qāsim (the speaker here) feels somehow 'allowed' to tell a story in SA, however he does not evade the rhetorical mechanisms described above.

In this example, there are three initial switchings that are not of a rhetorical nature. Fayṣal al-Qāsim begins in SA with an expression that can be considered as 'fixed,' which is present in his own vocabulary of anchor-man (see Khalil 2000). Pressed by describing a cartoon, Fayṣal al-Qāsim switches to NA and he then feels the used code to be 'incorrect,' 'inappropriate'. It is the common function of 'self-correction'. For this reason, he sharply re-switches to SA, translating an NA segment in SA with a clear SA expression, *ʔata: bi-*, clearly perceivable as SA compared to the previous verbal form, *ža:yeb*, clearly perceived as NA. Then he begins telling his joke. The whole joke is in SA except for the final quip, the climax of the story, which is said in A using a typical syntactic construction of NA. After the narrative 'tension' that is perceivable in SA, we have the final 'relaxing fall,' in NA, which heralds fluent laughs. Or, more simply, the quip would not have made people laugh in SA as much as it does in NA. It would have seemed 'artificial,' almost like a political slogan or a religious prohibition: *wa-lākin ʔiyyāka ʔan tuʕallimahu l-ʕarabiyya.*

5.2. Argumentative elaboration in the corpus

We have seen in §5.1. in details what the *conversational locus* of the argumentative elaboration is about and what are its functions, namely elaborating, specifying, defining, explaining, exemplifying, focusing, de-focusing, synthesizing, analysing, differentiating rhetorical material.

In homily a threefold process of argumentative formation takes place that, far from being clearly separate, intersects all the time:

1. *Immediacy* (basically quoting from sacred texts or theological truths);

2. *Reflection* (basically explanation of the theological truth);

3. *Praxis* (basically application of theological truth in real life) (see Buttrick 1987:319-445)

It is like a visitor to a museum that 1. stands before a painting to get a first impression; 2. he then sits or moves away a little to better think about the painting or about the impression that the painting has made on him, 3. the visitor leaves the gallery with visual and emotional impressions and sees the world differently. In homily this process corresponds to: 1. immediate formation of an understanding; 2. reflection on the understanding; 3. looking at the world from the perspective of understanding.

5.2.1. SUBLOCUS: TEXT (QUOTATION) VS. ORAL COMMENT

This is a mechanism of differentiating rhetorically divergent parts of the text typical of the religious discourse as shown in §5.1.2: sacred texts are quoted in SA and successively commented in EA, when the SA text ends. This is not always the case for MM since he also quotes some verses of the Gospel, at least partially, in EA (see above). Normally the direction of CS is meaningful: text is in SA while comment is in EA. This is explained by Boucherit in these terms: «Il semble que le passage du classique au dialectal a plutôt une fonction de signal: inique aux interlocuteurs que le locuteur délaisse l'instance de la constatation atemporelle – dans laquelle la plupart des énoncés se manifestent – pour instaurer une relation plus personelle avec eux. De manière plus ou moins consciente, l'orateur signifie ainsi qu'il quitte le domaine de l' "éternel", pour aborder celui du "temporel"» (2002:148).

1. **maggid ibnak li-yumàggidak ibnak ʔayḍan | / ʔið ʔaʕṭaytahu**
   Glorify Your Son, that Your Son also may glorify You, as You have given Him
   sulṭa:nan ʕala kulli gasad li-yuʕṭi ḥaya:tan abadiyya
   authority over all flesh, that He should give eternal life
   li-kulli man ʔaʕṭàytahu | / ha:ðihi hiya l-ḥaya:t il-ʔabadiyya ʔan yaʕrifu:k /
   to as many as You have given Him. And this is eternal life, that they may know
   ʔanta l-ʔila:h il-ḥaqi:qi / waḥduk wa-yasuʕ il-masi:ḥ illa:ði ʔarsaltu(h) |
   You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom You have sent.
   […] ʔamma ʔana fa-ʕariftak wa-haʔula:ʔ ʕarifu ʔànnaka ʔanta ʔarsaltani /
   but I have known You; and these have known that You sent Me.
   wa-ʕarràftahum ʔismak wa-sa-ʔuʕarrifhum li-yaku:na fi:hum ʔal-ḥubb
   And I have declared to them Your name, and will declare it, that the love
   ʔalla:ði ʔaḥbàbtani bi:-(h) wa-ʔaku:n ʔana fi:hum» | ///
   with which You loved Me may be in them, and I in them.

2. il-aṣḥa:ḥ kullu ṣaḥi:ḥ ma-zukir-ši fi: bi-wuḍu:ḥ ʔilla l-ʔa:ya l-ʔaxi:ra ʕan il-maḥabba
   It is true that, in the whole chapter, only in the last verse love has been clearly mentioned;
   wala:kin il-kala:m kullu ʕa:ṭir ʕa::ṭir
   nevertheless, all the words diffuse the fragrance of
   bi-l-ḥubb ir-raqi:q | […]
   tender love.

(MM50 – 1'4. → 2'2. [...] 5'1. → 5'4. […])

MM reads the entire chapter of Jn 17 in SA and then he switches at once into EA to comment it. Written text is contrasted with MM's commentary to it. This is a typical example of what happens in mosques and churches where sacred texts are read or quoted by heart in SA and then commented in NA.

1. **ʔan tuḥibb ir-rabb ʔila:hak min kulli qalbika w-min kulli nafsika**
   To love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul,
   w-min kulli fikrika w-min kulli qudratika ʔàrbaʕa qalb
   with all your mind, and with all your strength. Four: heart,
   w-nafs w-fikr w-qudra | ///
   soul, mind, strength.

2. dah ba-sammi: ʔana l-ḥubb / ʔil-ʔila:hi /// ʔid-da:xili // ġe:r il-manḏu:r |

   This I call the "divine love," the inner, invisible one.

(MM50 – 23'2. → 23'1.)

The same happens in this example. The verse here (Mk 12:30) is quoted by heart in SA and then starts the gloss in EA. It is indicative that the EA gloss starts with the DEM *dah*. Data confirm that a great number of CS SA → EA begins with DEM or *fa-* or *yaʕni* that seem to be strong *discourse markers*, i.e. elements that reveal speakers' intentions, attitudes and plans for the text organization relative to elements of discourse and connect different parts of the discourse: «these are morphemes which signal cataphoric or anaphoric coherency relations, and which, given their peripheral position, potentially signal discourse boundaries» (Owens & Rockwood 2008:97). In particular Owens & Rockwood see three main elaborative functions for *yaʕni*: (1) it delivers more specific information than what was said; (2) it generalizes from what was said, or (3) introduces information of the same status, as for instance in a paraphrase (2008:92). In this cases *dah* serves to introduce a CS that generalizes the quote.

EXC49

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1. fa::-lamma b-ʔu:l **lana θiqa min ad-duxu:l ila l-ʔaqda:s**

   *So when I say **having boldness to enter the Holiest***

   bi-damm yasu:ʕ ṭari:qan ḥayyan ehm ḥadi:θan karrasahu lana

   by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he consecrated for us

   bi-l-ḥiga:b ʔay bi-gàsadihi

   through the veil, that is, his flesh.

2. ehm ehm da ṭari:q il-ḥubb / ṭari:q il-ḥubb ʔilli huwwa ʔassisu l-masi:ḥ

   Ehm, this is the path of love, the path of love founded by Christ

   bi-l-gasad il-maksu:r w-id-damm il-masfu:k

   with his broken body and his shed blood.

(MM50 – 49'6. → 50'1.)

Here again MM quotes by heart from Heb 10:19-20.

فَإِذْ لَنَا أَيُّهَا الإِخْوَةُ ثِقَةٌ بِالدُّخُولِ إِلَى «الأَقْدَاسِ» بِدَمِ يَسُوعَ، 20 طَرِيقًا كَرَّسَهُ لَنَا حَدِيثًا حَيًّا، بِالْحِجَابِ، أَيْ جَسَدِهِ

Therefore, brethren, having boldness to enter the Holiest by the blood of Jesus,
20 by a new and living way which He consecrated for us, through the veil, that
is, His flesh.

In line 2 MM briefly comments in EA the expression **ṭari:qan ḥayyan ehm
ḥadi:θan**. He refers to the 'text' and says that '*this* (the one quoted part) is the way of
love, i.e. the one of which Saint Paul speaks here'. See §1.8.2.1.

EXC50

1. **ṭu:ba li-ðawi l-ʕuyu:n il-muni:ra li-ʔanna agsa:dahum kullaha ṭa:hira**
   Blessed are the luminous-eyed people because their whole bodies are pure.
2. le:ʔ **la:bisi:n ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus | // gasadak kullu yaku:n / nayyir /**
   Why? They are clothed with the Holy Spirit. Your whole body is full of light.
   le:ʔ la:bis in-nu:r miš kala:m min ʕandi / il-ʔaba:ʔ ma-gabu:-š ḥa:ga
   Why? You are clothed with light. This is not my saying, nor the Fathers made it up.
   da l-ʔingi:l epnevmatufo:rus [πνευματοφόρος] |
   This is the Gospel: πνευματοφόρος [bearer of the Spirit]

(MM50 – 62'3. → 66'6.)

Here MM elaborates a quotation from Lk 11:34

سَرَاجُ الْجَسَدِ هُوَ الْعَيْنُ، فَمَتَى كَانَتْ عَيْنُكَ بَسِيطَةً فَجَسَدُكَ كُلُّهُ يَكُونُ نَيِّرًا

The lamp of the body is the eye. Therefore, when your eye is good, your whole
body also is full of light.

He starts with a personal re-elaboration of the quote itself in SA, which sound like a
'beatitude' (on the model of Mt 5). Then he only switches to EA to ask 'why' and then he
proposes a further definition in SA, again a partial quotation of the verse in SA and again
the second *le:ʔ* triggers a comment which is somehow a further repetition of the concept.

EXC51

1. **la tuʕarrif šima:lak ma taṣnaʕ yami:nak | //**
   Do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing.
2. ma hu miš mumkin nixabbi | šu:f il-ibda:ʕ šu:f il-iʕga:z
   The fact is that we cannot hide it. See the ingenuity and the extraordinariness
   fi t-taʕbi:r | / ʔana ʔultilku fi l-ʔawwal hal mumkin wa:ḥid yiʔdar yixabbi
   in these words. I asked you at the beginning: can anyone hide
   fiʕl il-maḥabba ʔilli bi-yiʕmilu l-qari:bu? ṭabb il-ʔaxx fawzi taʕba:n
   the act of love that he offers to his neighbour? Take, for example, brother Fawzy. He is ill,

w-ana ʔumt ga:ri min ʔallayti gibti-lu dawa w-ruḥt ʔallaytu w-saʔalt ʕale:

so I [first] run to my cell to bring him some medicine, then I go to his cell to ask about his health

w-iddithu:lu min ma-ša:f... miš ha-yašufni? da d-de:r kullu

and I give him the medicine. Who is he who won't notice that? The whole monastery

ʕala rigl waḥda ha-yišufni | / w-inta šuft ʔabu:na? da nizil min ʔallaytu

will watch me doing that in eager expectation. "Did you see abūnā? He came out of his cell

bi-l-le:l w-ra:ḥ gary ʕala ʔalla:yit fula:n w-gab-lu d-dawa ʕamma:l...

by night, went running to So-and-so's cell and brought him medicine, he is...

ya li-l-maḥabba ya: sala:m! ṭabb ma na ḍiʕt ana [xxxxxxxxxx] /

What a love! Oh my goodness!" But I risk to get lost in this way.

ṭabb ʔeh il-ʕamal? ʔe: ʔayt iḍ-ḍama:n baʔa / ʔinn il-fiʕl / il-ʔila:hi

So, what do we have to do, what is the verse that ensures me that this divine act,

fiʕl il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi da / ma-yitsarrab-ši w-yinzil il-ʔarḍ w-yiru:ḥ minni?

this divine act of love, will not sneak away from me, fall through and get lost?

bi-yiʔu:l ʔe:?

It says:

3. **la tuʕarrif šima:lak ma taṣnaʕ yami:nak [rises a laugh] |**

   Do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing. [rises a laugh]

4. ʔana ʔana lli ba-ʕmil bass la:zim ʔaxabbi ʕan nafsi miš ha-xabbi ʕan in-na:s

   The one who works is me but I have to hide this from myself. I cannot hide it from people

   li-ʔinn miš mumkin ʔaxabbi ʕan in-na:s | ʔabu:na bšo:y ʕaw... / ʕa:wiz xidma

   because I cannot hide it from people. [For instance] father Pishoi needs something

   yiʔu:m yi:gi ʔabu:na maka:ri gary yiru:ḥ bi-ʔalb maftu:ḥ gary yiru:ḥ

   so father Macarius runs to him with open heart, he goes

   li-ʔabu:na bšo:y yiʔul-lu ṭalabata:k w-yigri gary ta:ni

   to father Pishoy, he asks him "What can I bring you?". Then he runs

   w-yigib-lu w-yiru:ḥ gary ta:lit / ya sala:m

   again and he brings him [what he asked], then he breaks into a run again. Oh my!

   ʔe: il-ḥubb da?

   What is this love?

(MM50 – 30'5. → 31'9.)

The quotation from Mt 6:3, in line 1 and 3., has already been discussed (EXC40, §2.4.3). Here what seems clear is that MM starts from the quote in SA and then elaborates it with brief glosses (*mahu miš mumkin nixabbi | šu:f il-ibda:ʕ šu:f il-iʕga:z fi t-taʕbi:r ; ʔana*

ʔana lli ba-ʕmil bass la:zim ʔaxabbi ʕan nafsi miš ha-xabbi ʕan in-na:s li-ʔinn miš mumkin ʔaxabbi ʕan in-na:s) that paves the way to two fictional examples.

EXC52

1. **la daynu:na l-ʔa:n ʕala llaði:na hum fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ |**
   There is therefore now no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus.

2. le:ʔ fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ en xristu [εν Χριστώ] / badam fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ
   Why? Because we are in Christ, εν Χριστώ. As long as we are in Christ Jesus,
   yibʔa yastaḥi:l fi: daynu:na le:ʔ li-ʔinnu l-xaṭiyya ltaḥamit bi:
   it is impossible that there is any condemnation. Why? Because sin has sticked to him
   xaṭiyyiti ltaḥamit bi: w-ma:t bi:-ha miš mumkin yimu:t itne:n
   my sin has sticked to him. And he [Christ] died with it. Two cannot die
   bi-sabab xaṭiyya waḥda da l-qanu:n qaḍa:ʔi
   for a single sin, this is the judicial law.

(MM136 – 50'1. → 50'4.)

Quotation from Rom 8:1 is followed by a CS into EA to explain the verse.

EXC53

1. ʔit-tarti:la bi-tʔu:l
   The chant goes:

2. **ma ʔaḥla: sa:ʕatan ʔaxlu fi:ha maʕa l-ḥabi:b |**
   "How beautiful is that hour that I spend alone with the one I love"

3. wi-n-na:s nayma wi-ṣ-ṣura:x wi-l-ʔani:n / yaxrug min ʕumq il-qalb |
   while people are asleep, and the cry and the moan come out from deep of the heart
   huwa huwa ḥalna yiʕgib ḥadd? huwa / be:ni w-be:nak
   Is our state acceptable to anybody? Frankly speaking,
   ḥa:l il-kini:sa w-ḥa:l qulubna yirḍi l-malayka fi s-sama?
   are the angels in the sky happy with the Church's state and that of our hearts?

(MM270 – 6'4. → 7'3.)

After quoting the chant in SA, MM comments it in EA.

5.2.2. SUBLOCUS: TEXT (QUOTATION) VS. PARENTHETICAL COMMENT

Comments to a SA quote (especially, if it is an oralized written text) are also inserted *during* the reading of the written text, in EA, marking, again, a contrast between what is 'text' and what are 'parenthetical asides' to the text. One opens a brief parenthesis to the core text to go back again to this latter.

EXC54

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1. **ʔal-maḥabba la: taḥsid / ʔal-maḥabba la: tatafa:xar wa-la tantafix /**
   Love does not envy; love does not parade itself, is not puffed up;
   la: taqbuḥ wa-la: taṭlub ma: li-nafsiha: / la: taḥtadd wa-la: taḏunn as-su:ʔ /
   does not behave rudely, does not seek its own, is not provoked, thinks no evil;
   la: tafraḥ bi-l-ʔiθm bal tafraḥ bi-l-ḥaqq | / taḥtamil kull šayʔ
   does not rejoice in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth; bears all things

2. bass it-targama iṣ-ṣaḥi:ḥa / stegi: [στέγει] yaʕni bi-l-yuna(:)ni **tġaṭṭi ʕala l-ʕuyu:b**
   but the correct translation of the word στέγει in Greek is "it covers faults
   ʔaw taʕbur ʕale:ha fi ṣamt / ʔaw tusa:miḥ wa-tuʕṭi ʕuðr /
   or it passes over them in silence, or forgives, or gives excuses"
   da min il-qamu:s il-kibi:r | //
   From the big dictionary[151].

3. **taḥtamil kull šayʔ di ʔil-ʔaḍʕaf fi t-taʕbi:r wala:kin tuġaṭṭi ʕala ʕuyu:b**
   bears everything, this is the weakest translation. Rather, it covers faults.

4. yabdu: ʔinn iẓ-ẓa:hir ʔanba maqa:rius ka:n ʕa:rifha kida | /
   Apparently, Saint Macarius used to know this verse in this way.

5. **tuġaṭṭi ʕala ʕuyu:b il-ʔaxari:n fi ṣamt |**
   [Loves] covers the others' faults silently.

6. hiya katabha **taḥtamil taḥtamil** ḍaʕi:fa / ḍaʕi:fa fi l-mafhu:m /
   They have translated it "bears". "Bears" is imprecise.

7. **ʔinnama hiya tuġaṭṭi ʕala l-ʕuyu:b / ʔaw tusa:miḥ wa-tuʕṭi ʕuðr /**
   In fact it means "it covers faults, forgives and gives excuses"
   fi l-mafhu:m il-ʔaxla:qi |
   according to the moral meaning.

(MM50 – 12'2. → 13'2.)

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[151] He refers to LIDDLE, Henry George & SCOTT, Robert (1843, first edition) (eds.). *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford. Clarendon Press. Of the dictionary there exist three sizes that are referred to as "The Little Liddell", "The Middle Liddell" and "The Big Liddell". MM refers to "The Big Liddell", that is why he calls it *il-qamu:s il-kibi:r*. From an interview with brother Wadīd al-Maqārī.

While quoting 1Cor 13:7 MM opens a parenthesis in line 2 to comment the Arabic translation of the Greek word στέγει that has been translated in the Van Dyck's Arabic Bible as **taḥtamil**, a translation that he criticizes. It is worth noticing that while the parenthesis is opened by an EA discourse marker (*bass*) which marks the CS, MM reuses SA to give a redefinition or the correct Arabic retranslation of στέγει. In line 3 he resumes in SA the translation and his retranslation interpolating a further parenthetical commentary in EA. In line 4 he adds a further extratextual comment. Again, in line 5 he repeats what he has said in line 3 in a slightly more detailed way.

EXC55

1. **taḥtamil kulla šayʔ…**
   [Love] bears everything…
2. bass ʔana mzawwid kilma ʕalaša:n yiba:n il-ʔa:ya | ḥa-ʔu:l il-kilma
   But I will add a word so that the verse will be clearer. I will add a word
   w-di miš mawgu:da kilmit min alla min alla min alla ha-zkurha kti:r |
   which is not there, "through God, through God, through God", I will often say it:
3. **taḥtamil kulla šayʔ / min alla / tuṣaddiq kulla šayʔ / min alla /**
   [Love] bears all things through God, believes all things through God,
   targu: kulla šayʔ / min alla / taṣbir ʕala kulli šayʔ / min alla
   hopes all things through God, endures all things through God
   ʔal-maḥabba la: tasquṭ ʔabadan / ʕan alla: | wa-ʔamma n-nubuwwa:t
   Love is never separated from God. But whether there are prophecies,
   fa-sa-tabṭul / wa-l-ʔalsina tantahi: /
   they will fail; whether there are tongues, they will cease;
   wa-l-ʕilm yabṭul […]
   whether there is knowledge, it will vanish away […]

(MM50 – 13'2. → 13'7. […])

A new parenthetical meta-comment in EA (line 2) that anticipates and prepares a reproposition of 1Cor 13:7-8 in which MM adds the word **min alla** to clarify the verse (*ʕalaša:n yiba:n il-ʔa:ya*, line 2)

1.　ʔišʔu:litha [laughs] ʔišʔu:litha bu:liṣ ir-raṣu:l **man huwa bu:luṣ**

　　As the Apostle Paul says [laughs] **who is Paul,**

　　wa-man huwa ʔabulluṣ / ʔilla / ʕa:mila:n fila:ḥat alla: wala:kin ʔalla:h

　　and who is Apollos, but workers God's fellow workers, but it is God

　　huwa lla:ði ʕa:mila:n maʕ ʔalla:

　　who...workers with God,

2.　muš kida?

　　right?

(MM50 – 56'3. → 56'5.)

We have already discussed the quotation from 1Cor 3:5-7 in EXC14 §3.2.0. and its reiteration in EXC41 §4.2.3. In line 2 CS to EA (*muš kida?*) is not exactly a rhetorical switch but it rather signals what Valdes-Fallis calls a *preformulation*, that is a sort of automatic routinized formula (1978:16).

1.　**ʔana ʔuri:kum ṭari:qan ʔafḍal | /// giddu li-l-mawa:hib il-ḥusna**

　　And yet I show you a more excellent way. But earnestly desire the best gifts

2.　xud zayy ma nta ʕa:wiz ʔigri zayy ma nta ʕa:w...

　　take as much as you like, run as much as you like

3.　**wala:kin ʔuri:kum ṭari:qan ʔafḍal | // ṭari:q il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi |**

　　and yet I show you a more excellent way, the way of the divine love.

(MM50 – 59'5. → 59'7.)

The quotation from 1Cor 12:31-13:1-13 has been already seen in EXC2 in §3.2.0. Here MM interpolates a parenthetical personalization of the quote (a sort of elaboration in plain words) in EA that further specifies the first part of 1Cor 12:31 and creates a contrast that prepares the real important part he wants to highlight, that is the second part of the same verse: **wala:kin ʔuri:kum ṭari:qan ʔafḍal** (which is, in fact, repeated twice, once in line 1 and once in line 3).

1. **li-ha:ða ma:ta l-masi:ḥ wa-qa:m // li-yuġayyir kulla šayʔ //**
For this reason, Christ died and resurrected: to transform everything.

   ʔal-ʔarḍ wa-s-sama:ʔ // ʔal-ʔarḍ illa:ti: / habaṭa ʔile:ha l-insa:n
The earth and heaven, the earth on which man fell

   baʕd ʔan ka:na f ḥuḍn alla: // wa-habaṭa maḥku:man ʕalayhi
after he had been in the bosom of God and he fell doomed to

   bi-l-buʕd id-da:ʔim wa-l-mawt | // wa-s-sama:ʔ ʔalla:ti ka:nat tuġaṭṭi:h /
a permanent alienation and even to death. Heaven which used to protect him

   ʔalla:ti yuʕabbar ʕanha dayman bi-n-niʕma // ka:nat in-niʕma l-ʔu:la
which is always expressed with the term 'grace', this first grace

   maʕa ʔa:dam / ḥà:fiḍa lahu / lakinnahu lam yaḥfaḍha // li-ʔànnaha
was with Adam and protected him but he lost it, because

   ka:nat muʕṭa:h lahu ka-ʕaṭiyya | // wala:kin ṣa:ra bi-qiya:mati l-masi:ḥ /
it was given to him as a gift. Yet, by Christ's resurrection

   ʔarḍan gadi:da wa-sama:ʔan gadi:da / ʔarḍ la yaskun fi:ha l-mawt | //
a new earth and a new heaven have appeared, an earth which death will not inhabit

   man ʔa:mana bi: /// man ka:na ḥayyan wa-ʔa:mana bi:
Whoever believes in me… whoever lives and believes in me

   fa-lan yamu:t ʔila l-ʔabad // wa-man ʔa:mana bi: / fa-sa-yaḥya | //
shall never die. And he who believes in Me, he shall live.

2. wa-law ḥaṭṭe:na l-ʔa:ya t-tanya gambi:ha yakmul θa:lu:θ il-maʕna: | /
If we put the second verse next to this one, the triadic meaning gets clear:

3. **man ʔa:mana bi: sa-yaḥya wa-man ka:na ḥayyan wa-ʔa:mana bi:**
he who believes in Me, he shall live and whoever lives and believes in me

   fa-lan yamu::t ʔila l-ʔabad | /
shall never die

4. w-il-ʔa:ya t-talta
and the third verse

5. **li-ʔanna ʔana ḥayy fa-sa… fa-ʔantum sa-taḥyu:n | //**
Because I live, you will live also.

6. da l-maṣdar
This is the source:

7. **li-ʔinni ʔana ḥayy fa-ʔantum sa-taḥyu:n | /**
because I live, you will live also.

   hà:ðihi ʔarḍ il-ʔinsa:n il-gadi:da […]

This is the new land of man […]

(MM136 – 1'6. → 3'5. […])

MM starts with a quotation from Rev 21:1-4 and, without code-switching, states, with great solemnity, the main topic of the homily, i.e. the new creation in Christ (line 1). Other quotations in SA (Jn 11:26 and a pseudo-quotation from Jn 11:25, line 3; Jn 14:19, line 4 and 7) are interpolated by brief EA peripheral segments (line 2, 4, 6). In line 7 MM resumes the exposition of the main topic in SA.

EXC59

1. **yaʕni da:sa l-mawt yaʕni man ʔa:mana bi:** bidayt ik-kala:m
   I mean he trampled death, whoever believes in me the beginning of the verse
   wa-ka:na ḥayyan fa-lan yamu:t ʔila l-ʔabad man ʔa:mana bi:
   and lives, shall never die. Whoever believes in me
   wa-ka:na ḥayyan ehm? wa-law ma:t fa-sa-yaḥya wa-man ka:na ḥayyan
   and lives, ehm? though he may die he shall live… and whoever lives
   wa-ʔa:mana bi: fa-lan yamu:t ʔila l-ʔabad |
   and believes in me shall never die.

2. di laha šarḥ ha-ʔaggilu li-ʔinn il-ʔayte:n dol ḥilwi:n ʕawi lu:hum šarḥ
   These two verses, which are very beautiful, have an exegesis I will postpone
   bass ʕa:wiz ʔataga:wazu lwaʕti |
   because I just want to pass it over right now.
   (MM136 - 28'7. → 29'2.)

The quotation from the paschal troparion[152] and from Jn 11:25-26 in SA is followed by an exophoric add in EA.

5.2.3. SUBLOCUS: ABSTRACTION VS. CONCRETIZATION (EXAMPLES)

In preaching, one has to shape a concept if one wants it to remain graved in the collective consciousness of the audience. Buttrick writes that «ideas without depiction are apt to be abstract and, oddly enough, *unconvincing*. Therefore if we are going to speak of "sin", we will have to find some way of picturing what it is we are talking about; we must turn to *lived experience*» (1987:32; italics are mine).

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[152] «Christ is risen from the dead, trampling down death by death, and on those in the tombs bestowing life».

These depictions, which may be of biblical inspiration or taken from everyday life, must interact so that the language of the sermon appears acceptable and understandable. They are mainly of two types: illustrations and examples. The main difference between them is that examples «emerge from common congregational consciousness» (Buttrick 1987:128), that is a 'story' essentially shared by the congregation, while illustrations «[are] brought to a congregation from beyond the sphere of shared experience» (Buttrick 1987:128), that it is a particular 'story,' usually part of the consciousness of the preacher. They have great importance in sermons because they support a statement. They are interwoven into content and provide an image grid for an entire sermon. Buttrick says that «they function similarly to the clusters of images in a poem, forming in consciousness along with a meaningful structure. Just as images in a poem may recur and, in doing so, conjoin meaning, so also will images and illustrations in a sermon» (1987:163).

EXC60

1. **fa:::-mawt il-masi:ḥ takmi:l li-t-tagassud takmi:l li-t-tagassud**
   So Christ's death is the perfecting of the incarnation, the perfecting of the incarnation
   takmi:l li-xami:s il-ʕahd likay yuʕṭi l-bašariyya l-gadi:da
   the perfecting of the Covenant Thursday that gives the new humanity
   ma yaḍman xulù:daha wa-ma yaḍman ʕadam suqù:ṭaha wa-yuʕṭi:ha n-niʕma
   what ensures its eternity, wards off its fall and gives it the grace
   lla:ti bi-la nada:ma yuʕṭi:na niʕma bi-la nada:ma
   which is not to be regretted. He gives us grace not to be regretted,

2. miš mumkin yaxudha yaʕni fi-ma yaqaʕ fi: tisʕa w-tisʕi:n fiya... fi l-miyya
   that is he cannot take it back. You know, almost 99%
   min in-na:s yiʔul-lak da l-masi:ḥ zaʕla:n minni ya ʕamm ma-titgannin-š
   of people will tell you: "Christ is upset with me!". Don't get mad, man!
   il-masi:ḥ miš mumkin yizʕal xala:ṣ baṭṭal zaʕl [giggles]
   Christ cannot get upset, he stopped doing it! [giggles]
   (MM136 - 28'7. → 29'2.)

   CS → EA signals a concretization of the theological truth expressed in SA in line 1.

1. ʔult **ʔallaði:na / ehm / daxalu fi ṭari:q ʔal-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi**
   Those who, ehm, set out on the way of divine love
   wa-nkašafa lahum is-sirr / laysu: / taḥt in-na:mu:s baʕd |
   and have been revealed this mystery, are no more under the Law.

2. kull illi tiʕmilu yibʔa ṣaḥḥ ʔin ṣalle:t bi-l-maza:mi:r ṣaḥḥ
   Whatever you do is fine. If you pray with the psalms, it is ok,
   ʔin ṣalle:t bi-l-miyya w-xamsi:n mazmu:r ṣaḥḥ ʔin wiʔift ṭu:l il-le:l ʕala rigle:k ṣaḥḥ
   if you pray all the 150 psalms, it is ok, if you stand all night long [praying], it is ok
   ʔin fiḍilt ṭu:l il-le:l tiḍrab maṭa:niyya:t ṣaḥḥ le:? li-ʔinn ha-yibʔa id-da:fiʕ
   if you keep making prostrations all night long is ok. Why? Because the motive then
   ila:hi w-il-ḥubb muḥriq / ma-yifarraʔ-š il-maḥabba ma… yaʕni ʔawwil ma tidxul
   will be divine, love is burning and it does not distinguish… I mean once you get involved with
   fi l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi miš mumkin ʔiṭla:qan tifarraʔ ma be:n il-maza:mi:r
   the divine love, you will not be able at all to distinguish between psalms
   wa-l-maṭa:niyya:t / yastaḥi:l / wa-la-tfarraʔ ma be:n / iṣ-ṣubḥ
   and prostrations, it's impossible! And you will not distinguish between morning
   wa-ḍ-ḍuhr ʔaw il-le:l wa-la tfarraʔ ma be:n iḍ-ḍal… iẓ-ẓalma w-in-nu:r
   and noon or night, you won't distinguish between darkness and light
   wa-la-tiʔdar tifarraʔ ma be:n il-xabar iṭ-ṭayyib w-il-xabar il-wiḥiš /
   you won't be able to distinguish between good and bad news,
   wa-la yumkin tifarraʔ ma be:n il-yo:m ʔinta tʔu:m fi: sali:m giddan w-ʕa:fi ʔawi
   you will never distinguish between the day you wake up perfect healthy
   w-il-yo:m ʔilli tʔu:m fi: ma-tiʔdar-š tʔu:m min ʕala ḥe:lak min ʕala l-farša |
   and the day you feel sick and unable to get up from your bed.

(MM50 – 16'3. → 17'6.)

As we have seen in EXC25 in §3.2.1. a monk 'who loves much' asked MM to tell him a canon a prayer. MM replies to him that those who walk on the path of God's love are not anymore under the Law. After focusing on the theoretic statement in SA, he then switches to EA to concretize the theory through illustrations. SA serves also to give a detached truth while EA serves to concretely get involved and involve the audience into it (see also Bassiouney 2006:210-221). See §3.2. for the use of *ʔult* 'I said'.

1.
hà:ðihi ʔarḍ il-ʔinsa:n il-gadi:da // ʔarḍ haraba minha l-mawt wa-l-ḥuzn
This is the new land of man, a land which death, grief

wa-l-kaʔa:ba wa-t-tanahhud // kull man qa:ma maʕa l-masi:ḥ /
sorrow and groaning have abandoned. Whoever has resurrected with Christ

wa-istaṭa:ʕ ʔan yanẓur b-ḥasab daʕwat bu:luṣ ʔar-rasu:l ʔila fo:q
and is able to look, according to the Apostle Paul's invitation, above,

ḥaysu l-masi:ḥ ga:lis la:: yagid ʔiṭla:qan maḥallan li-ḥuzn
where Christ is seated [Col 3:1], will not find any place for sadness

wa-la sababan li-wagaʕ wa-la li-šakwa | ///
nor any motive for pain or complaint.

2.
marra wa:ḥid min ir-ruhba:n kunt ba-tkallim wa-ʔana fi r-rayya:n
Once, a monk – I was preaching in the desert of Rayyān -

ʔalla:h yinayyiḥ ru:ḥu | / w-kunt ba-tkallim ʕan il-xaṭi:ʔa wa-š-šayṭa:n wa-n-niʕma
may God let him rest in peace. I was speaking about sin, the devil, grace

wa-quwwat alla: | wa-ʔiz bi: yanfaʕil ʔinfiʕa:l / yiʔu:l ya ʔabuna:: ya abu:na:: /
and God's power. Suddenly he became so irritated and said: "Father, fahter

da yastaḥi:l ʔinsa:n yuxṭiʔ / miš mumkin insa:n yuxṭiʔ ʔabadan ʔalla:!
it is impossible that man sins, he cannot sin!

yibʔa l-xaṭiyya ntahat / bi-iḥsa:s ʕagi:b giddan giddan giddan | /
Sin is over! With a very very strange feeling.

da lan yastaṭi:ʕ iš-šiṭa:n ʔabadan ʔinnu yuġlibni miš mumkin /
The devil cannot overcome me, it is impossible

da bi-ʔiḥsa:s da:xili bi-yinṭaʔ bi-kala:m miš ʔa:dir yifhamu
[he said this] with an inner feeling that let him say things he could not understand

lamma ḥass bi-quwwat il-masi:ḥ wa-qiyamat il-masi:ḥ
the moment he felt Christ's power and resurrection.

(MM136 – 3'4. → 4'8.)

As in the previous excerpt, MM switches from SA to EA to concretize his theoretical statement through illustrations.

1. kull illi tiʕmilu yibʔa ṣaḥḥ ʔin ṣalle:t bi-l-maza:mi:r ṣaḥḥ
   Whatever you do is fine. If you pray with the psalms, it is ok,
   ʔin ṣalle:t bi-l-miyya w-xamsi:n mazmu:r ṣaḥḥ ʔin wiʔift ṭu:l il-le:l ʕala rigle:k ṣaḥḥ
   if you pray all the 150 psalms, it is ok, if you stand all night long [praying], it is ok
   ʔin fiḍilt ṭu:l il-le:l tiḍrab maṭa:niyya:t ṣaḥḥ le:ʔ li-ʔinn ha-yibʔa id-da:fiʕ
   if you keep making prostrations all night long is ok. Why? Because the motive then
   ila:hi w-il-ḥubb muḥriq / ma-yifarraʔ-š il-maḥabba ma […]
   will be divine, love is burning and it does not distinguish […]

2. **ʔiza rakab il-ḥubb fi l-qalb wa-malak bi-yuṣayyir il-ḥaya:h /**
   If love takes dominion and possession over the heart, it transforms life
   sama:ʔ gadi:da wa-ʔarḍ gadi:da |
   into a new sky and a new earth.

(MM50 – 16'8. → 17'1. […]; 17'.6. → 17'8.)

Theorization, or the theological dogma (in SA), can follow illustration (in EA) as in this example.

1. fi l-wa:qiʕ huwa bi-ymidd ʔi:du ʔil-ʔinsa:n ʔil-faʔi:r wala:kin di miš ʔi:du
   Actually, the poor man stretches out his hands, but those are not his hands
   ya rabbi di ʔi:dak ya yasu:ʕ | / w-huwa lamma bi-ymidd ʔi:du ʔi:du l-faqi:ra
   o Lord, they are yours o Jesus. And when he stretches out his poor hands
   ʕaša:n ya:xud /
   to take

2. **fi l-wa:qiʕ bi-yuʕṭi:na furṣa ḥatta nasluk fi l-ʕa:lam wa-ka-ʔannana l-masi:ḥ**
   he gives us, in fact, the chance to behave in the world as if we were Christ
   marratan ʔuxra nida:wi ʔatʕa:bu wa-šaqa:ʔu | / ma: ʔaḥwag il-ʕa:lam
   once again, to cure his fatigue and exhaustion. How much in need the world is
   ʔila masi:ḥ /
   for a christ.

(MM50 – 96'4. → 96'7.)

Here again line 2 is a more detached, abstract elaboration in SA of line 1 in EA.

1. **iḍ-ḍala:m / qad / laffa l-kani:sa / wa-laffa nufu:sana / ʕan nu:r šaḥḥ**

   Darkness has wrapped the Church and our souls up; light has become scarce

   [xxxxxxxxxxxxxx] | ṣo:t ir-rabb la yusmaʕ | / ʔal-kani:sa / taʕi:š

   The Lord's voice is not heard. The Church lives

   ʔayya:m / ḥazi:na / ʕari:saha ʔaxfa waghu / la quwwa wa-la ru:ḥ /

   sad days. Her bridegroom has hidden his face. No power and no spirit,

   wa-la ḥaya:h wa-la mawa:hi(b) | ʔaḍ-ḍulma / ʔištaddat ʕalayna ya: rabb //

   no life and no charismata. Darkness has intensified around us, o Lord

   wa-naḥsib ʔanfusna / ʔannana nuṣalli wa-ʔannana fi kani:sa /

   yet, we think we pray and that our church

   muka... mutaka:mila |

   is perfect.

2. saʔaltu / ehm ʔinsa:n ʕa:ʔiš fi l-xa:rig ba-ʔul-lu ʔizzay ḥa:l

   I asked him... ehm, I once asked a man who lives abroad "how is

   ik-kani:sa fi l-xa:rig? ʔal-li ḥalha ʕa:l ʔawi da k-kini:sa miš zayy ma tiʕtaqdu /

   the church abroad?" He replied "Excellent. The church abroad is not, as you think,

   ʔinnaha / ḍaʕi:fa fi l-xa:rig ʔabadan / da ʕandina kani:sa qawiyya xa:liṣ | /

   weak, not at all. We are a very strong church.

   da l-ʔawla:d bi-yiru:ḥu l-kini:sa w-bi-yitnawlu | / w-ʔulti-lu bi-yiʕmilu ʔe:

   Children go to church and take communion". So I asked: "What do they do

   fi k-kini:sa? ʔal-li ya ʔabbi yaʕni bi-yismaʕu ṣ-ṣala | ʔulti-lu kull yo:m?

   in the church?". He replied: "Father, they listen to the prayer". I said: "Every day?"

   ʔal-li laʔ kull yo:m ḥadd | ʔulti-lu yiʕrafu ʕarabi kuwayyis? ʔal-li

   And he said: "No, every Sunday". So I asked: "Do they know Arabic well?". And he said

   laʔ / ma-yiʕrafu:-š ʕarabi kuwayyis | ṭabb bi-yismaʕu ʔe:?

   "No, they don't know Arabic well". "So what do they listen to?"

   ʔal-li bi-yitnawlu | / ʔa:h / huwwa da ʔilli bi-yuqa:l

   He said: "They take communion". Oh, this is what the verse says

3. **ʔanni ġani wa-qad ʔistaġne:t / wa-laysat li: ḥa:ga ʔila šayʔ |**

   I am rich, have become wealthy, and have need of nothing

4. **ʔil-kani:sa l-ʔa:n / taḥya fi: ġaybu:ba / ʔismaha ġaybu:bat il-ġina: /**

   The church is in a state of coma called "the coma of the wealthiness"

   wa-laysa laha ḥtiya:g ʔila šayʔ | ṣalawa:t fi miʕa:daha wa-ʔadadi:s fi miʕa:dha /

   and does not need anything. Prayers and masses are held on time

   wa:-fi:ha na:s kiti:ra bi-titmala w-tifḍa fa-laha

*there are a lot of people, it [the church] gets filled up and emptied, **and it has***

maẓhar ʔal-ḥara:ra wa-l-ʕiba:da |

the appearance of warmth and devotion.

(MM270 – 1'1. → 3'1.)

In this complex passage, MM code-switches from SA to EA to concretize the abstract paragraph in which he describes the present situation of the Church. He does this by evoking the story of his encounter with a believer who lives abroad. Then the quotation from Rev 3:17 let him code-switch again and this CS triggers the following paragraph in SA in which he pass again to the 'abstract mode' by expressing the final moral taken from the story. Notice the EA nonce borrowing in paragraph 4. *wa-ʔadadi:s* 'and masses' and the EA clause *wa:-fi:ha na:s kiti:ra bi-titmala w-tifḍa* 'it got filled up and emptied'.

EXC66

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1. **nifsi giddan giddan giddan ʔan yafraḥ ʔalla: bi-ʔawla:d**
   My heart's wish is that God would rejoice at sons
   yaṣruxu:na ʔilayhi ʔil-lay… ʔan-naha:r wa-l-layl | ʕiwaḍ gi:l /
   who cry out to him, night and day, instead of a whole generation
   qaḍa ʔayya:mu wa-sini:nu / fi ṣala: ṣà:mita la tusmaʕ /
   that has spent its days and years in a silent and inaudible prayer
   bal / la / la taxrug min al-qalb | / ṣala: / bi-šafate:n
   which, moreover, does not come out from the heart. A prayer with their lips
   li-taʔdiyat wa:gib /
   just to perform a duty.

2. ṣalle:t kam mazmu:r? ʔarbaʕ w-sabʕi:n mazmu:r | xala:ṣ il-ḥamdulillah
   How many psalms have you prayed? Seventy four. Good, thanks God,
   ʔana ʔadde:t il-wa:gib bita:ʕi | [……………..] wa-la simiʕ ʔalla:
   I perfomed my duty. Neither God heard,
   wa-la simiʕ ʔaḥad wa-la na smiʕt |
   nor anyone, nor even I myself did.

(MM270 – 16'1. → 16'6.)

The code-switched paragraph 2 (SA → EA) makes the listeners involved by offering a concrete fictitious example (a dialogue) that illustrates concretely the more abstract paragraph 1. (in SA). Notice the use of the CM nifsi giddan … **ʔan yafraḥ ʔalla:** 'I would

like ... God to rejoice' in paragraph 1.. *Nifsi* is a typical use, by MM, of EA elements in SA context.

5.2.4. SUBLOCUS: ANALYSIS VS. SYNTHESIS

CS can separate material considered as elaborative analysis and what is considered as a synthesis which often represents the closing part of a rhetorical movement: the speaker returns to the initial idea, and confirms it in a few synthetical lines. Sometimes «the return may be accomplished by use of *exactly the same sentence* with which the move began» (Buttrick 1987:51). The purpose of closure is, in broad terms, to «frame a field of meaning in consciousness so as to be able to shift focus in a different direction» (Buttrick 1987:52).

EXC67

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1. law itkallimt ʕan il-maḥabba / yibʔa ba-tkallim ʕan / il-ḥaya: r-rahbaniyya
    When I speak about love, I certainly speak about the monastic life,
    ʕala ṭu:l min ġe:r kala:m yaʕni daxalt ʕala ṭu::l fi l-ʕumq | /
    it goes without saying. It mean I am getting direcly into the deepness of it [monastic life].
    w-baʕde:n law itkallimna ʕan il-ḥaya: r-rahbaniyya / min hina li-sana ga:ya
    Morevore, if we spoke about the monastic life, from now until next year,
    w-ma-zakarna:-ši l-maḥabba fi s-sikka yibʔa ma-tkallimna:-š
    without considering "love" in the discourse, then it would turn out as if we didn't speak
    ʕan / ʔe:ʔ // ʕan ir-rahbana | /
    about monasticism at all.

2. **ʔar-rahbana ʔawwalan ḥubb w-ʔa:xiran ḥubb /// fa-hiya / mumà:rasat**
    Monasticism is simply and solely love. It is, in fact, the implementation
    il-waṣiyya l-ʕuẓma ʔaw il-ʔu:la //
    of the greatest and most important commandment.

(MM50 – 15'1. → 15'5.)

The definition of what finally monasticism really is is expressed through a switch into SA that follows a brief analysis, in EA, about the relationship between love and monasticism. The central point, the final definition, or maxim, is expressed in SA while the peripheral information in EA. Notice how MM uses, in line 1, linking EA items, that mark development of a story (yibʔa ma-tkallimna:-š ʕan / ʔe:ʔ // ʕan ir-rahbana). These linking items are typically used when telling daily anecdotes to create suspense.

1. ḥaya:tak maʕa ʔila:hak ḥubbak l-ila:hi ʕilaqtak la:zim tibʔa fi l-xafa:ʔ //
   Your life with your God, your divine love, your relationship [with him] must be in secret.
   ma-ḥaddi-š yilmaḥḥa ʔabadan | **ʔidxul ba:bak ʔidxul maxdaʕak**
   *Nobody has to behold it. **Get into your room,***
   w-uġliq / ba:bak ʕaša:n ʔe:ʔ / ʕaša:n ʔe:ʔ ma-ḥaddi-š yišu:fak /
   ***shut the door** what for? So that nobody sees you.*
   ṭabb ʔe: raʔyuku baʔa fi lli yiʔfil ba:bu / w-yiʕalli ḥissu baʔa
   Now, what do you think about the one who shuts the door and then raises his voice
   ʕaša:n in-na:s tismaʕu? yibʔa ʔafal il-ba:b?
   so that people would hear him [praying]? Has this person really shut the door?
   walla da ʕa:mil bu:ʔ / ehm? ʕaša:n yibawwaq bi: ʔudda:mu
   Or does he pray out aloud in order to show off
   w-yiʔu:l sayyidi sayyidi /// walla g-garaza:t /// nihaytu //
   when saying "Lord, Lord" [he is referring to Mt 7:22] as if he rang the bells? In short,

2. **fa-ʔayit iḍ-ḍama:n / fi l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi il-muma:ras da:xiliyyan**
   so the verse that ensures the inner divine love,
   ʕala mustawa ṣ-ṣala: ṣalli fi l-xafa:ʔ |
   in prayer, is "Pray in the secret place".

(MM50 – 29'4. → 30'2.)

Here the CS to SA signals the synthesis of the idea analysed before (namely, 'if you want that your love to God be effective and real, keep it secret').

1. fa:-/ʔil-insa:n ʔiḍ-ḍaggu:r / ʔilli šma:lu b-tištaġal / yiʔu:l ṭab miš ha-štaġallak ta:ni
   The plaintive person, whose left hand is at work, will say: "I won't work for you
   wa-la ha-gi:lak ta:ni lamma nta bi-š-šakl da / taman saʕa:t tisʕa saʕa:t
   and I won't come to you anymore, since you are like this. I've been helping you
   ʔana ba-saʕdak w-ʕamma:l ʔaʔaʔabðul wa-wa-min gittiti w-laḥmi w-ʔasaʕdak /
   and doing my utmost to help you for eight, nine hours
   w-baʕde:n ša:ʕir ʔinn da ʔulayyil w-šwayya?
   and you think that this is not enough?!".
   la:ʔ ma-tiʕraf-š šima:lak ʔabadan li-ġa:::yit il-ʔa:xir li-ġa:yit in-niha:ya /
   No. May your left hand never know, until the end, until the very end,

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li-ġa:yit il-mo:t li-ġa:yit il-qabr |

until death, until the grave

2. **la tuʕarrif šima:lak ma ṣanaʕathu yami:nak |**

do not let your left hand know what your right hand has done.

fa::-da ʔil-fiʕl ʔaw fiʕl il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi il-maṣnu:ʕ ʕalanan

So the act of divine love realized openly

la yumkin ʔan nuxf... xabbi: ʔaw nuxfi: ʕan il-ʔa:xari:n

we cannot hide from the others

wala:kin maṭlu:b ʔan nuxfi: ʕan ʔanfusna | /

but we are asked to hide it from ourselves.

3. šuftu baʔ il-mustawaye:n?

Have you seen now the two levels?

4. **il-mustawa d-da:xili da la yuʕlan ʔiṭla:qan la li-ʔinsa:n wa-la li-ð-ða:t**

What is at the inner level must not be revealed at all, neither to people nor to the self

5. w-baʕde:n it-ta:ni il-mustawa t-ta:ni

Then the second level

6. **la yuʕlan li-n-nafs bass wala:kin la budd ʔan yuʕlan ʔama:m an-na:s kùllaha**

must not be revealed to one's self but it must be revealed, by all means, to all the people

yaru: ʔaʕma:lakum ʔaṣ-ṣà:liḥa wa-yumaggidu ʔaba:kum

that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father

ʔalla:ði fi s-samawa:t | / fa-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi bi-yuma:ras ʕala mustawaye:n

which is in heaven. So, the divine love is performed on two levels:

mustawa dà:xili wa-mustawa xà:rigi | al-mustawa d-dà:xili sirr /

the inner level and the outer level. The inner level is a secret

la yaʕrifuhu ʔilla lla: wa-l-mustawa l-xà:rigi ḥubb wa-baðl manḍu:r

known only to God while the outer level is visible love and sacrifice

w-maʕru:f lada kull ʔinsa:n

known to everybody.

(MM50 – 34'2. → 35'6.)

SA parts (line 2, 4 and 6) are used to synthesize the previous analytical part. Line 6, in particular, can be considered a sort of elaborative repetition of the same synthetical segment. It is probably for this reason that no CS is realized. Line 2 and 6 contain two quotations (line 2: Mt 6:3; line 6: Mt 5:16) which help resuming and giving authority to the synthesis.

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1. bi-yiʔul-lu ʔimši wara:ya ma-txaf-š ko:n mala:k alla: fiḍil yasu:sak wa-yaqu:dak
He says "Follow me, don't be afraid". And God's angel kept conducting and leading you,
w-yifukk qiyu:dak li-ġa:yit ma ga:bak fi ʔarḍ il-ʕama:liqa ḥasab il-ʔe:ʔ ʔiḍ-ḍa:hir
breaking your bonds until he brought you, according to appearance, into the land of the giants
wa-ḥasab il-ḥaqi:qa w-il-gawhar / fi: / firdo:s il-ʔe:ʔ
but, according to truth and substance, to the paradise of whom?
[someone replies from the audience] / il-ʔaṭfa::l [laughs] |
[someone replies from the audience] of children [laughs].

2. **fa:-muma:rasat il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʕala l-mustawa l-ʔawwal**
So the practice of the divine love on the first level
bi-yaḥta:g ʔila qalb ṭifli giddan giddan wa-ḥaya: ṭufu:liyya giddan giddan giddan
needs a very very childlike heart and a very very childlike life
maʕa alla: |
with God.

(MM50 – 57'8. → 58'3.)

The switch to +SA signals the synthetic closing segment of a more analytic movement, where analysis is also represented by a great deal of personalization: in line 1 MM mainly uses the 2nd person singular and paralinguistic features such as laughing in order to add vividness to the message.

1. ya sala::m ʕala l-muštaġili:n bi-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:ḥi lamma yismaʕu l-kilma di
My God, how will those who are engaged in the divine love react when they hear this word?
[it refers to the Psalm 150, mentioned before] ya sala::m ha-yurʔuṣu
Oh yes, they will dance
bass w-huwwa wa:ʔif fi ḥittitu **la:: yataḥarrak** ʔinnama kullu raqṣ /
standing firmly in place and, although motionless, they are completely filled with dance
kullu raqṣ wa-ṭarab wi-l-ʔalb fi ʔaʕla ḥala:t il-bahga wa-t-tasbi:ḥ | /
complete dance and rapture and their hearts will be in ecstasy, praising and rejoicing.

2. **hà:kaza il-gasad kullu yaku:n ṭa:hir yaku:n mustani:r**
In the same way, the whole body will be pure and luminous
wa-l-ʔaʕḍaʔ kullaha taku:n maxtu::na bi-xita:nat il-masi:ḥ
and all the limbs will be marked with the circumcision of Christ
bi-ṭaha:ra tusabbiḥ wa-bi-taqdi:s tumaggid wa-bi-ġayri hiduʔ

with a praising purity and an unceasing glorifying sanctification

ʔin a:t kara o: [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧϫⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ[153]]

unceasingly

bi-ġayr hidu:ʔ tasbiḥat il-ġalaba wa-l-xala:ṣ

unceasingly, the praise of the victory and of the salvation,

taqdi:s il-ʔism il-kari:m il-ʕaḏi:m ism iθ-θa:lu:θ

the sanctification of the precious and great name, the name of the Trinity

wa-ʔism il-ʔa:b wa-l-ʔibn wa-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus | / bì:-di yaku:n il-masi:ḥ

the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. In this way Christ

raʔi::s tasbiḥatna qa:ʔid xu:ras il-muṣalli:n wa-r-ru:ḥ ʔal-qudus

is the leader of our praise and of the worshippers' chorus and the Holy Spirit

huwa θawbuna l-muni:r ʔalla:ði yuni:r ʕuyu:nana

is our radiant garment which enlights our eyes

wa-yaqu:d lisa:nana li-t-tasbi:ḥ wa-š-šukr |

and leads our lips that we may praise and give thanks.

(MM50 – 66'7. → 68'1.)

The switch to SA in paragraph 2, to synthesize and close a movement, comes after a long illustration in EA about how the Holy Spirit can work in man's heart.

EXC72

1. miš bi-nilbis il-masi:ḥ ʕi:ra wa-la ʔinnu bi-yilabbisna ʕaša:n nitzayyin bi:
   We do not put on Christ to pretend, nor does he clothe us so that we can be adorned with him.
   laʔ li-ʔinn bi-niʕmil ʕamalu ha-yilabbisak nafsu li-ʔinnak
   No. It is because we do his works. He will clothe you himself because
   bi-tiʕmil ʕamalu wa-yaftaxir bi:k li-ʔinnak bi-tkammil risaltu |
   you do his works, and he is proud of you because you complete his mission.
   il-masi(:)ḥ ʕamal talat sini:nʔ bass ma-yikaffu:-š ʕa l-ʔarḍ ya bbaha:t
   Christ operated for three years? But they are not enough for the earth, fathers.
   w-ṭiliʕ w-sab-lina kull il-mira:s w-ʔalbu k-kibi:r w-sab-lina il-fuʔara ik-kiti:r |
   He ascended and left us all the inheritance, his big heart and all the many poors.
   w-sab-lina nafsu fi kull faqi:r ʕalašan ma-nistankif-š |
   And he left us himself in every poor so that we might not disdain anyone.

2. **il-masi:ḥ ka:n bi-yara fi kull insa:n mari:ḍ ka:n bi-yara / nafsu //**
   In every sick man, Christ saw himself

[153] Liturgy of Saint Basil (used by the Coptic Church), introduction to the Synaxis.

ka:n bi-yara ʕamal ʔe:de: / ka:n bi-yara ṣu:ratu / bal ṣu:rat il-ʔa:b //

he saw the work of his hands, he saw his image, even the image of the Father.

ʔin ga:za ha:za /

If this is conceivable

3. miš ga:yiz da hu ga:yiz miyya l-miyya w-ṣaḥḥ miyya l-miyya

   conceivable? This is perfectly conceivable and perfecly correct,

4. **ʔin ʔistaṭa:ʕ ʕaqlak ʔan yugi:z ha:za ʔaw yataṣawwar ha:za |**

   if your mind is able to conceive this or imagine it.

   ka:na r-rabb yasu:ʕ il-masi:ḥ yara fi kull mari:ḍin wa-ḍaʕi:fin wa-mašlu:l /

   The Lord Jesus Christ saw in every sick, weak and paralitic

   ka:na yara fi:hi ṣu:rat xa:liqihi | / ka:na yara miš ṣanʕa...

   the image of his Creator. He was... doesn't [the Bible say]

   halumma naṣnaʕ il-ʔinsa:n ʕala ṣu:ratna?

   "Let Us make man in Our image" [Gen 1:26]?

   fa-ka:na yaliðð li-l-masi:ḥ ṭu:l in-naha:r yagu:l yaṣnaʕ xayran |

   Christ used to take delight in going about doing good.

(MM50 – 99'8. → 100'3.)

We have already discussed the repetition in line 2, 3 and 4 in EXC44 in §4.2.3. Here it is evident again how SA segments in line 2 and 4 try to summarize the analytical part. For the use of *miš* in line 4 see the commentary to EXC17 in §3.2.0.

EXC73

1. kull wa:ḥid taʕba:n min nafsu w-ʕa:wiz yifaḍḍi nafsu

   Everyone who suffers from himself and wants to empty himself

   ma-ʔuddamu:-ṣ ġe:r ṭari:ʔ wa:ḥid ma-lu:-š ta:ni huwa l-ḥubb huwa l-ḥubb huwa l-ḥubb

   he has no other way than love alone.

   ʕala mustawaya...

   on its two levels

2. **ʕala mustawayayhi ʔal-ʔawwal ʔal-mustawa ʔad-da:xili bi-ṣ-ṣala:**

   on its two levels, the first, the inner level, through prayer

   bi-l-ʔinṭila:q maʕa alla: bi-la qe:d bi-l-ḥubb il-ḥaqi:qi ṣ-ṣa:diq

   through the unrestricted impulse towards God, through a true sincere love

   min kull il-qalb wa wa wa-bi-l-mustawa l-ʔa:xar bi-l-ʕamal

   from all the heart, through the other level, through work

   bi-l-baðl bi-la qe:d bi-la šarṭ ġe:r murtabiṭ bi-zama:n wa-la bi-qa:ma wa-la bi-ʕumr

through unrestricted, unconditioned, timeless, unframed, ageless sacrifice.
(MM50 – 103'5. → 103'9.)

The repetition in line 1 *huwa l-ḥubb huwa l-ḥubb* probably helps MM to pass from the analytic modality to the synthetic one by code-switching into SA to summarize the two plans of love, the inner and the outer.

EXC74

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1. **fa-l-insa:n maxlu:q li-yartafiʕ la: bi-nafsihi**
   Man is thus created not only to elevate himself,
   faqaṭ da bi-nafsihi ʔawwalan w-bi-ḍ-ḍaru:ra // wala:kin bi-t-ta:li w-bi-t-ta:li
   he is called to elevate himself first and necessarily, but accordingly
   bi-ḍ-ḍaru:ra ʔayḍan law ʔirtafaʕ il-insa:n bi-nafsu(h) bi-yartafiʕ
   and inevitably, if man elevates himself, he elevates
   bi-l-xali:qa kùllaha / likay taku:n ʕala mustawa tamgi:d
   all the creation so that it can reach a level consonant with the glorification
   w-tasbi:ḥ alla: ka-xali:qa:: ehm tašhad / l-alla: // wa-/ ehm taʕkis
   and the praise of God as a creation, ehm, that bears witness to God
   ehm ṣu:rat magd alla:
   and reflects the image of his glory.

2. yibʔa magd alla: faʕʕa:l yaʕni ʔalla:h / ma-huwwa:-ši / ehm fiʕl / ṣa:mit
   So God's glory is dynamic, I mean God is not a static action
   w-ḥatta lamma bi-nʔu:l il-masi:ḥ kalima / miš kalima ehm ṣa:mita yaʕni maḥdu:da
   and even when we say that Christ is the Word, we do not mean a static word, a limited one
   / zayy il-kilma ʔilli bi-nantaʔha kida wala:kin di kalima faʕʕa:la […]
   like the word that we normally utter. It is a dynamic word [...]

3. **fa-l-insa:n xuliq likay yaku:n ṣu:ra li-magd alla: il-faʕʕa:l […]**
   Man has thus been created to be an image of the dynamic glory of God […]
   (MM136 – 10'4. → 11'3. [...] → 12'1.,2. [...])

After the synthetic part in paragraph 1. (SA) MM explains what has to be meant for "God's glory" in EA in paragraph 2. Paragraph 3. signals a new synthetic segment that summarizes the concept express. A more extensive analysis on this movement is given in §5.2.6.

1. ma-ʕad-ši namu:s il-xaṭiyya ma-ʕad-š yamluk ʕala ʔinsa:n

   The law of sin has no authority over man anymore.

   ʔil-xaṭiyya tamluk / tamluk ʕala l-gasad w-ha-nsib-laha l-gasad

   Sin has authority over the body. We will leave it our bodies

   w-nʔul-laha išbaʕi bi:h [xxxxxx] w-ndawwibhu:-lik f it-tura:b

   and we will say to it: "Satisfy your appetite, we will leave you this [body] behind in the dust"

   w-nuxrug bidu:n xaṭiyya li-ʔinn il-masi:ḥ lamma ha-yi:gi yaxudna ha-yaʔti

   and depart without sin because when Christ will come to take us, he will come

   bi-la mafhu:m xaṭiyya hiyya maktu:ba ha-yaʔti bi-la xaṭi:ʔa

   a part from sin. It is written that he will come "apart from sin" [Heb 9:28].

   ṭabʕan mafhu:mha ʔinnu ha-yaʔti bi-la ʔayy daynu:na min gihat il-xaṭi:ʔa

   Of course what is meant here is that he will come without condemnation for sins

   da ga:y yaʕni yumaggid | //

   he will come to glorify.

2. **fa-mawt il-masi:ḥ ʔanha ʕala ma tabaqqa: min laʕnat ʔalla:**

   Christ's death destroyed what remained of God's curse

   w-min namu:s il-xaṭiyya r-ra:biḍ fi l-ʔaʕḍa:ʔ wa-likay yu:ʔakkid ehm ehm

   and of the law of sin which is in my members [Rm 7:23] in order to ensure ehm

   daymu:mat ʔaw msugrat / in-niʕma / msugrat il-xala:ṣ

   the permanence or the "certification" of Grace, the certification of the Salvation,

   msugrat il-ḥaya:t il-ʔabadiyya |

   the certification of the eternal life.

(MM136 – 31'9. → 32'7.)

CS → SA in paragraph 2. signals again a recapitulation of the previous movement ('Christ's death and resurrection freed humanity from sin and ensured it the continuity of God's grace'). Notice the EA nonce borrowing in the SA paragraph **msugra** 'certification [of a letter]' that MM used in 17'6. In this synthetic part, he is recalling the term he commented on and applied to Christ's work (namely that what humanity obtained through Christ's work is like a certified mail, it cannot get lost).

1. **bi-taštahi nafsi ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi / taštahi šahwa / ʔan yatʕallam / ʔawla:d alla: ṣ-ṣura:x**
My soul, my beloved, fervently desires that God's sons learn to cry out [to him].
| [.............] fa-ma ba:lukum yasmaʕ li-ṣ-ṣa:rixi:na ʔilayhi layla naha:r | //
How much more does he listen to those who cry out to him, night and day.

2. ma-fi:-š / ḥadd / min ʔawla:du / itʕallimu ṣ-ṣura:x / layla naha:r? //
Has nobody of his chidren learnt to cry out night and day?
ʔimta / ʔilli yimši / fi ṭuruqa:t id-de:r / yismaʕ iṣ-ṣura:x? /
When would the person who walks in the alleyways of the monastery hear the cry,
ṣura:x iṣ-ṣala: / wa-l-muna:da:h / ʔila lla: / layla naha:r |
the cry of prayer and of calling upon God, night and day.

(MM270 – 0'1. → 0'4.)

In this excerpt, which represents the very beginning of the homily MM270, MM introduces the main topic in SA and then code-switches to EA to analyze it. The EA part, besides being analytical, aims also to get involved the topic with a fictitious example.

5.2.5. SUBLOCUS: STORY FRAMING

As said in §5.1.9. CS can also be used to frame a story and to differentiate narrative material from evaluative material, or simply to mark the begin or the end of a story.

1. wa-la ma:niʕ akšif-luku ʔilwaʔti yaʕni il-waḍʕ da
Nothing stops me from revealing to you now this situation
li-ʔinnu šwayya yuʔassis fi l-qulu:b še:ʔ min il-ʔi:ma:n
because it strengthens a little the faith in our hearts
bi-mawḍu:ʕ ma-ḥaddi-š bi-yuʔmin bi: |
about a subject which nobody believes in.

2. **ʔana w-ʔana fi ha:ða s-sinn tama:man tama:man wa-bi-muntaha waʕyi**
Back to that exact age, I was perfectly aware,
li-ʔinn waʕyi mubakkir giddan waʕyi badaʔ
because my awareness is very early, my awareness started
min ʔàrbaʕa sini:n tama:m yaʕni aðkur ḥawa:diθ min ʔàrbaʕa sini:n
since I was exactly 4 years old, I mean I remember facts since I was 4 years old
ʔaquṣṣ ʕala l-ʔusra /

I used to tell my family

3. / li-daragit ʔaʔul-luhum ka:n il-be:t ʔill intu kuttu fi: ka:n ṣifatu ke:t
    to the extent that I used to tell them "the house you lived in was made of so-and-so
    w-tiṭlaʕ ʕala s-sillim tiltiʔi ʔo:ḍa ʕa l-yimi:n w-ʔo:ḍa ʕa š-šima:l
    you go upstairs you find a room on the right and a room on the left
    w-ʔinn il-baḥr tibuṣṣ min il-baḥri tiltiʔi l-ḥitta l-fulaniyya |
    and that the Nile, if you look from the Nile bank you find the place so-and-so".
    w-ʔaʔadir ʔaḥʔaḥaddid il-giha:t bass bi-mkaniyya:t ilwaʔti | /
    And I can specify directions but with the abilities of today.
    fa-taʔakkadu tama:man kulluhum ʔinn li:ya waʕy la: yuga:ra: /
    So they became all perfectly convinced that I have an unparalleled awareness
    talat w-ʔarbaʕ sini:n ʔazkur kull šayʔ kull da ʕaša:n ʔasbit-luku
    I remember everything since I was three or four. This discourse serves to prove you
    ḥa:ga muhimma ga:ya | fa:: w-ʔana ḥawa:li sana xamsa w-ʕišri:n ka:n sinni sitt sni:n
    an important thing I am going to talk to you about. Around the year 1925, I was six
    ʔaw xamas sini:n / ra:ʔid ʕa s-siri:r / w-baʕde:n gambi:ya ʔuxti w-baʕde:n
    or five, I was sleeping on my bed next to my sister. Then,
    f nuṣṣ il-le:l ṣiḥi:t | / ṣiḥi:t ba-buṣṣ f iṣ-ṣala liʔe:t
    at midnight I woke up. I woke up and, when I went to look in the living room, I found
    na:s tala:ta b-dʔu:n be:da ṭawi::la ʔaʕdi:n ʕala s-sufra /
    three white-bearded persons sitting at the table.

(MM50 – 43'6. → 44'5.)

In this and in the following passage MM tells an experience he had when he was about 4 years old. He saw in his house some of those who are known, in the Coptic tradition, as *suwwāḥ*[154]. After making a metacomment stating that he will tell another story, he switches to SA to mark the *incipit* of the story. A few lines later (in line 3) he switches to EA, the code used to tell the narrative part of the story.

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[154] According to the Coptic tradition, *suwwāḥ* (lit. 'wanderers' singular *sāʔiḥ*) are anchorites who have practised hermitage and extreme asceticism (including long fasts) for many years and have received several spiritual gifts, including ubiquity. Well known *suwwāḥ* are Paul of Thebes (III-IV sec.), known as 'the hermit,' who is considered the forefather, Mary of Egypt (IV-V cent.) and Onuphrius (V sec.) called 'the anchorite'. See Shenouda III & Wassef (1991).

1. fa::-yaʕni lamma ba-tkallam ʕan waʕyi r-ru:ḥi wa-ʔana ṭifl ṣaġi:r
   So when I speak about my spiritual awareness when I was a little child,

   ma-kunti-š ba-ḍrab maṭaniyya:t wa-la ba-ṣu:m li-l-maġrib
   I did not make prostrations, nor did I fast until sunset,

   wa-la ṭayy ṭayy yo:me:n wa-la wa-la ʔila ʔa:xirihi
   nor did I practice a total abstinence from food for two consecutive days, neither this nor that etc.

   wala:kin humma ḥaṭṭu:ni / ḥaṭṭu:ni fi l-mawqif da mawqif iṣ-ṣala:
   but they put me, they put me in this attitude, an attitude of prayer

   fa-wiʔift fi mawqif iṣ-ṣala: | / fa:-w-ṣalle:t bi-qalbi ka-ṭifl |
   so I adopted this attitude of prayer. And I prayed with my heart, as a child.

   ʔa:: ʔadi ya ʔabbaha:t ʔana kull l-laff w-d-dawara:n da kullu
   There, fathers. I expanded upon the subject so much

   ʕalaša:n awṣal min kull qalbak w-min kull nafsak w-min kull fikrak
   just to arrive to "with all you heart, all your soul, all your mind

   w-min kull qudritak |
   and all your strength".

2. **ṣaddiqu:ni ya ʔaba:ʔi ʔànnahu ha:ða ma tamm ma ka:na yatimm bi-l-ḥarf**
   Believe me, fathers, this is what happened word-for-word.

3. il-wa:ḥid kunt lamma ʔaʔaf ʔaṣalli fi za:ka l-waqt
   When I used to stand for prayer in that time

   šuʕu:ri wa-kaya:ni ku:lluh ʔama:m ʔalla: |
   my feelings and my whole being were at the presence of God.

(MM50 – 46'3. → 47'1.)

In this passage, and in that which follows, MM switches again to SA to frame the story, but this time, marking the conclusive part of it. It is evident how the conclusive part coincides also with a sort of synthesis in which the speaker gives a moral of the story.

1. […] ʔulna niṭlaʕ šihi:t daxalna šihi:t ʔilli hiya ṭabʕan il-ʔisqi:ṭ yaʕni
    We said "Let's go to Scetis". We came to Scetis, that is, of course, al-isqīṭ[155]
    barri:t il-qiddisi:n | ge:na l-qiddisi:n ʔult baʔa ʔana baʔe:t ʔaho: xala:ṣ
    the valley of the saints. We came to the saints and we said "It's settled, then
    daxalna f ḥuḍn il-masi:ḥ | nibtidi baʔ il-ʔe:ʔ il-qa:ma:t ir-ru:ḥiyya il-ʕalya |
    we have entered Christ's arms. Let us attain the high spiritual peaks".
    yalla ya ʕamm ʔidxul il-qama:t ir-ruḥiyya il-ʕalya daxalt w-ṣalle:t baʔ
    "Let's go, mate! Attain the high spiritual peaks!". I started praying
    fi l-ʔingi:l w-kutub il-ʔaba:ʔ wa-wa ibtade:t šwayya šwayya šwayya
    with the Gospel and the books of the Fathers and I started, little by little,
    ʔa::xud il-ʔiḥsa:s iṭ-ṭifli ʔill ana daxalt fi: sanat ʔalf w-tusʕumiyya ʔarbaʕ w-ʕišri:n
    recover the childlike feeling that I experienced in 1924,
    xamsa w-ʕišri:n sitta w-ʕišri:n /
    1925, 1926[156].

2. **wa-ka:na l-qimma | / ʔaš-šuʕu:r bi-r-rahba l-ʔila:hiyya**
    And it was the top. The feeling of the fear of God,
    ʔaš-šuʕu:r bi-wa:qiʕiyyit alla: sa:miʕ iṣ-ṣala:
    the feeling of the evidence of God who listens to prayers
    ʔaš-šuʕu:r bi-ʔinn be:ni w-be:n alla: la yu:gad ʔayy fa:riq
    the feeling that between me and God there is no separation
    ʔaš-šuʕu:r bi-ʔinn qadiyya marfu:ʕa ʔama:m alla: li-s-sama:ʕ
    the feeling that an issue presented to God
    w-inn ir-rabb samaʕha
    has been listened to by the Lord.

(MM50 – [39'1. …]41'7. → 42'8.)

CS into SA in line 2 frames the end of a story, namely that of MM's experience of prayer in his childhood, and it draws the moral from it.

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[155] He probably specifies this word in Arabic because it is the one used in the liturgical texts in the monastery of Saint Macarius.

[156] MM was born in 1919.

1. […] ʔe:h dọ:lʔ w-homma yikkallimu baʕḍ min biʕi:d miš sa:miʕ ik-kala:m
   What are those? And they spoke to each other but I couldn't hear them because of the distance,
   w-yibʔu yibtasimu l-baʕḍ ibtisama:t ʕagi:bt iš-šakl
   they exchanged amazing smiles,

2. **wi-ʔana maʔxu::ð bi-ha:ða l-manḍar ʔil-marsu:m ʔama:m ʕaynayya**
   and I was fascinated by this scene painted in front of my eyes
   li-ġayt in-naha:rda | /
   until today.

3. ʔa:mu iṣ-ṣubḥ baʔa ba-ḥkilhum il-ḥika:ya l-fagr
   When they got up in the morning, I told them the story at dawn
   ʕamalti-li sawra fi l-be:t w-ṣaḥḥithum […]
   I had made a big noise at home, and I had waken them up.

(MM50 – [44'3. …] 45'7. → 45'10. […])

Here CS → SA in line 2 marks the closing of the first part of the story of the *suwwāḥ*, i.e. his encounter with them by night. A falling tone is followed by a pause then MM moves, by code-switching to EA, to the second part of the story, that of the reactions of his family the next day.

1. kunt fi ʔawwil marra / ʔaṣalli fi:ha bi-ṣura:x / kunt li-waḥdi fi maka:n na:ʔi
   The first time I prayed out loud, I was alone in a remote place

2. **fa-ma ka:n li: / ʕa:ʔiq / kunt ʔaṣrux bi-ṣo:t murtafiʕ / wala:kin bi-masarra:: /**
   so I had no barrier, I used to pray out loud, with a joy
   la yumkin ʔaḥissaha fi waqt ʔa:xar | w-ga:ʔat ʔayya:m wa-ṣirt fi
   I could not feel after that. Days passed by and I found myself
   wusṭ in-na:s / kayfa ʔuṣalli bi-ṣura:x? /
   in the midst of people. How can I pray out loud?

3. nifsi ʔaṣarrax / nifsi ʔaṣarrax ya rabb ʔaʕmil e:? gibt hdu:mi w-ʕamàltaha
   I want to shout, I want to shout, o Lord, what shall I do? I took my clothes, I
   zayy il-maxadda / ḥaṭṭitha ʕala buʔʔi / wa-ʔaʕatt ʔaṣalli bi-ṣura:x |
   made it like a pillow and I put it in my mouth. I started to pray out loud
   id-dumu:ʕ nazla ma-ḥaddi-š ša:yifha wi-ṣ-ṣura:x ʕala ʔaʕla: mustawa /
   Tears came down and nobody saw them, while the cry was very loud
   wa-la ḥadd samʕu ġe:ru huwwa |

and nobody heard it but him [God].

4. **fa-kunt saʕi:d saʕa:da la yumkin ʔan yaḥlam bi:ha ʔinsa:n |**
And I used to feel an unspeakable happiness.

wa-ẓallat hà:ðihi ʕà:dati / ḥinama: ʔaku:n bayn an-na:s /
And this remained a habit of mine: when I am in the midst of people

ʔuṣalli / wa-fammi maktu:m la yasmaʕni ʔilla l-masi:ḥ
I pray with my mouth blocked so that no one hears me but Christ.

(MM270 – 14'4. → 15'7.)

This story-telling shows three CS, one to SA (line 2), one to EA (line 3), one to SA (line 4). CSs frame the story by differentiating the *incipit* (EA), a first detached telling (SA), a second more involved telling (EA) and the final frame (SA) which closes up the movement. SA here highlights MM's personal evaluation of the story (**kunt ʔaṣrux bi-ṣo:t murtafiʕ / wala:kin bi-masarra:: / la yumkin ʔaḥissaha fi waqt ʔa:xar** – line 2; **fa-kunt saʕi:d saʕa:da la yumkin ʔan yaḥlam bi:ha ʔinsa:n** – line 4).

5.2.6. sublocus: contrastive argumentation

The language of preaching incorporates tension. To achieve this tension the speaker will use different types of rhetorical figures that also express the way we assemble ideas: association, dissociation, extension, contraction, etc. One of these is denial which signals God's transcendent "otherness" (Buttrick 1987:120) ("certainly God is not…") and serves to distinguish what should be done from what is the actual reality or what it is not from what it is (unreal hypothesis vs. reality). In semantics, denial is considered a concept distinguished from negation (see Mughazy 2008). Negation is a semantic operator that reverses the true value of a proposition. While denial objects the veracity of a proposition that is assumed to be part of the addressee's prior knowledge, whether this proposition was affirmed in an earlier speech or implied. CS here serves to take distance from the unreal hypothesis in order to state 'how things are'.

EXC82

1. **fa:-ʔa:dam // faqad kull ma ʔaxazu ma l-ʕamal?**
Adam lost all that he took. So what to do?

2. yixlaʔ ʔa:dam min gidi:d? [xxxxxx] ṭabb ma hi l-ʕamaliyya fašalit |
Does he [God] create Adam once again? Ok but the operation has failed.

3. **li-ha:ða: / ḍahara lla: fi l-ǧasad / li-ha:ða tagassada l-ibn /**

This is why God appeared in flesh, this is why the Son was incarnate

likay yaʔxuð alla:h gasad il-insa:n ʔaw ʔinsa:niyyatu

in order that God might take man's body or his humanity

bi-maʕna ʔaṣaḥḥ wa-ʔagmal wa-ʔawqaʕ […]

in a more correct, beautiful and realistic sense […]

(MM136 – 6'5. → 7'2. […])

CS in line 3 states what is the theological truth ('God was incarnate, took man's humanity') vs. the theological speculation ('God re-creates Adam') as regards the solution God took to solve Adam's fall.

EXC83

1. **tagassada wa-taʔannasa | / ṣa:ra ʔinsa:nan kà:milan fi kulli šayʔ //**
    "He was incarnate and became man"[157]. *He became a man complete in everything,*
    gasad w-fikr // w-nafs wa-wigda:n wa-ʕaql / wi-kullu | ʔaxað /
    body, thought, soul, feeling, mind, everything. [Christ] took
    il-gubla ʔal-ʔa:damiyya / kama hiya fi ʔa:dam tama:man / w-ara:d
    the Adamic nature, exactly as it was in Adam, and wanted
    ʔannu yukammil fi:ha xiṭṭat alla: /
    to fulfil in it God's plan.

2. yaʕni hiya xiṭṭat alla: fi xilqat il-insa:n fi ʔa:dam /
    I mean, God's plan in the creation of man in Adam
    ma-kanit-š maqṣu:ra ʕala ʔinnu yixlaʔ ʔa:dam w-yiʕi:š maʕa l-ḥayawana:t
    was not limited to creating Adam so that he could live with animals,
    kida w-yinbasaṭ w-yilʕab fi g-gine:na w-xala:ṣ | ma-ʕtaqid-š | ma-ʕtaqid-š
    like having fun, playing in the garden and that's it. I don't think so. I do not think
    ʔinn di ka:nit xiṭṭit alla: fi xilqit il-ʔinsa:n [sound which means 'no'] yixlaʔ
    this was God's plan in creating man. No. Like, he [God] creates
    ʔa:dam w-ḥawwa w-yiʔul-luhum ʔikθiru baʔ kida w-imlaʔu kida w-inbasaṭu
    Adam and Eve and says multiply, and fill [the earth], have fun,
    wi-ilʕabu maʕa l-ʔusu:da wi-n-numu:ra w-hayyaṣu w-ʔa:xir il-ḥala:wa yaʕni |
    play with the lion and tiger cubs and enjoy yourselves to the utmost.
    bassʔ hiyya di xiṭṭit alla: li-l-xala:ṣʔ la la [repeats sound which means 'no'] |
    That's it? Is this God's plan for Salvation [Creation?]? No, no.

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[157] Liturgy of Saint Basil, Anaphora.

3. **ʔara:da lla:h ʔan yaxliq xali:qa ʕà:qila ʕala ṣu:ratu tastaṭi:ʕ ʔan tarqa: bi-gami:ʕ**
   God wanted to give life to a rational creation in his image that could elevate all
   maṣnu:ʕa:t alla: likayma taḍaḥḥa [taḍaʕha] fi fi fi fi fi: fi: wàḍʕaha ʔalla:ði yubriz
   his creatures so as to testify and
   wa-yašhad / l-alla: bi-ṣu:ra dà:ʔima | // fa-l-insa:n maxlu:q li-yartafiʕ la: bi-nafsihi
   bear witness to him continually. Man is thus created not only to elevate himself,
   faqaṭ da bi-nafsihi ʔawwalan w-bi-ḍ-ḍaru:ra // wala:kin bi-t-ta:li w-bi-t-ta:li
   he is called to elevate himself first and necessarily, but accordingly
   bi-ḍ-ḍaru:ra ʔayḍan law ʔirtafaʕ il-insa:n bi-nafsu(h) bi-yartafiʕ
   and inevitably, if man elevates himself, he elevates
   bi-l-xali:qa kùllaha / likay taku:n ʕala mustawa tamgi:d
   all the creation so that it can reach a level consonant with the glorification
   w-tasbi:ḥ alla: ka-xali:qa:: ehm tašhad / l-alla: // wa-/ ehm taʕkis
   and the praise of God as a creation, ehm, that bears witness to God
   ehm ṣu:rat magd alla:
   and reflects the image of his glory.

   (MM136 – 9'2.-10'7.)

Here MM is explaining the purpose of the Incarnation in relation to the Creation. Paragraph 1: the context is clearly SA without declensional vowels. In paragraph 2 CS to EA is triggered by *yaʕni*[158]. The intent of the EA paragraph 2. seems clear: lightening up the discourse and making an ironic speculation in the *pars destruens*, by using *inter alia* expedients such as the language of children (*ilʕabu maʕa l-ʔusu:da wi-n-numu:ra*). It is a denial of what is the purpose of creation before stating it positively in paragraph 3 after a new CS to SA. Paragraph 3 in SA completes the movement of paragraph 1. Later MM passes to another topic. SA has again an authoritative function and marks the contrast between 'maturity' vs. 'childhood' in EA (paragraph 2). Here SA seems to have also the iconic function stated by Saeed (see §3.1.4.1.) in the sense of being bearer of 'theological truth' vs. 'theological speculation' conveyed by EA. CS strongly marks this contrast.

The use of *ʔannu* is interesting. Mejdell, who dealt with complementizers, defines *ʔannu* as a hybrid form: neither the EA *ʔinnu* nor the SA *ʔannahu*. In fact, in her *corpus*, *ʔannu* only appears in the common form of *li-ʔannu* but never as *ʔannu*. It is certainly an SA form especially if one considers what Mejdell says in this regard: «as pronoun suffix to a large extent is suprasegmental in nature, involving phonotactics and entire systems of syllable structure – it may be that speakers and listeners perceive this feature as part of

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[158] See commentary to EXC48 in §5.2.1. for the use of *yaʕni* as a *discourse marker*.

'local accent' [...] It appears not even to interfere with the perceive SA-ness of utterances»
(Mejdell 2006:346).

The EA exclamatory particle *da* in the SA context of paragraph 3. is typical of MM and
here has the meaning of bal: **la: bi-nafsihi faqaṭ da [bal] bi-nafsihi ʔawwalan**. See also
the commentary to EXC30 in §3.2.3.

EXC84

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1. ma hu ʔilli ʔilli ʔitfa:him maʕa iš-šiṭa:n marra ta:ni marra tibʕa sahla ʔawi ʔawi ʔawi
    It is very easy for the one who came to terms with satan once,
    li-š-šiṭa:n ʔinnu yiḍḥak ʕale:h fa-ka:n ṣaddaʔni yaʕni ʔin ka:n ʔaʕad-lu
    to have his leg pulled again by satan. So, he [Adam], believe me, whether he remained
    fi l-ʔawwil ʔalfe:n talattala:f sana maʕa l... fi l-firdo:s walla yo:m
    at the beginning, two or three thousand years with... in Paradise, or just one day
    walla miš ʕarfi:n ʕadad ʔadd ?:e walla milyune:n sana walla ʕašara /
    we don't know how long [did he stay there], whether it is two million years or ten,
    ma-ḥna:-š ʕarfi:n | ka:n saqaṭ fi mudda ʔaqall giddan giddan
    we just don't know. But he fell in a much shorter period.

2. **wala:kin likay yaḍman lana l-masi:ḥ ḥaya:h maʕa alla:**
    But in order to ensure us a life with God
    la yumkin fi:-ha r-ragʕa wa-la yumkin fi:-ha s-suqu:ṭ
    irreversible and without other falls
    liza:lik tagassad ʔalla: ḍahar fi l-gasad
    for this very reason, God was incarnate, appeared in flesh
    likay yuʕṭi il-bašariyya s-sa:qiṭa l-ʕazi:za ʕale: ʔalla:ti taḥmil ṣù:ratu
    in order to give the fallen humanity which is so dear to him, which bears his image
    ʕazi:za ʕale: li-ʔinnaha taḥmil ṣù:ratu w-taḥmil xiṭṭat ir-ruqiyy
    dear to him because it bears his image and the plan of evolution
    ʔilli huwwa ḥàṭṭaha ka-biðra fi:
    that he put in him as a seed
    xiṭṭat ir-ruqiyy ʔan yartaqi l-insa:n likay yazda:d fi maʕriftu l-alla:
    the plan of evolution of man who has to increase his knowledge of God
    wa-yaʕi:š maʕa alla: ʕala ṭu:l faqadha
    and live always with God. He [Adam] lost it.

(MM136 – 38'3. → 39'5.)

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CS is used again to contrast arguments: paragraph 1 describes Adam's fall, paragraph 2 God's solution to Adam's fall.

5.3. CONVERSATION LOCUS: PRAYERS AND PRAISES

Traditionally Coptic monastic homilies end with a sensible moment, the conclusive prayers to God, that are a sort of recapitulation of the main points dealt with in which the speaker asks for God's help so that listeners can apply the teachings illustrated throughout the homily. In MM's homilies these final prayers always mark a CS into SA, or they are prepared by a triggering CS into SA, because of the graveness and solemnity of the moment.

EXC85

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1. ʔin ka:n il-ʕa:lam taʕba:n ʔin ka:nit ir-rahbana taʕba:na /
    If the world suffers, if monasticism suffers

2. **li-ʔinnaha lam tataʕa:mal baʕd maʕ il-masi:ḥ kama yanbaġi | //**
    it is because they have not yet related properly to Christ.
    ya rabbi ʔaʕṭi:na kullina / ha:ðihi ṣ-ṣu:ra l-gàyyida wa-l-ḥasana giddan
    O Lord, give us all this good, very good image
    ʔannana nataʕa:mal maʕak šaxṣiyyan fi wagh kull ʔinsa:n ga:ʔiʕ wa-ʕaṭša:n
    so that we can relate to you personally through every starving, thirsty
    wa-ḍaʕi:f w-taʕba:n w-mari:ḍ | /// ʔa:h ya rabbi | // kull ḥirma:n mawgu:d
    weak, sick and ill person. Oh Lord, every deprivation existing
    fi l-ʕa:lam la za:l yaḥmiluhu l-masi:ḥ ʕala katifayh mutaʔalliman bi-hi
    in the world is still born on the shoulders by Christ, suffering for it
    ʔakθar min al-insa:n ʔal-mutaʔallim | / yaqif ʔama:mana /
    more than the suffering person himself. He stands in front of us,
    yamidd yaddu(h) / sà:ʔilan raḥmatna ka-ʔannahu fi ʔašadd il-ḥa:ga
    he stretches out his hand asking for our mercy, as if he were in great need
    ʔila luqmatna ʔaw ku:bat il-ma:ʔi l-ba:rida min yaddina / ʔaw
    of our mouthful or our glass of cold water from our hand, or
    ʔila hidmitna l-ʔadi:ma ʔaw ʔayy maʕu:na yaḥtagha l-insa:n iḍ-ḍaʕi:f |
    our old piece of clothing or any kind of help a weak person might need.

(MM50 – 95'3. → 96'4.)

The causative clause triggers here the switch to SA for a prayer that synthesizes once again the main argument of the rhetorical move. Notice the EA nonce borrowing in *hidmitna l-ʔadi:ma* ('our old piece of clothing') inside the +SA context.

EXC86

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1. **ʔil-ʕa:lam muḥta:g ʔila masi:ḥ w-il-masi:ḥ ge:h w-sa:b in-numu:zag |**
   The world needs a christ. Christ came and left us the paradigm.
   ma-fi:-š fi:ku masi:ḥ? | //
   "Is there no christ among you?"

2. **mata ya rabb mata: tuṭliq fi:na masi:ḥan yastaṭi:ʕ ʔan yuʕabbir ʕannak**
   When, o Lord, when will you release a christ among us who can be the expression of you
   fi waṣṭ il-ʕa:lam bi-qalb kabi:r yuda:wi bi-ʔismak
   in the midst of the world, [endowed with] a big heart that cures in your name
   wa-bi-kalimatak kull qalb maksu:r wa-kull rukba murtaʕi… maxlu:ʕa
   and with your word every broken heart, every shaking knee
   wa-kull yadd murtaʕiša /
   and every trembling hand.

3. ʔimta ya rabb ʔimta tuṭliq qalb ʔaw ʕiddat qulu:b mìnnana
   When, o Lord, when will you release one or more hearts among us

4. **li-kay tuma:ris masi:ḥiyyataha ʔaw masi::ḥaha**
   in order that they can put their Christianity or their Christ into action
   ʕaša:n yara:k il-ʕa:lam marratan ʔuxra / ga:ʔilan taṣnaʕ xayran / fi waṣṭ
   so that the world sees you once again, going about doing good, in the midst
   il-ʕumy wa-l-ʕusm wa-l-ʕurg wa-l… wa-ðawi l-ʕa:ha:t /
   of the blind, the withered, the halt, the… and the sick people,
   tašfi l-muḥta:gi:na ʔila š-šifa:ʔ / maka:naka l-mufaḍḍal fi waṣṭ al-fuqara:ʔ /
   healing those in need of healing, your elected place being in the midst of the poor.

(MM50 – 96'8. → 97'7.)

In this excerpt, MM switches to SA again to raise his recapitulative prayer. In line 3 is a repetition in EA that emphasizes the word 'when'. The final clause in line 4 opens a new CS into SA that continues until the prayer arrives to an end. Notice the EA syntactic nonce borrowing *ʕaša:n* ('so that') in a context which is clearly lexically and syntactically +SA: consider the final vowel in *marratan ʔuxra* ('once more') or the *ḥāl* clause *ga:ʔilan taṣnaʕ xayran* ('going about doing good') that are strong SA markers.

1. kull wa:ḥid taʕba:n min nafsu w-ʕa:wiz yifaḍḍi nafsu
    Everyone suffering from himself who wants to empty himself
    ma-ʔuddamu:-ṣ ġe:r ṭari:ʔ wa:ḥid ma-lu:-š ta:ni huwa l-ḥubb huwa l-ḥubb huwa l-ḥubb
    he has no other way than love alone.
    ʕala mustawaya...
    on its two levels

2. **ʕala mustawayayhi ʔal-ʔawwal ʔal-mustawa ʔad-da:xili bi-ṣ-ṣala:**
    on its two levels, the first, the inner level, through prayer
    bi-l-ʔinṭila:q maʕa alla: bi-la qe:d bi-l-ḥubb il-ḥaqi:qi ṣ-ṣa:diq
    through the unrestricted impulse towards God, through a true sincere love
    min kull il-qalb wa wa wa-bi-l-mustawa l-ʔa:xar bi-l-ʕamal
    from all the heart; and through the other level, through work
    bi-l-baðl bi-la qe:d bi-la šarṭ ġe:r murtabiṭ bi-zama:n wa-la bi-qa:ma wa-la bi-ʕumr
    through unrestricted, unconditioned, timeless, unframed, ageless sacrifice.
    ʔami:n ya rabbi yasu:ʕ il-masi:ḥ ʔaʕṭi:na ʔan naku:n tala:mi:ð
    Amen, o Lord Jesus Christ, give us to be disciples
    li-l-ḥubb ʔil-ʔila:hi ḥatta naši:b wa-naši:x / wa-gʕal ṣala:tana
    of the divine love until we become white-headed and old. Let our prayer
    ʔalla:ti la takuff min ʕala lisa:nina kull ayya:m ḥaya:tana
    never cease on our lips all the days of our life.
    ʔaʕṭi:na ya rabbi ṭari:q il-ḥubb is-sirri ḥatta naʕrifa wa-nadxul
    Give us o Lord to walk in the mystical way of love so that we know and
    ʔila ʕumq sirrak il-ʔila:hi wa-naʕbudak bi-r-ru:ḥ
    go deeply into your divine mystery, so that we can worship you in Spirit
    wa-l-ḥaqq ka-muštaha: qalb il-ʔa:b
    and truth as it pleases the heart of the Father.

(MM50 – 103'5. → 104'4.)

This excerpt has been already discussed before. Here the CS into SA to synthesize for the last time the main point of the homily (the inner and the outer level of love) at the beginning triggers a CS into SA for the entire duration of the final prayer.

5.4. Dramatizing words or clauses

The data show that MM also code-switches without a specific *locus*. The function is providing a dramatic effect in order to emphasize a part of a sentence and to temporarily attract listeners' attention and then relax it by code-switching again. Gal (1979) shows how in an English/German bilingual environment, CS into German is a means of adding strength to the statement. David (2003) shows how a lawyer starts by using dominant Bahasa Malaysia and then code-switches to English to emphasize an important point to the judge, i.e. that the accused had not committed any crime for 10 years.

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1. Sebelum ini OKT pernah ditangkap pada tahun 1975 dan 1986.
    Before this, OKT was caught in 1975 and 1986.

2. **There has been a 10 years gap since the last offence**

3. Semenjak itu OKT telah berumahtangga, mempunyai kerja tetap dan insaf
    since then OKT has married and has held a steady job

(David 2003:13)

Holes says, in this context, that «by using isolated MSA forms the speaker selectively emphasises elements of his message more than he would do if he 'performed' these meaning elements in the dialect» (1995:303).

In the corpus, the dramatized segment seems to be always in SA, normally represents the peak of the information, it is sometimes accompanied by prosodic prominence in the form of pitch accents and it usually concerns the clause. It can be considered as a specific case of topicalization through CS that creates opposition within the utterance by focusing on a brief part of it although not having a specific *conversational locus* (Fotos 1995; Ariffin & Rafik-Galea 2009).

Here are some excerpts found in the *corpus*.

EXC88

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1. **yaSni ?a::xir ma qaddamahu l-masi:ḥ Sala l-?arḍ ṣala:h munsakiba**
    The last thing that Christ offered on earth was a poured out prayer,
    kùllaha / maša:Sir raqi:qa ?ašadd ir-riqqa min naḥw /
    full of deep feelings of tenderness towards

2. miš bas tala:mizu min naḥw kull illi bi-yu?minu bi: w-illi ha-yu?minu bi: |
    not only his disciples but also towards all those who believe and will believe in him.
    ?araqq mašaS:ir simiSna:ha San alla: / ?iš?u:litha ?illi bi-yi?u:l / bi-yi?u:lu

The most tender feelings of God we heard about… as they say,

w-fi l-wa:qiʕ yaʕni ʔana ba-ṣiġha / law kan ʔalla: / ʔaxla:ʔu zayy il-masi:ḥ /

but I will word it [in a different way]. If God's moral standards are like those of Christ,

yibʔa ʔalla: ḥilw |

then God is nice.

(MM50 – 5'5. → 6'2.)

MM starts in SA but he finishes the sentence in EA. Line 1 has no particular conversational locus. Notice the lengthening of the vowel /a/ in *ʔa:xir* ('the last [thing]').

EXC89

1. yibʔa kull il-ʕafyia w-kull il-maṭaniyya:t w-kull il-guhd w-kull it-tadqi:q /
   All the strength, all the prostrations, all the effort and all the precision
2. **taḥawwal ʔila tayya:r sirri ʕagi:b**
   turned into an amazing mystical "current"
3. yinawwar kiti:r / w yištaġal kiti:r
   that lights a lot and works a lot.

 (MM50 – 21'7. → 22'1.)

EXC90

1. kull ṣala:h tuqaddam la-lla: / ma-fiha:-ši / ʔil-ʕana:ṣir il-ʔarbaʕa do:l /
   Every prayer offered to God lacking these four elements
   il-qalb wi-l-fikr / il-qalb wi-l-nafs wi-l-fikr wi-l-qudra
   heart, mind… heart, soul, mind and strength.
2. **yuṣi:baha xalal wa-yuṣi:baha malal**
   will be affected by confusion and tiredness.

(MM50 - 36'6. → 37'2.)

EXC91

1. ḥadd yiʔdar yiḥibb qari:bu w-la-yiba:n-ši? / ma-yiba:n-š ʕale: ʔinnu bi-yiḥibb
   Can anyone love his neighbour without being noticed that he loves
   qari:bu? / yastaḥi:l / da ʕa:wiz maḥabba yaʕni maḥabba ʕamaliyya waḍḥa ḍa:hira
   his neighbour? It is impossible. This kind of love is practical, evident and manifest
   il-kull yišufha / ik-kull yišufha ḥatta l… ʔilli lissa ma-yiʕraf-ši rabbina xa:liṣ yišufha
   everybody notices it even the one who has not yet known God at all notices it

2. **fa-yuʔmin wa-yanṭiq wa-yaṣrux bi-ʔann ha:ða: ḥubb wa-ha:ða ḥubb**
   and believes and says out loud that this is love and that this kind of love
   ʕa:li giddan wa-ha:ða ḥubb muðhil
   is sublime and astonishing.
3. izza:y bi yiʕmilu kida / ʔalla: da ḥubb ʔila:hi / da na šuftu bi-yiʕmil
   "How can they do this? Heavens, this is a divine love! I saw him doing
   ke:t w-ke:t w- ke:t |
   this and this…
(MM50 – 25'4. → 25'9.)

The dramatized segment on which MM wants to attract listeners' attention (line 2) is followed by an imaginary quote in EA.

EXC92

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1. fa-ḥna ha-nifḍal nibzil nibzil ḥatta ʔila l-mawt il-gasadi mumkin
   We will keep sacrificing ourselves even till our bodily death, maybe,
   wala:kin ma-qṣud-ši l-mawt il-gasadi
   but in fact I do not mean the bodily death
2. **ḥatta la yabqa lana šayʔ / ḥatta la naʕud naku:n maḥsu:bi:n ʔiṭla:qan**
   until nothing is left over to us, until we take no more account whatsoever
   ʕind ʔanfusna |
   of ourselves.
3. ya sala:::m yo:m ma-yifḍal-lak-š ḥa:ga / […]
   Good Lord, the day nothing is left over to you. […]
(MM50 – 84'3. → 84'5. […])

The SA-switched part highlights the final clause.

EXC93

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1. ṭabb yiʕmil ʔe:h alla:ʔ yiʕmil ʔe: ʔaktar min kida ʔinnu yixlaʔ bania:dam ḥilw kuwayyis
   What could God do more than giving life a well-formed, well-created human being
   ʕala ṣurtu w-yudaʕʕimu bi-niʕma ʔiḍa:fiyya wi-yiʔaʕʕadu fi l-firdo:s /
   in his image, sustaining him with extra grace, putting him in Paradise
   w-kull wasa:ʔiṭ al-ḥaya:h al-xayyira mawgu:da /
   and giving him all the means [to live] a good life
2. **la laʕna la ḥuzn la kaʔa:ba la tahannud la fašal la buʕd la xo:f la ʕaduww**

no curse, nor grief, nor sorrow, nor crying, nor failure, nor distance, nor fear, nor enemy,

wa-la ʔayy šayʔ | wa-li-l-ʕagab il-ʕuga:b ʔan yafqid ʔa:dam kull ha:za l-magd

just nothing. And inconceivably Adam lost all this glory

wa-kull ha:zihi / ʔal-wasa:ʔiṭ ʔallati rafaʕa... ʔalla:ti ka:nat tarfaʕ ʔa:dam

and all these means that used to... raise Adam

ʔila mùstawa la yumkin nataṣawwaru nnaharda yaka:d yaku:n

to a level that we cannot imagine nowadays. It could be

ʔaʕla min il-malà:ʔika | // [...]

higher than that of the angels [...]

(MM136 – 5'6. → 6'5. [...])

Here the dramatization of Adam losing Paradise in paragraph 2 is evident. *Innaharda* in paragraph 2. is a common EA tag borrowing. Another way of interpreting the last two lines of paragraph 2. could be a sort of 'relaxed' realization in EA of the relative final clause.

EXC94

1. w-diyyian ʕamaliyyat il-mumarsa l-haykaliyya ʔilli bi-nidxulha kull yo:m
   And this is our daily [liturgical] practice in the Sanctuary[159] when we enter,
   f ṣaff / kida munsagim gami:l da:xil yiliff ḥawale:n il-gasad il-maksu:r
   in a nice harmonious line, turning around the broken body
   w-id-damm il-masfu:k iṭ-ṭari:q il-ḥayy il-ḥadi:s ʔilli karrasu bi-nuʕbur bi:
   and the shed blood, the new and living way which he consecrated[160], we pass across it
   ʕale: ʕale: kida ka-ṣaff barḍak
   on it, on it, like this, in a line,

2. **fi ha:za ṭ-ṭari:q w-nudxul sirran ʔila qalb ʔalla: wa-nataḥassas maka:nana**
   in this way, we mystically enter into God's heart and we perceive our place
   min qalb il-masi:ḥ wa-qalb il-ʔa:b
   with respect to Christ's and the Father's heart.

3. w-nibtidi niʕmil ʔaʕma:lana l-yawmiyya | fi l-wa:qiʕ di ʕamaliyyat mumà:rasa
   We are then able to carry out our daily work. In fact, this is a practice
   mumà:rasat ḥubb
   the practice of love.

(MM50 – 50'2. → 50'6.)

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[159] The sanctuary (*haykal*) is the most sacred part of the Orthodox church because of the presence of the altar.
[160] Heb 10:20.

EXC95

1. ʕìzzina r-rahba:ni kull ʕa(:)fiyitna r-rahba:niyya miš mumkin ʔabadan ha-nimsikha
   It is impossible to really perceive all our monastic force and our monastic strength,
   fi ʔide:na f yom: w-nʔu:l ya bu:na ʔana šaʕart innaharda ʔinn ʕindi ʕa:fiya ru:ḥiyya
   one day, and say "Father, today I felt I had spiritual strength"

2. **ʔilla ʔiða ma:rasna l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʕala mustawayayh |**
   unless we practice the divine love on its two levels.

(MM50 – 102'6. → 102'8.)

EXC96

1. il-masi:ḥ qa:ʔid ṣaḥi:ḥ wala:kin ir-ru:ḥ huwa n-na:ṭiq
   It is true that Christ is the one who leads but the Spirit is the one who speaks
   w-baʕde:n šwayya šwayya ir-ru:ḥ bi-yusarbil il-ʔinsa:n yibʔa l-ʔinsa:n
   and then, little by little, the Spirit clothes man who becomes

2. **mutasarbil bi-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus yaqtani r-ru:ḥ luh ka-liba:s /**
   clothed with the Holy Spirit, he purchases the Spirit to himself as a cloth,
   ka-θo:b min nu:r // yuḍi:ʔ kull il-qalb wa-yuḍi:ʔ
   as a garment of light that illuminates every heart and

3. samḥu:ni kama:n
   forgive me, but also

4. **yuḍi:ʔ kull il-ḥawa:ss**
   it illuminates all the senses.

(MM50 – 61'7. → 62'2.)

EXC97

1. fa rab... fa-l-masi:ḥ ḥabb yiddi:na ḥa:ga tibʔa msugra miš mumkin tirgaʕ ta:ni
   So the Lord... Christ wanted to give us a 'certified' thing that could never disappear
   zayy ʔa:dam w-tḍi:ʕ w-titru:ḥ il-xali:qa | //
   unlike what happened to Adam, so that the creation could get lost again.

2. **fa:// min ʔagl kida ka:na la budd ʔan yattaḥid il-lahu:t bi-n-nasu:t**
   For this reason, the divine nature and the human nature had to be united
   ʔittiḥa:d kulli / li-taṣi:r in-niʕma bi-la / ʔimka:niyya li-mufa:raqat
   totally, so that grace could not abandon again
   iṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-bašariyya |
   the human nature.

EXC98

1. ?adi sirr ?aw is-sabab ?aw gawhar ?aw fikrit ?ittiḥa:d il-lahu:t bi-n-nasu:t
   This is the reason or the essence or the idea of the union of divinity and humanity.
   ma-huwwa:-ši še:? gabri / wa-la še:? taṣawwuri wa-la mawḍu:ʕ lahu:ti
   It is not an algebraic thing, nor a fictitious thing nor a theological topic
   li-t-taʔammul da še:? li-l-manfaʕa še:? da:xil fi ṣami:m takwi:n ḥayatna
   to be meditated about. It is a thing for our benefit that concerns the core of our lives,
   w-fikrina w-xalaṣna yo:m bi-yo:m / ?in kunt tsadda? ?illi huwwa ?ittiḥa:d
   our thought and our salvation, day by day, if you believe, I mean the union
   il-lahu:t bi-n-nasu:t
   of divinity and humanity

2. **likay yaḍman li-n-nasu:t ?aw li-l-?insa:n ?aw li-l-gasad yaḍman lahu /**
   to ensure the human nature or man or the body, to ensure them
   niʕma la: yumkin ?an tufa:riqu |
   a grace that cannot abandon them.

EXC99

1. ?ada l-lahu:t ill iḥna ʕawzi:nu w-miḥtagi:n ?ile: ?adi l-gasad w-id-damm
   Here is the theology that we want and we need, here are the body and the blood

2. **?alla:ði fi:hi n-niʕma ?alla:ti la yumkin fàṣlaha ʕan / il-gasad wa-d-damm |**
   in which there is the grace that cannot be separated from them.

EXC100

1. ʕaẓamat il-qiya:ma ba:nit hina ?inn ?a:m
   Here appears the greatness of the Resurrection: he [Christ] resurrected
   bi-gasad muntahi gasad gadi:d bi-bašariyya gadi:da
   with a completely new body, with a new humanity that

2. **la::** miš bass **la taqbal il-xaṭiyya wa-la yumkin**
   does not... that not only does not accept sin but also it cannot
   ?an yuḥkam ʕale:ha la min qari:b wa-la min baʕi:d bi-?ayy ḥukmin ka:na
   be condemned, in the least, in any whatsoever manner.
   xala:s ?intaha

It's over.

(MM136 – 49'5. → 49.8.)

In line 2 the REL clause is marked by a CS → SA to dramatize its content.

EXC101

1. fa-ʕaẓama ʕaẓama fi l-ḥaqi:qa ʔinn il-masi:ḥ
    It is, thus, really great that Christ

2. **ʔalla:ði lam yaʕrif xaṭiyya yaqbal xaṭìyyati fi gasadu li-taskun fi: /**
    who did not know sin, let my sin inhabit his body
    li-taskun fi: wa-yamu:t bi:-ha wa-yanhi ʕalayha
    inhabit himself. Then he dies with it and destroys it.

3. le:ʔ li-ʔinnu ʕu:qib xala:ṣ ʕiqa:b mo:t / ma:t |
    Why? Because he has been punished. Death, death punishment, he died.
    ʔa:xir ʕuqu:ba li-l-mawt ehm li-l-xaṭiyya l-mawt ma:t
    The last punishment for death, ehm, for sin - that is death - he suffered [he died].

4. **li-za:lik qiya:mat il-masi:ḥ w-ʔiʕṭaʔu l-bašariyya l-gadi:da**
    Therefore, the resurrection of Christ and his gift of a new humanity
    l-munazzaha ʕan il-xaṭiyya ʔayḍan / bi-l-ʔiḍa:fa ʔila l-mawt
    free from sin and from death
    wa-ma yatbaʕuhu min hà:wiya wa-wa-ʔila ʔa:xirihi
    and the resulting hell etc.

5. bi-yiwarri:na ʔadd ʔe: ʔe:h xiṭṭit il-xalaṣ di min ʔawwil it-tagassud li-l-qiya:ma /
    show us how much... the plan of salvation from the Incarnation to the Resurrection,

6. **likay yuʕi::d ʔil-xali:qa l-bašariyya marra ʔuxra ʔila gama:l xilqat alla:**
    in order to restore humanity, once again, to the beauty of God's creation
    wa-ṣù:ratu li-taḥya fi sama:ʔin gadi:da wa-ʔarḍin gadi:da
    onto his image, that it may live in a new heaven and a new earth
    wa-li-rabbina l-magd dayman ʔabadiyyan ʔami:n
    and to our Lord be the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

(MM136 – 50'9. → 51'7.)

EXC102

1. yaʕni tku:n d-diʔu:n kullaha byiaḍḍat w-kull wa:ḥid xad risa::la
    You know, our beards will all be white-haired and everyone will have taken a mission:

2. **kayfa yuṭʕim in-nufu::s wa-yarwi::ha kayfa yaqu::d / xawa:ris fi ṣ-ṣala:(h)**

how to feed and quench souls' thirst, how to lead choruses in prayer,

wa-kayfa yuʕazzi qulu:b kaθi:ri:n šuʕu:b kaθi:ra |

how to comfort the hearts of many, from all the nations.

(MM50 – 70'7. → 70'9.)

EXC103

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1. il-ʕa:lam kullu / miḥta:g giddan ʔinnu: / yistilim
    The whole world deeply needs to be delivered
2. **kayfa yaku:n masi:ḥ / fi wasṭ musaḥa:ʔ |**
    how to be a christ, in the midst of christs.

(MM50 – 94'7. → 94'8.)

In these last two examples, it seems that MM is used to dramatize specific clauses (in this case modal clauses). These data might support the hypothesis that in Egyptian Arabic there are *syntactic loci* where CS is more easily found.

EXC104

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1. ma-li:-š ʕaʔl ġe:r il-ʕaʔl ʔilli bi-yiṣalli ma-li:-š ʔiḥsa:s min guwwa
    I have no mind but a praying one, no feeling inside
    ġe:r ʔiḥsa:s ʔilli bi-yiṣalli bi-kull ʕafiyiti bi-kull imkaniyya:ti | /
    but a praying one, with all my strength and all my capabilities.
2. **hal ha:ða ṣaʕb? ʔin ka:n ʕala ṭifl lam yakun ṣaʕban**
    Is this difficult? If it was not difficult for a child,
    fa-hal huwwa ʕala qa:mat ragul ṣaʕb? ʔan nukad...
    is it difficult for a man?
3. hiya kull iṣ-ṣuʕu:ba ʔin ʔiḥna […]
    All the difficulty is that we […]

(MM50 – 47'1. → 47'4. […])

The use of rhetorical questions is a common linguistic strategy in homilies which serve to organize the discourse, move it forward and to engage the attention of the audience. After the story of his relationship with prayer when he was a child, when he could pray purely, and the other story of the *suwwāḥ*, MM switches to SA to pose a rhetorical question which serves to move the rhetorical movement forward. In fact he switches again to EA and carries on the same point, i.e. the importance to return to a "spiritual childness" to pray purely.

Conclusions

The general question this investigation started from was: what are the rhetorical motivations of the CS between SA and NA and vice-versa? That is: what is the semantics of CS in a complex operation such as that of argumentatively building an oral text (in this specific case a Christian homily)? Is CS always rhetorically meaningful and at what grammatical level? Is there any relationship with figures of speech? Does the relationship between "written language" and "spoken language" shed any light on a better understanding of CS? It was hypothesized that diglossic CS occurs with considerable frequency in Christian religious discourse, that these switches occur only at an intersentential level, that the switches are always rhetorically functional differentiating textual material, that they are like other rhetorical mechanisms, such as figures of speech, that functions of CS are distinguishable from *loci* and that patterns of rhetorical CS (i.e., *loci and functions*) are clearly definable and divisible between "general" (common to all the genres) and "particular" (specific of one genre). Finally, frequency of code-switching is related to specific parts of discourse.

From a preliminary reading of the data, it emerges that the hypothesis of a significant frequency of CS in Christian homilies is confirmed. What also seems clear is that the presence of SA and EA in the three homilies is not equally distributed. Although it is very difficult to precisely weigh the presence of the two codes in every single homily, for the methodological problems illustrated in chapter 2, it is self-evident that the homily MM50 presents very long movements in EA, the homily MM270 very long movements in high levels of the SA continuum (many cases of 'unusual' *tanwīn*, e.g. in nominative cases) while in the homily MM136 neither EA or SA seem to clearly prevail. The homily MM50, therefore, shows a rhetorical style that is mainly based on *praxis* (although other modalities are also present), MM270 mainly on *immediacy* and MM136 mainly on *reflection* (see Buttrick 1987:319-445 and §5.2.). In the three homilies also the value of CS and its rhetorical importance certainly change, depending on the "predominant" base language. This is particularly evident in the homilies MM50 and MM270: while in the former the most relevant and contrastive CS is EA → SA, due to the massive use of EA[161], in MM270 the most significant and contrastive CS is SA → EA since almost the whole homily is built up in one mode: that of *immediacy*, through a massive use of SA.

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[161] Here one can speak of what Owens calls the *additive* nature of SA, that is, SA is integrated into spoken Arabic by adjoining it to the NA base rather than by displacing it. This is not always true as seen in MM270.

It has not always been possible to find a specific *locus* or a specific function for CS though it can be said, in the light of the data, that the basic function for all the cases of CS is essentially to *generate a contrast* within the text. Any other consideration on CS of whatever nature (social, psychological, textual, participant-related or situational) must be built on this preliminary consideration. The contrast created by CS, in fact, allows the speaker to focus or de-focus on certain segments helping him argumentatively structure his discourse. The strength and the success of the argumentation is given by a "good" dosage of the contrast within the discourse. This contrast can be charged or not with the symbolic values of the codes at stake. If the contrast is not charged with symbolic values (that is it is not rhetorically functional), then what is meaningful is not the direction of CS but only the opposition itself achieved by CS. If the contrast exploits these symbolic values, and makes them rhetorically functional, it means that the direction of CS is rhetorically meaningful.

The distinction made by Auer (1995:120) of *conversational loci* and functions of CS has proved to be particularly operative, although presenting a numbers of limitations (see below). Four main *loci* have been selected for the analysis - quotation, reiteration and argumentative elaboration, prayers and praises – which comprehend other main *subloci*: quotation (biblical quotation and pseudo-quotations, self-quotation vs. allo-quotation, imaginary quotes, personalization of quotes); reiteration (semantic equivalence, elliptical repetition, elaborative repetition); argumentative elaboration (text[quotation] vs. oral comment, text[quotation] vs. parenthetical comment, abstraction vs. concretization (examples), analysis vs. synthesis, story framing, contrastive argumentation, rhetorical questions, personalization). Yet, the differentiation between *locus*/function seems to be not always functional. The data show that MM also code-switches without a specific *locus*. The function of this unlocalized CS is to give a dramatic effect to a part of a sentence in order to highlight it in the sentence and to temporarily attract listeners' attention and then relax it by code-switching again (see below). Another major difficulty encountered with the distinction *locus*/function was the overlapping of the *loci*. It is not always easy to determine where quotation ends and where reiteration begins, as often the same quote is repeated over and over again in the same monologue. The solution that was found was to consider as a quotation only the first time that this appears in the text while the following times it was considered as a repetition (i.e. a reiteration of a quotation). Still, comment can represent a repetitive segment, abstraction can represent a self-quotation, an elaborated repetition can represent a distinction between analysis vs. synthesis etc. Also, detachment and involvement (seen in §5.1.4.) seem to be attached to the switched codes in many *loci*. This means that if SA conveys abstraction it is also because it conveys

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detachment (and abstraction is, by definition, an expression of detachment). It seems that this problem, that repeats itself for all the *loci,* cannot be solved, unless we look at the *loci* as potentially multi-layered, apt to be interpreted in more than only one way. A code-switched passage can thus be read, for instance, as a repetition or a comment and explained accordingly.

Quotation involved four main *subloci*: biblical quotations or pseudo-quotations, self-quotation vs. allo-quotation, imaginary quotes and personalized quotes. Quotation of the sacred texts was realised mainly in SA. Of the 27 excerpts of quotations given in chapter 3, 14 were realized with a *verbum dicendi* in EA and 13 without any *verbum dicendi,* intermingled in the flow of the discourse as if they were MM's words. *Verbum dicendi* always appear in EA and if the context is SA, *verbum dicendi* can be the only code-switched element in the sentence. In this case, the *verbum dicendi* acts as a highlighter of the following quote, functioning as a frame. The most common function of quotation is *distanciation* and *identification* with the quotation itself. *Distanciation,* in the corpus, is to be intended as a way to add authority to the speech. This is achieved through SA which help support with *authority* MM's statements, for quotations are normally taken from sacred books. SA quotes are also used as a framing element which closes up a movement to pass on to another. Although they seem more frequent, quotations in SA are not a rule. The data show, in fact, that MM did not find any problems in quoting verses from the Gospel in EA whenever it was rhetorically profitable. Thus, CS in quotation does not always take into account the original code used and it is performed to mark polyphony of the speech. Quotations of the Bible in SA are sometimes intertwined with imaginary quotations or interactions in which different voices are realized with different codes. This is one of the functions of CS in quotation in the *corpus*: emphasizing the 'polyphony' of discourse by differentiating the plurality of 'voices' who take part in the *mise-en-scène.* Besides representing 'one of the voices' or 'one of the personalities,' EA segments are often elaborated quotation used by MM when he wants to involve listeners into the argumentation with a light and friendly tone (not with the goal of expressing authority, then) he quotes some episodes of the Gospel in EA in an attempt to personalize them and make them closer to the listeners. Christ becomes, thus, a friendly figure who speaks the everyday language. This seems different from what has been found by Bassiouney who analysed a few brief sermons of *šayx al-Šaʕrawī* who always quoted verses from the Qurʔān in CA (Bassiouney 2006:197-198).

Imaginary quotations of Christ's words can also involve both SA and EA so accordingly lengthening or shortening the distance between Christ, the speaker and the

audience. Sympathetic, involved and personal re-arrangement of Christ's words are combined with a more detached, hieratic imaginary elaboration of them.

So, in general, direction of CS is not always meaningful in quotation. When it is, the passage from EA → SA serves to add authority to the speech or to take distance from it. This kind of CS mostly took place in biblical quotations or pseudo-quotations. While the passage SA → EA serves to personalize, lighten up and identify with the quotation. This kind of CS mostly took place in imaginary quotes and personalized quotes. When it is not meaningful, CS only aims at marking a contrast that creates a polyphonic text. This kind of CS took place in the *corpus* in imaginary quotes, personalized quotes and in distinguishing self-quotation from allo-quotation.

Reiteration proved to be much more important and frequent in the *corpus* than I had expected. It involved three main *subloci*: semantic equivalence, elliptical repetition and elaborative repetition. The homily most concerned by CS in reiteration was MM50. Being an essential rhetorical mechanism in Arabic prose and speech, reiteration gives coherency, cohesiveness and rhythmicity to the speech letting ideas flow horizontally (paratactically) into one another. The first function of CS found in reiteration was, then, reducing the textual density of the homily. This seems to be essential to imprint the message repeated into the consciousness of the audience. The other functions of repetition found in the *corpus* are mainly two: *emphasizing* or *clarifying*. Whenever MM wanted to emphasize a clause or a sentence or a quotation he used to code-switch to SA (often accompanied by other prosodic mechanism such as the lengthening of vowels). Coptic was also used together with SA, especially when reiterating quotations from prayer books such as *tasbiḥa*. Whenever MM wanted to clarify he used EA, often paraphrasing the segment repeated. Personalized repetition of quotes also took place in EA. SA and EA contributed in this *locus* as well to keep distance or get involved in what was said.

Direction of CS is not always meaningful in repetition, either. When it is, the passage from EA → SA serves to emphasize or to stress a segment or a passage or to take distance from it. While the passage SA → EA serves to personalize, lighten up and identify with the repetition. When it is not meaningful, CS only aims at marking a contrast that creates a polyphonic text.

Argumentative elaboration is the *locus* which shows the greatest numbers of excerpts because it involves many *subloci*: text (quotation) vs. oral commentary, text (quotation) vs. parenthetical comment, abstraction vs. concretization (examples), analysis vs. synthesis, story framing, contrastive argumentation, rhetorical questions. As stated, this *locus* is the most complex one because it includes many mechanisms and functions that are more complex than those seen for quotation and repetition, all sharing the common

rhetorical goal of rationally elaborating the text. This *locus* does not always present sufficiently precise formal features and it can present different *subloci* depending on the *genre* of the monologues involved.

The main function of this *locus* in the *corpus* was distinguishing different rhetorical material: sacred text from comment, main flow of the elaboration from peripheral flow, abstract/theoretical material (theological dogma) from concrete or speculative material, analytical material from synthetical material. This means that CS, in this *locus*, operates many different functions: elaborating, specifying, defining, explaining, exemplifying, focusing, de-focusing, synthesizing, analysing.

This is the *locus* in which the direction of CS seems particularly meaningful, exploiting all the potential symbolic power of the codes, as seen in §1.9.. In this *locus*, also the gumperzian distinction *we-code/they-code* seems to work. In text vs. comment, text is marked by SA-ness while comment is normally EA unless the speaker wants to offer new definitions in which case he goes back and forth from EA to SA and vice-versa distinguishing his metacomment from the new definition he is trying to give. The textual part is often a quotation and, as we have seen, quotation can be done in SA and EA for specific reasons of metaphorical kinesthetics (again, detachment and involvement).

The CS from SA → EA marks (with the exception of story framing and contrastive argumentation) a passage from the *authoritative discourse* to the *internally persuasive* (see §1.9.1.3.), from the core message to the elaboration or the specification of it. MM quotes in SA and then elaborates it with glosses in EA; he gives the main text in SA and then opens marginal sequences in EA; the abstract segment is in SA and the concretization of it is in EA; SA offers synthesis while EA is used for analysis. The passage SA → EA has the main function of passing from the 'eternal level' to the 'earthly level', from the externally authoritative from the internally persuasive, by explaining a truth, offering theological speculation, clarifying a too hermetic text, de-focusing from the main flow, concretely depicting ideas. CS helps organize the different modalities of speech within the same rhetorical event. The switch EA → SA has the main function of lifting up the discourse from the 'earthly level' to the 'eternal, divine level' by offering the central point, the theological truth, the initial or final definition, focusing back on the main flow, summarizing or epitomizing a rhetorical movement. SA gives authority to the switched segment. As for quotes in SA, the code is also used as a framing element which closes up a movement to pass on to another. In this sense, given its peripheral position, SA potentially signals discourse boundaries. Of course, as said before, the direction SA → EA also means more involvement while EA → SA implies a more detached attitude.

On the other hand, the direction of CS does not seem to be particularly meaningful in story framing. What is exploited in this case is the contrast CS creates in the flow of speech to distinguish and highlight different parts of the story: climax from the main story, narrative from evaluative talk etc. MM used, for example, EA to tell the core of the story and SA to mark the incipit or the end of a it. Again, SA signals discourse boundaries, in this case story boundaries. In this case as well, overlapping of *loci* can take place. When, for example, the CS → SA indicates the end of a story it can, at the same time, aim at synthesizing it or expressing the moral one can draw from it or at achieving some detachment from it.

In the *sublocus* of contrastive argumentation the direction of CS seems to be useful and work like what Saeed defined *iconicity* (§3.1.4.1.) although this function is much more present and evident in his corpus. The main function in this *sublocus* it to distinguish once again different rhetorical material, namely theological speculation vs. theological dogma or *pars destruens* and *pars construens*: EA conveys the former while SA the latter.

Two of the hypotheses that proved not to be fully correct concern the fact that CS occurs only at an intersentential level and that CS is always rhetorically functional differentiating textual material. The cases in which these hypotheses are confirmed have been demonstrated and discussed just here above. Yet, what should be added is that data showed that many times MM code-switches without a specific *locus*. Exploiting the contrastive function of CS, the function of this kind of CS is probably dramatizing segments that represent a level less than the sentence, very often a clause, where the switching point is given by the point in which the two grammars do not conflict. MM switches to SA to emphasize a part of a sentence and to temporarily attract listeners' attention and then relax it by code-switching again to EA.

The direction of CS seems to be meaningful. The dramatized segment seems to be always in SA, normally represents the peak of the information, and it is sometimes accompanied by prosodic prominence in the form of pitch accents.

It is interesting to notice, also, that CM appeared in the corpus to be not only a grammatical solution to diglossia (by mixing the two codes where grammars overlap) but also a rhetorical solution whenever the function the speaker wants to express is not clear in mind or when functions and rhetorical goals conflict during the argumentation.

At the level of the clause, it is probably possible to speak of a sort of *rhetorical climax* through CS. The switch begins slowly in the first contextual part and it increases with SA markers until it ends the movement. The opposite process is a sort of *anticlimax*: after drawing the attention on the climax in SA, the speaker relaxes it down by code-switching to EA. Yet, topicalization seems to be a more profitable key to better understand CS at this

level. Normally SA conveys topical clauses while EA conveys the comment part. SA conveys that about which one intends to speak. By uttering a clause in SA, the speaker probably invites the interlocutor to store the following information (in EA) as relative to the proposed topic. SA represents the static part of the communication (see also §1.9.1.). Comment is conveyed by EA and normally refers to the portion of the statement that contains the higher degree of information and communicative dynamism. Nevertheless, SA often conveys the peak of the comment part or a sort of restatement of the topic in different words. This is certainly a possible development for future research. Other possible paths for research would be studying the existence of *phraseological loci,* that is syntactic or phraseological structures that are more than others "sensible" to CS, and the links between style-raising and CM.

This kind of rhetorical analysis of CS is only one of the numerous ways to interpret this phenomenon. An "all-inclusive" model for the analysis of the combination of all possible motivational variants or purposes of CS in Arabic (social, situational, psychological, speaker-related, textual) is still far from being achievable since we are faced with extremely complex texts. Like anything else that can be subjected to analysis, CS may have very different (and divergent) readings, depending on the point of view one decide to choose and on personal interpretation. As stated by many authors quoted in the theoretical part, *subjectivity* of this kind of analysis is certainly a fact to deal with.

Moreover, it is clear that not always the *loci* presented here are CS-bearers. A *locus* does not mean an automatic CS. CS, in fact, still remains a free choice, a tool that speakers can choose to use or not for many reasons. Possible influencing factors and *loci* cannot absolutely foresee CS but only suggest the possibility that it will take place more easily. As Alfonzetti writes: «il passaggio da una lingua all'altra resta sempre una possibilità, una strategia comunicativa che il parlante è libero di utilizzare o meno, per raggiungere determinati obiettivi interazionali o per risolvere problemi legati alla conduzione e all'organizzazione dell'attività conversazionale» (1992:31). It is up to the speaker to choose how to treat a subject and in which rhetorical terms. Topics themselves do not impose any fixed rhetorical technique, beyond general lines and limits which are required by a given genre. The use of CS depends on how the speaker dynamically perceives himself, the public, and the message he wants to convey and must be considered as an essentially creative tool. And creativity is, by definition, difficult to be trapped in pre-set patterns. In Arabic, potentialities offered by SA and NA are enormous and data show how the "good" use of spoken Arabic consist in a complementary use of SA together with NA, in the sense that both symbiotically contribute to the construction of discourse.

I believe that what Mejdell stated with regard to stylistic variation in Egyptian Arabic applies also for CS, namely that «we may comfortably and impatiently continue the search for regularities, while keeping in mind the variable, diffuse and only partially systematic nature of this kind of data» (Mejdell 2007:96).

Appendices

Appendix 1 Corpus

The *corpus* I analysed is taken from a more vast corpus of homilies of father Mattā al-Miskīn, also known in the English-speaking world as father Matthew the Poor (from now on, MM). MM was a prolific author. His writings concern mostly spiritual topics but there are also some works of social and political interest. In recent years, MM's writings have experienced a considerable success not only in Egypt, even though these works suffer from a boycott by ecclesiastical institutions[162], but also abroad where his works are read in Arabic – among Arab-speaker members of several Coptic immigrant communities - or in translation. Less known, especially abroad, is its vast *corpus* of oral teachings. The importance of this *corpus* should not be underestimated for several reasons. One cannot consider the fact that contemporary religious Arab culture is largely "audiophile". This means, as Kepel writes in the Islamic context that

> In the countries of the Third World, where much of the population is still unable to gain access to the written cultural, *audiovisual equipment is the prime medium* [...] The spread of the cassette player during the seventies – and every emigrant brings back several for his family when he returns from the Arabian Peninsula – changed the flow of this discourse. People can now choose the cassettes they want, and can use them as antidotes to official discourse. The cassettes recorded by the ayatollah Khomeini, for instance, were a powerful factor in the overthrow of the Shah of Iran (Kepel 1985:173; italics are mine)

Somehow orality is the privileged means of transmission of religious knowledge - even in well-educated environments. This is what Hirschikind calls "cassette technology": «[the cassette technology] makes the *acquisition of a kind of traditional knowledge possible within the times and spaces of modern urban existence,* one where the sort of long-term study, immersion, and apprenticeship characteristic of Islamic pedagogical practices has become inaccessible and impractical to most people» (Hirschkind 2001:642, italics mine).

This "ethics of listening" is shared by both Muslims and Eastern Christians. As since the early Seventies, the recordings of the rhetoric *performances* of *šayx Kišk* began to spread in Cairo (elsewhere in Egypt, between Rabat and the New York Arab-speaking Muslim communities), that would have great impact over the religious education of a

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[162] In fact, despite the official boycott, the diffusion and the reading of MM's works is tolerated, provided that this remains in the private sphere. That is why many Copts, including members of the hierarchy, read MM but avoid talking about it publicly.

whole generation, in the same way, in the same moment, in Cairo (in the rest of Egypt, between the expatriate Coptic community and to a lesser extent, among other Eastern Christians) recordings of the *iǧtimāʕāt* (sort of catechetical meetings) of many Coptic prelates, started to circulate including the Coptic patriarch himself Shenouda III whose cassettes (and now, whose CDs) are on sale at all the Coptic churches. From the Seventies onwards, this phenomenon has always been very popular despite the competition of television. However, the space dedicated to the selling and the listening of Muslim and Christian sermons is significantly unequal. Whereas the Islamic sermons, in fact, are sold in mosques and the streets and be heard even in public places (shops, transport, etc..) recordings of the Christian sermons are sold inside the churches or in Christian bookstores[163] and it is forbidden to play them in public places. The circle of sale narrows even more for MM whose cassettes (and now, whose CDs), due to mistrust in the hierarchy, are sold since the Eighties only within the walls of the monastery or in a small bookstore located in the Cairo district of Šubra (*Dār Murqus*), a subsidiary of the publishing house of the monastery.

1.0. two collections of oral texts

I have systematized a preliminary catalogue of the oral homilies of MM which has not been yet published. There are two collections of homilies in MM's oral *corpus*, one public and one private[164]. The first collection[165], which I have labelled as collection A[166] consists of five CDs that contain about 190 homilies, speeches and spiritual reflections[167], that were transferred from cassettes to mp3 format[168]. The total time of this collection is about 8,5 days[169]. The collection of recordings is organized according to a chronological order: starting from 1973 until 2001[170]. Before 1973, some monks used to take notes on

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[163] Bookstores in Egypt sell "generic" Islamic literature, but not Christian literature that has to be found in "specialized" Christian bookstores.

[164] Brother Wadīd al-Maqārī told me in April 2009 that MM's oral *corpus* does not go beyond these two collections. Other records, not included in the two collections are incomplete or too short or otherwise felt as inappropriate, according to the monks, to be published. In the period MM spent out of the monastery, some lay disciples could have certainly recorded some casual conversations with him, but of these the monks have no news.

[165] MMSM n.d.

[166] This has been organized by father Basilios al-Maqārī.

[167] The terms used by the monks are two: *ʕIẓa* or *waʕẓa* to give the homily during a liturgical function; *Kalima* or *Kalima rūḥiyya* for catechesis delivered outside the liturgy.

[168] This has been done by father Hilarion al-Maqārī. When I met him in April 2010 he told me that he was working on a great number of new recordings.

[169] To be precise it is 207h 28' 55".

[170] In April 2010, brother Wadīd al-Maqārī told me a new enriched public version was going to be published.

some personal agenda. Today many of these notes are not considered suitable for publication by the disciples[171].

In fact, the first voice recording MM dates back to 1969. This is a short message sent from Cairo to the brethren, who were in *Wadī al-Rayyān*, and were informed by MM of the decision that which would mark the destiny of the community, namely the transfer of the monastic community from *Wadī al-Rayyān* to the Monastery of St. Macarius (see Tyvaert 2003). Only in 1973 a voice recorder was introduced in the monastery for the first time which permitted the recording of the first homilies.

This very first recording is found in the second collection, which I have labelled as collection B, organized by father Pachomios al-Maqārī. Of this collection two versions exist that I have labelled as B1 and B2. The last one is a mainly corrected version of the version B1 with a few modifications in the division of homilies (e.g. each homily has been made an independent file) and it is supposed to be the "final" version. This last version (B2), contains 288 homilies in six cd-roms for a total of about 241 hours of recordings. It is not for sale but it is privately distributed to the monks. It includes all of the sermons present in the market collection (A) with a substantial number of new recordings, on various topics. Among these we find a series of forty homilies of monastic interest which includes, in addition to the catechesis given to the novices and postulants, reading and commenting on MM of *Bustan al-ruhbān[172]*. There is also a set of interviews and confidential discussions of MM, interviews with the Egyptian and the international press, with European and American Christian personalities of various Christian denominations. In the B1 and B2 collection homilies are grouped by 'topic' (e.g. "the Holy Spirit," "the Gospel in our lives"), 'occasion,' or 'feast' (e.g. "Good Friday," "Easter homilies"), 'period of the liturgical year' (e.g. "Lenten homilies," "Advent homilies") or 'verse, Gospel excerpt or book commented' (e.g. "Be transformed," "John 17," "Psalms")[173].

2.0. CONTEXT AND AUDIENCE

Homilying is one of the fundamental monastic observances. Usually, homilies are delivered by older monks to younger monks as part of the practice of *taslīm* i.e. the

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[171] Interview with brother Wadīd Maqārī 20/04/2009.

[172] Complex and heterogeneous compilation of hagiographies and apothegms of the desert fathers, in Egypt *The Garden of the monks* (considered by some scholars, such as Fiey (1972:304), the Arabic version of the IV century Palladius of Galatia's *History Lausiaca*, which was written in Greek) is seen as the main source of inspiration and reflection on monastic life. It had a similar success to that which had, in the Latin world, the *Rule* of Saint Benedict without having acquired the same legal value of the latter.

[173] For example, are aggregated into a single folder, in a CD-ROM, all the homilies of the year on various holidays of Christmas, the fasting of Lent etc.

'transmission / consignation' of the monastic experience, that is the transmission of a tradition inspired by the Spirit and lived by the Apostles and the Fathers of monasticism, and not mere academic knowledge as a result of intellectual speculation.

On the occasion of pilgrims' visits (young people, married couples, catechists, students, the workers who have worked for years in the monastery reconstruction) MM used to deliver a homily on a theme that approached their interests[174]. The audience was often a mix of monks and lay people.

MM's oral teachings took place on fixed locations: inside the monastery or in an annex of the monastery on the Egyptian North coast. Within the monastery of St. Macarius the places where MM used to delivery his homilies, during the liturgy[175], were: the three main churches of the monastery (the church of St. Macarius, the church of the forty-nine Martyrs of Scetis, the church of St. Apaschiron); the *māʔida* (at the same time 'refectory' and chapterhouse), where the monks gather for lunch and for teaching, since the second half of the Eighties[176], was the privileged place where MM pronounced his homilies outside the liturgical functions, besides being also the place where *Bustān al-ruhbān* was read and commented during common meals; in the annex of the monastery we have the recording of four homilies (MM-266,267,268,269)[177] delivered to some monks who had gone to visit MM in 1994; the guesthouse attached to the monastery was used as a place of teaching when the audience was composed by lay people.

According to his disciples, MM never read any work of *ars praedicandi* thus remaining faithful to the Christian monastic tradition of homilying by following the inspiration of the Spirit without being bound by rules of 'good rhetoric' as stated by Leclerq: «In monasticism, they were content to imitate the models of genius that the Fathers of the Church had been [...] and to follow their suggestions [...]. Artifice is reduced to the minimum; it plays no greater part than that accorded it in ancient rhetoric where eloquence makes sport of eloquence, and *where technique was never a substitute for inspiration*» (1982:174, italics mine). Most of the times, in fact, MM delivered his homilies without written note. Sometimes he used a sketch in which he concisely marked the main

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[174] For instance, during the visit of some medical students MM delivered a homily entitled *al-ʕilm wa-l-inǧīl* ('Science and the Gospel', 12/23/1975).

[175] Since 1969, the year of the entry to the monastery of St. Macarius, until 2006, the date of his death, MM was the only one who delivered the homily during the liturgy or, in general, before the whole assembly of monks. Even today, during the liturgical celebrations, none of the monks deliver homilies but usually one of the elders reads a written text of MM or an transcribed oral homily. Interview with brother Wadīd al-Maqārī, April 2009.

[176] Interview with brother Wadīd.

[177] *aṣ-ṣalāh bi-lā inqiṭāʕ wa-lā malal* ('Praying always and without tiredness', cf. Lk 18:1), 6.2.1994; *aṣ-ṣalāh wa-r-rūḥ al-qudus* ('Prayer and the Holy Spirit'), 20.2.1994; *kayfa naǧlib al-malal fi aṣ-ṣalāh* ('How to overcome boredom in prayer"), 20.2.1994.

points of the speech which he developed during the homilies. The same notes often served as a starting point for his books[178].

3.0. TRANSCRIBED HOMILIES

I have listened to more than 20 hours of recordings and I have transcribed three homilies which represent 179 minutes. In doing this I have tried to:

(i) diachronically choose them over the chronological space of 30 years (one in the Seventies, one in the Eighties, one in the Nineties);

(ii) choose different typologies, although the same homily contains many typologies with itself (one monastic/moral theology, one exegetical/festal/soteriological, one ascetical);

(iii) choose different duration (from 19 minutes to 109 minutes).

The chosen homilies are the following:

1. *al-maḥabba* ('Love') (1975) (it will be referred to as MM-50, according to the catalogue), 109 minutes (unpublished);

2. *samāʔ ğadīda wa-ʔarḍ ğadīda* ('A new heaven and a new earth,' Rev 21:1) (1980) (it will be referred to as MM-136, according to the catalogue), 51 minutes (published in *Murqus*, n. 4/80, with the title "al-qiyāma wa-l-xalīqa");

3. *ṣalāt aṣ-ṣurāx* ('Outcrying prayer') (labelled as MM-270 in the catalogue, it will be referred to as MM-270, according to the catalogue) (1994), 19 minutes (unpublished), was delivered at the Monastery's annex.

3.1. MM-50 OUTLINE

In almost all the recordings, there is an initial announcement about introducing the content. The typical introduction is as follows: *Dayr al-qiddīs Anbā Maqār bi-barriyyat Šihīt. ʕiẓa (or kalima) li-ʔabīnā ar-rūḥī al-qummuṣ Mattā al-Miskīn ʕan* (topic). *ʔulqiyat yawm* (date) ('Monastery of St. Macarius, Desert of Scetis. Homily (or speech) of our spiritual father the hegumen Mattā al-Miskīn about (topic). Pronounced on (date)'). In this homily the introduction is as follows: *Dayr al-qiddi:s Anba Maqa:r bi-barriyyat Šihi:t | / kalima li-ʔabi:na: r-ru:ḥi: al-qummuṣ Matta al-Miski:n ʕan il-maḥabba / muwaǧǧaha li-l-ʔaba:ʔ ir-ruhba:n fi masa:ʔ is-sabt xamsa ʔapri:l ʕa:m ʔalf tusʕumiyya xamsa w-sabʕi:n* ('Monastery of St. Macarius, Desert of Scetis. Speech of our spiritual father the hegumen Mattā al-Miskīn about "Love", addressed to the fathers monks the evening of Saturday 5th of April 1975').

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[178] Interview with brother Wadīd al-Maqārī.

The day in which the homily was pronounced was the eve of the Samaritan woman's Sunday.

The subject of this homily is 'Love'. After opening with the traditional formula ('In the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God, amen') and enunciating the topic, MM quotes the long passage of Jn 17. Then he comments the passage, contextualizing it within the monastic life. New quote from 1 Corinthians 12-13, the so-called 'St. Paul's hymn to love'. Again the passage is recontextualized within the monastic experience. A series of story-telling explains the outer level of love (towards our neighbour) and the inner one (towards God), interspersed with various quotes from the Gospel.

The effect of the outer level of love is ensured by the verse Mt 6:3. Long *flash-backs* tell two autobiographical experiences of MM: his relationship with prayer as a child (the story of the family prayer) and his precocious awareness (the story of the *suwwāḥ*). The moral is: union with God takes place when we are children, it is essential to go back to our childhood to learn how to pray. Man has to love God with all his heart, all his soul, all his mind and all his strength (Dt 6:5).

A story (that of a child who continues to praise God even after being killed) is used to explain how man continuously praises God when he is clothed with the Holy Spirit (the inner level of love). Others stories that have taken place in the monastery and are known to the monks are used to explain the *praxis* of love, the outer level, which is linked to the inner level as a plant which is planted and must be watered in order to give fruits: man must be watered by the Holy Spirit in order to practice love. Then he passes on to the importance of losing one's own life (Mt 16:25) through the practice of love.

MM introduces a quotation from the Gospel of Matthew (25:35-36) which clears the way for a long reflection on the fact that the external acts of love are in fact accomplished to Christ himself. The apparent paradox is that we take from Christ to give Christ. The world need new christs who are able to work like Christ worked when he was on earth. God is love and cannot be reached but through love. The homily is closed by the ending prayer.

3.2. MM-136 OUTLINE

This homily, entitled *samāʔ gadīda wa-ʔarḍ gadīda* ('A new heaven and new earth' – Rev 21:1), is introduced by the following *incipit: kalima li-quds abi:na r-ru:ḥi ʔal-qummuṣ matta l-miski:n ʔulqiyat ṣaba:ḥ yo:m ʕi:d il-qiya:ma l-magi:d sitta ʔabri:l sanat ʔalf w-tisʕumiyya w-tamani:n bi-dayr al-qiddi:s il-ʔanba maqa:r bi-barriyyat Šihi:t* ('Speech of our

reverend spiritual father hegumen Mattā al-Miskīn, delivered in the morning of the great feast of Easter, 6th april 1980, in the St. Macarius, Desert of Scetis'). After opening with the traditional Trinitarian formula, MM quotes from Rev 21:1-4, greets the audience with the Paschal greeting ('Christ is risen!') and states the topic: Christ's death and resurrection's goal was to create a new earth and a new heaven after Adam's fall.

Then he starts to evaluate Adam's high position in heaven before the fall. God's solution to the fall of man was not to physically re-create man but to put on everything belongs to the human nature, uniting his divine nature with the human one, in order to ensure that man will not fall from grace again, that he will thus fulfil the goal that God set for his existence and obtain the glory that the human race had in heaven (Jn 17:22). He then goes back and forth from Adam's fall to Christ's restoration of the human race through death and resurrection. Later on he comments on a statement by Athanasius of Alexandria according to which Christ took from the Virgin Mary a created body that he divinized so that it acquired all the attributes of divinity. Christ's resurrection was inevitable because in him humanity, which was subject to death, was perfectly united with divinity which is eternal. After his resurrection Christ gave us himself in many ways: through faith, through Baptism, through the Word, through prayer, through the Eucharist. Christ not only took on himself the sin of the world but became sin himself, he united with it in his body that died on the cross. Then he resurrected with a new body not subject neither to sin nor to death. By his death and resurrection the creation is restored to its primordial beauty to live in a new heaven and a new earth.

3.3. MM-270 OUTLINE

This homily, entitled ṣalāt aṣ-ṣurāx ('Outcrying prayer'), has no *incipit* and no Trinitarian formula. The main topic is the need to pray intensely. MM states that the present historical period is enveloped in spiritual darkness and God asks believers to pray with tears. The Church is not immune from this 'spiritual night' because, similar to the lukewarm church of the Revelation (the church of the Laodiceans, see Rev 3:14-22), it claims to be satisfied with itself while it is divided within itself and in need of God's mercy. Prayer must spring from sincere wounded hearts, just as Christ's prayer arose in the Gethsemane. The world needs outcrying prayers that move to pity God the Father's heart. One of the elements that distinguish a genuine from a non-heartfelt prayer is the cry of the heart and sincere tears. Often God does not immediately answer the prayers of the believers because he desires that man prays more intensely and, therefore, in a more

sincere way. MM concludes the prayer by asking God that hearts may pray unceasingly and with an outcrying attitude.

Appendix 2 Transcription conventions

I have made a phonemic transcription (large transcription). I used some traditional characters of the transliteration of Arabic (e.g. ṣ, ṭ etc.), some characters taken from the International Phonetic Alphabet (e.g. θ, ð etc.) and other unusual but practical characters (e.g. ʔ, ḍ). Being SA, Cairene EA and Delta EA used by MM alternatively, the result is a mutual influence between them at every level of linguistic structure and so it goes for phonology. Performance of SA tend to reflect the phonology of the speaker's dialect(s) (see Harrell 1960:6-30). None of the so called 'religious' phonetic features (see Holes 1995:55-56) occur in the texts. This seems to confirm that these features only characterize Islamic religious discourse.

1.1. CONSONANTS

The consonants of SA and EA and the symbols used for transcriptions in the following chapters are as follows.

places of articulation		manners of articulation						
		plosive		fricative		affricate	lateral	trill	nasal	approximant

places of articulation		plosive	fricative	affricate	lateral	trill	nasal	approximant
bilabial		(p) b					m	
labiodental			f (v)					w
interdental			θ ð					
	velarized		ḍ					
dental		t d	s z		l			
	velarized	ṭ ḍ	ṣ ẓ		l**			
postalveolar			š ž	ǧ		r	n	
palatal								y
velar		k g	x ġ					
uvular		q						
pharyngeal			ḥ ʕ					
glottal		ʔ/ʔ*	h					

(x) = marginal, occurring in foreign loans *ʔ = a glottal stop which is etymologically a /q/ ** every time /l/ appears in the word /alla:h/ is velarized

The symbols /p, v, ž/ stand for segments of marginal phonemic status, occurring only in unassimilated loanwords, e.g. /parakli:t/ 'Paraclite', /servant/ 'servant (eng.)',

/ʕilm il-anθropoloži/ 'Anthropology'. Sometimes the same word can be uttered with /p/ and /b/ e.g. /parakli:t/ or /barakli:t/. I have included the double 'standard' realization of the SA letter ظ in Egypt i.e. /ẓ/ and /ḍ/ and the double realization (SA or EA) of /ج/ i.e. the common /g/ and the less common /ǧ/.

As regards EA, I have not written down what I thought to be easily recognizable to those who know EA and, moreover, not essential for the analysis. On the contrary, I have distinguished the glottal stop which is etymologically a ء, e.g. /raʔs/ 'head' from that which is etymologically a ق /ʔalb/ 'heart'. No distinction has been made for those instances in which the dental fricative is actually etymologically interdental (or predental) i.e. /za:lika/ 'that' (→ /ða:lika/) or /sa:bit/ 'fixed' (→ /θa:bit/). I have not recorded secondary velarization i.e. /g(i)ra:n/ 'neighbours' → /ga:ṛi/ 'my neighbour' but /gary/ 'running'. Neither have I recorded /ḷ/ because it is pronounced systematically in the word /alla:h/ only (cfr. Ferguson 1978). Most of the remaining consonants may be velarized when in proximity to one of the primary or secondary velarized consonants e.g. /ṇuṣṣ/ 'half' or /ḷa:ḥiẓ/ 'notice'. Since this is the case also for vowels (see next paragraph) I used Harrell's (1957) and Schmidt's (1974) approach, that is to treat velarization «as a prosodic feature which occurs over a segment of varying length but at least as long as one syllable» (Schmidt 1974:45). Velarization of syllables has not be noted down.

No allophonic utterances have been noted down e.g. /ḍaxṭ/ has been noted as /ḍaġṭ/, /ʔiktamaʕ/ as /ʔigtamaʕ/. An exception is /ba-kkallem/ which is distinguished by /ba-tkallem/ which may give a hint about the diglossic characterization of an utterance.

1.2. VOWELS

SA has three short vowels /a, i, u/ and three long vowels /a:, i:, u:/ and two diphthongs /aw, ay/. EA has five long vowels /a:, i:, u:, e:, o:/ with /e:/ and /o:/ being the monophthongization of the SA diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ respectively. When long vowels are pronounced somehow short brackets have been put around the colon e.g. /yilumu(:)ni/.

As most authors do (see Schmidt 1974:46) only three short vowels have been transcribed as in SA /a, i, u/.

/a/ tends to be pronounced as [æ], but is more centralized and less open, closer to [ɐ], except when it occurs before or after velarized consonants, in velarized syllable or in some cases before and after /q/ or /r/. In such cases, a is pronounced farther back in the mouth as [ɑ], e.g. [sɑmmim] 'he insisted', [bɑṛṛ] 'terra firma'. When it occurs before or after /ʕ/ and /ḥ/ it is pronounced more open as [a] e.g. [ħansi:b] 'we will leave'. /a:/

tends to be pronounced as [æ:], but is more centralized and less open, closer to [ɐ:], except when it occurs before or after velarized consonants, in velarized syllable or in some cases before and after /q/ or /r/. In such cases, /a:/ is pronounced farther back in the mouth as [ɑ:], e.g. /ʕa:r/ [ʕɑ:ṛ], [ʐɑ:bit] 'officer', [sɑ:bir] 'patient', [maqɑ:l] 'article', [tarɑ:ʔa] 'he revealed himself'.[179] All the allophones of the short a have been noted as /a/ and all those of the long a have been noted as /a:/. Epenthetic /a/ has been noted e.g. /ḥubbaha/ 'her love'. I have made no distinction between alif maqṣūra, alif mamdūda and alif madda. All of them have been transcribed a, a(:) or a: according to the length of the pronunciation.

The EA pronunciation of the vowel /i/ has a much wider allophonic range than the comparable vowel in English or in French. /i/ is often near-close and near-frontal so that some authors transcribe it as /e/. Schmidt affirms that there is, in fact, no real phonematic opposition i/e or /u/o (1974:47). Woidich/Heinein-Nasr use /e/ and /o/ only to distinguish the shortened /i:/ and /u:/ from normal /i/ and /u/ (see 2004:4). Here, the shortening of /i:/ has always been transcribed as /i/ and not /e/ e.g. /tigibha/ 'you bring her' where a phenomenon of shortening takes place from the word /tigi:b/ 'you bring' because the long vowel is followed by two consonants. The same has been done in every other case of shortening of vowels, e.g. /bi-tʔu:l/ + /luh/ + /kaza/ → /bi-tʔul-lu kaza/ 'you tell him so and so' (syllables: bit/ʔu:l/luh/ka/za; here the final CV:C – second syllable - ceases to be word final as a result of bound morpheme suffixation so the long vowel in the syllable is shortened). But /bi-tʔu:l/ + /uh/ → /bi-tʔu:luh/ (syllables: bit/ʔu:/luh/)

It is sometimes realized as a closed non-labialized prevelar [ɨ] which occurs next to the velarized consonants e.g. [ṣɨnɑ:ʕa] 'industry'. The allophones of /i/ have not been noted down. So 'our house' (from /be:t/) and 'we spent the night' (from /ba:t/) will be both transcribed as /bitna/. The epenthetic or helping vowel /i/ e.g. /ḥilw[i] ʔawi/ 'very nice' or /kull[i] sana/ 'every year/ has not been noted down excepted when followed by suffix pronouns e.g. /ḥubbina/ 'our love'. The prosthetic vowel /ə/ e.g. /əl-waʔt/ '(the) time' has been noted as /i/: /il-waʔt/.

Like for the shortened /i:/, the shortened /u:/ has been transcribed as /u/ and not /o/: e.g. /yiṭulha/ [yiṭʊlɑ] 'he reaches her' (from /yiṭu:l/). The epenthetic vowel /u/ has been noted down e.g. /šuftuhum/ 'I saw them'.

All other cases of shortened vowels have been signalled (see Abdel-Massih 2009:324-327).

Elision at word boundaries (see Abdel-Massih 2009:320) has been noted down only in some cases e.g. /šafu:/ + /ʔimba:riḥ/ → /šafu: mba:riḥ/ 'they saw him yesterday'. Elision of /i/ and /u/ from word-initial CiC- CuC- (see Abdel-Massih 2009:321) has been noted down e.g. /ʔinta/ + /bi-tidris/ → /ʔinta b-tidris/ 'you study'.

Figure 6 Vowels.

1.3. STRESS

«The conventions for word stress in 'secular' MSA reflect the rules for stress placement in the urban dialects spoken in the Mashreq (=the eastern Arab world), i.e. Egypt and the countries to the east of it. And just as between certain of these dialects there is a degree of variation in stress placement in certain syllabic concatenations (in particular between Egypt and the rest), so there is a corresponding fluctuation in regional realizations of these same concatenations in MSA» writes Holes (1995:50). In fact, stress rules are not always clear in SA. Stress is shaped almost totally by the NA stress (see Holes 1995:50-70). Moreover, the difference is often between Cairene EA and the rest while non-Cairene EA has often a stress which is similar to that of non-Egyptian mashriqi countries.

Cairene EA has one primary stress (more prominent) which is on the penult (i.e., pre-final syllable), e.g. /yiʕmìlu/ 'they do', /matkàba/ 'library'. The final syllable is stressed when (a) it contains a long vowel, e.g. /ʕamalù/ 'they made it' or when (b) it ends in two consonants, e.g. (b) /ʕamàlt/ 'I made'. The antepenult (i.e., the third from the end) is stressed if the last three syllables have the structure CVCV(C), e.g. /šàbaka/ 'net', /ʕàmalit/ 'she made', /munfaṣila/ 'separated (f.)'. On the contrary, when the structure CVCVCV(C) constitutes a feminine singular of a perfect tense verb whose final V(C) is a pronoun suffix then the primary stress is on the penult, e.g. /šafìtu/ 'she saw him'. If the structure CVCVCV(C) constitutes a broken plural with identical vowels in the first two syllable, e.g. /ḥiṣìna/ 'horses'[180].

Cairene MS speakers stress SA forms of four or more syllables in a typical way which is different from other Egyptian or non Egyptian dialects. Not existing in Cairene EA, long vowels in antepenultimate position are neutralised and stress falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g. /muqa:bala/ → /muqa:bàla/ 'meeting' (see Tomiche 1964:91). Yet, Delta EA might bring the accent back on the long vowel, i.e. /muqà:bala/. Thus, both competing forms exist in the texts. Forms like /ʕamaltuhu/ 'I made it' or /ʔannahu/ where the antepenultimate should normally be stressed may be stressed on the penultimate, e.g. /ʕamaltùhu/, /ʔannàhu/ or, under the influence of the dialectal verb form /ʕamàltuh/ and /ʔinnu/, may also be stress sometimes as /ʕamàltuhu/ or /ʔànnahu/.

Whenever the accent in the text is not Cairene (that is influenced by the Delta native dialect of MM) I have signalled that by putting an accent, e.g. /yumàggidak/ 'he glorifies you', /nàfsina/ 'our soul' etc.

1.4. ARTICLE

Article has been transcribed as /l-, al-, ʔal-, il-, ʔil-/. The assimilated article has been noted, e.g. /š-šams, aš-šams, ʔaš-šams, iš-šams, ʔiš-šams/. Non-assimilated cases (e.g., /al-sabab/) of the article are frequent and have been signalled.

1.5. AMBIGUOUS WORD BOUNDARIES

Word boundaries are not always clear, especially when words are in close transition. As Mejdell states «in a transcription and analysis of mixed styles, involving both basic codes, in addition to deviations in usage from both – especially with regard to lack of liaison with a following article, the issue has wider implications. For instance, whether I

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[180] I have used Abdel-Massih, Abdel-Malek & Badawi 2009:254.

transcribe *daras al-kimya* or *darasa l-kimya* 'he studies chemistry', would seem to reflect different interpretations of code assignment: the first, *daras*, would be considered a neutral verb form (shared by EA and pausal form SA); the second, *darasa* a SA full form» (2006:86). Here the same system used by Mejdell has been adopted: functionally ambiguous cases of short vowels /a/ and /i/ have been transcribed as if belonging to the following article, expected cases where the context is clearly +SA.

Preverbs have been generally transcribed as attached to the following word with a hyphen (e.g. *bi-yiʔuːl* 'he says' etc.). Prepositions have been transcribed according to orthography (e.g. *li-l-insaːn* 'to man' but *fi l-beːt* 'in the house'). EA preverbs as bi- and ha-, have been transcribed as ba- and ha- when prefixed to 1PS imperfect verbs, e.g. *ba-ʔurakkiz* 'I concentrate', *ha-ʕiːš* 'I will live'. The EA intensive particle *ma* has always been transcribed separated from the following word, also when the word is a pronoun, e.g. *ma hu* 'but in fact he...', *ma na* 'but in fact I...'.

When the preposition *li-* follows a verb, it has been noted with a hyphen: e.g. *ʔaʔul-lu* 'I tell him,' *ʔulti-lu* 'I told him,' *ʔal-lak* 'he told you' etc.

1.6. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF MM'S IDIOLECT

Probably born in Banhā in 1919, MM lived across various towns of the Delta (mainly Banhā, al-Manṣūra and Damanhūr) until 1948, the year in which he took his vows. MM's way of speaking presents many linguistic traits influenced by his origin. Among these, the most relevant are the following:

▸ *accentuation* is of the kind: sàmak, sàmaka, yìktib, yìktibu, (y)ikàl(li)mu, màktaba (see Woidich & Behnstedt 1985, map 59);

▸ the use of /ǧ/ instead of /g/ might be the result of the contact with ṣaʕīdī people (in the various monasteries he lived in) or the normal use of some microregions in the Delta as shown in Woidich & Behnstedt 1985, map 11;

▸ *lexical particularities*: the use of *ʔilwaʔti* (see Woidich & Behnstedt 1985, map 178, 179);

▸ *syllable*: 'break-up' (*aufsprengung*) of –CC# → [CvC] in words like *suxn* → *suxun* (see Woidich & Behnstedt 1985, map 51);

▸ *verbal forms*:
  - verbal modification (3pms, imperfect tense): *b-imsik* instead of *bi-yimsik* (see Woidich & Behnstedt 1985, map 223);
  - verbal stems

V form (imperfect): yitkallam instad of *yitkallim* (see Woidich & Behnstedt 1985, map 226, 232, 237);

passive: *yinḍarab* (instead of *yinḍirib*) (see Woidich & Behnstedt 1985, map 245, 252) or *yitbana* (instead of yitbini) (map 295, 296).

Appendix 3 Transcription of the homilies
Transcription of the homily MM-50

0

1 bi-sm il-ʔa:b wa-l-ibn wa-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus il-ila:h il-wa:ḥid ami:n | /// ha-nitkallim /// ʕan

2 il-maḥabba // w-ʔaxta:r faṣle:n // ʕaša:n bass yibʔu madxal // ʔaw fi l-wa:qiʕ / miš

3 madxal li-l-mawḍu:ʕ / wala:kin // quwwa dafʕa li-n-nafs // ʕaša:n tuhayyaʔ fi

1

1 l-ʔiḥsa:s bi-l-maḥabba | // li-ʔinn lamma ha-nitkallim ʕan il-maḥabba // maʕna:

2 ha-nitkallim ʕan / il-ḥaya: kullaha / li-ʔinnaha ḥaya:t il-masi:ḥ | w-ʔaxta:r faṣle:n // faṣl

3 min famm il-masi:ḥ w-faṣl min famm / ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus ʕala / lisa:n / bu:lis ir-rasu:l | ///

4 min ingi:l /// yu:ḥanna r-rasu:l il-ʔiṣḥa:ḥ is-sa:biʕ ʕašar | // takallama yasu:ʕ bi-ha:ða:

5 wa-rafaʕa ʕayne:hi naḥw as-sama:ʔ wa-qa:l / ʔayyuha: l-ʔa:b qad ʔa:tati s-sa:ʕa / maggid

6 ibnak li-yumàggidak ibnak ʔayḍan | / ʔið ʔaʕṭaytahu sulṭa:nan ʕala kulli gasad li-yuʕṭi

7 ḥaya:tan abadiyya

2

1 li-kulli man ʔaʕṭàytahu | / ha:ðihi hiya l-ḥaya:t il-ʔabadiyya ʔan yaʕrifu:k / ʔanta l-ʔila:h

2 il-ḥaqi:qi / waḥduk wa-yasuʕ il-masi:ḥ illa:ði ʔarsaltu(h) | // ʔana maggattak ʕala l-ʔarḍ |

3 // ʔal-ʕamal ʔalla:ði ʔaʕṭàytani / li-ʔaʕmal qad ʔakmaltu(h) / wa-l-a:n maggidni ʔanta

4 ʔayyuha l-a:b ʕand ða:tika bi-l-magd illa:ði: ka:n li: ʕindak qabl kawni l-ʕa:lam | / ʔana

5 ʔaḏhart ismak il-qudd… ismak li-n-na:s / ʔalla:zi:na ʔaʕṭàytani mini l-ʕa:lam | / ka:nu

6 laka wa-ʔaʕṭàytahum li: wa-qad ḥafaḍu kala:mak / wa-l-ʔa:n ʕalimu ʔanna kulla ma

7 ʔaʕṭàytani huwa min ʕindak / li-ʔanna l-kala:m ʔalla:ði ʔaʕṭàytani ʔaʕṭàytuhum wa-hum

8 qabalu wa-ʕalimu yaqi:nan ʔanni xaragtu min ʕindak wa-ʔamanu ʔannak ʔanta ʔarsàltani

9 / min ʔaglihim ʔana ʔasʔal / lastu ʔasʔal min ʔagl il-ʕa:lam bal min ʔagl alla:ði:na

10 ʔaʕṭàytani li-ʔànnahum lak | //

3

1 kull ma huwa li: fa-huwa lak wa-ma huwa lak huwa li: wa-ʔana mumaggadun fi:hum | /

2 lastu ʔana baʕd fi l-ʕa:lam wa-ʔamma haʔula:ʔ fa-hum fi l-ʕa:lam wa-ʔana ʔa:ti ʔile:k | /

3 ʔayyuha l-ʔa:b il-quddu:s ʔiḥfaḏhum fi ʔismak | / ʔallaði:na ʔaʕṭàytani li-yaku:nu

4 wa:ḥidan kama naḥnu | / ḥi:na kunt maʕahum fi l-ʕa:lam kunt ʔaḥfaḏhum fi ʔismika | /

5 ʔalla:ði:na ʔaʕṭàytani ḥàfaẓtuhum wa-lam yahlik minhum ʔaḥad ʔilla ibn il-hala:k /

6 li-yatimma l-kita:b | / ʔamma l-ʔa:n fa-ʔinni ʔa:ti ʔile:k / wa-ʔatakallam bi-ha:ða fi

7 l-ʕa:lam li-yaku:na lahum faraḥi ka:milan fi:hum | / ʔana ʔaʕṭàytahum kala:mak

8 wa-l-ʕa:lam ʔabġaḍhum li-ʔànnahum laysu mina l-ʕa:lam kama: ʔanni ʔana / lastu mina

9   l-ʕa:lam | / lastu ʔasʔal ʔan taʔxuðhum min il-ʕa:lam bal ʔan taḥfaḏhum mina š-širri:r /

10 laysu: min il-ʕa:lam kama ʔanni ʔana lastu min il-ʕa:lam | / qaddishum fi ḥaqqika | /

11 kala:muka huwa ḥaqq | / kama

4

1   ʔarsàltani ʔila l-ʕa:lam ʔarsàltuhum ʔana ʔila l-ʕa:lam / wa-li-aglihim ʔuqaddis ʔana ða:ti

2 li-yaku:nu: hum ʔayḍan muqaddasi:na fi l-ḥaqq | / wa-lastu ʔasʔal min ʔagl haʔula:ʔ faqaṭ

3 bal ʔayḍan min ʔagl illa:ði:na yuʔminu:na bi: bi-kala:mihim /li-yaku:na l-ğami:ʕ wa:ḥidan

4 kama ʔànnaka ʔanta ʔayyuha l-ʔa:b fiyya wa-ʔana fi:k / li-yaku:nu hum ʔayḍan wa:ḥidan

5 fi:na // li-yuʔmin il-ʕa:lam ʔannaka ʔarsaltani / wa-ʔana ʔaʕṭàytahum il-magd illa:ði

6 ʔaʕṭàytani li-yaku:nu wa:ḥidan kama ʔànnana naḥnu wa:ḥid | / ʔana fi:hum wa-ʔanta

7 fiyya / li-yaku:nu mukammali:na ʔila wa:ḥid | / wa-li-yaʕlam il-ʕa:lam / ʔannaka

8 ʔarsàltani wa-ʔaḥbàbtahum ka-ma ʔaḥbabtani / ʔayyuha l-ʔa:b ʔuri:d ʔanna haʔula?

9 ʔalla:ði:na ʔaʕṭàytani yaku:nu:na maʕi ḥayθu ʔaku:n ʔana / li-yànḍuru magdi lla:ði:

10 ʔaʕṭàytani li-ʔannaka ʔaḥbàbtani qabla ʔinša:ʔ il-ʕa:lam | / ʔayyuha l-ʔa:b il-ba:rr ʔana…

11 ʔinna l-ʕa:lam lam yaʕrifak /

5

1   ʔamma ʔana fa-ʕariftak wa-haʔula:ʔ ʕarifu ʔànnaka ʔanta ʔarsaltani / wa-ʕarràftahum

2 ʔismak wa-sa-ʔuʕarrifhum li-yaku:na fi:hum ʔal-ḥubb ʔalla:ði ʔaḥbàbtani bi:-(h)

3 wa-ʔaku:n ʔana fi:hum» | /// il-aṣḥa:ḥ kullu ṣaḥi:ḥ ma-zukir-ši fi: bi-wuḍu:ḥ ʔilla l-ʔa:ya

4 l-ʔaxi:ra ʕan il-maḥabba wala:kin il-kala:m kullu ʕa:ṭir ʕa::ṭir bi-l-ḥubb ir-raqi:q | /

5 yaʕni ʔa::xir ma qaddamahu l-masi:ḥ ʕala l-ʔarḍ ṣala:h munsakiba kùllaha / maša:ʕir

6 raqi:qa ʔašadd ir-riqqa min naḥw / miš bas tala:mizu min naḥw kull illi bi-yuʔminu bi:

7 w-illi ha-yuʔminu bi: | ʔaraqq maša:ʕir simiʕna:ha

6

1   ʕan alla: / ʔišʔu:litha ʔilli bi-yiʔu:l / bi-yiʔu:lu w-fi l-wa:qiʕ yaʕni ʔana ba-ṣiġha / law kan

2 ʔalla: / ʔaxla:ʔu zayy il-masi:ḥ / yibʔa ʔalla: ḥilw | // [he raises a smile] // ṣaḥi:ḥ yaʕni

3 hiya gumla šwayya ġariba fi tarki:baha wala:kin ʕùmqaha / sali:m li-l-ġa:ya | // w-da

4 yiwarrilak ʔinn il-masi:ḥ huwa fiʕlan ʔila:h bi-la šakk | / min ġe:r il-masi:ḥ ʔalla: ḥa-yifḍal

5 // ḥa:ga kbi:ra ʔawi ʔawi ʔawi / ʔawi ʔawi mahu:la še:ʔ la niha:yata lahu muxi:f |

6 man yastaṭi:ʕ ʔan yara: man yastaṭi:ʕ ʔan yaʕrifu man yastaṭi:ʕ ʔan ʔan yuqbil ʔile: man

7 yastaṭi:ʕ ʔan yaddaʕi ʔan yaku:n lahu ṣadi:q ʔaw ʔibn ʔaw ḥabi:b | /

7

1   ha:ða ʔalla:h il-muxi:f // ʔal-baʕi:d giddan giddan ʕan ṭabi:ʕatina wa-ʕan ʔidra:kana

2 w-baʕde:n bi-yiḥibbu bardak ʔaḥya:nan fi l-la:hu:t it-tagri:di yiwṣifu: il-ġe:r il-mawṣu:f

3 w-ġe:r il-mafḥu:ṣ w-ġayr il-muḥwa: wa-ġayr il-madr… il-mudrak wa-ġayr il-mafhu:m /

4 wa-ġayr wa-ġayr w-ḥuṭṭ zay ma nta ʕa:wiz ġayr ġayr ġayr ġayr | ge:h il-masi:ḥ //

5   w-warra:na / miš ha-tkallim ʔilla ʕan naḥya waḥda faqaṭ ʔilli hiya ʕan il-maḥabba ʕan

6   il-ḥubb | / fa-kašaf alla: / ʕirifna ʔalla: / w-ṣa:r ʔalla: / še:ʔ ḥabi::b giddan miš še:ʔ kibi:r

7   giddan še:ʔ ḥabi::b giddan li-daragit ʔinn ʔiḥna nʔul-lu / la la la baʔa / ʔinta baʔe:t ṣadi:q

8   li:na / ʔiḥna kunna bi-nxa:fak giddan laʔ ʔiḥna bi-nḥibbak giddan | /

8

1   fi l-wa:qiʕ il-masi:ḥ ge:h ʔaʕṭa:na ṣu:ra ʕan alla: // ka:n la yumkin bidù:naha / ʔan yaṣbaḥ

2   alla: / še:ʔ muhimm fi ḥaya:t il-ʔinsa:n | // bass bi-ṣu:ra ʕamaliyya fi ġa:yt il-basa:ṭa | /

3   w-baʕde:n / ḥabbe:t ʔaʕʕud maʕa:ku l-le:la-di ma-ʔe:t-ši ʔatkallim ʕan še:ʔ ʔilla ʕan ha:ða

4   l-ḥubb fi l-wa:qiʕ / li-ʔinn ʔe:h illi gabni / ʔid-de:rʔ ma huwwa ḥubb il-masi:ḥ iš-šidi:d |

5   // e:h illi labbisni ha:za z-ziyy ʕalaša:n ʔaʕi:š // be:ni w-be:n il-ʕa:lam / fawa:ṣil /

6   niha:ʔiyya // bi-ha:za s-so:b il-ʔaswad wa-bi-ha:za l-ism il-gadi:d wa-fi ha:zihi l-barriyya

7   il-qafr / wa-fi ha:zihi l-risa:la ġe:r il-mudraka w-ġe:r il-mafhu:ma min il-ʕa:lam | /

9

1   ʔe:h ʔilli ḥaṭṭini hina ʔilla l-ḥubb? bi-yistaktaru ʕale:na ya ʔabbaha:t ʔinn ʔiḥna ni:gi

2   w-niʕi:š fi l-barriyya di / bi-yistaktaru ʕale:na ʔinn ʔiḥna nsi:b il-ʕa:lam w-niʕi:š fi

3   l-barriyya l-qafr w-baʕde:n / ma-lhum-ši ḥaʔʔ // ʔil-masi:ḥ ma-staktar-ši ʔinnu yisi:b

4   is-sama kullaha w-yi:gi ʕala l-ʔarḍ // fi risa:la maḥdu:da ṣaġi:ra // ma:-ʔidirti-š ʔaʕabbar

5   ʕan ḥubbi l-alla: / lamma ḥabbe:t ʔaʕabbar ʕabbart ʕabbart bi-l-kala:m bi-ṣ-ṣala

6   ma-šbiʕti-š w-ma-ʔdirti-š ʔarta:ḥ wa-ʔaqtaniʕ fa-ʔult laʔ ʔaʕabbar ʕan ḥubbi ʔila lla: bi-še:ʔ

7   ṣa:diq miš mumkin yiʔbal il-kizb / ʔaddi:-lu ḥaya:ti | / wi-xaragt min il-ʕa:lam / wi-dde:tu

8   ḥaya:ti / w-baʕde:n yaʕni ba-ʔul-lu šwayya /

10

1   bass ma-ḥilti:-š yaʕni ḥilti e: ta:ni bass? ʔinnama ʔaho: ʔidirt ʔaʕabbar ʕan ḥubbi bi-ṣidq

2   ʔidde:tu ḥaya:ti w-kull yo:m ba-ddiha:-lu | // ṭabʕan huwa bi-yiʕawwaḍni kti:r wala:kin

3   ma-ba-buṣṣi-š li-l-ʕawaḍ wala:kin ba-buṣṣ kull yo:m ʔizza:y ʔin ʔana ʔagaddid ḥubbi /

4   wi-zza:y ʔaddi: l-ḥubb da ṣa:diq ma-fihu:-š kizb | yaʕni miš bi-ṣala: faqaṭ miš bi-maṭa:nya

5   faqaṭ miš bi::-xidma faqaṭ wala:kin bi-ḥaya:h ḥaya:h mabðu::la ḥatta l-mawt / min agl miš

6   bass ʔixwa:ti w-wla:di min ʔagl il-kani:sa min ʔagl ʔaṣġar ʕuḍw fi l-kani:sa min ʔagl ʔayy

7   nsa:n fi l-ʕa(:)lam | lamma b-aʔʕud ʔaxtibir nafsi kida w-ahizz ʔaʕma:qi ḥilti fi:

8   ʔimka:niyya ʔin ʔana mumkin ʔaqaddim ḥaya:ti ʕan ʔayy ʔinsa:n | /// bì:-di ba-ʕabbar

9   šwayya ʕan il-ḥubb ʔilli / il-masi:ḥ sakabu fi qulu:bana bi-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus | /

11

1   da ʕan / famm il-masi:ḥ | ʕan famm… ʕan ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus ʕala lisa:n bu:lus ir-rasu:l

2   ṭabʕan ʕarfi:n kurunsus talaṭṭašar // niʔra:ha sawa laʕàllaha yaku:n fi:-ha da:fiʕ / bi-yirfaʕ

3   nàfsina šwayya ʕan suxṭ il-gasad xuṣu:ṣan baʕd šuġl in-naha:r kullu w-iḥna s-sa:ʕa sabʕa

4   in-nahar… ilwaʔti /// barḍak min risa:lit kurunsus ʔil-ʔu:la niha:yit aṣḥa:ḥ iṭnašar

5   w-bida:yit talaṭṭašar | wala:kin giddu: li-l-mawa:hib il-husna: | / wa-ʔayḍan ʔuri:kum

6   ṭari:qan ʔafḍal | ʔin kuntu ʔatakallamu bi-ʔalsinati n-na:si wa-l-malà:ʔika / wala(:)kin

7   laysa li(:) maḥabba / fa-qad ṣirtu naḥa:san yaṭinn ʔaw ṣingan yarinn | / wa-ʔin ka:nat li(:)

8   nubuwwa(h) wa-ʔaʕlam gami:ʕ il-ʔasra:r wa-kulla ʕilm / wa-ʔin ka:na li(:) kulla l-ʔima:n

9   ḥatta ʔanqil il-giba:l wala:kin laysa li(:) maḥabba fa-lastu šayʔan | / wa-ʔin

12

1   ʔaṭʕamtu kulla ʔamwa:li wa-ʔaslamtu gasadi ḥatta ḥtaraq / wala:kin laysa li(:) maḥabba

2   fa-la: ʔantafiʕu šayʔan | ʔal-maḥabba tataʔanna: wa-tarfuq / ʔal-maḥabba la: taḥsid /

3   ʔal-maḥabba la: tatafa:xar wa-la tantafix / la: taqbuḥ wa-la: taṭlub ma: li-nafsiha: / la:

4   taḥtadd wa-la: taḍunn as-su:ʔ / la: tafraḥ bi-l-ʔiθm bal tafraḥ bi-l-ḥaqq | / taḥtamil kull

5   šayʔ bass it-targama iṣ-ṣaḥi:ḥa / stegi: [στέγει] yaʕni bi-l-yuna(:)ni tġaṭṭi ʕala l-ʕuyu:b ʔaw

6   taʕbur ʕale:ha fi ṣamt / ʔaw tusa:miḥ wa-tuʕṭi ʕuðr / da min il-qamu:s il-kibi:r | //

7   taḥtamil kull šayʔ di ʔil-ʔaḍʕaf fi t-taʕbi:r wala:kin tuġaṭṭi ʕala ʕuyu:b / yabdu: ʔinn

8   iẓ-ẓa:hir ʔanba maqa:rius ka:n ʕa:rifha kida | / tuġaṭṭi ʕala ʕuyu:b il-ʔaxari:n fi ṣamt | /

13

1   hiya katabha taḥtamil taḥtamil ḍaʕi:fa / ḍaʕi:fa fi l-mafhu:m / ʔinnama hiya ehm tuġaṭṭi

2   ʕala l-ʕuyu:b / ʔaw tusa:miḥ wa-tuʕṭi ʕuðr / fi l-mafhu:m il-ʔaxla:qi | / taḥtamil kulla

3   šayʔ … bass ʔana mzawwid kilma ʕalaša:n yiba:n il-ʔa:ya | ḥa-ʔu:l il-kilma w-di miš

4   mawgu:da kilmit min alla min alla min alla ha-zkurha kti:r | / taḥtamil kulla šayʔ / min

5   alla / tuṣaddiq kulla šayʔ / min alla / targu: kulla šayʔ / min alla / taṣbir ʕala kulli šayʔ

6   / min alla ʔal-maḥabba la: tasquṭ ʔabadan / ʕan alla: | wa-ʔamma n-nubuwwa:t

7   fa-sa-tabṭul / wa-l-ʔalsina tantahi: / wa-l-ʕilm yabṭul / li-ʔànnana naʕlam ba:ʕda l-ʕilm /

8   wa-natanabbaʔ ba:ʕda t-tanabbuʔ wala:kin mata ga:ʔa l-ka:mil yabṭul ma: huwa baʕḍ |

9   /// lamma kuntu ṭiflan

14

1   ka-ṭifl kuntu ʔatakallam wa-ka-ṭifl kuntu ʔafṭin wa-ka-ṭifl kuntu ʔufakkir | / wala:kin

2   lamma ṣirtu ragulan ʔabṭaltu ma: li-ṭ-ṭifl | / fa-ʔìnnana nanḍur il-ʔa:n fi mirʔa: / fi luġz

3   /// fi mirʔa: hina yaqṣud ʔinn ṣu:ra ġe:r muba:šira | laysa l-gawhar nafsu wala:kin fi luġz

4   yuʕabbir ʕan alla: | / fa-ʔìnnana nanḍur il-ʔa:n fi mirʔa: fi luġz la:kin ḥina ʔiðin waghan

5   li-wagh» yaʕni iṣ-ṣu:ra ʕaynaha ʔaw ig-gawhar | ʔal-ʔa:n ʔaʕrif baʕḍ il-maʕrifa la:kin

6   ḥi:na ʔiðin sa-ʔaʕrif kama ʕurift | / ʔamma l-ʔa:n / fa-yaθbut il-ʔima:n wa-r-raga:ʔ

7   wa-l-maḥabba | / ha:ðihi θ-θala:θa wala:kin ʔaʕḍamhunna l-maḥabba /// ba-ʔu:l ya ba:ʔi

8   / ʔinn

15

1   law itkallimt ʕan il-maḥabba / yibʔa ba-tkallim ʕan / il-ḥaya: r-rahbaniyya ʕala ṭu:l min

2   ġe:r kala:m yaʕni daxalt ʕala ṭu::l fi l-ʕumq | / w-baʕde:n law itkallimna ʕan il-ḥaya:

3   r-rahbaniyya / min hina li-sana ga:ya w-ma-zakarna:-ši l-maḥabba fi s-sikka yibʔa

4   ma-tkallimna:-š ʕan / ʔe:ʔ // ʕan ir-rahbana | / ʔar-rahbana ʔawwalan ḥubb w-ʔa:xiran

5   ḥubb /// fa-hiya / mumà:rasat il-waṣiyya l-ʕuẓma ʔaw il-ʔu:la // li-ʔinn ʔa:l law ʔaratt

6   ʔan taku:na ka:milan fa-ʔe:ʔ // [voices from the audience] bi:ʕ ʔamla:kak w-ʔe:ʔ w-ʔe:ʔ

7   w-ʔe:ʔ // w-ʔe: kama:nʔ w-ʔe: kama:nʔ ṭab ʕawwaḍha b-kilma waḥda baʔ // ʔaʔ hahaʔ

8   [………] ʔa ʔu:l / [inaudible voice from the audience]

16

1   bass / ḥilw | / ma ʔallu ʔin kunt ka:milan bi:ʕ w-bi:ʕ w-bi:ʕ w-taʕa:la w-itbaʕ w-bi:ʕ

2   w-baʕde:n mumkin ilwaʔti bi-niʔdar niʕabbar ʕanha ʔiza kunta ʕa:w... an turi:d an

3   kà:milan fa-ḥibb | // [………] il-qiddi:s / ʔuġusṭi:nus yiʔu:l ḥibb w-iṣnaʕ ma ši?t? /

4   wa:ḥid min il-ʔaba: mutaqaddim fi l-maḥabba baʕat ba:ʕitli fi l-kara:s [kurra:s al-iʕtira:f,

5   everyone has his own] yiʔu:lli ʔe: ma raʔyak / hal il-maṭa:niyya:t yibʔa ʔaʕmil ke:t w-ke:t

6   w-baʕde:n il-maza:mir saʕa:t bi-yiḥṣal ke:t w-ke:t fa-ruḥt ra:did ʕale: li-ʔinnu mutaqaddim

7   giddan fi l-maḥabba | / ʔult ʔallaði:na / ehm / daxalu fi ṭari:q ʔal-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi

8   wa-nkašafa lahum is-sirr / laysu: / taḥt in-na:mu:s baʕd | kull illi tiʕmilu yibʔa ṣaḥḥ ʔin

9   ṣalle:t bi-l-maza:mi:r ṣaḥḥ ʔin ṣalle:t bi-l-miyya w-xamsi:n mazmu:r ṣaḥḥ ʔin wiʔift ṭu:l

10   il-le:l ʕala rigle:k ṣaḥḥ ʔin fiḍilt ṭu:l il-le:l tiḍrab maṭa:niyya:t ṣaḥḥ le:ʔ li-ʔinn ha-yibʔa

11   id-da:fiʕ ila:hi w-il-ḥubb

17

1   muḥriq / ma-yifarraʔ-š il-maḥabba ma… yaʕni ʔawwil ma tidxul fi l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi miš

2   mumkin ʔiṭla:qan tifarraʔ ma be:n il-maza:mi:r wa-l-maṭa:niyya:t / yastaḥi:l /

3   wa-la-tfarraʔ ma be:n / iṣ-ṣubḥ wa-ḍ-ḍuhr ʔaw il-le:l wa-la tfarraʔ ma be:n iḍ-ḍal…

4   iẓ-ẓalma w-in-nu:r wa-la-tiʔdar tifarraʔ ma be:n il-xabar iṭ-ṭayyib w-il-xabar il-wiḥiš /

5   wa-la yumkin tifarraʔ ma be:n il-yo:m ʔinta tʔu:m fi: sali:m giddan w-ʕa:fi ʔawi w-il-yo:m

6   ʔilli tʔu:m fi: ma-tiʔdar-š tʔu:m min ʕala ḥe:lak min ʕala l-farša | / ʔiza rakab il-ḥubb fi

7   l-qalb wa-malak bi-yuṣayyir il-ḥaya:h / sama:ʔ gadi:da wa-ʔarḍ gadi:da | // wa-kull ma

8   yaʕriḍ ʕala l-insa:n bi-yibʔa šahi wa-muba:rak giddan giddan | /// fa:-ṭabʕan ʔe:h illi

9   id-da:fiʕ yaʕni lamma ba-taḥassas fi qalbi le: n-naha:rda fakkart

18

1   ʔaktub il-kilma bi-xtiṣa:r illi ʔudda:mi di le: ʕaša:n ʔaʔdar atzakkarha ʕaša:n zihni miš

2   ḥa:ḍir | / ehm ʕan il-maḥabba fi l-wa:qiʕ ma-ʔdar-ši ya ʔabbaha:t ʔuba:šir waẓi:fati ka-ʔab

3   ʔilla ʕan ṭari:q il-maḥabba | / miš mumkin ʔaṣallaḥ ʔayy ġalṭa f wusṭ il-gama:ʕa ʔilla

4   bi-l-maḥabba la: ʔastaṭi:ʕ ʔinni ʔazawwidlak fi numuwwak ir-ru:ḥi ehm qayda šaʕra ʔaw

5   qayda ðira:ʕ / insa:n ʔaw mala:k ʔilla ʕan ṭari:q il-maḥabba | / ʔana ba-ʔaddim il-ḥubb

6   w-baʕde:n ʔinta bi-tafḥaṣ wa-tataðawwaq wa:// ti… taṭṭaliʕ | / fi: wa:ḥid kala:mi yimašši:

7   xaṭwa w-fi: wa:ḥid kala:mi bi-yimašši:

1 ʕulwa │ // ehm / bass / huwwa l-maḥabba w-ma-ʕandi:-š ġirha │ / w-baʕde:n zay ma

2 šuftu ʔa:xir ma ʔaddem il-masi:ḥ fi risa:latu ʕala l-ʔarḍ ʔaddim il-maḥabba / hiya

3 il-waṣiyya l-ʔu:la wa-l-ʕuẓma ʔawwil ma btada bi:-ha yibaššar saʔalu r-ra:gil il-na:mu:si

4 w-baʕde:n radd ʕale: / bi-r-radd da w-fi: ʔa:xir ir-risa:la kùllaha ʔaddim ir-ris… ʔaddim

5 iṭ-ṭilba di l-alla:h il-ʔa:b │ /// fa-risa:lat iṣ-ṣali:b w-risa:lat il-// il-bazl / ʔayma ʕala l-ḥubb

6 │ / yaʕni ʔawwil ma ftataḥ ʔingi:l yu:hanna ʔa:l «ha:kaza ʔaḥabba lla:h il-ʕa:lam ḥatta

7 baðala ʔibnahu» │ /

1 fa-r-ra:hib / ʔilli bi-yibni ḥaya:tu ʕala ʔil-giha:d / wi-l-diqqa wi-l-mawa:ʕi:d

2 wi-l-maza:mi:r w-yinsa ʕa:mil il-ḥubb / ehm / bi-yibʔa ʕa:mil zay ʔabu:na isḥa:ʔ lamma

3 yišaġġal il-makana wa:xid ba:lak? w-yinsa yiʕmil it-tawṣi:la ʔilli ma be:n il-makana

4 w-il-… w-id-dinamu │ / w-yiru:ḥ il-ʔalla:ya w-muṭmaʔinn giddan ʔinn id-dinamu ʕamma:l

5 bi-yištaġal w-bi-yidawwar il-makana tdawwar il… / w-mnawwar id-diniya w-bta:ʕ

6 w-baʕde:n yigi:lu wa(:)ḥid min il-ʔabbaha:t yixabbaṭ yiʔullu da:: id-diniya miš mnawwara

7 / bi-yiʔul-lu izza:y? da ana mdawwar il-makana / yigri gary yiʔu:l ʔa:h šu:f il-walad nisi

8 wa-ʕamal il-fa:ṣil da / yiru:ḥ ša:yil il-fa:ṣil yiru:ḥ id-diniya mnàwwara w-il-makan kullu

9 šaġġa:l w-il-xe:r yi:gi w-in-nu:r yi:gi

1 w-il-faraḥ yi:gi w-il-ʕizz yi:gi │ / ha:kaza r-ra:hib / ʔilli bi-yiga:hid w-illi bi-yitnassik w-illi

2 bi-yiṣu:m w-illi bi-yiqraʕ ṣadru w-multazim xa:liṣ bi-l-maza:mi:r w-il-maṭa:niyya:t wa wa

3 / w-ma-ʕirif-š yita:gir bi-l-ḥubb maʕa xwa:tu / w-maʕa l-ʔakbar w-maʕa l-ʔazġar w-maʕa

4 l-ġari:b w-maʕa l-qari:b w-maʕa ḍ-ḍe:f w-maʕa l-ʕa:mil / w-maʕa sawwa:ʔ il-ʕarabiyya

5 w-maʕa kull wa:ḥid taxtu: qadamu da:xil id-de:r │ / ʔiza taʕaṭṭal il-maḥa… taʕaṭṭalit

6 il-maḥabba fi ḥaya:t ir-ra:hib / iftakaru il-makana il-mit ḥuṣa:n bita:ʕit ʔabu:na ṣḥa:ʔ │ ///

7 ʔiza: ištaġal id-dinamu / yibʔa kull il-ʕafyia w-kull il-maṭaniyya:t w-kull il-guhd w-kull

8 it-tadqi:q / taḥawwal ʔila tayya:r sirri ʕagi:b yinawwar kiti:r / w-yištaġal kiti:r /

1 w-yiʕmil ʔašya:ʔ ʕagi:ba fi ṣamt muðhil │ / yaʕni ʔiḥna la samʕi:n makana lwaʔti wa-la

2 ḥa:ga w-iš-širi:t ik-kahraba / mašya fi s-silk w-sa:ʔiʕ timsik is-silk tiltiʔi: sa:ʔiʕ │ // ehm /

3 bi-yištaġal fi l-xafa:ʔ │ / yaʕni silk ik-kahraba da ʕamma::l / bi bi-yuraddid ism ʔalla: fi

4 l-xafa:ʔ yaʕni yastaṭi:ʕ ʔinnu yiġni kaθi:ri:n u::-ba:yin ʔinnu sa:ʔiʕ faqi:r ʔawi ʔawi

5 w-mumkin fi l-kahraba da hu / twaṣṣalu [he means 'you'] l-daffa:ya tixalli il-bita:ʕ

6 il-kini:sa di kullaha / f ʔaʕla daragit ḥara:ra fi ʔasraʕ waʔt mumkin maʕ ʔinn is-silk sa:ʔiʕ

7 │ / wala:kin badam [mada:m] sara: tayya:r il-kahraba fi qalb il-ʔinsa:n wa-ʕadda l-ḥubb

8 min in-nusk ʔila: ʔil-qalb wa-malaʔu xala:ṣ / yi:gi l-ġina w-yi:gi il-xe:r w-ti:gi il-baraka

9 il-kiti:r | / liza:lik ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi ba-ʔulha w-b-araddidha kti:r ʔinn ḥaya:tna kullaha ʔayma

10 ʕala l-maḥabba |

23

1 // fa:::-ṭabʕan ʔintu tiftakaru l-ʔa:ya ʔilli ʔalha l-masi:ḥ lamma wa:ḥid ʔallu ʔe:h il-ʔa:ya

2 il-ʕuẓma ʔal-lu ʔil-ʔa:ya l-ʔu:la w-ik-kibi:ra xa:liṣ w-il-ʕuẓma(:) ʔan tuḥibb ir-rabb ʔila:hak

3 min kulli qalbika w-min kulli nafsika w-min kulli fikrika w-min kulli qudratika ʔàrbaʕa

4 qalb w-nafs w-fikr w-qudra | /// dah ba-sammi: ʔana l-ḥubb / ʔil-ʔila:hi /// ʔid-da:xili //

5 ġe:r il-manḏu:r | // fi: ḥubb ʔila:hi ʔa:xar / xa:rigi wa-manḏu:r | / ʔill huwa

24

1 l-ʔa:ya // lamma: / ʔil-masi:ḥ bi-yitkallim fi ʔawa:xir il-xidma btaʕtu / bi-yiʔul-luhum ʔin

2 ana // ehm / kunt ga:ʔiʕ / fa-ʔaṭʕamtumu:ni wa-kuntu ʕaṭša:n fa-saqaytumu:ni /

3 wa-kuntu ʕurya:nan fa-kasaytumu:ni wa-kuntu mari:ḍan fa-zurtumu:ni wa-kunt

4 masgu:nan fa-ʔe:ʔ // fa-ʔataytum ʔilayya /// fa-ʔuli:-li [sic] ya rabb mata raʔayna:k kida?

5 ʔal-luhum bi-ma ʔinnukum faʕaltumu: b-ʔaḥad / ʔiṣ-ṣiġa:r fa-bi: qad faʕaltum | / fi

6 l-wa:qiʕ ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi // ba-ʕtaqid ʔinnu l-ḥubb ʔil-ʔila:hi / ehm yuma:ras / ʕala haðˤe:n

7 il-mustawaye:n // mustawa ṣ-ṣala: w-mustawa l-ʕamal | //

25

1 il-mustawa d-da:xili wa-l-mustawa l-xa:rigi | / li-ʔinn intu ʕarfi:n ʔan tuḥibb / ʔar-rabb

2 ʔila:k wa-l… ʔaθ-θa:niya mìθlaha ʔaw tusa:wi:ha / ʔan tuḥibb / qari:bak | /

3 ʔil-ʔawwala:niyya tuḥibb ar-rabb ila:hak di d-da:xiliyya w-it-taniya tuḥibb qari:bak

4 ka-nafsak di ḍ-ḍa:hiriyya | ḥadd yiʔdar yiḥibb qari:bu w-la-yiba:n-ši? / ma-yiba:n-š ʕale:

5 ʔinnu bi-yiḥibb qari:bu? / yastaḥi:l / da ʕa:wiz maḥabba yaʕni maḥabba ʕamaliyya

6 waḍḥa ḍa:hira il-kull yišufha / ik-kull yišufha ḥatta l… ʔilli lissa ma-yiʕraf-ši rabbina

7 xa:liṣ yišufha fa-yuʔmin wa-yanṭiq wa-yaṣrux bi-ʔann ha:ða: ḥubb wa-ha:ða ḥubb ʕa:li

8 giddan wa-ha:ða ḥubb muðhil izza:y bi-yiʕmilu kida / ʔalla: da ḥubb ʔila:hi / da na šuftu

9 bi-yiʕmil ke:t w-ke:t w-ke:t | / yaʕni bi-tibʔa šaha:ditha ʕa:liya giddan

26

1 w-saxna giddan | / fa-b-aʔu:l ʔinn il-ḥubb il-ila:hi / ʔilli ʕawzi:n natatalmaz luh bi-kull

2 ʕa:fiyitna / bi-yitimm ʕala mustawaye:n | ʔil-mustawa al-ʔawwal mustawa da:xili ġe:r

3 manḏu:r / ʔa:yit … bi-ysammi: ʔin ʔayit iḍ-ḍama:n bitaʕtu ʔayit iḍ-ḍama:n // ehm // ṣalli

4 fi l-xafa:ʔ / wa:xid ba:lak? wa:: w-ṣu:m fi l-xafa:ʔ | // ʔinnama yihimmini ʔawi ṣalli fi

5 l-xafa:ʔ | // il-ʔa:ya t-ta:niya / ʔayit iḍ-ḍama:n bita:ʕitha ʕagi:ba giddan ʕagi:ba ʔawi ʔawi

6 ʔawi ʔawi / ʔilli hiya il-ʕamal il-… ʕamal il-ḥubb iḍ-ḍa:hiri / lu(h) ḍama:n / ṭabʕan ʔana

7 ba-kkallim ilwaʔti kala:m bi-yiba:n fi maḍharu basi:ṭ / wala:kin da manhag ya: ʔaba:ʔi /

8 illi ha-yaxdu w-yifhamu

27

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1 ma-ʕad-š riglu tzill fi s-sikka ʔabadan / ma-ʕad-š riglu tzill ʔabadan wa-la l-ḥubb yiṣaffi

2 minnu | il-ḥubb ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi zayy il… il-baṭṭa:riyya / il-mašḥu:na law ma-xad-š ba:lu /

3 il-ʔaxx gami:l w-il-baṭṭa:riyya: ʔil-silk bitaʕha lamas il-ʔarḍ w-nisi w-kida barra l-kini:sa

4 w-rigiʕ ʔin šaʔa lla: miš… yiḥuṭṭ idu ʕale:ha miš ha-yila:ʔiha suxna ʔabadan | // tifarraġ

5 illi fi:ha kullu | // fa-l-ḥubb ṭa:qa ṭa:qa ḍaxma giddan giddan w-luh namu:s w-luh niḍa:m

6 law sihi:na ʕannu yifarraġ yifarraġ | // w-baʕde:n tibuṣṣ tilti:ʔi tibtidi min gidi:d | / ʔuds

7 abu:na aʕmil ʔe: ya bu:na da l-baṭṭa:riyya xilṣit kullaha šu:f il-ġalṭa ʔaʔul-lak maʕle:š

8 ʔamrina l-alla: ha:t iṭ-ṭungar da šuġl baʔa ig-gama:ʕa il-fanniyyi:n baʔa yigi:bu ṭ-ṭungar

9 w-yiḥuṭṭu: f il-makana w-yišaġġalu l-makana titšiḥin il-baṭṭa:riyya ta:ni | / bi-yʔu:l ya::
28

1 il-ḥamdu li-lla: da na ba-ḥsib ʔinnaha fisdit la ma-fisdit-ši bass kull illi tiʕibtu ra:ḥ ʕa

2 l-ʔarḍ | / fa-mumà:rasat il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi da: manhag da ṭari:q ʔaw ṭari:qa bi-ḥasab

3 il-mafhu:m il-ʔadi:m li-t-taʕbir manhag di kidi:da… gidi:da bi-yiʔul-lak ʔe:? ha:ðihi ṭari:qa

4 / bi-hasab iṭ-ṭari:qa l-fula:niyya ʔaw bi-ḥa… yaʕni da ʔil-mahfu:m il-ʔadi:m li-kilmit

5 manhag | / fa-l-ḥaya:ḥ r-rahba:niyya di ṭari:ʔa da manhag luh ʔuṣu:l lu tadbi:r /

6 economiyya lu tadbi:r | fa-law ma-ʔatqanna:-ši t-tadbi:r illi nišḥinu n-naha:rda nfarraġu

7 bukra | / fa-ba-ʔu:l ʔiḥna bi-nḥibb ʕala mustawaye:n bi-nitmili ʕala mustawaye:n |

8 bi-nitšiḥin bi-š-šuḥna l-ʔila:hiyya yansakib ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus fi qàlbina ʕala mustawaye:n

9 il-mustawa l-ʔawwala:ni da:xili bi-ṣ-ṣala: / w-il-mustawa θ-θa:ni
29

1 xa:rigi / bi-l-bazl w-al-ḥubb il-ba… il-xa:dim | / kunt ga:ʔiʕ kuntu ʕaṭša:n kuntu ʕuriya:n

2 kuntu / mari:ḍan kuntu masgu:nan | // fa-l-ʔa:ya l-ʔawwala:niyya iḍ-ḍama:n li:ha

3 ʕalaša:n ma-tfarraġ-š il-baṭṭa:riyya lamma titšiḥin bi-yuʔu:l ʔe: ṣalli fi l-xafa:ʔ | // miš

4 il-ʔa:ya bass di yaʕni / laʔ da mafhumha l-kibi:r | / ḥaya:tak maʕa ʔila:hak ḥubbak l-ila:hi

5 ʕilaqtak la:zim tibʔa fi l-xafa:ʔ // ma-ḥaddi-š yilmaḥḥa ʔabadan | ʔidxul ba:bak ʔidxul

6 maxdaʕak w-uġliq / ba:bak ʕaša:n ʔe:? / ʕaša:n ʔe:? ma-ḥaddi-š yišu:fak / ṭabb ʔe:

7 raʔyuku baʔa fi lli yiʔfil ba:bu / w-yiʕalli ḥissu baʔa ʕaša:n in-na:s tismaʕu? yibʔa ʔafal

8 il-ba:b? walla da ʕa:mil buʔ / ehm? ʕaša:n yibawwaq bi:
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1 ʔudda:mu w-yiʔu:l sayyidi sayyidi /// walla g-garaza:t /// nihaytu // fa-ʔayit iḍ-ḍama:n /

2 fi l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi il-muma:ras da:xiliyyan ʕala mustawa ṣ-ṣala: ṣalli fi l-xafa:ʔ | / kull

3 ʕila:qat ḥubb ʔila:hi tarbuṭak bi-ʔila:hak tiku:n fi l-xafa:ʔ ma-ḥaddi-š yilmaḥḥa | //

4 w-baʕde:n ʔa:yat iḍ-ḍama:n li-l-ḥubb il-ʕamali ʕagi:ba giddan ya ʔabbaha:t | laʔaṭṭaha min

5 il-ingi:l la tuʕarrif šima:lak ma taṣnaʕ yami:nak | // mahu miš mumkin nixabbi | šu:f

6 il-ibda:ʕ šu:f il-iʕga:z fi t-taʕbi:r | / ʔana ʔultilku fi l-ʔawwal hal mumkin wa:ḥid yiʔdar

7 yixabbi fiʕl il-maḥabba ʔilli bi-yiʕmilu l-qari:bu? ṭabb il-ʔaxx fawzi taʕba:n w-ana ʔumt

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8   ga:ri min ʔallayti gibtilu dawa w-ruḫt ʔallaytu w-saʔalt ʕale: w-iddithu:lu min ma-ša:f…

9   miš ha-yašufni? da d-de:r kullu ʕala rigl waḥda

1   ha-yišufni | / w-inta šuft ʔabu:na? da nizil min ʔallaytu bi-l-le:l w-ra:ḥ gary ʕala ʔalla:yit

2   fula:n w-gab-lu d-dawa ʕamma:l… ya li-l-maḥabba ya: sala:m! ṭabb ma na ḍiʕt ana

3   [xxxxxxxxx] / ṭabb ʔeh il-ʕamal ʔe: ʔayt iḍ-ḍama:n baʔa / ʔinn il-fiʕl / il-ʔila:hi fiʕl

4   il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi da / ma-yitsarrab-ši w-yinzil il-ʔarḍ w-yiru:ḥ minni? bi-yiʔu:l ʔe:? la

5   tuʕarrif šima:lak ma taṣnaʕ yami:nak [rises a laugh] | ʔana ʔana lli ba-ʕmil bass la:zim

6   ʔaxabbi ʕan nafsi miš ha-xabbi ʕan in-na:s li-ʔinn miš mumkin ʔaxabbi ʕan in-na:s |

7   ʔabu:na bšo:y ʕaw | / ʕa:wiz xidma yiʔu:m yi:gi ʔabu:na maka:ri gary yiru:ḥ bi-ʔalb

8   maftu:ḥ gary yiru:ḥ li-ʔabu:na bšo:y yiʔul-lu ṭalabata:k w-yigri gary ta:ni w-yigib-lu

9   w-yiru:ḥ gary ta:lit / ya sala:m ʔe: il-ḥubb da? ṭayyib nixabbi il-ḥubb da zzay? miš

10   mumkin / bi-yiʔul-lak laʔ taxbiytu miš nixabbi: baʔa ʕan il-ʔaxari:n

1   nixabbi: ʕan nafsina | ma-xalli-š ʔi:di š-šima:l tiʕraf ʔe:h illi bi-tiʕmilu l-ʔi:d l-yimi:n | /

2   kala:m lazi:z bass miš mafhu:m | / ʔana nabbaṭṭ ʕannu ʔimba:riḥ walla ʔawwil lamma

3   kunt ʔa:ʕid ʕa s-su:r maʕa:ku / ba-ʔu:l ʔi:di š-šima:l di tuʕabbir ʕan / in-nafs iṭ-ṭamu:ḥa

4   ʔilli ʕawza it-tazkiyya w-ʕawza l-kara:ma | /// w-il-ʔi:d il-yimi:n ʔilli bi-tumassil / ehm

5   in-niʕma / wa::-ehm faʕiliyyitha fi n-nafs bi-ʔinnaha ʕawza ʔalla: waḥdu ʔilli yatamaggad

6   miš il-ʔinsa:n | / fa-š-šima:l taʕbi:r ʕan iṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-bašariyya ʔil-muḥibba li-l-kara:ma

7   w-il-ma(:)l / w-il-yimi:n taʕbi:r ʕan ʔiṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-ʔila:hiyya l-maġru:sa fi / ehm il-ʔinsa:n

8   il-gadi:d ʔilli la tumaggid wa-la taṭi:q ʔan yumaggad ʔilla l-ʔa:b wa-l-ʔibn wa-r-ru:ḥ

9   il-qudus | // fa-ba-ʔul-lu fiʕl il-ḥubb illi bi-tiʕmilu li-ʔaxu:k baʔa ma-t…

1   ʔixfi: ʕan nafsak | /// ma-txalli:-š ða:tak // tilmaḥu ʕalaša:n ma-titnifix-š // li-ʔinn ið-ða:t

2   il-bašariyya / dayman titnifix ʔaw titġazza ʕala l-kibriya:ʔ wi-l-ʕaẓama / w-il-madi:ḥ | /

3   ṣaḥi:ḥ ṣanʕa ya ʔabbaha:t / ṣanʕa w-ṣanʕa lazi:za giddan / w-baʕde:n ma-ʕaraf-š yimkin

4   fi: minku nagaḥ šwayya fi s-sikka di w-farḥa:n bi:ha / ʔinn ma-yiʕraf-š šma:lu ʔe:h illi

5   bi-tiʕmilu yimi:nu | / yiʕmil il-ʕamal w-ma-yismaḥ-š ayy hazza da:xil ʔalbu ʔinnu yuḥiss

6   ʔinnu ʕamal ḥa:ga | // maʕ ʔinnu yiku:n bazal bazl fo:ʔ il-ʕaʔl w-fo:ʔ il-waṣf / w-maʕ ʔinn

7   yiku:n il-ʔaxx / ʔilli mabðu:l lahu ʔaw il-maḥbu:b / ʔilli muqaddam luh kull il-guhd ṭu:l

8   in-naha:r / miš miʔaddar il-ḥubb | // yiʔu:l ya ʔaxi / kammil gimilak ya ʔaxi ma-tsibni:-š

9   // bi-yiʔu:l ya satta:r

1   da na maʕa:k min is-sa:ʕa sabʕa ṣ-ṣubḥ w-ilwaʔti baʔit sitta bi-l-le:l / yiʔullu ma-tsibni:-š

2   kammil gimi:lak | /// fa-/-ʔil-insa:n ʔiḍ-ḍaggu:r / ʔilli šma:lu b-tištaġal / yiʔu:l ṭab miš

3   ha-štaġallak ta:ni wa-la ha-gi:lak ta:ni lamma nta bi-š-šakl da / taman saʕa:t tisʕa saʕa:t

4   ʔana ba-saʕdak w-ʕamma:l ʔaʔaʔabðul wa-wa-min gittiti w-laḥmi w-ʔasaʕdak / w-baʕde:n

5   ša:ʕir ʔinn da ʔulayyil w-šwayya? la:ʔ ma-tiʕraf-š šima:lak ʔabadan li-ġa:::yit il-ʔa:xir

6   li-ġa:yit in-niha:ya / li-ġa:yit il-mo:t li-ġa:yit il-qabr | la tuʕarrif šima:lak ma ṣanaʕathu

7   yami:nak | /// fa::-da ʔil-fiʕl ʔaw fiʕl il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi il-maṣnu:ʕ ʕalanan la yumkin ʔan

8   nuxf... xabbi: ʔaw nuxfi: ʕan il-ʔa:xari:n wala:kin maṭlu:b ʔan nuxfi: ʕan ʔanfusna | / šuftu

9   baʔ

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1   il-mustawaye:n? il-mustawa d-da:xili da la yuʕlan ʔiṭla:qan la li-ʔinsa:n wa-la li-ð-ða:t

2   w-baʕde:n it-ta:ni il-mustawa t-ta:ni la yuʕlan li-n-nafs bass wala:kin la budd ʔan yuʕlan

3   ʔama:m an-na:s kùllaha «yaru: ʔaʕma:lakum ʔaṣ-ṣà:liḥa wa-yumaggidu ʔaba:kum ʔalla:ði

4   fi s-samawa:t» | / fa-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi bi-yuma:ras ʕala mustawaye:n mustawa dà:xili

5   wa-mustawa xà:rigi | al-mustawa d-dà:xili sirr / la yaʕrifuhu ʔilla lla: wa-l-mustawa

6   l-xà:rigi ḥubb wa-baðl manḍu:r w-maʕru:f lada kull ʔinsa:n / kull in-na:s tiʕrafu ʔilla ʔana

7   kull in-na:s tiʕraf ḥubbi wa-ʕamali ʔilli ba-bzilu ʔilla ʔana la ʔudriku wa-la ʔaʕrifu | / di

8   ṣanʕit il-ḥubb ʔana ba-sallim ṣanʕa [nel senso di arte] // w-illi ʕa:wiz yibʔa ṣana:yiʕi fi

9   l-ḥubb yiftaḥ-li wida:nu

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1   walla ʔišʔu:litha l-ʔingi:l «man lahu ʔaða:n li-s-samʕ fa-l-yasmaʕ» | // fi l-wa:qiʕ ʔil-ʔa:ya

2   il-ʔawwalaniyya ʔulti-lku ʔinnaha b-ʔu:l «tuḥibb ar-rabb ʔila:hak min kull il-qalb

3   wa-n-nafs wa-l-fikr wa-l-qudra» | // ha:ðihi ya ʔabbaha:t ṣanʕat iṣ-ṣala | / nibitidi kida

4   nifham kida w-nifraḥ kida w-mùxxina yitfattaḥ ʕan mafhuma:t gidi:da | / ʔe: hiya ṣ-ṣala?

5   ʔe:h iṣ-ṣala il-qawwiyya ʔe:h iṣ-ṣala ʔilli ma-fiha:-š ṭaya:ša ʔe:h iṣ-ṣala ʔilli bi-yisammu:ha

6   ða:t fikr wa:ḥid za:t ittiga:h wa:ḥid za:t hadaf wa:ḥid? // iṣ-ṣala il-muqaddama min kull

7   il-qalb w-min kull il-nafs w-min kull il-fikr w-min kull il-qudra | / di ṣala:t il-ḥubb | //

8   kull ṣala:h tuqaddam la-lla: / ma-fiha:-ši /

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1   ʔil-ʕana:ṣir il-ʔarbaʕa do:l / il-qalb wi-l-fikr / il-qalb wi-l-nafs wi-l-fikr wi-l-qudra

2   yuṣi:baha xalal wa-yuṣi:baha malal | / bi-yiʔul-lak ʔinn yastaḥi::l yastaḥi:l ya ʔaba:ʔi

3   wa-ya-ʔixwa:ti wa-ya-ʔawla:di ʔinsa::n yuṣalli bi-qalbu wa-nafsihi wa-fikrihi wa-min kull

4   qudratihi wa-yastaṭi:ʕ iš-šiṭa:n ʔinnu yihizz il-fikr hazza waḥda wa-law min baʕi:d | ṣala:h

5   bi-tibʔa muttagiha ittiga:h wa:ḥid la tatawaqqaf ḥatta taṣil ʔila hadafha n-niha:ʔi | taṣil

6   ʔila qalb alla: / ʔana wa:θiq ʔinn baʕduku da:ʔu lamma bi-yuʔaf waʔfa ṣa:diqa ʔama:m

7   alla: w-yiʔaddim bi-basa:ṭa ṭufu:liyya // ṣala:h bi-ḥubb ṣa:diq la-lla: /

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1 w-yiḥiss ʔinn iṣ-ṣala: wiṣlit | / fi: minku kti:r daʔ di w-kulluku ha-tduʔu | / ʔana miš
2 ba-sallim qa:ma ṣalyia / bi-l-ṣaks / ʔana ha-bassaṭ-luku l-ʔamr li-daragit il-ʔiṣga:z ʔaw
3 il-muṣgiza wa-l-muṣgiza fi ʔide:ku law qabaltum | / kunt il-ʔixwa lli fi madrast il… de la:
4 sall [De La Salle] ʔilli gum ʔalu:-li ʔu:m… yaṣni ʔismaḥ ʔul-lina kilma fa-ʔlti-lhum ʔintu
5 ge:tu f de:r w-bi-tšu:fu ruhba:n w-bi-tšufu:ni ra:hib daʔnu be:ḍa w-baʔa:-li kti:r f
6 ir-rahbana fa-yithayyaʔ li:ku ʔinn ʔana ʔinsa:n kbi:r w-insa:n ṣandi xibra:t ḍaxma fi
7 l-haya: r-ru(:)ḥa:niyya wa-ṣandi qa:ma hayla fi l-masi:ḥ wa-fi r-ru(:)ḥiyya:t ṭabṣan wafʔu
8 w-hazzu raʔsuhum ʔulti-lhum la:ʔ fi l-ḥaqi:qa ʔana ʔaʔulluku ʔe:h nafsi
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1 w-ʔe: ḥaya:ti | / ʔulti-lhum ʔana fi sanat ʔalf w-tusṣumiyya / ʔàrbaṣa wa-ṣišri:n xamsa
2 wa-ṣišri:n sitta wa-ṣišri:n ka:nu fi l-be:t bi-yigibu:ni lamma yiku:n fi: muškila ʔaw ḍi:qa
3 wa-yiḥuṭṭu:ni ʔuddamhum kida w-aṣalli bass ma-ṣarf-š aṣalli yiʔu(:)lu:-li ʔu:l ya ḥabi:bi
4 ʔu:l ʔaba:na lla:zi ʔaʔu:l ʔaba:na lla:zi fi s-samawa:t ʔaʔu:l fi s-samawa:t li-yataqaddas
5 ismak ʔaʔu:l li-yataqaddas ismak ʔaxallaṣ ʔu:l ya ḥabi:bi ya rabb ʔaʔu:l ya rabb ʔiṣmil ke:t
6 w-ke:t w-ke:t ṣaša:n il-mawḍu:ṣ il-fila:ni ʔaʔu:l iṣmil ke:t w-ke:t ṣaša:n il-mawḍu:ṣ
7 il-fila:ni // w-waḍṣ ta:ni kama:n ʔiḥna kunna bitna faqi:r / w-ka:nu ṭabaṣan ʔintu ṣarfi:n
8 iz-zaman da / ma-kan-š fi: masalan ṭawabi:n kiti:r
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1 tiṣmil xubz yaṣni w-ḥaga:t zayy kida fa-ka:nu bitna faqi:r ka:nu yixbizu bass miš nixbiz fi
2 l-be:t kunna nibṣu… nibṣat il-xabi:z yitxabaz fi l-ʔafra:n ʔilli b-t… tixbiz li-n-na:s /
3 ma-ṣraf-š ma-fi:-š minha lwaʔti | / fa::-w-ka:n yi:gi d-diʔi:ʔ min makanat iṭ-ṭiḥi:n ga:y
4 suxun f ʔufaf fa-yiwaʔʔafu:ni ʔudda:m il-ʔuffa w-yimsiku ʔi:di ṭabṣan ʔi:di kullaha zay
5 ṣùbaṣ min ṣubaṣhum w-yimsiku ʔi:di w-yittakku f id-diʔi:ʔ yiṣmilu ṣali:b ṣa l-ʔuffa w-miš
6 waxdi:n balhum ʔinn id-diʔi:ʔ suxun w-ana ma-aḥtamil-š is-suxu:niyya btaṣt id-diʔi:ʔ
7 w-huwa ṣala ʔde:hum da:fi / bass wala:kin ṣala ʔi:di l-ṣabd li-lla: [poveraccio] ka:n suxun
8 na:r / fa-kutt atlasaṣ w-askut ma-ʔdar-š akkallim ṣaša:n ba-ṣalli | / ʔe:h ʔiḥsa:si wa-šuṣu:ri
9 fi ða:ka l-waqtʔ šuṣu:r rahba ṣagi:ba giddan | / ḥa:sis ʔinn
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1 ʔabu:ya wara:ya w-ʔummi wara:ya w-ixwa:ti s-sabṣa waʔfi:n wara:ya wa-ʔana ba-ṣalli
2 wi-humma sa:miṣ ṭaraṭi:š kala:m fa:himt… fa:him ʔulayyil ʔawi ṣala ʔadd ʔarbaṣ xamas
3 sini:n / ʔinn il-mawḍu:ṣ xaṭi:r w-inn il-ʔusra f ḍi:qa / w-inn il-ʔamr marfu:ṣ la-lla:
4 w-marfu:ṣ ṣala lsa:ni ma-ḥaddi-š bi-yiṣalli wara:ya da na ʔilli ba-ṣalli w-xala:ṣ fa-rahba
5 kbi:ra ʔawi thizzini w-ša:ṣir b-rabbina šuṣu:r ṣagi:b // nhaytu w-kbirt w-ruḥt il-mada:ris
6 w-xallaṣt mada:ris tiṣibna fi š-šawa:riṣ xallaṣna š-šawa:riṣ / šaġġalu:na / fi:: ʔaṣma:lana
7 w-ištaġalna f aṣma:lana w-baṣde:n ʔisna wazanna liʔe:na šihi:t ʔaḥsan min il-kaffa t-tanya
8 ʔulna niṭlaṣ šihi:t

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1 daxalna šihi:t ʔilli hiya ṭabʕan il-ʔisqi:ṭ yaʕni barri:t il-qiddisi:n │ ge:na l-qiddisi:n ʔult

2 baʔa ʔana baʔe:t ʔaho: xala:ṣ daxalna f ḥuḍn il-masi:ḥ │ nibtidi baʔ il-ʔe:ʔ il-qa:ma:t

3 ir-ru:ḥiyya il-ʕalya │ yalla ya ʕamm ʔidxul il-qama:t ir-ruḥiyya il-ʕalya daxalt w-ṣalle:t baʔ

4 fi l-ʔingi:l w-kutub il-ʔaba:ʔ wa-wa ibtade:t šwayya šwayya šwayya ʔa::xud il-ʔiḥsa:s

5 iṭ-ṭifli ʔill ana daxalt fi: sanat ʔalf w-tusʕumiyya ʔarbaʕ w-ʕišri:n xamsa w-ʕišri:n sitta

6 w-ʕišri:n / wa-ka:na l-qimma │ / ʔaš-šuʕu:r bi-r-rahba l-ʔila:hiyya ʔaš-šuʕu:r bi-wa:qiʕiyyit

7 alla: sa:miʕ iṣ-ṣala: ʔaš-šuʕu:r bi-ʔinn be:ni w-be:n alla: la yu:gad ʔayy fa:riq ʔaš-šuʕu:r

8 bi-ʔinn qadiyya marfu:ʕa ʔama:m alla: li-s-sama:ʕ w-inn ir-rabb samaʕha li-ʔinn asm...

9 atasammaʕ baʔ natigt iṣ-ṣala ʔinn il-mawḍu:ʕ intaha ma-yiʔululi:-š ʔana baʔa ʔe:

1 ṣiġaṭṭat [ṣiġanṭaṭ = little] kida yaʕni ʔaʕaddi min taḥt ik-kara:si ya3ni w-humma ʔaʕdi:n

2 ʕale:ha │ / ʔasmaʕ ʔinn ar-rabb tamaggad w-ʔinn iḍ-ḍi:qa xilṣit w-ʔinnu w-ʔinnu barakit

3 rabbina ḥallit wa-wa / fa-ʔafraḥ w-nbasaṭ bass miš ḥa:sis baʔa ʔinn da natigt iṣ-ṣala btaʕi

4 laʔ da nati:git rabbina / rabbina │ wa-la ma:niʕ akšif-luku ʔilwaʔti yaʕni il-waḍʕ da

5 li-ʔinnu šwayya yuʔassis fi l-qulu:b še:ʔ min il-ʔi:ma:n bi-mawḍu:ʕ ma-ḥaddi-š bi-yuʔmin

6 bi: │ ʔana w-ʔana fi ha:ða s-sinn tama:man tama:man wa-bi-muntaha waʕyi li-ʔinn waʕyi

7 mubakkir giddan waʕyi badaʔ min ʔàrbaʕa sini:n tama:m yaʕni aðkur ḥawa:diθ min

8 ʔàrbaʕa sini:n ʔaquṣṣ ʕala l-ʔusra / li-daragit ʔaʔul-luhum ka:n il-be:t ʔill intu kuttu fi:

9 ka:n ṣifatu ke:t w-tiṭlaʕ ʕala s-sillim tiltiʔi ʔo:ḍa ʕa l-yimi:n w-ʔo:ḍa ʕa š-šima:l w-ʔinn

10 il-baḥr tibuṣṣ min il-baḥri tiltiʔi l-ḥitta l-fulaniyya │ w-ʔaʔadir

1 ʔaḥʔaḥaddid il-giha:t bass bi-mkaniyya:t ilwaʔti │ / fa-taʔakkadu tama:man kulluhum ʔinn

2 li:ya waʕy la: yuga:ra: / talat w-ʔarbaʕ sini:n ʔazkur kull šayʔ kull da ʕaša:n ʔasbit-luku

3 ḥa:ga muhimma ga:ya │ fa:: w-ʔana ḥawa:li sana xamsa w-ʕišri:n ka:n sinni sitt sni:n ʔaw

4 xamas sini:n / ra:ʔid ʕa s-siri:r / w-baʕde:n gambi:ya ʔuxti w-baʕde:n f nuṣṣ il-le:l ṣihi:t │ /

5 ṣihi:t ba-buṣṣ f iṣ-ṣala liʔe:t na:s tala:ta b-dʔu:n be:da ṭawi::la ʔaʕdi:n ʕala s-sufra / bi-yaklu

6 / mi:n do:lʔ na:s b-dʔu:n be:ḍa ṭawi:la w-šàkluhum ʕagi:b giddan / labsi:n ḥag:at ḥamra

7 bunni zayy iz-zaʕabi:ṭ il-bunni di kida w-zayy il-ša:l da bi-ẓ-ẓabṭ bass bunni / ma-ʕa:d-š fi:

8 l-ʔahl w-id-dinya le:l │ fa-ṣaḥḥe:t ʔilli gambi ʔi:ṣhi ʔalitli na:m ya walad ʔultilha ba-ʔul-lik

9 ʔe:ʔ ʔi:ṣhi

1 w-azuʔʔ fi:ha mi l-xo:f w-aʕayyaṭ │ ṣihyit [incomprensibile] ma:lakʔ ʔe: ʔe:: ma:lakʔ /

2 ʔulti-lha šu:fi / ša:fit xa:fit fa-hiya ʔe:ʔ garrat il-liḥa:f ʕala wìššaha w-na:mit / ʔalit-li na:m

3 ʔaḥsan baʕde:n ʔe:ʔ yigra-lna ḥa:ga ʔulti-lha la: ma-ʔdar-š ʔana:m ʔi:ṣhi tuʔu:l laʔ miš

4 ha-ʔdar │ // nhaytu w-ma xa:fit hiya w-ma-baʔet-š... tbuṣṣ kida w-bi-txa:f mo:t w-tḥuṭṭ

5   il-ʔe:ʔ il-liḥa:f ʕala wìššaha wi-ana ʔissallett min il-liḥa:f [mi è caduto il lenzuolo]

6   w-ʔaʕatt nuṣṣ ʔaʕda w-id-dinya šita / w-ʔaʕatt abuṣṣilhum ma yaqrub min sa:ʕa /

7   w-mutaʕaggib w-id-dumu:ʕ nazla / ʔe:h do:lʔ w-homma yikkallimu baʕd min biʕi:d miš

8   sa:miʕ ik-kala:m w-yibʔu yibtasimu l-baʕḍ ibtisama:t ʕagi:bt iš-šakl wi-ʔana maʔxu::ð

9   bi-ha:ða l-manḍar ʔil-marsu:m ʔama:m ʕaynayya li-ġayt in-naha:rda | / ʔa:mu iṣ-ṣubḥ baʔa

10 ba-ḥki-lhum il-ḥika:ya l-fagr ʕamalti-li sawra fi l-be:t w-ṣaḥḥithum fa::-ʔa:lu ʔe:ʔ ʔa:lu la

11 miš maʕʔu:l w-bta:ʕ w-baʕde:n

46

1   ra:ḥu ʕala s-sufra ʔulti-lhum kat fi: šamʕa ʔayda il-be:t ma-fihu:-š šamʕ

2   wa-ma-bi-nistaʕmil-š šamʕ ʔabadan ra:ḥu ʕala s-sufra ʕal šamʕ la:ʔu fi: kaza nuʔṭa

3   maḥṭu:ṭa / ʕala il-šamʕ | / fa::-yaʕni lamma ba-tkallam ʕan waʕyi r-ru:ḥi wa-ʔana ṭifl

4   ṣaġi:r ma-kunti-š ba-ḍrab maṭaniyya:t wa-la ba-ṣu:m li-l-maġrib wa-la ṭayy ṭayy yo:me:n

5   wa-la wa-la ʔila ʔa:xirihi wala:kin humma ḥaṭṭu:ni / ḥaṭṭu:ni fi l-mawqif da mawqif

6   iṣ-ṣala: fa-wiʔift fi mawqif iṣ-ṣala: | / fa:-w-ṣalle:t bi-qalbi ka-ṭifl | ʔa:: ʔadi ya ʔabbaha:t

7   ʔana kull l-laff w-d-dawara:n da kullu ʕalaša:n awṣal min kull qalbak w-min kull nafsak

8   w-min kull fikrak w-min kull qudritak | ṣaddiqu:ni ya ʔaba:ʔi ʔànnahu ha:ða ma tamm ma

9   ka:na yatimm bi-l-ḥarf il-wa:ḥid kunt lamma ʔaʔaf ʔaṣalli fi za:ka l-waqt šuʕu:ri

47

1   wa-kaya:ni ku:lluh ʔama:m ʔalla: | ma-li:-š ʕaʔl ġe:r il-ʕaʔl ʔilli bi-yiṣalli ma-li:-š ʔiḥsa:s

2   min guwwa ġe:r ʔiḥsa:s ʔilli bi-yiṣalli bi-kull ʕafiyiti bi-kull imkaniyya:ti | / hal ha:ða

3   ṣaʕb? ʔin ka:n ʕala ṭifl lam yakun ṣaʕban fa-hal huwwa ʕala qa:mat ragul ṣaʕb? ʔan

4   nukad... hiya kull iṣ-ṣuʕu:ba ʔin ʔiḥna nunfuḍ nunfuḍ kull ʔilli fi l-ʔalb w-illi fi l-fikr w-illi

5   fi n-nafs w-kull qudritna xala:ṣ ʔintahe:na daxalna fi ḥaḍrit alla: fi ṣ-ṣala: ma-fi:-ši kull

6   il-ʕaʔl w-kull il-ʔalb w-kull il-fikr l-rabbina li-rabbina / ʔawwil ma tu:ṣal lì:-di yibʔa ṣala:

7   b-ḥubb min kull il-qalb min kull in-nafs min kull il-fikr min kull il-qudra | / fa-ʔiza waṣalt

8   lì:-di bi-yiḥṣal baʔa ʔilli huwwa il-fiʕl il-ʔila:hi l-muwaṣṣil / bi-yiḥṣal ʔittiṣa:l b-alla:

9   huwwa da l-ittiḥa:d ya aḥibba:ʔi | / ʔil-ittiḥa:d fi l-mafhu:m il-ʔursuzuksi

48

1   ʕa:li / l-ittiḥa:d b-alla: ʔaw bi-θ-θa:lu:θ fi l-mafhu:m il-ʔurθuðuksi ʔasa:si wa-yaqu:m ʕala

2   ʔasa:s nuski taṣawwufi ʕa:li / bass bi-yufham ʔaḥya:nan min il-gama:ʕa il-lahutiyyi:n

3   w-bi-yufham min in-na:s ʔilli bi-yiʔru bi-ʕadam xibra ru:ḥiyya ʔinn il-ʔittiḥa:d da fi

4   nha:yit is-sikka | yaʕni baʕd ma nṣalli kti:r w-baʕd ma nṣu:m kiti:r w-nʔaḍḍi ʕumr ṭawi:l fi

5   l-nusk wa-l-ʕiba:da wa-sa-yiḥṣal ittiḥa:d b-alla: laʔ ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi ʔil-ʔittiḥa:d yiḥṣal w-inta

6   sinnak ʔarbaʕ sini:n w-talat sini:n ʔiza wiʔift ʔudda:m rabbina w-ʕallimu:k tiṣalli min kull

7   qalbak w-kull nafsak w-kull qudritak | w-fi kulli marra min munðu yabtadi waʕyak

8   li-ġa:yit ma: ehm ehm tṣalli ṣ-ṣala: l-ʔaxi:ra ʔilli baʕdi:ha yanqilu:l ʔila t-tura:b ʔilli ʔinta

9   ʔuxiðt minnu // ʔiza wuʔift w-ṣalle:t barḍak min kull qalbak wa-fikrak wa-nafsak

49

1   wa-qudritak / ḥa-yiḥṣal il-ittiḥa:d | fa-l-ittiḥa:d b-alla: / bi-yitimm ʕan ṭari:ʔ il-ḥubb //

2   bass | ʔalla:h maḥabba | w-baʕde:n ha-nu:ṣal li-šwayya ʔaktar bi-ʕumq aktar bass miš

3   mumkin niʔdar nattaṣil b-alla ʔilla ʕan ṭari:q il-ḥubb | ʔal-ḥubb huwa ʔiṭ-ṭari:q il-waḥi:d

4   il-muwaṣṣil li-qalb alla: | fi-l-wa:qiʕ il-masi:ḥ karrasu b-dammu / w-id-damm ʔe: ġe:r

5   il-ḥubb ya ʔabbaha:t damm il-masi:ḥ ʔe: ġe:r il-ḥubb? ma ha:kaza ʔaḥabba lla:h ḥatta

6   bazal damm ibnu / fa::-lamma b-ʔu:l lana θiqa min ad-duxu:l ila l-ʔaqda:s bi-damm yasu:ʕ

7   ṭari:qan ḥayyan ehm ḥadi:θan karrasahu lana bi-l-ḥiga:b ʔay bi-ġàsadihi ehm ehm da

8   ṭari:q il-ḥubb / ṭari:q il-ḥubb ʔilli huwwa ʔassisu l-masi:ḥ bi-l-gasad

50

1   il-maksu:r w-id-damm il-masfu:k | w-diyyian ʕamaliyyat il-mumarsa l-haykaliyya ʔilli

2   bi-nidxulha kull yo:m f ṣaff / kida munsagim gami:l da:xil yiliff ḥawale:n il-gasad

3   il-maksu:r w-id-damm il-masfu:k iṭ-ṭari:q il-ḥayy il-ḥadi:s ʔilli karrasu bi-nuʕbur bi: ʕale:

4   ʕale: kida ka-ṣaff barḍak fi ha:za ṭ-ṭari:q w-nudxul sirran ʔila qalb ʔalla: wa-nataḥassas

5   maka:nana min qalb il-masi:ḥ wa-qalb il-ʔa:b w-nibtidi niʕmil ʔaʕma:lana l-yawmiyya | fi

6   l-wa:qiʕ di ʕamaliyyat mumà:rasa mumà:rasat ḥubb | / bassi ʔilli bi-yibluġha huwwa ʔilli

7   bi-yidxul min kull nafsu w-min kull qudritu w-min kull ehm fikru | // fa:-ʔil-ḥubb ʕan

8   ṭari:q iṣ-ṣala: ʔilli ba-sammi: ʔana ʔilli huwwa l-mustawa d-da:xili li-l-ḥubb ʔaw il-fiʕl

9   il-ʔila:hi ʕala ʔil-mustawa d-da:xili

51

1   dah / bi-yitimm bi-basa:ṭa / bi-muntaha l-basa:ṭa | miš ʕa:wiz ʕazi:ma | / ʔulu:li ʔana ka:n

2   ʕandi ʕazi:ma w-ana sinni ʔarbaʕa snin xamas sini:n? ka:n ʕandi ʔira:da? fahhimu:ni yaʕni

3   ʔe:h in-nusk? ʕarrafu:ni? ʔalu:-li? ma-ḥaddi-š | w-baʕde:n b-aʔul-luku bi-ṣidq wa-ʔixla:ṣ fi

4   fen fe:n fe:::n baʕd ma: gahitt kti:r ʔidirt ʔaḥiss ʔinn ʔana ba-ʔargaʕ li-l-waḍʕ bta:ʕi

5   l-ʔawwala:ni wa-l-xibra l-ʔu:la ʔilli ʔaxàztaha bi-ḍaxa:ma mutana:hya wa-baʕde:n fakkat

6   ʕanni ʕan waʕyi w-ibtade:t ʔalʔutḥa ta:ni min gidi:d | fa:/-ʔil-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi

7   la yangaḥ fi: ʔilla / wa:ḥid yiḥuttaha:-li baʔa [voice from the audience] / ʔalla:: la yangaḥ

8   fi: ʔilla l-ʔaṭfa:l / la yumkin tiʔdar tanya kama:n yaʕni ana ba-ʔu:l ilwaʔti qawani:n

9   saddaʔu:ni la yumkin insa:n

52

1   yiṣalli l-alla: min kull qalbihi w-min kull nafsihi w-min kull fikrihi w-min kull qudratihi

2   ʔilla ʔiza rigiʕ ʔila ḥa:lit / ṭufu:la wala:kin ir-ra:gil ʔilli ʕa:mil nafsu ra:gil wa-ṣa:ḥib

3   ʔaʕma:l w-yuʔaf yiṣalli w-huwa wara:ḥ ʔinnu yaḥfur guwwa ʕaša:n yizraʕ ik-kazwari:na

4   [casuarina, plant] ma huwwa walla l-maṭbax ʔilli / mašḥu:n ṭu:l in-naha:r bi-talati:n

5   ḥalla li-miyya w-xamsi:n ʕa:mil min kull ṣanf | bi-yiʔu:l ya:: re:tu ya abu:na ṣanf wa:ḥid

6   kunt ʔaʕmilu w-axlaṣ | wala:kin ʔilli bi-ya:kul bi-taʔliyya w-illi ya:kul min ġe:r taʔliyya

7   w-illi yi:gi yiʔul-li laʔ ʔiḥna miš ʕawzi:n deh w-illi ʕawzi:n deh še:ʔ ma-lu:-š niha::ya | /

8   da lamma yuʔaf yiṣalli / [...........] baʔa il-ḥilal kullaha ga:ya w-il-wabura:t il-ko:š tiʕbit

9   ga:ya fi l-ṣala: w-il… ehm iš-šaxṣ ʔilli ʔa:ʕid maʕa: ʔal-lu iʕmil w-ma-ʕamal-ši

53

1   w-il-maʕa:d ʔilli ra:ḥ w-it-taʔliyya ʔilli ša:ṭit wi-liḥʔu:ha ʕala ʔa:xir laḥza wa-wa ʔila

2   ʔa:xirihi ti:gi kullaha:: le:ʔ li-ʔinnu ʕamal ra:gil | // wa-hà:kaða w-w-w-ṣa:ḥibna ʔilli

3   wa:ʔif ʕal makana muškila ḍaxma ʔizzay bi-tithazz il-makana w-il-farša bi-tithazz

4   w-ʕawzi:n niʕmil-laha muʔaysa gdi:da kull ma yudxul iṣ-ṣaʕb w-yitnahhid ʔilli ʕamalna:

5   kullu ha-nši:l w-ha-nḥuṭṭ wa-wa-kull wa:ḥid wa:xid masʔu:liyya yi:gi yuʔaf fi ṣ-ṣala::

6   titnuṭṭ kull il-masʔu:liyya:t w-tuʔaf ʔudda:mu le:ʔ ra::gil | w-baʕde:n huwwa miš ʕa:wiz

7   yaqtaniʕ ʔinnu ṭifl ʕa:wiz barḍak ʔinnu yibʔa ra:gil xud zayy ma nta ʕa:wiz yiru:ḥ fikr

8   w-yi:gi fikr yuṭrud fikr yigi ʕašara w-yi:gi ṣa:rix yiʔu:l ya abu::na ʔana ba-staġi::s //

9   il-ʔafka:r ma-b-titziḥim-š ʔilla waʔt iṣ-ṣala // ʔaʔullu ʔaṣlak ʕa:mil ra:gil / ʔišrab | /

10 wala:kin law daxalt kida w-tʔu:l ya rabb iqbal ʕabdak ʔana

54

1   ʔiṭ-ṭifl fla:n ṭiflak ibnak iṣ-ṣuġayyar xa:liṣ fla:n ʔiqbalni fi ḥaḍratak wa-qbal minni ya rabbi

2   tìsbiḥat qalbi min kull qalbi wa-tìsbiḥat nafsi min kull nafsi wa-tìsbiḥat ʕaqli min kull

3   ʕaqli wa-tasbiḥat / quwwati miš b-yiʔu:lu quwwati wa-naši:di? ʔehm min kull quwwati |

4   ʔiqbalni ka-ṭifl ʔama:mak ya rabb ʔusabbiḥak tasbi:ḥ bidu:n ʔidra:k miš ʕa:wiz maʕrifa ya

5   rabb ʕa:wiz ʔasabbiḥak bi-wagh ṭaf… ṭufu:li wi-b-qalb ṭufu:li iqbalni ʔama:mak na:r ʔayda

6   na:r ʔayda ʔalb yiġli nafs tastadi… tastani:r ʕaʔl yu:ṣal li-aʕma:q waraʔ aʕma:q ma

7   li-l-ʔidra:k il-ʔila:hi | / ʔa::: sirr il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi yakmun fi / taqdimat il-mara:kiz

8   il-ʔarbaʕa l-alla: ʔilli ʔana tiʕibt

55

1   w-ʕamma:l ʔakarrar w-aʔu:l w-aʕi:d fi:hum al-qalb wa-n-nafs wa-l-fikr wa-l-qudra bass

2   ʔabl kull waḥda minhum / kull | / ʔišʔu:litha ʔilli bi-yikallimni mba:riḥ yiʔulli pantas?

3   ʔaʔul-lu laʔ yiʔul-li ho:li [whole]? ʔaʔul-lu laʔa [laughs] ḥifiẓ is-sinonì:m bita:ʕtiha

4   kullaha [laughs] | / min kull min kull min kull / ma-yifḍal-š ḥa:ga li:k ʔabadan wa-la

5   li-š-šuġl wa-la li-d-de:r wa-la l-ga:rak wala l-ʔayy insa:n | daxalt l-rabbina yaʕni tidxul

6   ho::li | /// ehm wi-muš mumkin nidxul bi-kulliyyit il-fikr wa-l-qalb wa-l-ʕaql wa-l-qudra

7   ʔilla ʔiza: daxalna fi qa:mat iṭ-ṭufu:la | / tiʕrafu baʔa ʔinn ir-rahbana taqu:m ʔasa:san ʕala

8   kayfa naʕu:d wa-naṣi:r misl il-ʔaṭfa:l? šuftu baʔa iš-šaxṣ / mi:n illi bi-yingaḥ w-mi:n

9   bi-yigri fi s-sikka?

56

1 huwwa lli ʕa:d wa-ṣa:r misla ṭifl / w-sa:b w-tarak bi-ʔiraṭṭu marra w-bi:-ʕaṣa lla:h marra

2 wi-bi:-bi-naxs il-ʔa:b marra w-in-naxs bita:ʕi šwayya bi-yibʔa marra ḥilw w-marra murr

3 bass ʔana b-aʕmil maʕa l-ʔa:b yaʕni | ʔišʔu:litha [ride] ʔišʔu:litha bu:liṣ ir-rasu:l man

4 huwa bu:luṣ wa-man huwa ʔabulluṣ / ʔilla / ʕa:mila:n fila:ḥat alla: wala:kin ʔalla:h huwa

5 lla:ði ʕa:mila:n maʕ ʔalla: muš kida? ʕa:mila:n maʕa ʔalla: / wa-lla: huwa lla:ði yunammi

6 ʔiḥna bi-nizraʕ wa:ḥid bi-yizraʕ wa:ḥid bi-yisʔi wa-lla: huwwa ʔilli bi-ynammi iðan la

7 li-ġa:ris šayʔ wa-la li-s-sa:qi šayʔ wala:kin alla:h alla:ði yunammi | / fa-na ba-ʕmil maʕa

8 alla: ʔin qabaltum ha:ða l-ʔiṣṭila:ḥ li-ʔinnu ʕa:li ʕala qà:mati giddan li-ʔinn mi:n ʔana? /

9 bass yaʕni iza qabaltum | fa-lla: bi-yanxus nafsu wa-na ba-nxus nafsi ʔaw ʔalla: bi-yiʔul-li

10 unxusu fa-na anxusu ʕalaša:n tiṣḥa: li-l-ḥubb tiṣḥa:

57

1 li-l-basa:ṭa ṭ-ṭufu:liyya tinsa nafsak tinsa qudra:tak tinsa ʔimkaniyya:t w-tirgaʕ ta:ni

2 ka-ṣaġi:r fi bayt ʔa:bi | // wa-r-rabb ʔixtà:rani | w-saddaʔu:ni / ʔaw ma-tsaddaʔuni:-š ʔana

3 ma-ba-friḍ-š kala:mi ʕala ḥadd bass law saddaʔtu:ni ha-tifraḥu wi-ha-fraḥ maʕa:ku kti:r

4 ʔinn ʔalla: ma-xtarak-š ʔilla ʕaša:n ʔalbak ṣaġi:r w-ṭifl basi:ṭ ʔayy wa:ḥid fi:kum | yo:m ma

5 ḥaṭṭ ʕe:nu ʕale:k w-inta fi l-be:t / ma-ḥaṭṭi-ṣ ʕe:nu ʔilla bass ʔa:s il-ʔalb ṭu:lan wa-ʕarḍan

6 laʔa:k ka-qalb ṭifl ʔa:l da yinfaʕni da ʔaḥibbu w-yiḥibbini taʕa:la ya bni bi-yiʔul-lu ʔaru:ḥ

7 fe:n bi-yiʔul-li maʕle:š il-ʔarḍ ʔalla:ti ʔuri:k // ha? da ma-ḥaddi-š fi l-ʕ:ela ra:hib / ṣaḥi:ḥ

8 ya rabb miš maʕʔu:l bi-yiʔul-lu ʔimši wara:ya ma-txaf-š ko:n mala:k alla: fiḍil yasu:sak

9 wa-yaqu:dak w-yifukk qiyu:dak li-ġa:yit ma ga:bak fi ʔarḍ il-ʕama:liqa ḥasab il-ʔe:?

10 ʔiḍ-ḍa:hir

58

1 wa-ḥasab il-ḥaqi:qa w-il-gawhar / fi: / firdo:s il-ʔe:? [someone replies from the audience]

2 / il-ʔaṭfa::l [laughs] | fa-:muma:rasat il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʕala l-mustawa l-ʔawwal bi-yaḥta:g

3 ʔila qalb ṭifli giddan giddan wa-ḥaya: ṭufu:liyya giddan giddan giddan maʕa alla: | /

4 ma-fi:-š marra itʕaʔʔadit ḥaya:ti w-hammi tiʔil w-masʔu:liyyiti za:dit w-daxalt l-rabbina

5 gara ʔe: ya rabb ʔinta mistakbarni walla e:? ma-titġašši-š fiyya / da na ʕabdak fla:n

6 w-aʔu:l ismi min w-ana ṣġayyar w-f zihni ʔaṣl ʕandi ṣu:ra liyya w-ana sinni ʔarbaʕa sini:n

7 / ʕandi [laughs] mawgu:da fa-ṭabʕan il-wa:ḥid bi-yinsa ṣurtu ma-ḥaddi-š bi-yiʔdar yiffakar

8 f ṣurtu ʔabadan fa-ṣ-ṣu:ra di muḥtafiẓ bi:ha fa-aʔullu ʔahu ʔa: ma-zad-š ʕan kida yiʕlam

9 alla: ḥara:m ma-tḥuṭṭi-š ʕalayya ta:ni [xxxxxxxxx] da na ṣġayyar giddan giddan

10 ma-titġarri-š fiyya

59

1 fa-ʔabuṣṣ ʔaltiʔi ya yiši:l maʕa:ya ya yiši:l ʕanni | ʔilli ana baʔa ni:gi hina wi-nḥiss ʔinn

2 ʔiḥna baʔe:na kba:r w-baʔe:na baʔa wuʕʕa:ẓ muqtadiri:n w-niʕarraf w-naʕallim

3 wi-nkkabar wi-nsawwi w-in-na:s bi-tbu:s ide:na ʔa:::ḥ ti:gi tuʔaf li-ṣ-ṣala la tiltiʔi fi: ʔalb

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4   kullu l-alla: wa-la l-ʕaql kullu l-alla: wa-la ha:da wa-la ha:da | / ʔana zayy ma: bi-yuʔu:l /

5   bu:luṣ ir-rasu:l bi-yiʔu:l ʔana ʔuri:kum ṭari:qan ʔafḍal | /// giddu li-l-mawa:hib il-ḥusna

6   xud zayy ma nta ʕa:wiz ʔigri zayy ma nta ʕa:w... wala:kin ʔuri:kum ṭari:qan ʔafḍal | //

7   ṭari:q il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi | // ya rabbi ʔaʕṭi:ni niʕma ʕaša:n ʔakammil | /// fi:: /

8   ʔil-mustawa l-ʔawwal ʔilli huwwa mustawa muma:rasat il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi bi-ṣ-ṣala:

60

1   w-bi-l-ʕala:qa l-muba:šira maʕa alla: il-mustawa d-da:xili / fi:ha ʔil-masi:ḥ bi-yibʔa qa:ʔid

2   iṣ-ṣala: bitaʕna / sawa:ʔ in kunna fi xu:ras walla ʔinta waḥi:d f ṣallaytak huwwa t-ta:ni

3   btaʕak ʔaw ʔin ge:t li-l-ḥaʔʔ miš huwwa t-ta:ni // huwwa ʔinta ʔil-maẓbu:ṭ / lastu ʔana

4   ʔaḥya bal il-masi:ḥ yaḥya fiyya | / yibʔa l-masi:ḥ huwwa l-mutagalli fi ʔufuq ḥaya:tak

5   w-huwwa ʔilli bi-yaqu:dak w-yaqu:d tasbi:ḥak w-ṣalawa:tak // w-baʕde:n ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus

6   yatakallam fi fammak | // bi-katrit il-/waqfa:t ʔilli fi:ha ḥubb ila:hi: ṣ-ṣa:diq bi-nilbis

7   ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus ru:ḥ iṣ-ṣala: | fa-l-ʔaba: ʔilli ka:nu muqtadiri:n fi ṣala:t il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi

8   sammu:hum il-ʔaba: / bass hiya tasmiya kbi:ra ziya:da laʔ

61

1   ʔabadan ʔana ʔaʔdar ʔaʔulha:-lkum ʔana aʔdar ʔaṭallaʕ minku lwaʔti ha:zihi t-tasmiyya

2   epnevmatufo:rus la:bisi: r-ru:ḥ ʔaw la:bisu: r-ru:ḥ | fa-ʔal-muqtadirin fi ṣala:t il-ḥubb

3   il-ʔila:hi fi l-mustawa d-da:xili / fi muma:rasat il-ḥubb bi-ṣ-ṣala: il-muqtadiri:n fi:ha do:l

4   bi-yilbisu r-ru:ḥ il-qudus / bi-yibʔa la:bishum fiʕlan yaʕni ma-huwwa:-š ṣaʕb ʕala l-ʔinsa:n

5   ʔinnu yudrik il-ʔinsa:n ʔilli la:bis ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus min ḥadi:su min kala:mu min taʕbi:ru

6   min waghu w-min ṣamtu min ʕe:ne: saddaʔni | / fa-da l-mustawa l-ʔawwal ʔil-ʔinsa:n

7   bi-yuʕa:n bi-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus / li-ʔinni ba-ʔul-luku ṭari:qu ṣala: / il-masi:ḥ qa:ʔid ṣaḥi:ḥ

8   wala:kin ir-ru:ḥ huwa n-na:ṭiq w-baʕde:n šwayya šwayya ir-ru:ḥ bi-yusarbil il-ʔinsa:n

9   yibʔa l-ʔinsa:n mutasarbil bi-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus yaqtani r-ru:ḥ luh

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1   ka-liba:s / ka-θo:b min nu:r // yuḍi:ʔ kull il-qalb wa-yuḍi:ʔ samḥu:ni kama:n yuḍi:ʔ kull

2   il-ḥawa:ss w-ik-kala:m miš min ʕandi min ʕand il-masi:ḥ ʔin ka:nit ʕe:nak / [voices from

3   the audience] nayyira kayfa tastani:r ʕayni ya rabb ʔilla bi-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus? ṭu:ba li-ðawi

4   l-ʕuyu:n il-muni:ra li-ʔanna agsa:dahum kullaha ṭa:hira le:? la:bisi:n ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus | //

5   gasadak kullu yaku:n nayyir / le:? la:bis in-nu:r miš kala:m min ʕandi il-ʔaba:ʔ ma-gabu:-š

6   ḥa:ga da l-ʔingi:l epnevmatufo:rus | // ya li-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ya li-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ya

7   li-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi | ma-yaʕawwaʔ-š kti:r ya ʕušša:q alla: ma-yiʕawwaʔ-š kti:r /

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1   in-nusk ʕawwaʔ kiti:r // wala:kin ṭari:ʔ il-ḥubb ma-yiʕawwaʔ-š kti:r | da talat iyya:m

2   waqfa / waqfa ṭufu:liyya ʔama:m alla: tilabbisak ir-ru:ḥ // ṭari:q il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi miš

3   ṭari:q zamani ʔabadan miš ṭawi:l miš mutʕib miš ʕasir ma-fhu:-š finu:n ʔiṭla:qan wala:kin

4 fi: talqi:n | simiʕtu l-walad ʔilli ka:n bi-yiʔu:l / ehm glo:rya mariyya ti:gi glo:rya mariyya

5 walla ʔe:? ʔe:h taṣliḥḥa ya ʔabba? hiya ʔaṣlaha ʔe: ya ʔabba wadi:d? // ʔe: ya ʔabba ya

6 ʔabu:na basi:lyus / ma nta fa:kir il-ʕinwa:n / ʔilli mtargimi:nu ha? [voices from the

7 audience] ya ʕammi ʔaṣlaha l-lati:ni / ha? ʔaṣlaha l-lati:ni ʔe:? ha? [voices from the

8 public] glorya mariyya? / bass laʔ hiya laha ʔism ta:ni /

64

1 laha ʔism ta:ni ʔibʔu ʔiʔru ʕanha wi-ḥyatkum | hiya tasbiḥa // w-ʔultilku ʕan il-walad

2 iṣ-ṣuġayyar da ʔinnu ʔaxad mawhiba / ʔinnu yisabbaḥ li-l-ʕadra maryam ṭu:l in-naha:r

3 ra:yiḥ gay w-baʕden ma:ši ra:yiḥ il-madrasa ṭu:l ma hu: ma:ši ʕamma:l yihayyaš il-magd

4 li:ki ya maryam il-magd li:ki ya maryam il-magd li-yasu:ʕ al-masi:ḥ | / ʔatarinn miš

5 wa:xid ba:lu l-walad bi-yiʕaddi w-huwa ra:yiḥ il-madrasa ʕala ḥart il-yahu:d | / f is-sikka |

6 il-yahu:d baʔa ha-yigganninu minnu yo:m b-yo:m yo:m b-yo:m ʔa:lu la da l-walad da

7 ha-yiganninna / da yataḥadda:na l-walad iš-šuġayyar da? fa-ṭilʕu f yo:m misku: w-huwa

8 ma:ši w-ra:ḥu dabḥi:nu / w-ḥaṭṭu: fi l-bakaburt | / ʔummu muntaẓira: ʔa:xir in-naha:r

9 w-ma-ga:-š | ʕayyaṭit / nizlit hiyya w-abu: yidawwaru fi š-šawa:riʕ ma-fi:-š ʔa:lu nimši fi

10 š-ša:riʕ ʔilli ka:n ma:ši fi: mašu fi: š-ša:riʕ ʔilli ka:n ma:ši fi: ʕammalin: yidawwaru…

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1 simʕu ṣo:tu | ʔarrabum laʔu: fi l-bakaburt fataḥu laʔu: madbu:ḥ w-ʕamma:l yiʔu:l glo:rya

2 marya glo:rya marya [ride] | // šalu: laʔu raʔabtu maʔṭu:ʕa xa:liṣ w-sa:miʕ ʕamma:l yiʔu:l

3 il-magd li:ki ya maryam il-magd li:ki ya maryam il-magd li:ki ya maryam il-magd li:ki ya

4 maryam | / xadu: f il-be:t w-ga:bu l-ʔassi:s ʔalu:lu ʔe:h il-mawḍu:ʕ? ʔa:l la: da r-ru:ḥ

5 il-qudus ḥaṭṭ fi lsa:n il-walad bizrit it-tasbi:ḥ li-maryam | // fa-:ʕazzamu maryam

6 wu-maggidu / ʔil-masi:ḥ wa-ḥaṭṭu: fi tabu:t w-dafanu: w-baʕde:n baʕd ma dafanu: ʔaʕadu

7 yitṣannatu min il-qabr kida min barra laʔu: b-ʔu:l glorya marya glorya marya | / qiṣṣa

8 ramziyya ʔinnama mubdiʕa giddan ʔiritha w-ʔassarit fi ḥaya:ti xa:liṣ ya re:t ir-ru:ḥ

9 il-qudus yiḥuṭṭ f buʔʔina fi l-lisa:n yizraʕ yišuʔʔ il-lisa:n kida w-yizraʕ fi: bizrit it-tasbi:ḥ

66

1 ʔaw bizrit il-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʕaša:n il-lisa:n ma-yikuffi-š ʔabadan ʔabadan ʕan tasbi:ḥ

2 iθ-θa:lu:θ | /// da: ʔir-ru:ḥ il-qudus il-ʕa:mil fi: / ʔil-mustawa l-ʔawwil il-mustawa

3 d-dà:xili / yisarbil il-gasad kullu yusarbil il-lisa:n fa-yastani:r il-lisa:n ʔaw il-ʕe:n

4 bi-tastani:r wala:kin il-lisa:n / bi-yanṭaliq li-yusabbiḥ tasbiḥat il-ġalaba wa-l-xala:ṣ | ʔe:::

5 il-qalb yaʕfir yaʕfir yaʕni yurʔuṣ / yurʔuṣ bi-stimra:r yaʕni yuʔaf ʔabu:na krullus yisabbaḥ

6 it-tasbiḥa l-laṭi:fa bta:ʕ sabbiḥu: bi-ṣufu:fin wa-ʔe:? bi-ṣunu:gin wa-ṣufu:f zayy ma kunt

7 b-aʔul-luku ṣufu:f hiya ʔaṣlan yaʕni raqṣ / sabbiḥu: bi-ṣunu:gin wa-raqṣ | ya sala::m ʕala

8 l-muštaġili:n

67

1 bi-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:ḥi lamma yismaʕu l-kilma di ya sala::m ha-yurʕuṣu bass w-huwwa wa: ʔif

2 fi ḥittitu la:: yataḥarrak ʔinnama kullu raqṣ / kullu raqṣ wa-ṭarab wi-l-ʔalb fi ʔaʕla ḥala:t

3 il-bahga wa-t-tasbi:ḥ | / hà:kaza il-gasad kullu yaku:n ṭa:hir yaku:n mustani:r wa-l-ʔaʕḍaʔ

4 kullaha taku:n maxtu::na bi-xita:nat il-masi:ḥ bi-ṭaha:ra tusabbiḥ wa-bi-taqdi:s tumaggid

5 wa-bi-ġayri hiduʔ ʔin a:t kara o: [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲁⲧⲭⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ, Liturgy of Saint Basil, introduction

6 to the Sinaxis] bi-ġayr hidu:ʔ tasbiḥat il-ġalaba wa-l-xala:ṣ taqdi:s il-ʔism il-kari:m

7 il-ʕaḍi:m ism iθ-θa:lu:θ wa-ʔism il-ʔa:b wa-l-ʔibn wa-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus | / bì:-di yaku:n

8 il-masi:ḥ raʔi::s tasbiḥatna qa:ʔid xu:ras il-muṣalli:n wa-r-ru:ḥ ʔal-qudus huwa θawbuna

9 l-muni:r ʔalla(:)ði

68

1 yuni:r ʕuyu:nana wa-yaqu:d lisa:nana li-t-tasbi:ḥ wa-š-šukr | ʔadi ʔil-mustawa l-ʔawwal |

2 ʔil-mustawa t-ta:ni fi-l-wa:qiʕ ʔilli huwa l-ʕamal il-guhd ʕa:wiz tišu:f il-ḥubb ʕala mustawa

3 l-ga:ʔiʕ wa-l-ʕaṭša:nʔ wa-l-ʕa:ri wa-l-mari:ḍ wa-l-masgu:nʔ bass ma-fi:-š masgu:n ʔinnama

4 ʕa:wiz ʔarfaʕ šiwayya min mustawa il-ga:ʔiʕ wi-l-ʕa:ṭiš wa-l-ʕa:ri wa-l-mari:ḍ

5 wa-l-masgu:n ʕa:wiz ʔaʕu:l in ka:n ga:ʔiʕ li-xubz il-gasad ʔaw ga:ʔiʕ li-xubz is-sama:ʔ

6 wa:ḥid ʔin ka:n ʕaṭša:n li-ma:ʔ it-trumba ʔaw ma:ʔ il-zi:r is-saʕʕa:n ʔaw ʕaṭša:n li-ma:ʔ

7 il-ʔi:ma:n bi-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus huwa barḍak ma:ši ʔin ka:n ʕurya:n min θo:b wi-b-nigri

8 ngib-lu fanilla ʔaw galabiyya ʔaw... / ʔabu:na ga:y ʔabu:na mi:na ʔana lḥiʔt gibt li-l-ʕiya:l

69

1 xamsi:n ṣandal w-mabsu:ṭ w-ʔal-lu w-ruḥt wi-msikt f xnaʔa wa:ḥid ṣa:ḥibna ʔismu ʔanba

2 ṣamu:ʔi:l wa-ʔulti-lu ismaʕ baʔa ʔinta la:zim tigi:b li-kull ʕa:mil baʔa ʔe:ʔ banṭalu:n

3 w-žakitta ʔal-lu bass ʔaṣl ʔal-lu ma-fi:-š bass wa-la ʔaṣl ʔal-lu ṭayyib ru:ḥ li-ṣa:ḥibna fla:n

4 il-fula:ni ʔul-lu ra:ḥ li-fla:n il-fula:ni ʔal-lu bass ʔaṣl ʔal-lu ma-fi:-š wa-la bass wa-la ʔaṣl /

5 ʔal-lu yaʕni il-bala:t w-bta:ʕ ʔal-lu ha:t ba:la [vestiti usati?] b-ḥalha // yihimmu ʔawi ʔawi

6 ʔinn il-ʕa:mil yitkisi w-ʔawwil ma yitkisi w-yiddiʕu [yidʕu] li-abu:na mi:na ya::: sala:::m

7 w-ʔawwil ma yilbisu ṣ-ṣana:dil w-kida w-yimšu mrawwaḥi:n kida kull wa:ḥid minhum

8 la:bis il-gala(:)biyya btaʕtu ya li-farḥit ʔalbi w-ana ša:yifhum kida ka-mala:ʔikat alla:

9 ṭalʕi:n min de:r abu maʔa:r mašḥu:ni:n bi-l-niʕma wa-l-baraka | w-barḍak kida ʕala

10 mustawa il-ga:ʔiʕ

70

1 ru:ḥiyyan ʔaw il-ʕaṭša:n ru:ḥiyyan hà:kaza nasqi wa-nuṭʕim | / ʔin ka:na ʕala mustawa

2 l-gasad wa-r-ru:ḥ | in-naharda ʔintu bi-titmarranu fi l-ʕumma:l ʕala mustawa l-gasad |

3 ha-yi:gi f yo::m ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi wa-tuzkuru kala:mi w-baʕde:n min ḥusn il-ḥaẓẓ ʔinn

4 ʕammak / ʔabu:na fili:mu:n wara:ya wara:ya yaʕni mistaʔaffini [xxxxxxxxxx,

5 mistaʔṣadni?] w-miṭṭaḥidni bi-š-šara:yiṭ bitaʕtu iš-širi:ṭ da ha-yiʕi:š kiti:r ʔawi baʔ

6 ha-yiʕiš-lu xamsi:n sana yaʕni / yiku:n il-wa:ḥid tra:b yaʕni [ride] fa::-w-yiku:nu baʔa

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7   diʔunku byiaḍḍat w-ana miš ša:yif ġe:r daʔne:n bass bi-yibʔa hina fi g-gama:ʕa kùllaha

8   yaʕni tku:n d-diʔu:n kullaha byiaḍḍat w-kull wa:ḥid xad risa::la kayfa yuṭʕim in-nufu::s

9   wa-yarwi::ha kayfa yaqu::d / xawa:ris fi ṣ-ṣala:(ḥ) wa-kayfa yuʕazzi qulu:b kaθi:ri:n

10 šuʕu:b kaθi:ra | // fa-ʔantum il-biðra

71

1   ṭ-ṭàyyiba li-l-masi:ḥ ʕamma:l bi-yzraʕha w-yisʔi:ha ʕalaša:n lamma tikbar yištilha fi kull

2   ʔanḥa:ʔ il-ʕa:lam | fa-n-naharda ʔilli ʔalbu maftu:ḥ li-xidmit il-ʕa:mil wa-t-taʕa:ṭuf màʕahu

3   wa-l-faqi:r wa-ḍ-ḍaʕi:f sawa:ʔ ʔan ka:n ʔaxu: ʔaw ʕa:mil ʔaw ḍe:f ʔaw ʕarabi / šuftu:ni

4   ʔana ba-ʔa:bil il-walad il-ʕarabi lli smu muḥammad il-ʕa:bid? daxal min il-ba:b bi-ḥanti:ša

5   f riglu maʔṭu:ʕa w-baʕde:n ʔa:l ana:: matta l-maski:n hina? fa-ʔe:ḥ il-ra:gil il-gari:ʔ da ʔilli

6   bi-yiʔu:l matta l-miski:n da // fa-ʔal-lu ʔuʔaf hina w-gu:li wa:ḥid ʕarabi ʔismu e:

7   mḥammad a::: da ṣadi:qi giddan | w-nzilt min il-ʔalla:ya li-ʔinni ma-ba-ruḥ-š

8   [...............] w-daxalt // ʔahlan mḥammad ya ʕa::bid izzayyak? xattu bi-l-ḥuḍn

9   w-il-ruhba:n waʔfa titfarrag e: da? ʕarabi ma-yiswa:-š bita:ʕ w-ʔabu:na ʔaʕid maʕa:

10 w-ʔamarti-lu ʔinn yitfataḥ-lu l-ʔaṣr

72

1   w-yuʔʕud ʕala sri:r b-mla:ya markit il-ʕaru:sa [laughs] // w-ʔaḥsan ʔakl yi:gi l-mḥammad

2   il-ʕa:bid yimkin ge:h safi:r ingiltira ma-ʕamalnana:-š [sic] kida | a:: a:: a:: ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi

3   itʕallimt itʕallimt ʕallimni r-ru:ḥ il-qudus ma-ʔdar-š afarraʔ ma-ʔdar-š ma-ʔdar-š ʔafarraʔ

4   ma be:n is-safi:r w-il-ġafi:r ʔabadan ʔabadan ma-ʔdar-š ʔafarraʔ ma be:n ir-ra:hib

5   w-il-ʕa:mil w-illi darasni w-daras ʔaxla:ʔi ʕa:rifni kwayyis giddan w-illi ma ʕa:š... ʕa:šu

6   maʕa:ya fi r-rayya:n ya ma ʔarašu malḥiti ya ma: ba:tu w-baṭnuhum mimaġġaṣa minni

7   li-ʔinn il-laḥma b-axudhum min buʔʔuhum w-addi:ha li-ʕumma:l wa-l-ḥawa:dis yaʕni lissa

8   f zihnuhum mawgu:da w-yi:gi-lna l-basku:ta ba-ʔul-lu ši::lu(ḥ) w-da yuḥtafaẓ bi:

9   li-l-ʕumma:l illi yigi:bu-lna gato: ba-ʔul-lu ši::lu(ḥ) li-l-ʕumma:l yi:gi šakula:ta ʔaw

10 mila[bbas] ši::lu(ḥ) li-ʕumma:l //

73

1   il-fra:x bi-tbi:ḍ w-ka:n ʕandina kullaha xamasṭašar farxa walla ʕašar farxa:t ma na fa:kir /

2   ka:nu ʔilli bi-nrabbi:hum kullum ʕašar xamasṭašar farxa li-ʔinn hiyya l-ḥa:ga ṭ-ṭa:za

3   l-waḥi::da ʔilli kunna b-nakulha hna:k | / w-ma-ʕamalnaha:-š(i) ʔilla f a:xer ayyamna

4   ʔinnama f il-ʔayya:m il-ʔu:la ma-kunna:-š bi-nakul ḥa:ga abadan | / aʔullu ḥawwiš il-be:ḍ

5   yiʔulli le:ʔ ʔaʔullu li-l-ʕumma:l / yiʔulli bass da fla:n taʕba:n ʔawi w-fla:n da xa:sis ʔaʔullu

6   ʔiywa ʔana ʕa:rif il-xa:sis w-it-taʕba:n / il-ʕumma:l gayi::n w-miš ha-niʕraf niʔakkalhum

7   w-do:l bi-yištaġalu kti:r w-bi-yithazamu fi l-šuġl ši:l da li-l-ʕumma:l | // bulubi:f ši:lu

8   li-l-ʕumma:l / sàlamun ši:lu li-l-ʕumma:l / ʔabu:na mi:na gi:h ʔalli ʔana liʔit-lak ʔarbaʕ

9   sanadi:ʔ sàlamun ʔulti-lu šilhum kulluhum li-l-ʕumma:l | / ṭabʕan ma-ḥaddi-š bi-yismaʕ

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10 ʕanna ʔil-ʕa:lam ma-biyismaʕ-š il-kalam da ʔiṭla:qan / yimkin law simʕu l-kala:m da

11 yismaʕu: li-ʔawwil <u>marra</u> / ʔaʕazz ma ʕindana / hal yadri l-ʕa:lam ʔinn il-fakha l-gayyida

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1 naʕṭi:ha li-l-ʕumma:lʔ lamma ti:gi šle:k ʔilli huwwa l-farawla w-baʕde:n yi:gi maʕa:ha

2 masalan /// ʔe::: ʔe:h bi-yi:gi maʕa:ha? // baṭṭi:x ʔaʒul ʔiddi l-baṭṭi:x li-l-ʕumma:l w-iddi

3 l-farawla li-l-ʕumma:l // ʒa:m wa:ḥid yaʕni yiku:n yaʕni muḥibb li-l... / li-l... bi-ysammu:

4 ʔe: kuryusiti / muḥibb istiṭla:ʕ w-ṭabʕan fi: ʔitne:n tala:ta ma-yiskutu:-š wara:ya le:h

5 abu:na ʕamalt kida? ʔaʒul-lu ʔaṣl il-fakha di / šahwaniyya w-ri:ḥitha gami:la w-bta... w w

6 w-l-falla:ḥ ma-daʒha:-š abadan / ʔiḥna ʔe:h yhimmina l-farawla hiya thimmina bi-ʔe:

7 yaʕni? // ʔahu l-baṭṭi:x kuwayyis ʔiṭṭarre:na wala:kin il-fara:wla tiru:ḥ-luhum

8 [xxxxxxxxxx] /// yi:gi manga / w-yigi ʔe:h ʔilli maʕa:ha bi-yi:gi? // gawa:faʔ ʔiddi

9 g-gawa:fa li-r-ruhba:n w-iddi l-manga li-l-ʕumma:l [laughing] le:h ya bu:na? ʔaʒu:l-lu

75

1 ʔil-manga di šahwaniyya ʒawi / ma:: ya:kulha r-ra:gil da ʔe:? kwayyisa ʔahì ig-gawa:fa

2 muġazziyya fi:ha kammiyyit vitami:n sì: ḍaxma / ʔil-manga la yu:gad fi(:)ha vitamina:t

3 za(:)t qi(:)ma / ʔiddu:ha li-l-ʕumma:l | / wa-ha:kaza muma:rasatna li-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʕala

4 mustawa l-ʕa:mil fataḥit ʒalbi ʕala mustawa l-kani:sa kùllaha wa-l-ʕa:lam fa-ḥna

5 bi-nitrabba ʕala ʔde:n ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus / ʔilli bi-yudxul fi muʕa(:)mala:t maʕa ʔalla: ʕala

6 mustawa l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi bi:-yastaṭi:ʕ yuʕa:mil il-ʔinsa:n | ʔišʔu:litha il-ʔuxt illi hiyya

7 id-duktu:ra ʔilli gat ʔuxt muslima dukto:ra ṭayyiba miš fa:kir ʔismaha ʔe: ʔahditha kta:b

8 ḥaya:t iṣ-ṣala: hiyya:: duktu:ra:: bi-... bi-ʔawwil marra ha-yidarrisu ʕilm il-anθropoloži

9 ʕilm il-ʔinsa:n fa-ga:ʔat tšu:f il-ʔinsa:n fi wa:di r-rayya:n f wad... [stifles a laughter] f de:r

10 ʔabu maʒa:r / fa-ʒaʕatt ʔakallimha / ṣaḥi:ḥ / baʔa ʒaʕatt ʔakallimha ʕa l-insa:n il-gadi:d

76

1 ʔilli ḥna bi-niʕmil taga:rib ʒulti-lha hina fi: ḥaql it-taga:rib / ʔamma... yaʕni... hina fi: ḥaql

2 taga:rib bi-nizraʕ ʒa:: ʔil-ʔinsa:n / bi-niʕmil ʕamaliyya:t tagriba ʕala l-ʔinsa:n bi-nizraʕu

3 w-bi-nuḥṣudu w-nšu:f ʔimkaniyya:t taḥsi:n iṣ-ṣanf il-bašari / fa:::-waṣalna l-nata:ʔig

4 ba:hira giddan | / ʔistaṭaʕna: ʔinn iḥna nqa:wim gami:ʕ il-ʔamra:ḍ il-muʔziyya w-tallaʕna:

5 ʔaṣna:f ṭiyu:r naqiyya ʒawi ʒawi mi l-insa:n ʔe:: muhayyaʔ ʔinnu yibʒa niʒdar nisammi:(h)

6 insa:n ʔila:hi | // ṭabʕan [laughing] kala:m yaʕni šwayya gdi:d wala:kin / huwwa da

7 k-kala:m | // fa-ḥna hina huwwan bi-nizraʕ ʔanfusna ʕalašan nitga... niṭlaʕ ʔinsa:n gadi:d

8 fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ / bi:-yusqa bi-r-ru:ḥ kullina suqi:na bi-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus ir-ru:h il-wa:ḥid

77

1 wu-b-niṭraḥ kullina b-ṭarḥ wa:ḥid / li-ʔinn iz-zarʕ w-it-turba gayyida w-il-bizra maxtu:m

2 ʕale:ha ʔinnaha gaya / min... min fo:ʒ bizra samawiyya | w-nzaraʕit f turba gayyida

3 w-xa:dit ik-kilma iṭ-ṭayyiba fi wàqtaha l-ḥasan | / il-manḍu:r ʔinnaha tiṭraḥ ʒa: šawkan

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4 wa-ʕinab? la mustaḥi:l yastaḥi:l ʔana la ʔuʔmin la ʔuʔmin ʕinab ya rabb ʕala ṭu:l / karm

5 ḥaqi:qi / fa:: fa-ḥna fi l-wa:qiʕ il-mustawa t-tani ʔil-mustawa ẓ-ẓa:hiri mustawa il... il-fiʕl

6 il-maḥabba il-ʕalani / ʔilli fi: bi-nḥawwil ʔanfusna ʔila l-ʔa:xari:n yaʕni ʔana ba-mawwit

7 ða:ti ba-ʔu:m ba-waṣṣalha l-ʔaxuyya ba-waṣṣalha:-lu fi hayʔit fiʕl maḥabba

78

1 ba-waṣṣalha:-lu fi hayʔit ṭabaʔ ṭabi:x / ba-ṭʕab ṭu:l in-naha:r ʕaša:n aṭbuxhu:-lu ʕaša:n

2 ya:kul | // fi l-wa:qiʕ ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi ʔana miš muntaẓir ʔinnu yibʕat-li ṭ-ṭabaʔ iṭ-ṭabi:x

3 il-fa:ḍi yaʕni yibʕat-li fi: fakha yaʕni walla yibʕat-li fi: waraʔ bi-yiʔul-li ʔaškurak / yaʕni

4 ʔana ṭabba:x ba-mlaʔ iṭ-ṭabaʔ ṭabi:x w-abʕatu li-ʔabu:na yaʕʔu:b | iṭ-ṭabba:x miš muntaẓir

5 ʔinn ʔabu:na yibʕa... ʔabu:na yaʕʔu:b yibʕat il-ʕamu:d fi: waraʔ ʔinnu yiʔul-lu ʔaškurak /

6 ma fi l-biyu:t kida is-sitta:t kida / // lamma bi-yi:gu l-ʕi:d zama:n ʔayya:m zama:n kanu

7 bi-ybʕatu / ʔe:: ṭabaʔ [stifles a laughter] ṭabaʔ il-firutta fi: šwayyit kaḥk yaʕni li-g-ga:r

8 fa-g-ga:r yikkisif yiraggaʕ iṭ-ṭabaʔ fa:ḍi fa-yiḥuṭṭ fi: šiwayyit futra fu... fudra yisammu: ʔe:?

9 miš ʕa:rif huwwa ra:ḥ basku:t yi:gi šwayyit lo:z | // la: ma-ʕandina:-š kida / ʔiḥna

10 nʔaddim iṣ-ṣuḥu:n bita:ʕitna

79

1 malya:na ʔaṭa:yib in-niʕma ʔilli bi-ʕaraʔ il-gabi:n ʔin ka:n ṣala: walla ʔin ka:n fiʕlan fiʕl

2 bazl maḥabba w-xila:fu miš ʕawzi:n iṣ-ṣaḥn ma-yigilna:-š fi: ḥa:ga ʔabadan | // kama:n

3 lissa l-mafhu:m ma-ba:n-ši | fi-l-wa:qiʕ ʔana ba-ʔaḥ... ba-ʔaddim ḥa:ga ʕaša:n miš ha-xud

4 ʔuṣadha yibʔa za:ti zayy ma hiyya stàtu kù [statu quo] ba-ddi w-ʕawiz ta:ni yaʕni yimkin

5 ḥatta ha-titbana ġalaṭ wala:kin dana ʕa:wiz ʔa::: // ʔaʔaddim nafsi kùllaha ʕa:wiz

6 ʔaḍayyaʕ nafsi kùllaha // ʕaša:n ʔaxudha ta:ni gdi:d min ʔide:n ar-rabb | miš ʔa:lu kida

7 ʔilli yiḍi:ʕ nafsu yagidha? ʔana ba-ḍayyaʕ nafsi kull yo:m / ba-ḍayyaʕ nafsi kull yo:m ʕala

8 hayʔit xidma f busta:n ʔaw xidma f maṭbax ʔaw ʕala gada:r ʔaw f xarasa:na ʔaw fi farxa

9 ba-ddi-lha ḥabba:ya w-ʔaxud minha be:ḍa w-addi:ha li-r-ra:hib wi-l-ʕa:mil

80

1 ʔaw / ba-ḥammi ʕigl il-baʔar / walla l-ʕigl ʕaša:n tir... tiraḍḍaʕha tgi:b-li šiwayyit laban

2 ʕaša:n ʔaddi:ha li-l-ʕayya:n ʔaw t-taʕba:n | / fa-na ba-bzil ba-bzil w-ʔe: ʔe: nat... ʔe: ġaraḍ

3 ʔinn il-bazl ġaraḍ ʔinn il-bazl ma-xalli:-š ḥa:ga / ma-xallili:-š ḥa:ga / ma-yifḍal-š še:ʔ xa:liṣ

4 yaʕni | / mumkin ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi tiʔul-li š-šamʕa xilṣit w-hiyya nùṣṣaha? // ʔimta š-šamʕa

5 tixlaṣ? li-ḥadd ma:: tiṭṭifi | // fa-r-ra:hib šamʕa bi-twallaʕ hina zamaniyyan w-ḍuʔha

6 z-zamani yataḥawwal li-ḍo:ʔ ʔabadi la:: yanṭafiʔ ʔenʔa:titšinu: [ὴατϭϵηο,

7 "inextinguishable", šīrat – Saturday lubš] /// fa::// ʔe: / fiʕl il-maḥabba ʔilli bi-niʕmilu

8 ma-huwwa:-š guzʔi //

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1 ʔa:ḥ ya rabbi di qawani:n ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi di ma-huwwa:-š guzʔi fiʕl il-maḥabba

2 ma-huwwa:-š zamani ma-huwwa:-š ʔila fatra maḥdu:da miš mi ṣ-ṣubḥ li-ḍ-ḍuhr miš

3 sanate:n w-yiʔul-li baʕde:n xala:ṣ ya bu:na tiʕibt da ʔe: ya wala // ʔana zay b-ʔu:l

4 il-magmaʕ qanu:n talat sini:n w-adi:ni ʔaxatt talat sini:n w-nuṣṣ baʔa rayyaḥni [laughs]

5 laʔʔa fiʕl il-maḥabba miš zamani w-ma-huwwa:-š guzʔi da kulli / kulli yaʕni ʔana b-afḍal

6 ʔabzil w-addi w-abzil w-addi li-ġa:yit ma aḥiss ʔin ʔana xala:ṣ ʔintahe:t ma-faḍil-ši fiyya

7 miš ma-faḍil-ši fiyya ʕa:fiya laʔ ʔil-ʕa:fiya rabbina yiddiha:-lak mit ḍiʕf ʔinta ha-tiddi

8 ḥa:ga rabbina ha-yiddiha:-lak muḍaʕfa / mit ḍiʕf wala:kin li-ġa:yit ma-yifḍal-š ḥa:ga min

9 iz-za:t / ʔaw [...................] yiʔu:l ksibt ʔe: ma wa:ḥid ra:ḥ li-l-ʔaxx wi:ṣa wi:ṣa da

10 ḥabibna ʔawi / w-baʕde:n ka:nu

82

1 zaʕʕalu ʔabu:na matta al-miski:n ʔawi w-ʔal... w-huwwa ka:n yḥibb abu:na matta l-miskin

2 w-b-ṭibtu ʕamma:l bi-yḥa:mi ʕanni maʕ ʔinn ʔulti-lu ma-fi:-š ḥill ḥadd yiḥa:mi ʕanni /

3 wa-la yuzkur ʔismi w-inšalla ʔatšitim walla nḍirib walla anha:n ma-fi:-š ḥill wa-la baraka

4 wa:ḥid yuʔaf-li walla yiʔu:l kilma walla yida:fiʕ ʕanni li-ʔinn ʔilli bi-yda:fiʕ ʕanni

5 bi-ybahdilni w-yḍurrini min ḥayθu la yadri | ʔana ṭari:ʔi min ʔalla: w-ma-ḥaddi-š yuʔaf f

6 sikkiti ma-fi:-š fayda ʕamalu nafsi(:)hum muḥami:n mi d-daraga l-ʔu:la | / fa:-baʕde:n

7 yaʕni hazzaʔu:ni w-bahdilu:ni w-baʕde:n ba:ʔ ra:ḥu yišmatu ba:ʔu bi-ysʔalu ʔahù ʔadi

8 matta bta:ʕak ya xuy | ʕamal ʔe: baʔa b-nusku w-ʕamal ʔe: baʔa b-rahbantu::? [............]

9 ṭabʕan mi k-kita:b il-muqaddas w-ʔa:l ṭabb ana ha-ʕawwiʃa:-lak bi-l-lahga btaʕtu

10 bi-ẓ-ẓabṭ kida wu:: w-ʔul-li baʔa yuḥanna l-miʕmada:n ʕamal e: bi-l-ḥaʔʔ baʔ bta:ʕu?

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1 yaʕni yuḥanna l-miʕmada:n lamma ʔa:l il-ḥaʔʔ aʔʔ... ʕamal e: bi-l-ḥaʔʔ bta:ʕu? ma ʔaʔamu

2 raʔabtu | fa-ʔiḥna ha-na:xud ʔe: min il-ḥaʔʔ btaʕna hina ʕa l-ʔarḍ miš ha-na:xud ḥa:ga

3 fa-lamma smiʕtaha firiḥt giddan giddan giddan giddan [laughs] | yaʕni / li-ġa:yit ʔaṭm

4 ir-riʔa:ba mustaʕiddi:n | ma hu miš bi-tʔu:lu fi l-magmaʕ ʔawwil wa:ḥid baʕd il-ʕadra

5 maryam / mi:n? miš yuḥanna l-miʕmada:n?

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1 fi: ʔakbar min kida w-ʔaʕẓam min kida? ipro:to: / marti:ros [from the audience one hears

2 prodrom...] w-prodomo:ros iprodomor... | fa::-ʔadi yuḥanna ya si:di ṣa:ḥib il-ḥaʔʔ ðu

3 l-raqaba l-maqṭu:ʕa | / fa-ḥna ha-nifḍal nibzil nibzil ḥatta ʔila l-mawt il-gasadi mumkin

4 wala:kin ma-qṣud-ši l-mawt il-gasadi ḥatta la yabqa lana šay? / ḥatta la naʕud naku:n

5 maḥsu:bi:n ʔiṭla:qan ʕind ʔanfusna | ya sala:::m yo:m ma-yifḍal-lak-š ḥa:ga / yo:m

6 ma-yifḍal-lak-š ḥa:ga fi za:tak ma-bi-ybʔa:-š fa:ḍil za:t baʔ min il-xidma w-il-bazl

7 il-mustamirr / xadamt ik-kibi:r wi-ṣ-ṣuġayyar w-ṭaʕe:t li-k-kibi:r wi-li-ṣ-ṣuġayyar

8 wi-ḍ-ḍaʕi:f wi-l-ʕaẓi:m wi-lli bi-yištim wi-lli bi-yimdaḥ | ṭaʕe:t li-k-kull wi-xadamt ik-kull

9   w-nafsak ʔintahat wi-tmasaḥit xa:liṣ w-ma-bʔat-š ḥa:ga f za:tak mamsu:ḥa ḥa:ga

10   mawgu:da / fi l-waʔt da /

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1   bi-tilbis il-masi:ḥ / li-ʔinn il-masi:ḥ miš mumkin ʔabadan yilbis ʔinsa:n ʕati:q | lamma

2   l-insa:n il-ʕati:q yixlaṣ / xa:liṣ yalizz li-l-masi:ḥ ʔinnu yilbis il-ʔinsa:n il-gadi:d | / ʔalla:ði

3   naḥnu ʔallaði:n ʔiʕtamadna miš ʔallaði:na ʔiʕtamadna mutna li-l-masi:ḥ? ʔahù da l-mo:t

4   ʔilli ba-tkallim ʕannu min ḥe:s il-gasad il-ʕati:q min ḥe:s ʔe: ʔe: ʔe:: gasad il-xaṭiyya min

5   ḥe:s ehm // ʔe:h // ʔil-ḥaya:h ḥasab il-gasad yaʕni kullaha / lamma bi-tmu:t / naḥnu

6   ʔallaði:na ʔiʕtamadna li-l-masi:ḥ labisna / ʔil-masi:ḥ | fa-lamma tabzul tabzul tabzul

7   w-hiya di l-wasṭa ʔil-waḥi:da ʔinnak tixlaṣ / tixlaṣ yaʕni txallaṣ ʔaṣdi tišaṭṭab

8   ma-yifḍal-lak-ši ḥa:ga l-za:tak wala:kin ʔifriḍ wa:ḥid muʕtazil

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1   wa:ḥid ma-bi-yḥibbi-š yiṭlaʕ yištaġal / wa:ḥid muʕtazil bi-yḥibb yuʔʕud f ʔallaytu kti:r

2   mumkin yixlaṣ dih? [laughs] ʔaṣdi miš yaxluṣ / mumkin yixlaṣ yišaṭṭab yaʕni w-iz-za:t

3   bitaʕtu tintihi? yastaḥi:l yastaḥi:l / yastaḥi:l | miš mumkin ið-ða:t tixlaṣ ʔilla bi-fiʕl

4   il-maḥabba θ-θa:ni / mustawa l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʕala mustawa l-bazl wa-t-taḍḥiyya

5   wa-ʔima:tat ið-ða:t | // fa-ʔiza ʔistaṭaʕt ʔinnak ehm // tuqaddim ehm il-fiʕl il-ʔila:hi ʕala

6   mustawa bazl yamwi: / wa:-ġe:r maḥdu:d / la b-zaman wa-la bi-... bi-ʔimkaniyya:t ehm

7   tibʔa ma:ši kida ʔa:ʕid ʕa r-raml ʔa:ʕid le:h ʔabu:na ʕa r-raml? yiʔu:l xiliṣt ya bu:na /

8   šaṭṭabt li-ġa:yit kida bass ya rabbi šwayyit ʕafiya li-ġa:yit ma wṣal il-ʔalla:ya |

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1   w-mabsu::ṭ w-farḥa:n xa::lis ʔinn ʕafiyitu xilṣit li-ġa:yit kida w-ha-ya:xud bass ra:ḥa

2   šwayya ʕaša:n yu:ṣal li-ʔallaytu | yina:m w-yuʔ:m ṣ-ṣubḥ zay l-ḥuṣa:n | / hà:kaza kull yo:m

3   nabzul ma: ʕindana li-ġa:yit ma:: nibuṣṣ niltiʔi ʔibtade:na nalbis il-gadi:d ʔaw yalbisna

4   l-masi:ḥ / fi l-wa:qiʕ ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi ehm ʕaddit ʕalayya nuʔṭa ʔaḥibb ʔanabbihku li:ha /

5   lamma bi-yiʔu:l il-masi:ḥ kuntu gawʕa:n kuntu ʕaṭša:n kuntu ʕurya:n kuntu mari:ḍ kuntu

6   masgu:n fi l-ʕa:lam wi-ntum ʔakkaltu:ni kattar xirkum w-šarrabtu:ni w-kasitu:ni

7   w-zurtu:ni w-ge:tu liyya ʔana mamnu:n xa:liṣ ʔinta ya rabb? /// yiʔu:l-luhum ma na kunt

8   fi l-ʕa:lam / ma na ma-šuftu:-š / ʔana l-masi:ḥ ʔal-mutaʔallim / ṣaḥi:ḥ ʔana l-mumaggad

9   ʔil-ga:lis ʕan yami:n il-ʔa:b f is-sama:ʔ wala:kin risa:lat il-ʔalam lam takuff

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1   lam tantahi / mawgu:da / ʔana ba-mlaʔ ʔal-ʔarḍ kùllaha kull ʔinsa:n mutaʔallim da šaxṣi

2 | / fa-l-masi:ḥ innaharda mawgu:d maʕa:na fi šaxṣ kull ʔinsa:n mutaʔallim ʔaw ga:ʔiʕ ʔaw

3   ʕaṭša:n ʔaw muha:n ʔaw maḥbu:s yṣaḥḥ yku:n miš masgu:n hiya kilmit masgu:n miš ṣaḥḥ

4   ḥasab il-ʔaṣl il-lati:ni miš masgu:n hiya maḥbu:s / w-yḥaṣṣ yṣaḥḥ yku:n maḥbu:s

5   ru:ḥiyyan yaʕni // muḍayyaq ʕalayhi ru:ḥiyyan min ʕaduww min xaṭaya:h ma...ma...

6   maʕsu:r / fi ʔasr | / fa:-ko:nak bi-tiʕmil maʕru:f li-ha:za l-insa:n fa-nta ʕamaltu fi l-masi:ḥ

7   ʔalla ʔizzay? ʔaʔul-lak ʔa:h ma hu l-masi:ḥ la za:l ʕa l-ʔarḍ mawgu:d bass miš mawgu:d fi

8   hayʔa mumaggada / il-hayʔa l-mumaggada fi s-sama:ʔ | / ʔinnama wugu:du ʕala l-ʔarḍ

9   maḥṣu:r faqaṭ // fi l-hayʔa ʔe:ʔ

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1   il-muʔallama / hayʔat il-ʔalam faqaṭ // yabdu li ʔinn da fikr gdi:d? / yimkin ha-nabbih

2   zihnukum aṣaḥḥi:kum šiwayya ʔiwʕa ḥadd yiku:n ʕinas / ʔana ʕa:rif iš-šams tʔi:la

3   w-iš-šuġl in-naharda ka:n barra fi l-naḥiya l-ʔibliyya | / il-masi:ḥ in-naharda mawgu:d fi:

4   l-... maʕa:na ʕala l-ʔarḍ bass fi ṣu:rat mutaʔallim / fi ṣu:rat kull insa:n ga:ʔiʕ wa-ʕurya:n

5   wa-ʕatša:n wa-mutaʔallim / muslim masi:ḥi / hindi / bu:zi / yahu:di / ʔafrangi / ʕarabi /

6   ʔiṭla:qan la yu:gad farq kull insa:n ga:ʔiʕ ʕala mustawa gasadi ʔaw ru:ḥi huwa huwa

7   l-masi:ḥ | / fa-l-masi:ḥ innaharda bi-yuma:ris wugu:du fi wasaṭana fi l-ʕa:lam bàynana

8   ʕala hayʔa ʕala hayʔat mutaʔallim | / w-ʔadi l-ʕamal iθ-θa:ni / miš bi-tiʕmilu fi n-na:s da

9   nta bi-tiʕmilu fi šaxṣ il-masi:ḥ muba(:)šaratan | /// ṭab tiʔul-li da barḍak gami:l ya bu:na

10   da da fikr ra:ʔiʕ giddan giddan

90

1   w-sahl w-lazi:z xalli ba:lak / ha-ṭlaʕ bi-l-fikr ʕala mustawa ta:ni | fi:h no:ʕ min iṣ-ṣuʕu:ba

2   ʔinnama ʔalazz min il-ʔawwal ʔalazz mi l-fikr il-ʔawwala:ni / ʔinta baʔa lamma b-ti:gi

3   tuma:ris ʕamaliyyit it-taʕziyya ʔaw it-tasliyya ʔaw / ʔišba:ʕ ʔaw ʔirwa:ʔ il-ga:ʔiʕ

4   wi-t-taʕba:n wi-l-ʕayya:n wi-l-mari:ḍ w-kida w-kida / fi l-wa:qiʕ ʔinta fi mawqif mi:n?

5   ʔinta fi mawqif il-masi:ḥ nafsu | / li-ʔinn il-masi:ḥ huwa w-huwa faqaṭ ʔalla:ði yastaṭi:ʕ

6   ʔan yagu:l yaṣnaʕ / xayran yišfi gami:ʕ il-mutasalliṭ ʕale:hum ʔibli:s wa-/ʕury wa-ʕurg

7   wa-ʕusm wa wa ʔila ʔa(:)xirihi huwwa ʔilli ʕamma:l yišfi wu-g-gaʕani:n ʔal-luhum ha:tu

8   ya si:di xamas xubza:t w-samakte:n | / gab-lu xamas xubza:t ʔal-lu ʔakkal ʔakkal / he?

9   ʕaṭšani:n ʔarwi:ku ʔaḥsan rayy / ha:tu ya si:di ʕandukum kam gurn malyani:n mayya?

10 ʔal-lu sitta ʔal-lu ʔirwi ši::rbu miš mayya w-bass w-xamra ʔayḍan | /

91

1   mi:n ʔilli yiʔakkal mi:n ʔilli yišarrab mi:n ʔilli yirwi bi-l-ḥaqq yaʕni ʔali:θi:a mi:n ʔilli

2   bi-yʔakkal ʔilla l-masi:ḥ / mi:n ʔilli bi-yirwi ma huwwa ʔin ka:n ʕala l-gasad walla ʔin

3   ka:n ʕala r-ru:ḥ | / huwwa nta / huwwa nta tiʔdar tiddi xubza? / ba-kkallim ʕala l-xubz

4   yaʕni xubz li-wa:ḥid gaʕa:n? tiʔdar tiddiha:lu / min nafsak? laʔ da fiʕl ʔila:hi | / bass

5   kama:n miš kull wa:ḥid yiddi xubza | fi: wa:ḥid yiʔul-lak taʕa:la ya ra:gil xud taʕa:la hina

6   / xud il-xubza di bass idʕi:li /// [stifles a laughter] bass bass ma-tʔarrab-š liyya ʔawi

7   ʔaḥsan hidu:mak il-wisxa tʔarrab minni tigib-li ʔamla:ya walla ḥa:ga kida tibʔa miš laṭi:fa

8   / xud ʔaw yiddi:-lu ʔirš w-yiru:ḥ ramyu fi l-ḥigr bta:ʕu ʔabl ma yimidd ʔi:du li-ʔinnu miš

9 [………………] | / ʔa:: fi: mumkin ʕaṭiyya bi-ha:ða š-šakl wala:kin fi: ʕaṭiyya ʔil-insa:n

10 bi-yiddi:ha bi-ru:ḥ il-masi:ḥ bi-ru:ḥ il-masi:ḥ nafsu baʔ /

92

1 bi-yʔakkal bi-ru:ḥ il-masi:ḥ bass bi-yʔakkal yaʕni ʔaqṣud bi-yʔakkal ilwaʔti | / ʔanʔilha

2 ta:ni ʕala l-waḍʕ ʔar-ru:ḥi | yaʕni ṣaḥn iṭ-ṭabi:x / ʔaddi: l-abu:na maka:ri w-ʔaʔul-lu xud

3 ya-bu:na maka:ri saddaʔni ʔiṭ-ṭabi:x da ḥilw xa:liṣ w-ana ʕamaltu w-ʔatqantu giddan

4 ʔinnak bi-tḥibb il-ḥitta l-fula:niyya w-il-ḥa:ga l-fula:niyya fa-xud da kwayyis ʕaša:n

5 ṣiḥḥitak / bi-yʔul-li mutšakkir ʔawi | / w-baʕde:n ʔamši / ṣurti ma-tfa:riq-š zihnu ṭabb ya

6 rabbi da bi-yʔaddim-li ʔiṣ-ṣaḥn bi-ṭari:ʔa ʕagi:ba giddan ʔana ma-šufti-š iṭ-ṭari:ʔa di

7 ʔabadan ka:nu bi-yzallilni ʕaša:n ʔaxud iṣ-ṣaḥn | baʔa ʔana ʔilli ba-:kul ʕa r-ra:ḥa kida

8 w-huwwa ʕamma:l yitragga:ni ʕaša:n ʔa:xud iṣ-ṣaḥn ʔaklu? ʔa: / da hina ... fa-fi l-wa:qiʕ

9 lamma bi-tuma:ris ʕamaliyya:t il-ʕaṭa:ʔ ʔin ka:n li-ga:ʔiʕ ʔaw ʕaṭša:n ʔaw mari:ḍ ʔaw

10 xila:fu fa-ʔinta miš mumkin tuma:risha ṣaḥi:ḥan ʔilla ʔiza ma:ristaha bi-ru:ḥ / ʔil-masi:ḥ

11 // ʔiða / ʔilli bi-ya:xud ba:lu baʔa lwaʔti ha-yintabih li-nuʔṭa gdi:da ʔawi / mi:n bi-yiddi

12 mi:n?

93

1 [stifles a laughter] ʕagab di muʕamla ʕagi:ba giddan ya rabbi ʔe:ḥ dah? / ʔe:ḥ dah? baʔa

2 ʔa:xud min ru:ḥak w-addi:-lak? ya sala::m ma bi-yʔulha fi l-ʔudda:s / min ʔalla:ði lak /

3 ehm? evol xilni eta / ehm ehm no:k [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲏⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕ, Liturgy of Saint Basil,

4 Epiclesis] ʕala kull ḥa:l min alla:ði laka nuʕṭi:k | bi-z-za:t mafhu:m kibi:r ʔawi fi

5 l-ifxa:ristiyya wala:kin lamma nirgaʕ-lu baʕde:n | min ʔalla:ði laka nuʕṭi:k / ya:::ah |

6 minka ya rabbi w-ana ... ʔe: dah? ʔe:ḥ dah? saddaʔu:ni ʕala mustawa l-hidma ʔilli

7 b-tiddi:ha li-l-ʕirya:n ʔaw il-ʔirš ʔaw ʔaw il-ʔakla ʔaw il-maḥanna ʔaw il-bazl bi-ʔa:yy

8 wasi:la | ya ʕamm ʔana lis... ʔana taʕba:n w-ra:ʔid maʕ ʕiya:li ʕala s-siri:r / miš ʔa:dir

9 ʔaʔu:m ʔaftaḥ il-ba:b w-id-dinya saʔʕa / maʕle:š ya ṣadi:qi ʔaṣl ga:-li ṣadi:q //

94

1 wi::: ʕa:yiz niddi:-lu ya:kul // ʔa: ru:ḥ il-masi:ḥ yitḥarrak fi: // ʔaʔulha / wa-la bta:ʕ wa-la

2 ana:m ʔinšalla ʔa:xud bard ḥatta ʔatlaff w-anzil / w-ra:ḥ yitlaff w-yinzil yiʔaddi l-xidma

3 w-yirgaʕ kullu naša:ṭ kullu faraḥ kullu ʕa:fiya w-baʕde:n yiʔannib nafsu // bi-yʔu:l ʔadi lli

4 ma-kutti-š ʕa:yiz ʔanzil w-xa:yif mi s-saʔʕa // yi:gi bi-yna:m ma-yiʕraf-š yina:m / ʕa:wiz

5 yiṣalli farḥa:n w-multahib bi-l-faraḥ | / yiʔu:m iṣ-ṣubḥ yiltiʔi il-ba:b yixabbaṭ yiftaḥ il-ba:b

6 yiltiʔi fi: xe:r gay | ya:h? huwwa r-radd mistaʕgil ʔana ba-ddi bi-l-le:l yiʔu:m yirudd-li ʕa

7 ṣ-ṣubḥ? ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi bi-naḥta:g kaθi:r giddan il-ʕa:lam kullu / miḥta:g giddan ʔinnu: /

8 yistilim kayfa yaku:n masi:ḥ / fi waṣṭ musaḥa:ʔ | / il-ʕa:lam miḥta:g giddan yaʔxuð

95

1 ha:zihi l-xibra | ʔal-mustawa θ-θa:ni li-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʔilli huwa l-fiʕl il-ʕalani /

2 ʔal-muxabbaʔ faqaṭ ʕan / in-nafs [……………..] ʕan iš-šima:l | // muḥta:g il-ʕa:lam /

3 ʔinnu yataʕa:mal maʕa l-faʔi:r li-ʔinnu ha-yitʕa:mal maʕa l-masi:ḥ | // ʔin ka:n il-ʕa:lam

4 taʕba:n ʔin ka:nit ir-rahbana taʕba:na / li-ʔinnaha lam tataʕa:mal baʕd maʕa il-masi:ḥ

5 kama yanbaġi | // ya rabbi ʔaʕṭi:na kullina / ha:ðihi ṣ-ṣu:ra l-gàyyida wa-l-ḥasana giddan

6 ʔannana nataʕa:mal maʕak šaxṣiyyan fi wagh kull ʔinsa:n ga:ʔiʕ wa-ʕaṭša:n wa-ḍaʕi:f

7 w-taʕba:n w-mari:ḍ | /// ʔa:ḥ ya rabbi | // kull ḥirma:n mawgu:d fi l-ʕa:lam la za:l

8 yaḥmiluhu l-masi:ḥ ʕala katifayh

96

1 mutaʔalliman bi-hi ʔakθar min al-insa:n ʔal-mutaʔallim | / yaqif ʔama:mana / yamidd

2 yaddu(h) / sà:ʔilan raḥmatna ka-ʔannahu fi ʔašadd il-ḥa:ga ʔila luqmatna ʔaw ku:bat

3 il-ma:ʔi l-ba:rida min yaddina / ʔaw ʔila hidmitna l-ʔadi:ma ʔaw ʔayy maʕu:na yaḥtagha

4 l-insa:n iḍ-ḍaʕi:f | / fi l-wa:qiʕ huwa bi-ymidd ʔi:du ʔil-ʔinsa:n ʔil-faʔi:r wala:kin di miš

5 ʔi:du ya rabbi di ʔi:dak ya yasu:ʕ | / w-huwa lamma bi-ymidd ʔi:du ʔi:du l-faqi:ra ʕaša:n

6 ya:xud / fi l-wa:qiʕ bi-yuʕṭi:na furṣa ḥatta nasluk fi l-ʕa:lam wa-ka-ʔannana l-masi:ḥ

7 marratan ʔuxra nida:wi ʔatʕa:bu wa-šaqa:ʔu | / ma: ʔaḥwag il-ʕa:lam ʔila masi:ḥ /

8 ʔil-ʕa:lam muḥta:g ʔila masi:ḥ w-il-masi:ḥ ge:h w-sa:b in-numu:zag | ma-fi:-š fi:ku masi:ḥ?

9 |

97

1 // mata ya rabb mata: tuṭliq fi:na masi:ḥan yastaṭi:ʕ ʔan yuʕabbir ʕannak fi waṣṭ il-ʕa:lam

2 bi-qalb kabi:r yuda:wi bi-ʔismak wa-bi-kalimatak kull qalb maksu:r wa-kull rukba

3 murtaʕi... maxlu:ʕa wa-kull yadd murtaʕiša / ʔimta ya rabb ʔimta tuṭliq qalb ʔaw ʕiddat

4 qulu:b mìnnana li-kay tuma:ris masi:ḥiyyataha ʔaw masi::ḥaha ʕaša:n yara:k il-ʕa:lam

5 marratan ʔuxra / ga:ʔilan taṣnaʕ xayran / fi waṣṭ il-ʕumy wa-l-ʕusm wa-l-ʕurg wa-l...

6 wa-ðawi l-ʕa:ha:t / tašfi l-muḥta:gi:na ʔila š-šifa:ʔ / maka:naka l-mufaḍḍal fi waṣṭ

7 al-fuqara:ʔ / ma-huwwa:-ši fi ʔil-katidra:ʔiyya:t wa-la fi l-xiya:m za:t il-ʔaʕmida l-ʕa:lyia

8 wala:kin fi biyu:t iṭ-ṭi:n fi biyu:t iṭ-ṭi:n maʕmu:la min iṭ-ṭi:n

98

1 wa-ʕizab iṣ-ṣafi:ḥ / fi l-marfuḍi:n xa:rig tuxu:m il-mudun ʔilli bi-yfallu kull yo:m iz-ziba:la

2 ʔilli ṭalʕa fi ʕarabiyya:t iz-ziba:la laʕàllahum yagidu fi:ha luʔma nḍi:fa yaklu:ha | / fe:n ya

3 rabb fe:n ya yasu:ʕ? ma-ʕa:d-ši / ʔil-ʕa:lam bi-yataṭallaʕ bi-ʔa::xir fi ʔa:xir rimʔ zay ma

4 ka:n bi-yuṣif-li innaharda ʔabu:na: ʔabano:b w-il-wa:d ʕayya:n bi-yiʔul-li ʔabu:na ʕandu

5 maġaṣ fi l-kilwa btaʕtu w-bi-yiʕmil kida ʔahu ʔaʔul-lu ya xu:ya massil ya xu:ya ṭabb

6 w-ʕamalti-lu ʔinta ʔe: ʔulti-lu yalla gary ʕala ʔabu:na lu:ʔa [……………..] ʔabu:na

7 bi-yʔul-lu ʕand in-naḥl ʔigri ʕala bu:na yuʔi:l giryu ʕala bu:na yuʔi:l gabu: w-ka:n masarra

8 ʔin ʔiḥna niʔdar niddi:-lu misa:ʕda w-maʕu:na | / il-ʕa:lam kullu bi-yataṭallaʕ ʔile:na

9 w-ka-ʔannahu mašlu:l / ḥatta l-ʔi:d miš ʔa:dir yimiddaha li-ʔinn ʔulubna ʔisyit xa:liṣ

99

1 miš ʔadri:n nišu:f il-masi:ḥ ʔilli bi-yirfaʕ ʕene: li:na w-illi bi-ymidd ʔi:du li:na w-ʕa:wiz

2 maʕu:nitna w-bi-niḥsibha bi-ʕama:na w-xe(:)bitna ʔinn da faʔi:r w-ġalba:n ʔaw ʔinn da

3 ʔinsa:n / šaḥḥa:t xusa:ra fi: walla mustaxsar ʕafiyitu ʔišʔu:litha ʔilli bi-yʔu:l ya ʕamm da

4 ʕandu gitta yidawwar sa:ʔya | ʔabadan da nta ġalṭa:n da l-masi:ḥ bi-ʕaynihi | // wa-la

5 tansu ʔiḍa:fat il-ġuraba:ʔ ʔalla:ti bi-ha ʔaḍa:fa ʔuna:s kaθi:ru:n malà:ʔika wa-hum la

6 yadru:n | fa:-bi-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʔalla:ði bi-l-ʕamal wa-l-bazl ʔilli huwa ʕa l-mustawa t-ta:ni

7 bi-nilbis baʔa mi:n? / bi-nilbis il-masi:ḥ | / li-ʔinnana bi-nibʔa ʔimtida:d li-šaxṣu fi

8 l-wa:qiʕ | miš bi-nilbis il-masi:ḥ ʕi:ra wa-la ʔinnu

100

1 bi-yilabbisna ʕaša:n nitzayyin bi: laʔ li-ʔinn bi-niʕmil ʕamalu ha-yilabbisak nafsu li-ʔinnak

2 bi-tiʕmil ʕamalu wa-yaftaxir bi:k li-ʔinnak bi-tkammil risaltu | il-masi(:)ḥ ʕamal talat

3 sini:n? bass ma-yikaffu:-š ʕa l-ʔarḍ ya bbaha:t w-ṭiliʕ w-sab-lina kull il-mira:s w-ʔalbu

4 k-kibi:r w-sab-lina il-fuʔara ik-kiti:r | w-sab-lina nafsu fi kull faqi:r ʕalašan ma-nistankif-š |

5 il-masi:ḥ ka:n bi-yara fi kull insa:n mari:ḍ ka:n bi-yara / nafsu // ka:n bi-yara ʕamal

6 ʔe:de: / ka:n bi-yara ṣu:ratu / bal ṣu:rat il-ʔa:b // ʔin ga:za ha:za / miš ga:yiz da hu ga:yiz

7 miyya l-miyya w-ṣaḥḥ miyya l-miyya ʔin ʔistaṭa:ʕ ʕaqlak ʔan yugi:z ha:za ʔaw

8 yataṣawwar ha:za | ka:na r-rabb yasu:ʕ il-masi:ḥ

101

1 yara fi kull mari:ḍin wa-ḍaʕi:fin wa-mašlu:l / ka:na yara fi:hi ṣu:rat xa:liqihi / ka:na yara

2 miš ṣanʕa... halumma naṣnaʕ il-ʔinsa:n ʕala ṣu:ratna? fa-ka:na yaliðð li-l-masi:ḥ ṭu:l

3 in-naha:r yagu:l yaṣnaʕ xayran | / w-baʕden fi l-maʕmu:diyya ʔal-lina xudu baʔa ʔintu

4 baʔe:tu wla:di / ʔilbisu:ni w-iʕmilu ʕamali / middu ʔide:ku / zayy ma na madditha li-kull

5 insan ʔaʕma w-faqi:r ʔìtʕabu l-le:l w-in-naha:r ʔìṭlaʕu fi l-giba:l w-ṣallu ṣallu wa-la

6 tamallu ṣallu ṭu:l il-le:l ṣallu l-ʔarbaʕi:n il-muqaddasa kùllaha ʕaša:n tastaṭi:ʕu ʔan

7 taʕmalu ʕamali | / tamtaliʔu bi-r-ru:ḥ fa-taʕmalu ʕamali | / fi l-wa:qiʕ ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi

8 il-mawḍu:ʕ ṭawi:l ṭawi::l maʕa ʔinn il-ʕana:ṣir ʔilli ʔuddamna ʔulayyila xa:liṣ wa-la:kin

9 laʔe:t il-waʔt maftu:ḥ ʕala miṣraʕe: | / miš ʔa:dir ʔaʔaffilu

102

1 fa-ʔaddi:-lu waṣla ʕalaša:n il-marra g-ga:ya | /// ba-ʔu:l ʔinnu bi-ṣ-ṣala: w-il-ʕamal ʔilli

2 huwa bi-l-mustawa l-ḥubb id-da:xili w-mustawa l-ḥubb il-xa:rigi bi-mustawa l-ḥubb

3 is-sirri w-bi-mustawa l-ḥubb il-ʕalani bi-mustawa l-baðl ġe:r il-manḍu:r l-alla: fi l-xafa:ʔ fi

4 niṣf il-le:l w-bi-mustawa l-baðl il-manḍu:r lada kull ʔinsa:n bi-l-ʔitne:n bi-nasi:r fi ṭari:q

5 il-ḥubb is-sirri li-kay-ma nabluġ ʔila l-ʔittiḥa:d bi-θ-θa:lu:θ | ʔalla:h maḥabba wa-la

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6   yumkin ʔan nabluġu ʔilla bi-l-maḥabba | ʕizzina r-rahba:ni kull ʕa(:)fiyitna r-rahba:niyya

7   miš mumkin ʔabadan ha-nimsikha fi ʔide:na f yom: w-nʔu:l ya bu:na ʔana šaʕart

8   innaharda ʔinn ʕindi ʕa:fiya ru:ḥiyya ʔilla ʔiða ma:rasna l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi ʕala

9   mustawayayh |

103

1   w-baʕde:n ʔil-ha:ga ʔilli law ʔitʕallaʔna min gufu:n ʕe:ne:na ʕalaša:n naḥṣul ʕale:ha miš

2   mumkin naḥṣul ʕale:ha ʔilla bi-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi | ehm kayfa nufarriġ ðawa:tina min

3   ðawa:tina? / kayfa naʕbud alla: min kull il-qalb min kull in-nafs min kull il-fikr min kull

4   il-qudra la yumkin ʔilla bi-l-ḥubb il-ʔila:hi | ʔil-ḥubb lahu l-qudra ʕala t-tafri:ġ w-it-tathi:r

5   ma-lha:-š masi:l | kull wa:ḥid taʕba:n min nafsu w-ʕa:wiz yifaḍḍi nafsu ma-ʔuddamu:-ṣ

6   ġe:r ṭari:ʔ wa:ḥid ma-lu:-š ta:ni huwa l-ḥubb huwa l-ḥubb ʕala mustawaya... ʕala

7   mustawayayhi ʔal-ʔawwal ʔal-mustawa ʔad-da:xili bi-ṣ-ṣala: bi-l-ʔintila:q maʕa alla: bi-la

8   qe:d bi-l-ḥubb il-ḥaqi:qi ṣ-ṣa:diq min kull il-qalb wa wa wa-bi-l-mustawa l-ʔa:xar

9   bi-l-ʕamal bi-l-baðl bi-la qe:d bi-la šarṭ ġe:r murtabiṭ bi-zama:n wa-la bi-qa:ma wa-la

10   bi-ʕumr

104

1   ʔami:n ya rabbi yasu:ʕ il-masi:ḥ ʔaʕṭi:na ʔan naku:n tala:mi:ð li-l-ḥubb ʔil-ʔila:hi ḥatta

2   naši:b wa-naši:x / wa-gʕal ṣala:tana ʔalla:ti la takuff min ʕala lisa:nina kull ayya:m

3   ḥaya:tana ʔaʕṭi:na ya rabbi ṭari:q il-ḥubb is-sirri ḥatta naʕrifa wa-nadxul ʔila ʕumq sirrak

4   il-ʔila:hi wa-naʕbudak bi-r-ru:ḥ wa-l-ḥaqq ka-muštaha: qalb il-ʔa:b | ʔami:n ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi

5   yalla nʔu:l ʔaba:na ʔalla:zi | / bi-sm il-ʔa:b wa-l-ʔibn wa-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus ʔil-ila:h ʔil-wa:ḥid

6   ʔami:n / ʔayyuha l-ḥubb iṣ-ṣa::fi ya man ʔaʕlanta ða:tak fi ṣala::tak fi l-ʔaṣḥa:ḥ ʔas-sa:biʕ

7   ʕašar min ʔingi:l yu:ḥanna / wa-ya man ʕamalta ða:tak ka-ḥubb maʕmu:l wa-maṣnu:ʕ ʕala

8   mustawa l-yadd wa-r-rigl mustawa l-lisa:n wa-l-ʕayn mustawa l-gasad

105

1   wa-l-ʕamal wa-l-ma:dda ḥi:nama gulta taṣnaʕ xayran ka-numu:ðag ʔaʕla li-fiʕl il-maḥabba

2   ʔal-muqaddam li-l-ʔa:b ka-ðabi:ḥa ʕuḍma | ʕallimna ya: rabbi ma la nastaṭi:ʕ ʔan

3   naʕlamahu min ðawa:tana la bi-l-kalima wala:kin bi-r-ru:ḥ ʕarrifna mustawa l-ḥubb

4   id-da:xili ʔalla:ði bi-hi nadxul maʕaka fi ʕahd fi ʕila:qa ʔabadiyya murtabiṭi:n bi-ka

5   bi-ribaṭ il-kama:l ʔalla:ði huwa qa::mat wa-milʔ qa:mat kull in-na:mu:s / ʔal-maḥabba |

6   ʔaʕṭi:na ʔan nuḥibbak nuḥibbak nuḥibbak ya rabb wa-law ʔànnana ġayr ʔahl li-ha:ða

7   l-ḥubb wa-ġayr ʔakiffa:ʔ wala:kin man ða lla:ði huwa kufʔ min ða:tu ya rabbi? kifa:yatna

8   minnak ʔaʕṭi:na l-kifa:ya minnak ʔan nadxul fi ha:ða ṭ-ṭari:q is-sirri bi-ʔism ir-ru:ḥ

9   wa-yasu:ʕ ḥatta nataʕallam il-ḥubb

106

1 ya rabb ʔal-ḥubb ʔalla:ði fi l-xafa:ʔ | numa:risu min kull kaya:nina l-ʔinsa:ni bi-kull fikrina

2 wa-qàlbana wa-nàfsana wa-qudritna min kull il-ʕà:ṭifa min kull il-ʔira:da min kull

3 it-taṣmi:m min kull il-ʕà:fiya ʔaʕṭi:na ʔan nuḥibbak nuḥibbak nuḥibbak ya rabb bal

4 nuḥibbak wa-nansa: kull ḥubb ʔa:xar siwa:k | nansa: / ehm kull taʕalluq bašari fi l-ma:ḍi

5 wa-fi l-ḥa:ḍir wa-fi l-mustaqbal / ḥatta yataṭahhar qalbana li:-yaḥill fi:(h) ḥubbak |

6 li-ʔanna ḥubbak ya rabbi sawfa yamlaʔ qalbana ḥì:nama nufarriġuh min kull ḥubb ʔaw

7 šibh ḥubb | ʔa:h / θumma ʔaʕṭi:na ya rabb wa-garribna ka-tala:mi:ð

107

1 li-yasu:ʕ il-masi:ḥ kayfa nuqaddim il-bazl ḥatta ṣ-ṣali:b / kayfa nuqaddim il-bazl

2 ʔal-gasadi ʔal-bazl bi-l-ḥubb iṣ-ṣa:diq ʕala mustawa l-ʕamal ḥatta ṣ-ṣali:b | la yabqa: la:na

3 šayʔ fi ða:tana li-ʔanfusna ʔanfusna kùllaha taku:n ʕala mustawa kull fiʕl bal fiʕl wa:ḥid

4 huwa fiʕl il-ʕaṭa:ʔ bi-ġe:r qe:d wa-la šarṭ ḥatta law waṣala bi-na ʔila ḥa:fat il-mawt | ya

5 rabb ha:ða huwa ṭ-ṭari:q ʔalla:ði ʔaʕṭaytana miθa:lan ʔaʕṭina ʔan natbaʕu min kull

6 qalbana bi-tasbi:ḥana ʔalla:ði la yakuff layl wa-naha:r wa-bi-ʔaʕma:l ʕaraq il-gabi:n

7 ʔalla:ði yataḥawwal fi kull qaṭra ʔila tasbi:ḥ wa-ʔila šukr yadu:m ʔila l-ʔabad | ba:rikna ya

8 rabb bi-kull baraka ru:ḥiyya min ʕindak fi s-sama:ʔ li-naku:n ʔawla:d ḥubb tala:mi:ð ḥubb

108

1 kull ʔayya:m ḥaya:tana ḥatta n-nafas il-ʔaxi:r | naʕam ya rabbi ʔismaʕna bi-ṣalawa:t

2 qiddi:si:k illa:ði:na yatašaffaʕu fi ḍaʕfana ʔalla:ði:na ʔakmalu risa:lat al-ḥubb bal ʔakmalu

3 ta:gaha wa-ʔikli:laha wa-labasu:h wa-ʕabaru | ʔigʕalhum šufaʕa:ʔ ʕanna ʔigʕalhum

4 qa:diri:n ʔan yaftaqidu:na fi maðallatna wa-yuʕṭu:na min risa:lathum illa:ti ʔatqanu:ha

5 wa-nagaḥu fi:ha ḥatta: naqtafi: ʔasarhum ka-ma yanbaġi wa-naku:n ʕind ḥusn ḍannak ya

6 ʔibn ʔalla: ʔawla:d maḥabba wa-ʔawla:d nu:r ya sayyidi ʔismaʕ ṣalawa:thum

7 wa-tašaffuʕa:thum ʕanna ʔil-qiddi:s ʔanba maqa:r wa:-ʔanba maqa:r wa-ʔanba maqa:r

8 wa-yuʔannis il-qaṣi:r ḍayf dàyrina ʔad-da:ʔim / wa-šafi:ʕana ʔayḍan

109

1 ʕindaka š-šahi:d ʔabasxariu:n w-it-tisʕa wa-l-ʔarbaʕi:n šahi:d il-qiddisi:n wa-ʔarwa:ḥ

2 al-qiddisi:n ʔalla:ði:na kamalu ibra:him wa-gawargi wa-kull ʔalla:ði:na ʕa:šu fi ha:ðihi

3 l-barriyya wa-fi ha:ða d-de:r wa-ʔarḍu:ka bi-ʔaʕma:lahum iṣ-ṣà:liḥa wa-min il-ʕaðra:ʔ

4 maryam ʔalla:ti taqif ʕala ra:ʔs xawa:rishum ya rabbi wa-tatašaffaʕ ʕanna bi-ṭaha:ratha

5 ʔismaʕna wa-ʔiqbalna ḥì:nama nadʕu:ka bi-šukr qa:ʔili:n ya ʔaba:na ʔalla:ði fi s-samawa:t

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0

1   bi-sm il-ʔa:b w-il-ibn w-il-ru:ḥ il-qudus il-ʔila:h il-wa:ḥid ʔami:n | / summa raʔaytu

2   sama:ʔan ǧadi:da wa-ʔarḍan ǧadi:da / li-ʔanna s-sama:ʔ il-ʔu:la: wa-l-ʔarḍ il-ʔu:la:

3   màḍata: | / wa-l-baḥru la yu:gadu fi: ma: baʕd / wa-ʔana: yu:ḥanna / raʔaytu l-madi:na

4   l-muqaddasa urušli:m al-ǧadi:da / nà:zila mina s-sama:ʔ min ʕind alla:h mùhayyaʔa

5   ka-ʕaru:sin mùzayyana li-raguliha | / samiʕtu ṣawtan ʕaẓi:man min as-sama:ʔ qa:ʔilan /

6   huwa ða: maskan alla:h maʕa l-ʔinsa:n | / wa-huwa sa-yaskun maʕahum wa-hum

7   yaku:nu:na lahu šaʕban w-alla:h nafsu yaku:nu lahum wa-maʕahum ila:han //

1

1   wa-yaku:nu maʕahum ʔila:han lahum | / wa-sa-yamsaḥu lla:hu kullu / kulla: damʕatin

2   min ʕuyu:nihim wa-l-mawtu la yaku:nu fi ma: baʕd / wa-la yaku:nu ḥuznun wa-la

3   ṣura:xun wa-la wagʕun fi ma: baʕd li-ʔanna ʔil-ʔumu:r il-ʔu:la: qad maḍat | /

4   wa-li-ràbbina il-magdu dayman ʔabadiyyan ʔami:n | [interruption of the recording, then

5   it begins again] // exristo:s ane:sti [Χριστός ἀνέστη] | [the audience replies, not audible] /

6   li-ha:ða ma:ta l-masi:ḥ wa-qa:m // li-yuġayyir kulla šayʔ // ʔal-ʔarḍ wa-s-sama:ʔ //

7   ʔal-ʔarḍ illa:ti: / habaṭa ʔile:ha l-insa:n baʕd ʔan ka:na f ḥuḍn alla: //

2

1   wa-habaṭa maḥku:man ʕalayhi bi-l-buʕd id-da:ʔim wa-l-mawt | // wa-s-sama:ʔ ʔalla:ti

2   ka:nat tuġaṭṭi:h / ʔalla:ti yuʕabbar ʕanha dayman bi-n-niʕma // ka:nat in-niʕma l-ʔu:la

3   maʕa ʔa:dam / ḥà:fiḍa lahu / lakinnahu lam yaḥfaḍha // li-ʔànnaha ka:nat muʕṭa:h lahu

4   ka-ʕaṭiyya | // wala:kin ṣa:ra bi-qiya:mati l-masi:ḥ / ʔarḍan gadi:da wa-sama:ʔan gadi:da

5   / ʔarḍ la yaskun fi:ha l-mawt | // man ʔa:mana bi: /// man ka:na ḥayyan wa-ʔa:mana bi:

6   fa-lan yamu:t ʔila l-ʔabad //

3

1   wa-man ʔa:mana bi: / fa-sa-yaḥya | // wa-law ḥaṭṭe:na l-ʔa:ya t-tanya gambi:ha yakmul

2   θa:lu:θ il-maʕna: | / man ʔa:mana bi: sa-yaḥya wa-man ka:na ḥayyan wa-ʔa:mana bi:

3   fa-lan yamu::t ʔila l-ʔabad | / w-il-ʔa:ya t-talta li-ʔanna ʔana ḥayy fa-sa... fa-ʔantum

4   sa-taḥyu:n | // da l-maṣdar li-ʔinni ʔana ḥayy fa-ʔantum sa-taḥyu:n | / hà:ðihi ʔarḍ

5   il-ʔinsa:n il-gadi:da // ʔarḍ haraba minha l-mawt wa-l-ḥuzn wa-l-kaʔa:ba wa-t-tanahhud

6   // kull man qa:ma maʕa l-masi:ḥ / wa-istaṭa:ʕ ʔan yanẓur ḥasab daʕwat bu:luṣ ʔar-rasu:l

7   ʔila fo:q ḥaysu l-masi:ḥ ga:lis

4

1 la:: yagid ʔiṭla:qan maḥallan li-ḥuzn wa-la sababan li-wagaʕ wa-la li-šakwa | /// marra

2 wa:ḥid min ir-ruhba:n kunt ba-tkallim wa-ʔana fi r-rayya:n ʔalla:h yinayyiḥ ru:ḥu | /

3 w-kunt ba-tkallim ʕan il-xaṭi:ʔa wa-š-šayṭa:n wa-n-niʕma wa-quwwat alla: | wa-ʔiz bi:

4 yanfaʕil ʔinfiʕa:l / yiʔu:l ya ʔabuna:: ya abu:na:: / da yastaḥi:l ʔinsa:n yuxṭiʔ / miš

5 mumkin insa:n yuxṭiʔ ʔabadan ʔalla:! yibʔa l-xaṭiyya ntahat / bi-iḥsa:s ʕagi:b giddan

6 giddan giddan | / da lan yastaṭi:ʕ iš-šiṭa:n ʔabadan ʔinnu yuġlibni miš mumkin / da

7 bi-ʔiḥsa:s da:xili bi-yinṭaʔ bi-kala:m miš ʔa:dir yifhamu lamma ḥass bi-quwwat il-masi:ḥ

8 wa-qiyamat il-masi:ḥ | // fi l-ḥaqi:qa ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi ʔa:dam ka:na / fi magd //

5

1 ka:na fi magd la yumkin niʔdar natasawwaru lwaʔti ma-ka:n-š zayyi w-zayyak yaʕni ʕa:yiš

2 kida w-foʔ rasu / ha:la min nu:r w-xala:ṣ laʔ / ka:na ʔa:dam fi magd | // wa-ka:nat

3 haybat alla: ʕale: / lakinnu li-l-ʔasaf faqad kull il-magd / bal ḥatta ṣ-ṣu:ra ṣu:rat alla:h

4 illa:ti fi: ʔilli hiya ṣu:rat ixtya:r il-ḥaqq bi-l-ḥurriyya ṣu:rat ḥurriyyat ixtya:r il-ḥaqq

5 wa-ṣu:rat it-tafriqa ma be:n al-ḥaqq wa-l-ba:ṭil wa-l-ʔira:da l-fa:ʕila li-l-xayr di ṣu:rat alla:

6 fi l-insa:n yaʕni miš ṣu:rat alla: ʕe:ne:n w-mana:xi:r | // faqadha | // ṭabb yiʕmil ʔe:h

7 alla:ʔ yiʕmil ʔe: ʔaktar min kida ʔinnu yixlaʔ bania:dam ḥilw kuwayyis ʕala ṣurtu

6

1 w-yudaʕʕimu bi-niʕma ʔiḍa:fiyya wi-yiʔaʕʕadu fi l-firdo:s / w-kull wasa:ʔiṭ al-ḥaya:h

2 al-xayyira mawgu:da / la laʕna la ḥuzn la kaʔa:ba la tahannud la fašal la buʕd la xo:f la

3 ʕaduww wa-la ʔayy šayʔ | wa-li-l-ʕagab il-ʕuga:b ʔan yafqid ʔa:dam kull ha:za l-magd

4 wa-kull ha:zihi / ʔal-wasa:ʔiṭ ʔallati rafaʕa... ʔalla:ti ka:nat tarfaʕ ʔa:dam ʔila mùstawa la

5 yumkin nataṣawwaru nnaharda yaka:d yaku:n ʔaʕla min il-malà:ʔika | // fa-:ʔa:dam //

6 faqad kull ma ʔaxazu ma l-ʕamal? yixlaʔ ʔa:dam min gidi:d? [xxxxxx] ṭabb ma hi

7 l-ʕamaliyya fašalit | li-ha:ða: /

7

1 ḍahara lla: fi l-ǧasad / li-ha:ða tagassada l-ibn / likay yaʔxuð alla:h gasad il-insa:n ʔaw

2 ʔinsa:niyyatu bi-maʕna ʔaṣaḥḥ wa-ʔagmal wa-ʔawqaʕ / li-ʔinn il-ʔinsa:n ṣa:ra gasadan ʔaʕl

3 il-gasad di ḥaṣal fi:ha gadal kiti:r ʔawi ʔawi ʔawi li-daragit baʕḍ il-lahu:tiyyi:n yaʕni

4 balaġu mina l-ḥama:qa ʔinnu ʔinnuhum ʔa:lu ʔinnu ʔinn da gasad min ġe:r nafs bass

5 ʔaʕṭa:lu gasad kida min ġe:r nafs min ġe:r ʕaʔl ʔilli yiʔu:l min ġe:r nafs ʔilli yiʔu:l min ġe:r

6 ʕaʔl w-li-daragit ʔinn wa:ḥid ḥatta: ʕa:lim kaθuli:ki: ḥadi:s ʔana ʔitkallimt ʕannu fi: kita:bi

7 ʕan asanasius ʔar-rasu:li mawgu:d ḥayy ir-ra:gil da mawgu:d lahu:ti kbi:r ʔawi ʔawi / ehm

8 kaθuli:ki bi-yinʕat [esitations] asanasius ir-rasu:li: ʔinnu ka:n lahu:tu xa:ṭiʔ li-ʔinnu ka:n

9 bi-yaʕtabir ʔinn il-masiḥ tagassad w-badam tagassad bass dayman zakarha min ġe:r ma

10 yazkur in-nafs

8

350

1 yibʔa ka:n asanasius muxṭiʔ li-ʔinnu lam yazkur in-nafs laʔ ʔalha kti:r ʔawi wa-huwa

2 lahu:ti ga:hil w-ṭallaʕt ʔana min kala:m aθanasius talat mawa:qiʕ zakar fi:ha bi-wuḍu:ḥ

3 ʔinn il-masi:ḥ lahu nafs bašariyya kà:mila | // fa::-ʔal-masi:ḥ ʔaxað bašariyya ka...

4 liza:lika l-ʔudda:s badi:ʕ fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa ʔal-gud... ʔal-ʔudda:s il-ʔibṭi tagassada wa-taʔannasa

5 // tikra:r yaʕni ʕala mafhu... dayman ʔit-tikra:r dah taqli:d ʕahd ʔadi:m / kull tikra:r zay

6 ma ʔult... tišu:fu(:) fi l-mazami:r yaka:d talat irba:ʕ il-mazm... ʔil-mazami:r mazmu:r

7 iš-šatra btaʕtu hiyya š-šatra t-tanya bass ʔe:h? tiwarri l-maʕna | / yaʕni bass yaʕni

8 tuʕwizni yaʕni di miʔa:t yaʕni bass ma-hiyya(:)-š fi zihni w-miš ʕa:wiz yibʔa f zihni lwaʔti

9 ʕaša:n ma-sraḥ-š | / wa-kaθi:r giddan fi l-ʕahd il-ʔadi:m yiʔul-lak ʔil-ʔa:ya w-baʕde:n

10 yiʔulha ta:ni bi-waḍʕ ta:ni ʕaša:n tiba:n | // fa::-///

9

1 tagassada wa-taʔannasa | / ṣa:ra ʔinsa:nan kà:milan fi kulli šayʔ // gasad w-fikr // w-nafs

2 wa-wigda:n wa-ʕaql / wi-kullu | / ʔaxað / il-gubla ʔal-ʔa:damiyya / kama hiya fi ʔa:dam

3 tama:man / w-ara:d ʔannu yukammil fi:ha xiṭṭat alla: / yaʕni hiya xiṭṭat alla: fi xilqat

4 il-insa:n fi ʔa:dam / ma-kanit-š maqṣu:ra ʕala ʔinnu yixlaʔ ʔa:dam w-yiʕi:š maʕa

5 l-ḥayawana:t kida w-yinbasaṭ w-yilʕab fi g-gine:na w-xala:ṣ | ma-ʕtaqid-š | ma-ʕtaqid-š

6 ʔinn di ka:nit xiṭṭat alla: fi xilqat il-ʔinsa:n [sound which means 'no'] yixlaʔ ʔa:dam

7 w-ḥawwa w-yiʔul-luhum ʔikθiru baʔ kida w-imlaʔu kida w-inbasatu wi-ilʕabu maʕa

8 l-ʔusu:da wi-n-numu:ra w-hayyaṣu w-ʔa:xir il-ḥala:wa yaʕni | bass?

10

1 hiyya di xiṭṭat alla: li-l-xala:ṣ? la la [repeats sound which means 'no'] | ʔara:da lla:h ʔan

2 yaxliq xali:qa ʕà:qila ʕala ṣu:ratu tastaṭi:ʕ ʔan tarqa: bi-gami:ʕ maṣnu:ʕa:t alla: likayma

3 taḍaḥḥa [taḍaʕha] fi fi fi fi fi: fi: wàḍʕaha ʔalla:ði yubriz wa-yašhad / l-alla: bi-ṣu:ra

4 dà:ʔima | // fa-l-insa:n maxlu:q li-yartafiʕ la: bi-nafsihi faqaṭ da bi-nafsihi ʔawwalan

5 w-bi-ḍ-ḍaru:ra // wala:kin bi-t-ta:li w-bi-t-ta:li bi-ḍ-ḍaru:ra ʔayḍan law ʔirtafaʕ il-insa:n

6 bi-nafsu(h) bi-yartafiʕ bi-l-xali:qa kùllaha / likay taku:n ʕala mustawa tamgid w-tasbi:ḥ

7 alla: ka-xali:qa:: ehm tašhad / l-alla: // wa-/ ehm taʕkis ehm ṣu:rat magd alla: yibʔa magd

8 alla: faʕʕa:l

11

1 yaʕni ʔalla:h / ma-huwwa:-ši / ehm fiʕl / ṣa:mit w-ḥatta lamma bi-nʔu:l il-masi:ḥ kalima /

2 miš kalima ehm ṣa:mita yaʕni maḥdu:da / zayy il-kilma ʔilli bi-nantaʔha kida wala:kin di

3 kalima faʕʕa:la ḥatta fi l-faransa:wi rafaḍu yitargimu:ha kalima ma-ʔalu:-š ʔinn diyyan

4 ləmò ʔa:lu ləverb | / fi l-badʔi ka:na l-kalima lə verb eté walla okommansmà eté leverb

5 ka:na l-fiʕl / targimu l-kalima bi-l-fiʕl ʔal-lak laʔ ma-tgi:-š il-kalima ma k-kalima ga:yiz

6 tiku:n yaʕni miš šaǧǧa:la kalima kida w-bass ʔal-lak laʔ da fiʕl | / ḥilw ḥilw ʔawi targama

7 sali:ma w-miyya l-miyya | fa-fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa //

1 ʔalla:h / faʕʕa:l w-magd alla: la budd ʔan yaku:n faʕʕa:l fa-l-insa:n xuliq likay yaku:n
2 ṣu:ra li-magd alla: / il-faʕʕa:l | w-zayy ma ntu šayfi:n yaʕni min gi:l ʔila gi:l ʔila gi:l
3 il-ʔagya:l ʔila l-ʔabadiyya ʔalla:ti sa-yanta... sawfa yatawa... tatawaqqaf fi:ha ḥarakat
4 iz-zama:n il-qaṣi:ra / sawa:[ʔa]n ka:t malayi:n walla miʔa:t il-malayi:n / sini:niyya walla
5 ḥatta ḍawʔiyya / sa-tatawaqqaf li-ʔannaha qaṣi:ra mahman ka:nat bi-tuḥadd w-kull še:ʔ
6 bi-yuḥadd qaṣi:r w-kull še:ʔ muntahi la qi:mata lahu | walakin alla: ḥabb yixalli xali:qa
7 tumaggidu ʕala d-dawa:m ʔaxfaq ʔa:dam w-wiʔiʕ taḥt il-mo:t wi-ntaha xali:qa ʔaxfaqit
8 ʕan ʔinnaha tusbit wugu:daha ʔaw tuḥaqqiq il-ġa:ya min wugu:daha | /

1 fa-tagassada l-masi:ḥ wa-taʔannas libis il-insa:n likay / yirgaʕ ta::ni li-l-insa:n li-yukammil
2 fi:h xiṭṭat alla: li-l-xala:ṣ wa-l-magd | liza:lik tulaḥzu ʔinn dayman dayman ka:n il-masi:ḥ
3 ʕe:nu min il-magd ʔal-magd ʔalla:ði ʔaʕṭàtani ʔana ʔaʕṭaytahum / yaʕni huwwa hiyya
4 il-ġa:ya il-ġa:ya n-niha:ʔiyya fi l-ʔa:ya ṣ-ṣuġayyara di | ʔil-ʔa:ya ṣuġayyara diyyan bi-yikšif
5 ʕan il-qaṣd il-niha:ʔi min xilqat il-insa:n wa-tagassud il-masi:ḥ | / ʔal-magd ʔallaði li: ʔana
6 ʔaʕṭaytahum wa-ʔaṭlub ʔan yaku:n fi:hum il-ḥubb ʔalla:ði ʔaḥbàbtani bi-hi / min qabl
7 inša:ʔ il-ʕa:lam | / tartaqi l-xali:qa l-bašariyya fi l-masi:ḥ li-taṣi:r / xali:qa mumaggida
8 ʔe:h raʔyak fi gasad il-masi:ḥ fo:ʔ fi s-sama:ʔʔ w-ʔiza ʔiḥna yaʕni ma-kunna:-š ġalṭani:n
9 niʔu:l ʔinsaniyyitu ʔaw nʔu:l ʔinnu ka-insa:n

1 ragul ragul ṣaḥi:ḥ yaʕni huwwa ra:gil zayyi w-zayyak fi kull ḥa:ga bass ʔila:h ka:mil fo:ʔ fi
2 s-sama:ʔ ʕan yami:n il-ʕaẓama // bi-gasadna / fa-ṣa:rat il-ʔinsa:niyya fi l-masi:ḥ fi: milʔ
3 kama:laha ʔaw fi milʔ qaṣd kama:l alla:h fi:ha | fa-l-masi:ḥ ʔakmal xiṭṭat il-xa... il il il
4 il-xilqa ʔilli ka:t saqaṭit fi ʔa:dam ʔakmalha fi: ða:tu ka-bida:ya fa-ṣa:r ʔa:... al-masi:ḥ
5 ʔa:dam iθ-θa:ni ʔalla:ði yufarriḥ qalb alla: bi-ʔinn il-xali:qa l-ʔa:damiyya rigiʕit ta:ni miš
6 bass li-ḥuḍn alla:h di ragaʕit ʔila ehm ʔittiḥa:d bi-ġayr iftira:q / yaʕni l-masi:ḥ lan
7 yataxalla: ʕan gasadu ʔaw ʕan ʔinsaniyyitu ʔabadan ma la la yumkin tataṣawwarha

1 fi l-ʔabadiyya yaʕni miš ha-yi:gi f yo:m yitxalla ʕan gasadu fa-xala:ṣ gasad il-masi:ḥ ʔaw
2 ʔinsaniyyitu ʔilli xadha yasu:ʕ ʔil-ḥilw ʔilli ʔitrabba ʕala ḥuḍn il-ʕadra da:: xala:ṣ dah
3 daxal il-magd ʔa-ma: ʔayyuha l-gahala walla l-ʔaġbiya:ʔ ʔa-ma: ka:na l-masi:ḥ yanbaġ...
4 yanbaġi ʔan yataʔallam wa-yadxul ʔila magduʔ daxala ʔila magdihi likay yuḥaqqiq
5 tama:m ġaraḍ alla: min xilqat il-ʔinsa:n | // ehm // ʔizzayʔ mahu ʔana ba-ʔu:l kida da
6 ka-bida:ya fa-ʕawzi:n nišraḥ šwayya li-ʔinn iš-šarḥ yihimmina ʔawi | / fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa /
7 ʔa:dam zayy ma sabaʔ w-ʔult ʔaxad in-niʕma ka:mila wa-ʔaxað ṣu:rat alla: ka:mila
8 w-ʔaxad it-taʔmi:na:t ʔil-ʔiḍa:fiyya

16

1 ʔinnu yatara:ʕa ʔama:m alla: kull yo:m ʔe: daʔ daḥna law ʔu:ti:na ha:zihi l-furṣa ʔinn kull

2 yo:m il-ʔinsa:n yataraʕa ʔama:m alla: w-yitḥaddit maʕa: da na da na:: ʔaʔu:l yaʕni ʔaxtim

3 w-ʔabṣum ʔinn la yumkin [hesitation] miš ha-yibʔa fi: xali:qa zayyi w-ha-ʕi:š fi milʔ milʔ

4 il-malaku:t w-in-niʕma kull yo:m mumkin ʔana ʔaʔa:bil rabbina w-ʔaʔaf maʕa: w-yitkallim

5 maʕa:ya? ʔa:h / ṭabb ma xala:ṣ ʕala kida / alla:! ʔa:dam ka:n kida w-saʔaṭ | / w-nizil

6 rabbina zayy kull marra waʔt hubu:b ri:ḥ in-naha:r ʔis-sa:ʕa ka:m? ḥidašar | [giggles] / fi

7 l-ʕurf it-taqli:di hubu:b ri:ḥ in-naha:r miš ri:ḥ mu:simi wa-la ri:ḥ šitwi walla ṣe:fi wala:kin

8 ʔiza ka:t id-dinya ʕad... ʕadiyya xa:liṣ kida tiltiʔi is-sa:ʕa ḥdašar yibtidi yihubb ir-ri:ḥ ʔilli

9 huwwa r-ri:ḥ il-ʔe:ʔ ma-fi:-š ḥadd da:ris guġra:fiya? da: min il-mana:ṭiʔ il-ʕa:lya

10 is-sama:ʔiyya s-saʔʕa li-l-mana:ṭiq il-... il-... id-dafya ʕala l-ʔarḍ ʔawwil ma b-tisxan il-ʔarḍ

17

1 fa-yiru:ḥ ma:ši tayya:r min is-sama li-l-ʔarḍ kida xafi::f xafi::f tiltiʔi nasma ʔahi šu:f

2 il-šagara bi-tithazz hazz xafi:f xa:liṣ li-ʔinnaha dayra li-fo:ʔ wi-l-taḥt li-fo:ʔ wi-l-taḥt maw...

3 fi mawqiʕha ma-titġayyar-š waqt hubu:b ri:ḥ in-naha:r ka:n dayman yitlaʔa fi:ha ṣa:ḥibna

4 ʔa:dam maʕa rabbina w-yitkallim maʕa: ʕan il-ʔumu:r ʔilli nifsu yiʕrafha | w-wiʔiʕ w-saʔaṭ

5 ma-fi:-š fayda ḍiḥik ʕale: š-šṭa:n | w-ge:h il-masi:ḥ wa-ara:d ʔan yaṣnaʕ šayʔ ʔintu ʕarfi:n

6 ka:n zama:n yiʔul-lak da da ḥa:ga msugra [certified mail] [giggles] yaʕni ma-tixsar-ši

7 ʔabadan ʔaw iktub ʕa l-gawa:b kida mso::gar | fa rab... fa-l-masi:ḥ ḥabb yiddi:na ḥa:ga

8 tibʔa msugra miš mumkin tirgaʕ ta:ni zayy ʔa:dam w-tḍi:ʕ w-titru:ḥ il-xali:qa | // fa://

9 min ʔagl kida ka:na la budd ʔan yattaḥid il-lahu:t bi-n-nasu:t ʔittiḥa:d kulli / li-taṣi:r

10 in-niʕma

18

1 bi-la / ʔimka:niyya li-mufa:raqat iṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-bašariyya | / ʔadi sirr ʔaw is-sabab ʔaw

2 gawhar ʔaw fikrit ʔittiḥa:d il-lahu:t bi-n-nasu:t ma-huwwa:-ši še:ʔ gabri / wa-la še:ʔ

3 taṣawwuri wa-la mawḍu:ʕ lahu:ti li-t-taʔammul da še:ʔ li-l-manfaʕa še:ʔ da:xil fi ṣami:m

4 takwi:n ḥayatna w-fikrina w-xalaṣna yo:m bi-yo:m / ʔin kunt tṣaddaʔ ʔilli huwwa ʔittiḥa:d

5 il-lahu:t bi-n-nasu:t likay yaḍman li-n-nasu:t ʔaw li-l-ʔinsa:n ʔaw li-l-gasad yaḍman lahu /

6 niʕma la: yumkin ʔan tufa:riqu | w-ge:h ʔaʔl xudu ʔitfaḍḍalu da gasadi ʔill intu xattu: fi

7 yo:m il-ʕahd yo:m xami:s il-ʕahd / ʔidda:na gasadu w-dammu gasadan ʔila:hiyyan

8 wa-damman ʔila:hiyyan fi:hi niʕma la: yumkin faṣlaha la ʕan il-gasad wa-la ʕan id-damm

9 | /

19

1 wi-b-na:xud w-il-ʔassi:s yʔu:l ʔe:ʔ / ehm ehm piso:ma nem piʔesnof ente emmanui:l

2 bannu:ti fay pe xenʔo: meθmi ʔa:mi:n [Ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓ̀ⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ Ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲗ

3 Ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ ϥⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲯⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲁ̀ⲙⲏⲛ] yuʕṭa li-maġfirat il-xaṭa:ya wa-l-ḥaya:t

4   il-ʔabadiyya w-yiḥuṭṭaha f buʔʔak da law ka:n ʔassi:s ḥa:fiẓ iṭ-ṭaqs ʔassi:s mistaʕgil bi...

5   ma-bi-yʔul-ši w-yimkin ḥatta ma-yiʕrafha:-š ʔinnama da la budd yiʔulha la-ʔànnahu la

6   yuʕṭi šayʔ min nafsu da bi-yuʕṭi gasad w-damm huwwa mistaʔmin ʕala ʔinnu

7   yisallimhu:-lak bi-ṭabiʕtu ʔaw bi-mumayyiza:tu yuʕṭa li-maġfirat il-xaṭa:ya di la budd

8   w-bi-t-ta:li li-ḥaya:ḥ ʔabadiyya | yaʕni ʔe: ḥaya:ḥ ʔabadiyya? yaʕni ma-fi:-š baʔa xala:ṣ

9   ʔin-niʕma miš mumkin ha-tfa:riq | yaʕni badam nulna ḥaqq il-ḥayat il-ʔabadiyya yibʔa

10   yastaḥi:l nafqid ha:ðihi n-niʕma ʔilli ʔaxadna:ha fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ gasadan wa-damman |

20

1   ʔana ba-buṣṣilha lwaʔti laḥzu min in-naḥya il-ʕamaliyya l-maḥḍa miš ʕa:wiz ʔadxul fi

2   l-gadal ʔilli sa:ri ṭabb ya ʔabu:na ʔin-niʕma mumkin tifa:riʔna walla ma-tfariʔ-ši? ṭabb ya

3   ʔabu:na mumkin il-wa:ḥid yaskut min in-niʕma walla ma-yuskut-ši? ha:za l-gadal ʔalla:ði

4   zaḥzaḥa l-la:hu:t ʕan waḍʕu / ʔil... ʔil-ʕamali w-xalla: la:hu:t naẓari / qa:bil li-l-ʔa:ḥ

5   wi-l-laʔʔ / w-intu ʕarfi:n ʔinn il-masi:ḥ [voices from the listerners] ehm? fi:hi n-naʕam

6   wa-laysa fi:hi l-la: ʔa::badan | fi:h in-naʕam wa-l-ʔami:n | & fa-di li-l-asaf adi kull niqa:š

7   lahu:ti ʔiza xarag ʕan mafhu:m al-manfaʕa ʔalla:ti min ʔàglaha tagassad il-masi:ḥ wa-min

8   ʔagl il-xala:ṣ ʔilli bi-nasʕa ʔile: bi-guhd gahi:d bi-dimu:ʕ bi:-so:m bi-ṣala:ḥ bi-stišha:d /

9   ʔada l-lahu:t ill iḥna ʕawzi:nu w-miḥtagi:n ʔile:

21

1   ʔadi l-gasad w-id-damm ʔalla:ði fi:hi n-niʕma ʔalla:ti la yumkin fàṣlaha ʕan / il-gasad

2   wa-d-damm | ʔaw bi-t-ta:li ʔal-masi:ḥ lamma tagassad / sàllama l-gasad lamma bi-yiʔu:l

3   ʔaθanasius il-lahut... ʔasanasius ir-rasu:li wala:kin li-l-ʔasaf ʔil-gumla di θaqi:la ʕala

4   masa:miʕ il-lahutiyyi:n il-muḥḍaθi:n ʔilwaʔti walakinnaha lahu:t sali:m wa-ṣaḥi:ḥ lamma

5   bi-yiʔu:l ʔinn il-masi:ḥ libis gasad maxlu:q wa-ʔallahu | tibʔa θaqi:la ʕala masa:miʕ

6   il-lahutiyyi:n il-muḥdasi:n w-tiʕmil ḍagga f muxxuhum walakinnaha lahu:t sali:m miyya

7   l-miyya ʔaxad gasad maxlu:ʔ min il-ʕadra maryam maxlu:ʔ w-baʕde:n il-gasad il-maxlu:ʔ

8   dah ʔallihu bi-l-ʔittiḥa:d il-ka:mil bi-l-lahu:t / yaʕni insa:niyyit il-masi:ḥ

22

1   ṣa:rat fi:ha n-niʕma bi-la fira:q bi-la nadam taʕbi:r ʕagi:b targama li-l-kilma l-yu:na:ni

2   bi-la nadam hiyya bi-la fira:q bass yina:sib ik-kilma l-yu:na:ni | /// fa::-adi sirr tagassud

3   il-masi:ḥ w-ʔadi ʔas-sirr il al-munbaθiq minnu lamma ʔalluhum xuðu gasadi xuðu dami

4   kulu ʔišrabu li-maġfirat il-xaṭa:ya li-ḥaya:ḥ ʔabadiyya | / xala:ṣ rafaʕa ta:ni l-insa:n min

5   al-mawt wa-ḥukm il-mawt wa-l-hala:k wa-l-buʕd ʕan ʔalla:ḥ li-l-waḍʕ al-gadi:d ʔilli fi: /

6   mso:gar yaʕni ʔil-bašariyya ʔaṣbaḥit xala:ṣaha wa-ʔaṣbaḥ fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ | yaʕni ʔana

7   ha-ftariḍ ʕaša:n ʔaku:n baʔa šiwayya ḥazir min il-lahutiyyi:n ʔilli bi-yiṣta:du:li ʔil-kalima:t

8   w-bi-l-ʔaktar ʔana kama:n ḥagari

23

1 bi-yuntig šarḥ ʔaktar li:ku ʔinn il-masi:ḥ ʔana ba-tkallim fi ḥudu:d il-masi:ḥ bass ilwaʔti //

2 ʔanna n-niʕma yastaḥi:l ʔan tufà:riqu wa-ʔanna l-lahu:t yastaḥi:l ʔan yufa:riq in-na:su:t

3 wa-ʔanna ʔal-gasad gasad il-masi:ḥ wa-damu yaḥmil ʔal-xala:ṣ ʔal-ʔaki:d ʔalla:ði bi-la

4 nadam wa-bi-la fura:q ṭabb ʔasʔal suʔa:l ʔinsa:n ṣa:r fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ? ʕala ṭu:l ʕala:mit

5 tusa:wi ʔinnu ṣa:r fi milʔ in-niʕma wa-ṣa:r fi milʔ il-xala:ṣ wa-l-ḥayat il-ʔabadiyya wa-ṣa:r

6 fi l-bašariyya l-gadi:da lla:ti yaḥmilha l-masi:ḥ fi nafsuh ma hu law [.......] kilmit enxristu

7 da il il-miso:gar [giggles] yaʕni badal ma tuktub musu:gar ʔaw musaggal tuktub kida en

8 xristu badam enxristu yaʕni fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ

24

1 xa::la::s la fura:q la nadam la ḥuzn la kaʔa:ba la tahannud la bašariyya ʕati:qa la ʔarḍ

2 qadi:ma wa-la sama:ʔ qadi:ma xala:s | daxalit il-bašariyya fi wàḍʕaha l-gadi:d ʔas-sa:mi

3 ʔalla:ði yafu:q bi-mara:ḥil ṭabi:ʕat ʔa:dam li-ʔinn kat ṭabi:ʕat ʔa:dam ka:nit in-niʕma ʔilli

4 fi: kwayyisa w-ḥilwa w-ʕa:l zayy ma šufna wala:kin kat qà:bila li-l-fuqda:n ʔamma fi

5 l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ fa-ʔinna r-rabb yaʕni zayy ma ʔana ʔult miš ha-ʕud ʔakarrar baʔa laḥsan

6 baʕde:n yibʔa katati:b yaʕni le:h tagassad? tagassad fi gasad ʔinsan ʕaša:n yagʕal in-niʕma

7 wa-yagʕal il-xala:ṣ w-il-ʔittiḥa:d b-alla: wa-yagʕal ʔal-xala:s min al-mawt wa-ʕuqubatu

8 wa-l-hala:k še:ʔ ʔaki:d bi-l-nisba li-ṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-bašariyya miš zayy ʔadam baʔa | ha-yuʕṭa:ha

9 w-xalaṣ yibʔa la: yumkin ʔil-bašariyya l-gadi:da yiḥsal-laha

25

1 zayy ma ḥaṣal li-ʔa:dam | hal mumkin ʔa:dam ʔiθ-θa:ni yiḥsal-lu zayy ma ḥaṣal li-ʔadam

2 ʔil-ʔawwal? yastaḥi:l wa-hàkaða kama labisna: ʔa:dam it-tu... min gasadna ʔa:dam

3 it-tura:bi hàkaza sa-nalbis ʔar-ru:ḥa:ni min il-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ | tuʔʕud tima:ḥikni baʔa

4 w-tʔul-li ṭayyib w-nuskut min in-niʕma ʔaʔul-lak ru:ḥ dawwar baʔa ʕa l-ʔa:ba:ʔ w-illi

5 ʔalu:h w-ʔana ʕandi ʔult kti:r w-katabt kti:r | miš mawḍu:ʕ ḥadi:si wala:kin mawḍu:ʕ

6 ḥadi:si le:h il-masi:ḥ tagassad / w-le:h il-masi:ḥ ma:t | il-masi:ḥ ma:t likay yunhi fiʕlan

7 ʕala ʕuqu:bat il-mawt li-ʔinn niʕma yuʕṭiha-lna w-yibʔa lissa fi: ʔil-xo:f mi l-mo:t

8 w-ʕuqubit il-mo:t yibʔa antagonizm fi: taʕa:ruḍ xaṭ... xaṭ... xaṭi:r w-šadi:d | / wala:kin

9 ʕa:wiz yiʔu:l ʔil-masi:ḥ ʔinn il-gasad wi-d-damm bta:ʕu

26

1 fi: ḥaya:h ʔabadiyya qa:dira ʔan tagliba l-mawt wa-l-hà:wiya ʔal-luhum ʔe:h rayʔuku baʔa

2 ʕaša:n ʔawarriku l-quwwa lli f gasadi w-dammi ge:h ʔabl iṣ-ṣali:b w-idda:hum ig-gasad

3 wi-d-damm w-ʔal-luhum da hiyya l-ḥaya:h il-ʔabadiyya | titṣawwaru? fa-ma ʕamalu yo:m

4 ig-gumʕa huwwa fi l-ḥaqi:qa takmi:l ʔin ga:zat ha:zihi l-kalima ʔaw taḥqi:q yimkin tiku:n

5 kalima ʔawqaʕ hiyya li:ha kalima tanya tayha min muxxi bass li-ma faʕala yo:m il-xami:s

6 fa-daxal li-l-mawt bi-nafsu wa-ʔanha ʕalayh li-ʔinn daxal luh bi-gasad ma:ʔit qa:bil

7 li-l-mawt mɐ na ʔulti-lku ḥasab asanasyus ʔar-rasu:li bi-yiʔu:l ʔaxad gasad maxlu:q

8   w-ʔallihu bass il-gasad il-maxlu:q da qa:bil li-l-mawt | badam maxlu:q qa:bil li-l-mawt

9   fa-rafaʕu fawqa mafhu:m il-maxlu:q fa-mtadda l-masi:ḥ bi-ḥasab taʕbi:r baʕḍ il-lahutiyyi:n

10   wala:kin la

27

1   la ʔatazakkar bi-l-ʔism mi:n ʔilli ʔa:l di ʔinn il-gasad ʔaxad kull ṣifa:t il-lahu:t fi l-imtida:d

2 | / ʕa:b ʕalayya ʔaḥad in-na:s ʔinni ba-ʔu:l gasad il-masi:ḥ yamlaʔ is-sama w-il-ʔarḍ ʔa:l

3   ʔe:h daʔ da kala:m xa:rig ʕan il-ʔi:ma:n | allaʔ da gasad il-masi:ḥ yamlaʔ is-sama:ʔ

4   w-il-ʔarḍ ʔa:h da l-qiddisi:n humma gasad il-masi:ḥ naḥnu gasadu wa-l-gasad yamlaʔ

5   is-sama:ʔ wa-l-ʔarḍ bi-mafhu:mu ʔil-ʕuḍwi ʔil-basi:ṭ ʔil-bašari ʔilli huwwa ʔaba:ʔna ʔilli

6   ma:tu w-iḥna hina bi-namlaʔ ʔis-sama:ʔ w-il-ʔarḍ wala:kin ʔayḍan gasad il-masi:ḥ

7   ka-gasadu š-šaxṣi ʔil-ayðyos [αΐδιος] ʔilli huwwa ʔil-gasad il-xa:ṣṣ kilma muhimma giddan

8   fi l-la:hu:t ʔil-gasad ið-ða:ti ʔaw il-gasad il-xa:ṣṣ bita:ʕu xadu w-xalla:ḥ xa:ṣṣ luh yamlaʔ

9   is-sama:ʔ wi-l-ʔarḍ le:h? ʔaxad kull ṣifa:t il-lahu:t baʔa bi-la ḥudu:d ʔal-masi:ḥ mumkin

10   yiku:n fi ʔallaytak ga:y yizu:rak yiʔul-lak ʔizzayyak ya ʔaxi [tape cut?] ya gama:l w-inta

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1   yigi:lak f ʔallaytak w-yuʔul-lak izzayyak ya buṭrus alla:ʔ ṭabb ʔizzay il-masi:ḥ yi:gi maʕa

2   da f ʔallaytu w-gih f ʔallayti f nafs il-waʔt? ʔa:h ʔaxað kull ṣifa:t il-lahu:t fi l-ʔimtida:d

3   wa-l-laniha:ʔiyya | fi mafhu:mu ʔið-ða:ti ʔil-ayðyos w-fi mafhu:mu il-ko... kommyu:nion /

4   iš-šarika | fa:::-ʔitṣawwaru ʔadd ʔe:h il-ribḥ ʔilli ṣa:r lana min tagassud il-masi:ḥ w-lamma

5   ma:t ba-ʔul-luku ʔanha ʕala l-mawt bi-l-mawti da:sa l-mawt ʔit-tarti:la ʔiš-šahiyya

6   ʔiš-šagiyya ʔilli ha-tuʔʕudu tihallilu bi:-ha ʔarbaʕi:n yo:m ehm di ḥaqi:qa muʕa:ša miš

7   muqa:la yaʕni da:sa l-mawt yaʕni man ʔa:mana bi: bidayt ik-kala:m wa-ka:na ḥayyan

8   fa-lan yamu:t ʔila l-ʔabad man ʔa:mana bi: wa-ka:na ḥayyan ehm? wa-law ma:t

29

1   fa-sa-yaḥya wa-man ka:na ḥayyan wa-ʔa:mana bi: fa-lan yamu:t ʔila l-ʔabad | di laha šarḥ

2   ha-ʔaggilu li-ʔinn il-ʔayte:n dol ḥilwi:n ʔawi lu:hum šarḥ bass ʕa:wiz ʔataga:wazu lwaʔti |

3   fa-hina lan yamu:t wa-lan yamu:t yaʕni da l-ḥitta l-ʔawwalaniyya ʔal-luhum li-ʔanni ʔana

4   ḥayy fa-ʔantum sa-taḥyu:n w-baʕde:n bi-yigi:lak [.........] w-yiḥuṭṭ f buʔʔak il-gasad

5   wi-d-damm w-yiʔul-lak da li-l-ḥaya:h il-ʔabadiyya ṭabb ya ʕamm da na ha-mu:t yiʔul-lak

6   la la laʔ da miš il-mo:t bita:ʕ ʔa:dam la la laʔ da bass il-gasad ha-yitġayyar ha-yidxul

7   il-qabr w-yitġayyar w-di yaʕni mawḍu:ʕ waqt w-zaman yataġayyar li-kay yaṣi:r haʔ ʕala

8   šibh gasad tawa:ḍuʕihi ʕala ʔasa:s haʔ ʔa:ya tanya ʕala šibh gasad magdih w-ʔa:ya ʕala

9   šibh gasad tawa:ḍuʕihi | xalli:na fi [.........] il-ʔawwil ya ʔabu:na w-baʕde:n fi l-magd da

10   lamma / yaʕni ///

30

1 fa::::-mawt il-masi:ḥ takmi:l li-t-tagassud takmi:l li-t-tagassud takmi:l li-xami:s il-ʕahd likay

2 yuʕṭi l-bašariyya l-gadi:da ma yaḍman xulù:daha wa-ma yaḍman ʕadam suqù:ṭaha

3 wa-yuʕṭi:ha n-niʕma lla:ti bi-la nada:ma yuʕṭi:na niʕma bi-la nada:ma miš mumkin

4 yaxudha yaʕni fi-ma yaqaʕ fi: tisʕa w-tisʕi:n fiya... fi l-miyya min in-na:s yiʔul-lak da

5 l-masi:ḥ zaʕla:n minni ya ʕamm ma-titgannin-š il-masi:ḥ miš mumkin yizʕal xala:ṣ baṭṭal

6 zaʕl [giggles] da huwwa ʔa:l la ḥuzn wa-la kaʔa:ba ha-tzaʕʕalu le: w-ha-tḥazzinu le:

7 yiʔul-lak da zaʕla:n minni wa-la yumkin yizʕal minnak ʔiṭla:qan wa-la yanbaġi ʔinn ʔinta

8 tizʕal ʔiṭla:qan li-ʔinn fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa ʔinn ma-ʕad-š yamluk ʕale:na la ḥuzn wa-la kaʔa:ba

9 wa-la tanahhud wa-la xaṭiyya wa-la namu:s xaṭiyya wa-la mawt wa-ʔilli bi-yiḥazzin

10 il-ḥuzn il-muri:ʕ ʔilli yiwaṣṣal in-na:s ʔila l-mawt

31

1 huwwa namu:s il-xaṭiyya il-ʕa:mil fi l-ʔaʕḍaʔ ʔilli bi-yaḥkum ʕa l-ʔinsa:n yaʕni

2 tilqa(:)ʔiyyan yaʕni ḥukm bi-l-mawt da ma:t ʔin-namu:s ma:t tiʔul-li laʔ ya ʔabu:na da

3 lissa bi-yiʕmil fiyya ba-ʔul-lak bass / ma-ʕad-š da n-namu:s ʔilli bi-yiʕmil fi:k da huwwa di

4 l-laʕna ʔilli ṣadarit min ʔalla: ʕala l-ʔinsa:n ʔilli ʔallu mawtan tamu:t w-di ntahat xala::ṣ

5 ge:ḥ il masi:ḥ ʔanha ʕalayha bi-mawtihi w-ʕiwaḍ il-mawt lissa ha-nudxul fi l-qiya:ma

6 ʔaʕṭa:na ḥaya: ʔabadiyya wa-ʔaʕṭa:na niʕma bi-la nada:ma tamluk fi::-na wa-namluk

7 fi::-ha bi-la fira:q | fa-namu:s il-xaṭiyya il-fa:ʕil fi l-ʔaʕḍa:ʔ ʔalla:ði ka:n tilqa(:)ʔiyyan

8 yiʔul-lak yaʕni da tilqa(:)ʔiyyan bi-yaḥkum bi-l-mawt w-xala:ṣ li-ʔinn kull mawlu:d

9 ʔimra:ʔa mawlu:d li-l-mawt | [.........] ma-ʕad-ši namu:s il-xaṭiyya ma-ʕad-š yamluk ʕala

10 ʔinsa:n

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1 ʔil-xaṭiyya tamluk / tamluk ʕala l-gasad w-ha-nsib-laha l-gasad w-nʔul-laha išbaʕi bi:h

2 [xxxxxx] w-ndawwibhu:lik f it-tura:b w-nuxrug bidu:n xaṭiyya li-ʔinn il-masi:ḥ lamma

3 ha-yi:gi yaxudna ha-yaʔti bi-la mafhu:m xaṭiyya hiyya maktu:ba ha-yaʔti bi-la xaṭi:ʔa

4 ṭabʕan mafhu:mha ʔinnu ha-yaʔti bi-la ʔayy daynu:na min gihat il-xaṭi:ʔa da ga:y yaʕni

5 yumaggid | // fa-mawt il-masi:ḥ ʔanha ʕala ma tabaqqa: min laʕnat ʔalla: w-min namu:s

6 il-xaṭiyya r-ra:biḍ fi l-ʔaʕḍa:ʔ wa-likay yuʔakkid ehm ehm daymu:mat ʔaw msugrat /

7 in-niʕma / msugrat il-xala:ṣ msugrat il-ḥaya:t il-ʔabadiyya | ʔanha ʕala l-mawt ʕalaša:n

8 ma-yibʔa:-š il-mo:t luh sulṭa:n ʕale:na ʔizan fa-n-niʕma ʔilli ddahalna xala:ṣ ʔiza

9 [ma]kan-ši mumkin ʔabadan li-l-mawt

33

1 yaʕni yaʔxuzni wa-yaḥrimni min ʔalla: yibʔa n-niʕma ʔilli ddaha:ni niʕma ʔigabiyya

2 w-il-mawt salbi | / w-fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa la yumkin yataqa:balu maʕa baʕḍ ʔilla f šaxṣ wa:ḥid ʔilli

3 huwwa l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ liza:lik ma tawaqqaʕt [xxxxxx] [giggles] li-ʔinn il-masi:ḥ ʔila:h

4 wa-la yaḥk... wa-la yumkin ʔinnu bi-ḥasab ʔal-kalima ʔaw lahu:tu ʔinnu yimu:t

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5   wa-l-lahu:t ʔaw l-kalima muttaḥid ʔittiḥa:d kulli / kulli w-kulli di fi l-mafhu:m il-lahu:ti fi

6   l-mafhu:m il-falsafi kibi:ra ʒawi ʒawi ʒawi yaʕni ʔil-kulliyya:t di še:ʔ ʕagi:b lamma tuʔʕud

7   tidrishum da kta:b b-ḥa:lu di l-muṭlaqa:t yaʕni ʔittiḥa:d muṭlaq ʔittiḥa:d kulli ma be:n

8   il-lahu:t w-in-nasu:t | fa::::-ʔin-nasu:t qa:bil li-l-mo:t w-muttaḥid bi-l-lahu:t illa:ði la

9   yumkin ʔan yamu:t fa-ṭabi:ʕi ʔinnu la:zim ʔiza ma:t yiʔu:m

34

1   ʔaw miš mumkin ʔinnu yumsik fi l-mawt yaʕni ma:t talat iyya:m lakin ṭiliʕ riḥtu zayy

2   il-ʕambar ʔaḥla min ri:ḥit libna:n li-ʔinn lan yamluk ʕalayhi l-mawt ʔiṭla:qan ʔinnama

3   li-ʔinnu la:bis gasad maxlu:q la budda ʔan yamu:t fa-ma:t fa-ʔanha ʕala ḥukm il-mawt

4   bi-qiya:matihi ʔila l-ʔabad wa-ʔaʕṭa:na nafsu ʔaʕṭa:na nafsu bi-l-ʔi:ma:n ʔaʕṭa:na nafsu

5   bi-l-kalima ʔaʕṭa:na nafsu bi-l-ʕišra bi-l-ʕišra š-šaxṣiyya l-ḥulwa ʔaʕṭa:na nafsu bi-g-gasad

6   wi-d-damm ʔaʕṭa:na nafsu bi-kull ma: lahu fi l-maʕmu:diyya min mawt wa-qiya:ma

7   wa-ġalaba wa-kullu // ʔaʕṭa:na bašariyyitu ʔil-muttaḥida bi-lahu:tu fa-bi-t-ta:li ʔaʕṭa:na

8   kull ḥuqu:q ʔal-ʔinsa:n il-gadi:d ʔaw ʔil-bašariyya l-muxallaṣa | / hal ʔanta fi l-masi:ḥ

9   yasu:ʕ? ʔa:h

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1   ya::: li-l-maʕna wa-ya:: li-l-ʕumq! yaʕni ʔana bass yaʕni tuʕwizni ʔil-ʔaya:t ʕaša:n

2   ʔaʔul-lak bu:lis ir-rasu:l misik fì di w-ʒa:l ʔe: ʒa:l li-ʔinn ʔiḥna ʔin ka:n ʔaḥad fi l-masi:ḥ

3   yasu:ʕ fa-huwwa xali:qa gadi:da! kull še:ʔ qadi:m qad maḍa: kull še:ʔ qadi:m maḍa:

4   ʔintaha w-kull še:ʔ ṣa:r gadi:d fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ li-ʔinn ṣirna fi l-masi:ḥ badam ṣirna fi

5   l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ yibʔa ṣirna fi l-bašariyya l-gadi:da ṣirna fi ʔa:dam iθ-θa:ni ṣirna fi

6   l-bašariyya lla:ti la yumkin yaḥkum ʕalayha mawt wa-la ḥuzn wa-la kaʔa:ba wa-la

7   tanahhud wa-ʔinnaha badaʔat bi-l-fiʕl munðu yawm il-qiya:ma wa-fàgraha ʔinnaha taʕi:š

8   il-ʔarḍ il-gadi:da wa-s-sama:ʔ il-gadi:da ʔalla:ti la yumkin ʔan yaḥkum ʕale:ha la ḥuzn

9   wa-la kaʔa:ba wa-la tanahhud wa-la mawt | kama:n ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi ehm ehm

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1   ʔattakk ta:ni ʕala ʔinn ʔa:dam ʔaxad kull ma yumkin ʔan taḥlam bi: / kull ma yumkin

2   ʔinta ka-ra:hib tiḥlam bi: min ʕišra maʕa alla: ya sala:m lamma yiʔul-lak [........] ʔe:ʔ da

3   bu:na fla:n [........] fi l-maġa:ra yome:n taṣa:daq maʕa il-wuḥu:š wuḥu:š il-barriyya baʔit

4   ti:gi tilḥas ʔide: wi-t-taʕbi:n ʔitlammit ḥawale: w-baʔa yiʔakkalha wi-n-nusu:r baʔit ti:gi

5   tuʔʕud ʕal kitfu yiʔakkalha ʔalla:ʔ ʔe:h il-ḥika:ya diʔ da baʔa ʒiddi:s yaʕni ma ʔa:dam ka:n

6   ʔaktar min kida ʔa:dam ka:na fi l-firdo:s la la: tušawwib ḥaya:tu ʔayy ša:ʔiba min

7   il-ʕada:wa ʔil-ʕada:wa ka:nit maqtu:la miš mawgu:da xa:liṣ la be:n wa-la be:n ḥayawana:t

8   wa-la wuḥu:š wa-la wa-la ʔila ʔa:xirihi wa-taṣa:daqa maʕahum miš bass kida

9   w-il-malà:ʔika ʔayḍan miš kida w-bass da ʕaraq il-gabi:n da ʔit-taʕab da ma-kan-š

10   mawgu:d ʔiš-šagar yanmu: yinzil il-maṭar iš-šagar yanmu li-waḥdu /

1 w-ka:n suhu:la fi l-ḥaya:h ma baʕadaha suhu:la w-fo: kull da fo: kull da ka:n bi-yuʔʕud

2 maʕa rabbina yataḥa:das maʕahu yaʕni ʔa:xir ʔa:ma:l kull ʔinsa:n na:sik wa-ʕa:bid

3 w-li-l-ʔasaf faqad da kullu | ʔalla:ʔ ṭabb ya abu:na izan mawḍu:ʕ il-masi:ḥ da mawḍu:ʕ

4 xaṭi:r giddan giddan ʔa:h bass waxdi:nu ʔiḥna bi-muntaha l-ʔistihta:r / li-ʔinn ma

5 ʔaʕṭana:h il-masi:ḥ bi-tagassudu ʔawwalan bi-tagassudu wa-taʔannusu bi-ḥasab il-ʔingi:l

6 il-qibṭi ʔaw il-qudda:s il-qibṭi ʔinnu ṣa:r ʔinsa:n wa-ḥamal iṭ-ṭabi:ʕa l-bašariyya ʔalla:ti

7 lana tama:man wa-qaddasha ʔaw bi-ḥasab taʕbi:r ʔaθanasyus ʔar-rasu:li ʔallahha

8 wa-ʔallahha bi-l-mafhu:m ʔinnu ʔidda:ha kull ṣifa:t il-lahu:t w-baʕde:n ʔiddahalna

9 ʔiṭ-ṭabi:ʕa di ʔiddahalna bi-kull ma: fi:-ha | fa-fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa

1 ʔilli ʕamalu l-masi:ḥ bi-tagassudu wa-bi-mawtu ʕala ṣ-ṣali:b ʔaw bi-l-ʔaḥra: fi yo:m

2 il-xami:s ʔiʕṭa:ʔu l-gasad wa-d-damm ʔal-ḥa:mil li-kull ṣifa:t il-bašariyya l-gadi:da

3 wa-mawa:hibha ʔal-ġayr qà:bila li:-ʔaḍ-ḍaya:ʕ // ma hu ka:n rabbina ʔa:dir bi-farama:n

4 yiraggaʕ ʔa:dam ta:ni ka:n ʔa:dir bi-farama:n yiraggaʕu ta:ni bass ka:n ʔe:h illi ha-yiḥṣal?

5 // [voices from the audience probably saying 'he would have fall'] ʔasraʕ min il-ʔawwal

6 ṭabʕan li-ʔinnu xadha [giggles] xad ʕa l-ḥiza:r maʕa iš-šiṭa:n / mahu ʔilli ʔilli ʔitfa:him

7 maʕ iš-šiṭa:n marra ta:ni marra tibʔa sahla ʔawi ʔawi ʔawi li-š-šiṭa:n ʔinnu yiḍḥak ʕale:h

8 fa-ka:n ṣaddaʔni yaʕni ʔin ka:n ʔaʕad-lu fi l-ʔawwil ʔalfe:n talattala:f sana maʕa l... fi

9 l-firdo:s walla yo:m walla miš ʕarfi:n ʕadad ʔadd ʔ:e walla milyune:n sana walla ʕašara /

10 ma-ḥna:-š ʕarfi:n | ka:n saqaṭ fi mudda ʔaqall giddan giddan

1 wala:kin likay yaḍman lana l-masi:ḥ ḥaya:h maʕa alla: la yumkin fi:-ha r-ragʕa wa-la

2 yumkin fi:-ha s-suqu:ṭ liza:lik tagassad ʔalla: ḍahar fi l-gasad likay yuʕṭi il-bašariyya

3 s-sa:qiṭa l-ʕazi:za ʕale: ʔalla:ti taḥmil ṣù:ratu ʕazi:za ʕale: li-ʔinnaha taḥmil ṣù:ratu

4 w-taḥmil xiṭṭat ir-ruqiyy ʔilli huwwa ḥàṭṭaha ka-biðra fi: xiṭṭat ir-ruqiyy ʔan yartaqi

5 l-insa:n likay yazda:d fi maʕriftu l-alla: wa-yaʕi:š maʕa alla: ʕala ṭu:l faqadha fa-ḥabb

6 yiddiha:lu ta:ni zayy ma ka:nit bi-ẓ-ẓabṭ bass bi-ṣu:ra ġe:r qà:bila li-l-fuqda:n ʔiṭla:qan |

7 ṭayyib / ʔil-qiya:ma ge:h il-masi:ḥ baʕd il-mawt ṭabʕan bi-ṭabi:ʕat il-ḥa:l ʔaw zayy ma

8 bi-yiʔu:lu fi t-taʕbira:t ʔil-sa:ʔira l-madaniyya yaʕni ipso facto ḥaqi:qa waqʕa / lahu:t

9 muttaḥid bi-n-nasu:t ʔan-nasu:t qa:bil li-l-mawt wa-l-lahu:t yastaḥi:l

1 ʔannu yata:ʕadal ʔaw yataṣa:laḥ maʕa il-mawt ʔiṭla(:)qan kat in-nati:ga ʔinn il-qiya:ma

2 ḥatmiyya / ʔal-qiya:ma ḥatmiyya ʔal-qiya:ma ḍaru:ra ʔal-qiya:ma šiha:da / bi-lahu:tu /

3 li-ʔinn il-gasad yiʔu:m li-waḥdu maʕana:h innu muttaḥid bi-l-lahu:t ma-fi:-š šakk wala:kin

4 ʔiza ka:n alla: qa:dir ʔinnu yuqi:mu min il-mawt w-yimu:t ta:ni zayy laʕa:zar da waḍʕ

5   basi:ṭ yaʕni da kalima kalimat alla: tumi:t wa-tuḥyi / wala:kin il-kalima nafsi:ha kalimat

6   alla: lamma ʔaxaz gasad wa-ma:t ka:n muḥattam ʔinnu yaqu:m fa-l-qiya:ma ʔamr

7   muḥattam liza:lik ʔuʕtubirat il-qiya:ma šiha:da ma bàʕdaha šiha:da ʕala lahu:t il-masi:ḥ

8   li-ʔannahu qa:ma fi l-yawm as-sa:lis / fa-taʔakkada ʔaw bi-ḥasab sifr il-ʕibraniyyi:n

9   taʕayyana w-it-taʕayyun fi l-iṣṭila:ḥ il-yuna:ni law tidrisha kwayyis tiltiʔi(:)ha yaʕni

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1   taʕyi:n bi-maʕna ay dikle:r tu bi: [I declare to be] // ʔistuʕlin miš taʕayyan ka:n ḥa:ga

2   maxfiyya w-ustuʕlinat ʔinnama taʕayyan ʔe: diʔ di k-kilma l-ʕarabiyya di mufsida ʔawi da

3   zayy še:ʔ ma-kan-š muʕayyan w-itʕayyan wala:kin ʔistuʕlin yaʕni kat ḥaqi:qa mawgu:da

4   w-ustuʕlinat | // fa:::-min gihat ru:ḥ il-qada:sa bi-maʕna ʔinnu miš qa:m bi-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus

5   kama yuqa:l fi baʕḍ il-ʔaḥya:n wala:kin ʔanna r-ru:ḥ il-qudus ʔaʕlana qiya:matu bi-magd

6   ʔaʕlanaha li-l-bašariyya li-ʔinn yastaḥi:l il-ʔinsa:n ʔan yaqu:l ʔanna l-masi:ḥ rabb ʔilla

7   bi-r-ru:ḥ le:ʔ li-ʔinn il-masi:ḥ ga:z ʔiha:na:t w-ga:z ṣalb wa-ṣ-ṣalb laʕna wa-l-laʕna tanfi

8   ʔiṭla(:)qan ʔinn da yiku:n ʔibn alla: ʔaw lahu ṣila b-alla: da la budd ʔinnu yunfa min

9   iš-šaʕb

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1   da kull man rufiʕa ʕala xašaba ʔaw bi-ḥasab it-taʕbi:r il-ʕibri kull man ʕulliqa ʕala šagara

2   da yibʔa miš malʕu:n w-bass da la budd ʔinnu yudfan baʕi:d ʕan il-maḥalla li-ʔinnu naggis

3   iš-šaʕb kullu / liza:lik lamma ḥabbu yuṣlubu:ḥ xadu: xa:rig ʔuršli:m ka-taʕbi:r yaʕni

4   li-ʔinn miš ʔadri:n yiṭallaʕu: [giggles] xa:rig tuxu:m ʔisraʔi:l fa-xarragu: xa:rig ʔurušli:m

5   bi-mafhu:m ʔinn xarragu: xa:rig il-maḥalla w-ṣalabu: li-ʔinn laʕna w-b-sababu ha-tḥill

6   il-laʕna ʕa l-ʔarḍ kùllaha liza:lik bi-sabab ma ga:zu l-masi:ḥ min ʔala:m / ʔaṣbaḥ yastaḥi:l

7   ʔan yaqu:l ʔinsa:n ra... ʔinn il-masi:ḥ rabb ʔilla bi-stiʕla:n ʕaša:n yataga:waz mafhu:m

8   il-ʔala:m wi-l-laʕna w-diyyan il-ʕaθara l-mawgu:da ʕand kull man huwa ġayr masi:ḥi |

9   ʕaθara / yiʔul-lak da ʔana ʔuʔmin bi-ʔila:ḥ yinṣalab? ʔe: ya xuya? da ʔana ʔuʔmin

10 bi-ʔila:ḥ yinḍarab? w-tiʕtibru:ḥ ila:ḥ w-tisgudu:lu? da širk [giggles]

43

1   wala:kin ʔasra:r alla: miš mumkin ʔabadan ʔabadan bi-s-sahu:la di bi-l-manṭiq il-ʕaqli

2   niʔdar nuḥi:ṭ bi:-ha zayy ma nʔu:l wa:ḥid za:ʔid ʔitne:n yisa:wi tala:ta la la: la la: / ʔumu:r

3   alla: kullaha muṭlaqa:t zayy ma na sabaʔ w-ʔult w-il-muṭlaqa:t kull ʔumu:r alla:

4   ʔil-muṭlaqa:t laniha:ʔiyya wi-l-laniha:ʔi ġe:r xa:ḍiʕ li-z-zaman w-kull ma huwa ġe:r xa:ḍiʕ

5   li-z-zaman ġe:r xa:ḍiʕ li-t-taġyi:r w-kull ma huwa ġe:r xa:ḍiʕ li-t-taġyi:r ġe:r xa:ḍiʕ li-l-mo:t

6   wa-la li-l-fasa:d wa-la wa-la mafhuma:t kibi:ra w-tʔi:la ʔawi ʔawi | fa-fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa lamma

7   qa:ma l-masi:ḥ min il-amwa:t ʔustuʕlina min gihat ir-ru:ḥ il-qudus ʔannahu ʔibn alla:

8   ma-fi:-š šakk zayy ma: ʕurif w-ustuʕlin sirran ma bayna n-na:s ʔinn da ʔibn dawu:d

9   bi-ḥasab il-gasad w-ustuʕlin min gihat ru:ḥ il-qida... ʔil-qada:sa ʔannahu ʔibn alla: | fi

10 l-ḥaʔiʔa ko:n il-masi:ḥ ʔistaʕlan ʔibn alla: di ʔawza halliluyà: bass bi-l-mafhu:m

11 il-ʔursuzuksi [giggles]

44

1 [........] ḥaramu:na min šwayyit ʔalfa:ẓ / ẓulm yiʕlam alla: | yaʕni ka:n nifsina ʔawi kull

2 ḥa:ga niʔu:l halliluya:h yaʕni bass yiʔul-lak ʔalla:ʔ gara ʔe:ʔ la:: da nta baʔe:t brutistanti

3 ya na:s di halliluyà: di fi kull mazmu:r fi bdaytu w-f axru w-halliluyà: da l-wa:ḥid yuʔʕud f

4 ʔallaytu w-yiʔfil il-šababi:k w-yiṣarrax bi-ʔaʕla ṣo:t halliluyà: la: tibʔa brutistanti

5 ha-nataga:waz baʔa ʔil-xina:ʔa di w-wagʕ il-ʔalb wi-l-ʔiya:ma di ʕawza halliluyà: min

6 ʕumq il-qalb ṣaḥi:ḥ yiʕlam alla: ʔil-bašariyya ʔa:mat ʔil-bašariyya ʔirtafaʕat fi magd

7 ġalabat il-hà:wiya ʔintaha sulṭa:n il-mawt wa-raʔi:suh ṣaʕadat ʔila ʕaluww is-sama:ʔ

8 li-taglis maʕa alla: wa-yaku:n laha šarika maʕa alla: xadit kull milʔ xiṭṭat il-xala:ṣ

9 wa-l-fida:ʔ ʔil-maḥṭu:ṭa li-l-ʔinsa:n munzu l-badʔ min qabl inša:ʔ il-ʕa:lam? ʔa:h ya sala:m

10 ʔil-qiya:ma ʔaʕṭatni

45

1 ḥaṭṭat in-nuʔat ʕa l-ḥuru:f / yaʕni ḥaṭṭat ʔiḥna ʔil-kala:m ʔilli ʔulna: kullu kullu kullu ka:n

2 na:ʔiṣ ḥa:ga na:ʔiṣ il-qiya:ma di w-yiba:n baʔa ʔil-insa:n ʔilli ba-ʔu:l ʕale: ʔilli lan yagu:z

3 il-mawt wa-lan yagu:z il-hà:wiya wa-la yastaṭi:ʕ il-mawt yaṣnaʕ fi: šayʔ wa-la l-fasa:d

4 wa-la l-xaṭiyya wa-la… ʔahu ʔa:m ʔahu ʔuddamkum ʔahu yasu:ʕ il-masi:ḥ ʔahu ʔahu /

5 gissu:ni ʔilmisu:ni ya na:s ma-txafu:-ši ʔana miš ru:ḥ ʔana laḥm w-ʕiẓa:m ʔahu gissu:ni

6 ʔadi l-gasad ʔilli ka:n maʕa:ku bi-ya:kul w-yišrab ṭabb ha:t šwayyit samak w-ha:t ʕanduku

7 ʔe:ʔ ʔalu:lu samak / ha:ʔ na:kul samak w-ʕasal ʔabyaḍ [xxxxxxx] w-kal ʔuddamhum

8 ʕaša:n yiwarri:hum ʔinn huwwa huwwa / w-ʔadi l-bašariyya l-qà:ʔima min al-mawt hiyya

9 hiyya ʔil-gasad huwwa huwwa / bass gasad ġe:r qa:bil li-l-mawt ta:ni wa-la li-l-xaṭiyya

10 wa-la li-l-fasa:d wa-la… laḥzu l-masi:ḥ ḥamal il-xaṭiyya ʕala gasadu | / ka:n miš mumkin

11 yixṭi ka:n miš mumkin yuxṭiʔ huwwa ṭab wala:kin / da ʕa:wiz ʕa:wiz la:zim yuxṭiʔ ʕaša:n

12 yimu:t [giggles] mahu yimu:t ʔizzay

46

1 mahu la:zim ʕuqu:ba fa-la:zim yuxṭiʔ fa::-xadha kida yaʕni [esitations] ʔama:m alla: yaʕni

2 bi-yiḥṣal kiti:r il-ʔinsa:n yiʔu:l ṭabba ʔana ha-xud il-ʕuqu:ba di badalan ʕannu fa-di

3 b-tiḥṣal yaʕni ʔinn il-ʔinsa:n ya:xud il-ʕuqu:ba ʕan ʔaxu: da xadha ʕan il-bašariyya kullaha

4 bass ʕuqu:bit ʔe: baʔ da zina w-naga:sa w-fasa:d w-qatl w-iftira w-kibriya:ʔ wa-fugr

5 wa-kull xaṭiyya taxṭur ʕala ba:l bašar ḥamalha fi gasadu // wa-ṣa:ra laʕna wa-lla:ði lam

6 yaʕrif xaṭiyya ṣa:ra / xaṭiyya miš ḥamal xaṭiyya w-bass la:zim ʔintabihu li-ʔinn il-kala:m

7 da bi-mafhu:mu l-lahu:ti ʕami:q giddan wa-la-ʔaʔdar-ši ʔašraḥu la-ʔalla ʔuha:gam min

8 il-muġrami:n bi-l-muhagama:t | ʔalla:ði lam yaʕrif xaṭiyya qad ṣa:ra xaṭiyya yaʕni ʔe: ṣa:r

9   xaṭiyya? ʔil-ʔurayyiba min kilmit ṣa:ra eyeneto [ἐγένετο] ṣa:ra w-ṣa:ra ṣa:ra xaṭiyya ṣa:ra

10 gasadan

47

1   yaʕni ša:l il-xaṭiyya fi ʔaʕma:qu ʔiltaḥam bi:-ha ʔiltiḥa:man wa-ṣa:ra mustaḥiqqan

2   li-l-mawt | / da mafhu:m huwwa ma-xadha:-ši bunaṣ bunaṣ kida ʔamma tru:ḥ ʕand

3   wa:ḥid bi-yibi:ʕ w-yiddi:-lak bunaṣ kida ḥa:ga kida ʔiza:zit ri:ḥa fo:ʔ il-bi:ʕ ʔiddaha(:)lak

4   bunaṣ kida yaʕni | fa-ma-xad-š il-xaṭiyya kida hadiyya kida fa-šalha ʕala l-xa... fi gasadu

5   ʕa l-xašaba da fi: na:s ʔaʕrafhum min ḍumn in-na:s ʔilli miš ʔadri:n yifhamu ʕumq ʔilli

6   ḥadas ṣaḥi:ḥ yaʕni w-bi-yihagmu:ni lamma ba-ʔu:l ʔinn il-masi:ḥ ḥamal xaṭaya:na fi

7   gàsadihi ʕala l-xašaba yiʔul-lak laʔ bala:š il-ʔa:ya di [giggles] bala:š il-ʔa:ya di / bala:š

8   il-ʔa:ya di miš ʕa:yiz ʔasmaḥḥa la bala:š miš ʕa:yiz ʔasmaḥḥa ʔalla:h ʔalla:h ʔalla:h

9   ʔalla::h ṭabb ʔana ʔana mustaʕidd tilǧi l-ingi:l kullu ma-tilǧili:-š di | taʕa:la kida f ḥitta

10 kida w-ʔabarwizha w-aḥuṭṭaha f ʔallayti w-xud il-ingi:l kullu | //

48

1   da ḥamal xaṭaya:na fi gasadu ʕa l-xašaba w-bi:-di ʔaʔu:l ʔana miš xa:ṭi yiʔu:l ʔizzay? ʔaʔu:l

2   ʔil-masi:ḥ ša:l ʕanni xala:ṣ | // fa-lla:ði lam yaʕrif xaṭiy... lam yaʕrif šu:f mugarrad

3   il-maʕrifa min guwwa ʕaʔlu lam yudrikha lam yaʕrifha lam yuma:risha ʔaṣl fi: ḥadd yiʕraf

4   il-xaṭiyya min ġe:r ma yima:risha ya bbaha:t? fa-da lam yuma:ris xaṭiyya wa-lam yu:gad fi

5   fammihi ġišš lam yuma:ris il-xaṭiyya li-za:lik lam yaʕrifha fa-qabalha fi gasadu qubu:lan

6   ṣa:ra xaṭiyya ṣa:ra xaṭiyya bass ba-ʔu:l šu:f eğenetu / sareks [σὰρξ ἐγένετο] eğenetu /

7   amartìa [ἁμαρτία] ti:gi? amartìa | / ṣa:ra xaṭiyya! ṣa:ra xaṭiyya! fa-na ba-ʕmil ʕala:mit

8   tusa:wi ṭabʕan ʔana dayman ragul ʕamali fi lahu:ti miš ragul naẓari ʔabadan ʔabadan

9   li-ʔinn il-lahu:ti n-naẓari zayy ma ba-ʔul-luku ʕala ṭu:l yiṭlaʕ barra l-mawḍu:ʕ w-yibʔa

10 gadal wa-niqa:š w-xna:ʔ w-ʔe:?

49

1   w-ʕada:wa wa-furqa w-xara:b | ʔana ʔil-lahu:t ʔilli bi-naḥya bi: ʕamali li-ḥayatna

2   l-yawmiyya | fa-ko:nu ʔalla:ði lam yaʕrif xaṭiyya ṣa:ra xaṭiyya min ʔàglina ba-ḥuṭṭ

3   ʕalamat tusa:wi min ġe:r šarḥ w-aʔu:l ʔinnu ma:t ma:t b-istiḥqa:q li-ʔinnu xa:ṭi ma:t

4   badam ma:t li-ʔinnu xa:ṭi w-ša:l xaṭiyyiti da mafhu:m il-xala:ṣ mafhu:m ʔinn ana xiliṣt

5   min xaṭiyyiti mafhu:m ʔinnu ša:l xaṭaya:ya mafhu:m ʔinni tabarraʔt mafhu:m it-tabri:r

6   kullu ʕaẓamat il-qiya:ma ba:nit hina ʔinn ʔa:m bi-gasad muntahi gasad gadi:d bi-bašariyya

7   gadi:da la:: miš bass la taqbal il-xaṭiyya wa-la yumkin ʔan yuḥkam ʕale:ha la min qari:b

8   wa-la min baʕi:d bi-ʔayy ḥukmin ka:na xala:ṣ ʔintaha | ʔallaði:na hum fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ

9   laysu ʔana ʔalabtaha šwayya [voce dall'auditorio] laʔʔ laysa... daynu:na

50

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1 la daynu:na l-ʔa:n ʕala llaði:na hum fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ | le:ʔ fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ en xristu [εν

2 Χριστώ] / badam fi l-masi:ḥ yasu:ʕ yibʔa yastaḥi:l fi: daynu:na le:ʔ li-ʔinnu l-xaṭiyya

3 ltaḥamit bi: xaṭiyyiti ltaḥamit bi: w-ma:t bi:-ha miš mumkin yimu:t itne:n bi-sabab xaṭiyya

4 waḥda da l-qanu:n qaḍa:ʔi | yiʔul-lak kida yastaḥi:l ʔan yamu:t ʔitne:n bi-sabab xaṭiyya

5 waḥda ʔil-qanu:n il-madani / yaʕni ʔiza tne:n mawwitu wa:ḥid la:zim wa:ḥid minhum

6 ʔilli huwwa ṣa:ḥib il-gari:ma w-tadbirha yitšiniʔ wi-t-ta:ni ya:xud muʔabbad ʔinnama

7 ma-yitšinʔu:-š il-ʔitne:n | / fa-l-masi:ḥ ma:t bi-xaṭiyyiti ʔinta ʕa:wiz baʔa ha-tḥakimni ʔana

8 baʔa ta:ni? ma:: la yagu:z qanu:nan yaʕni šu:f qanu:nan ḥasab il-qanu:n il-madani

9 wi-l-qanu:n il-madani masruʔ min il-qanu:n ir-ru:ḥi ma-fi:-š šakk w-qanu:n il-ʔingi:l |

10 fa-ʕaẓama ʕaẓama fi l-ḥaqi:qa ʔinn il-masi:ḥ ʔalla:ði lam yaʕrif xaṭiyya

51

1 yaqbal xaṭìyyati fi gasadu li-taskun fi: / li-taskun fi: wa-yamu:t bi:-ha wa-yanhi ʕalayha

2 le:ʔ li-ʔinnu ʕu:qib xala:ṣ ʕiqa:b mo:t / ma:t | ʔa:xir ʕuqu:ba li-l-mawt ehm li-l-xaṭiyya

3 l-mawt ma:t li-za:lik qiya:mat il-masi:ḥ w-ʔiʕṭaʔu l-bašariyya l-gadi:da l-munazzaha ʕan

4 il-xaṭiyya ʔayḍan / bi-l-ʔiḍa:fa ʔila l-mawt wa-ma yatbaʕuhu min hà:wiya wa-wa-ʔila

5 ʔa:xirihi bi-yiwarri:na ʔadd ʔe: ʔe:h xiṭṭit il-xalaṣ di min ʔawwil it-tagassud li-l-qiya:ma /

6 likay yuʕi::d ʔil-xali:qa l-bašariyya marra ʔuxra ʔila gama:l xilqat alla: wa-ṣù:ratu li-taḥya

7 fi sama:ʔin gadi:da wa-ʔarḍin gadi:da wa-li-rabbina l-magd dayman ʔabadiyyan ʔami:n

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0

1 bi-taštahi nafsi ya ʔaḥibba:ʔi / taštahi šahwa / ʔan yatʕallam / ʔawla:d alla: ṣ-ṣura:x |

2 [………….] fa-ma ba:lukum yasmaʕ li-ṣ-ṣa:rixi:na ʔilayhi layla naha:r | // ma-fi:-š / ḥadd

3 / min ʔawla:du / yitʕallimu ṣ-ṣura:x / layla naha:r? // ʔimta / ʔilli yimši / fi ṭuruqa:t id-

4 de:r / yismaʕ iṣ-ṣura:x? / ṣura:x iṣ-ṣala: / wa-l-muna:da:h / ʔila lla: / layla naha:r | //

5 huwwa ḥna li:na / ʔabadan ʔilla ṣ-ṣura:x layla naha:r? li-ʔinn fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa / ma-ʕad-š

6 zaman ʔan nuṣalli fi s-sirr | /

1

1 iḍ-ḍala:m / qad / laffa l-kani:sa / wa-laffa nufu:sana / ʕan nu:r šaḥḥ [xxxxxxxxxxxxx] |

2 ṣo:t ir-rabb la yusmaʕ | / ʔal-kani:sa / taʕi:š ʔayya:m / ḥazi:na / ʕari:saha ʔaxfa waghu /

3 la quwwa wa-la ru:ḥ / wa-la ḥaya:h wa-la mawa:hi(b) | ʔaḍ-ḍulma / ʔištaddat ʕalayna ya:

4 rabb // wa-naḥsib ʔanfusna / ʔannana nuṣalli wa-ʔannana fi kani:sa / muka…

5 mutaka:mila | saʔaltu / ehm ʔinsa:n ʕa:ʔiš fi l-xa:rig ba-ʔullu ʔizzay ḥa:l ik-kani:sa fi l-

6 xa:rig? ʔal-li ḥalha ʕa:l ʔawi da k-kini:sa miš zayy ma tiʕtaqdu / ʔinnaha / ḍaʕi:fa fi l-

7 xa:rig

2

1 ʔabadan / da ʕandina kani:sa qawiyya xa:liṣ | / da l-ʔawla:d bi-yiru:ḥu l-kini:sa w-bi-

2 yitnawlu | / w-ʔulti-lu bi-yiʕmilu ʔe: fi k-kini:sa? ʔal-li ya ʔabbi yaʕni bi-yismaʕu ṣ-ṣala |

3 ʔulti-lu kull yo:m? ʔal-li laʔ kull yo:m ḥadd | ʔulti-lu yiʕrafu ʕarabi kuwayyis? ʔal-li laʔ /

4 ma-yiʕrafu:-š ʕarabi kuwayyis | ṭabb bi-yismaʕu ʔe:? ʔal-li bi-yitnawlu | / ʔa:h / huwwa

5 da ʔilli bi-yuqa:l ʔanni ġani wa-qad ʔistaġne:t / wa-laysat li: ḥa:ga ʔila šayʔ | ʔil-kani:sa l-

6 ʔa:n / taḥya fi: ġaybu:ba / ʔismaha ġaybu:bat il-ġina: / wa-laysa laha ḥtiya:g ʔila šayʔ |

7 ṣalawa:t fi miʕa:daha wa-ʔadadi:s fi miʕa:dha / wa:-fi:ha na:s kiti:ra bi-titmala w-tifḍa fa-

8 laha

3

1 maẓhar ʔal-ḥara:ra wa-l-ʕiba:da | / wala:kin wa:ḍiḥ ʔaḍ-ḍaʕf min il-ʔinqisama:t wi-l-

2 ʔaḥza:n wi-l-ʔaxba:r ʔilli fi:ha / la yu:gad ʔinsiga:m bayn il-gamaʕa:t fi l-xa:rig / ma:

3 bayna gama:ʕa:t il-kani:sa l-fula:niyya wa-l-kani:sa l-fula:niyya w-da mutaḥazzib fi: da w-

4 da mutaḥazzib fi: da / ʔaḍ-ḍulma ʔaḥa:ṭat bi-l-kani:sa / wa-ʔaṣbaḥ ḥadi:s is-sirr ya

5 bbaha:t ġe:r mugdi / la yuqirru [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx] | la budd min iṣ-ṣura:x la budd ʔan

6 nis… nas… nusmiʕ ir-rabb ṣura:xa qulu:bana | ʔana la ʔaqu:l bi-ṣura:x iṣ-ṣo:t / wala:kin

7 ʔaqu:l bi-ṣura:x il-qalb / ʔalla:ði ḥatman yula:zimuhu ṣura:x iṣ-ṣo:t |

4

1 la yastaṭi:ʕ insa:n ʔan yaṣrux bi-qalbihi wa-la yaṣrux bi-ṣawtihi | ṣura:x il-qalb / yudmi

2 ka-ṣala:t il-masi(:)ḥ / yawm al-gulguθa | ka:na yataṣabbab ʕaraqahu min aṣ-ṣala: / ka-

3 qaṭara:t damm | ka:na l-qalb yaṣrux / bi-gurḥ ʕami:q / fa-ka:nat // ʔil… ka:nat il-qaṭara:t

4 tataqaṭṭaru min gabi:nu / wa-ka-ʔànnaha qaṭara:t damm | taʕbi:r la nafhamu bi-ḍ-ḍabṭ

5 yaqṣud ʔe: wala:kin / maḍmu:nu ʔinnu ka:na / qalbuhu magru:ḥ / fa-ka:nat iṣ-ṣala:h min

6 qalbin magru:ḥ | // ma-lna:-š qulu:b

5

1 magru:ḥa / taṣrux fi ṣ-ṣala: | ʔa-lam yaḥin il-mi:ʕa:d baʕd / li-nastayqiẓ ʔila fagrin gadi:d?

2 nuqaddim fi:h iṣ-ṣala:h bi-ṣura:x? wa-kafa:na min ṣala:t iṣ-ṣamt / wa-ṣ-ṣala:h il-hà:diʔa /

3 ʔalla:ti la yusmaʕ fi:ha ṣo:t | fi ʔaḥwag ma yumkin ya ʔixwa / wa-ʔana ṣaḥi w-

4 mutayyaqqiẓ li-ma: ʔaqu:l / muḥta:gi:n li-ḥaya:t iṣ-ṣura:x / li-ʔànnaha ḥatman taku:n

5 ṣala:h ṣà:diqa | la yastaṭi:ʕ il-ʔinsa:n yaṣrux fi ṣ-ṣala: / ʔilla ʔiza balaġat iṣ-ṣala: / ḥadd aṣ-

6 ṣidq / ḥi:nama: tabluġ iṣ-ṣala: / ḥadd aṣ-ṣidq / la yastaṭi:ʕ il-ʔinsa:n ʔan yuxrig iṣ-ṣala:h

7 bi-hidu:ʔ | tanfagir šafate: bi-ṣara… bi-ṣura:x wara:ʔa ṣura:x |

6

1 wa-maʕa ṣ-ṣura:x / dumu:ʕ | ka-n-nahr muḥta:gi:n / ʔan naḥmil fi giyu:bana fuwaṭ miš

2 manadi:l / likay nugaffif ʕuyu:nana ʔaθna:ʔ iṣ-ṣala: | nuri:d ṣala:h / yuʔazirha qalbun

3 magru:ḥ / ka-qalb il-masi:ḥ yawm iṣ-ṣalabu:t | fi ʔašadd il-ḥa:ga ʔila ṣala:h ṣa:diqa / tihizz

4 qalb il-ʔa:b fi s-sama:ʔ | naḥnu naʕi:š il-ʔa:n màwtana naḥnu / naʕi:š ṣala:t il-mawt wa-

5 laysat ṣala:t il-ḥaya:h | / ʔit-tarti:la bi-tʔu:l ma ʔaḥla: sa:ʕatan ʔaxlu fi:ha maʕa l-ḥabi:b |

6 da baʔa d-diʔi:ʔa / ma ma ʔaḥla daqi:qa ʔaxlu fi:ha maʕa l-ḥabi:b | fe:n ṣala:t il-le:l / ṣala:t

7 il-le:l

7

1 wi-n-na:s nayma wi-ṣ-ṣura:x wi-l-ʔani:n / yaxrug min ʕumq il-qalb | huwa huwa ḥalna

2 yiʕgib ḥadd? huwa / be:ni w-be:nak ḥa:l il-kini:sa w-ḥa:l qulubna yirḍi l-malayka fi s-

3 sama? ʔis-sama ʔalla:ti la takuff ʕan iṣ-ṣura:x / wa-l-malà:ʔika / la takuff ʕan it-taṣwi:t bi-

4 ṣura:x bi-ṣo:t ʕa:li / taʕbi:r ʕan il-ʔinfiʕa:l / li-kara:mat alla: wa-qada:satu | wala:kin ʔiḥna

5 muḥtagi:n ʔila l-ʔinfiʕa:l / bi-ḥa:gatna iš-šadi:da ʔile: / bi-wàḍʕana šu:f il-mayyit /

6 ḥinama: ʔaqu:l bi-ṣura:x / w-bi-ṣo:t ʕa:li wa-bi-dumu:ʕ / likay nu:qiẓ il-qalb in-na:ʔim

7 likay nu:qiẓ in-nafs illa:ti ʕta:dat ṣala:t it-taθa:ʔub /

8

1 wa-ṣ-ṣala:h ṣala:t id-daqa:ʔiq | / ʔaqu:laha wa-ʔuma:risha / ʔana lastu ʔakðib | wala:kin fi

2 muma:rasatha / kull il-gama:l ʔilli fi d-dunya / kull šahwa fi l-qalb / fi ṣ-ṣala:h ʔalla:ti fi

3 ṣ-ṣura:x | la yu:gad ʔagmal min kida wa-la yu:gad ʔašha: min ha:za / ʔan yasmaʕ ʔalla: ṣura:xana

4 / wara:ʔa ṣura:x | / li-ʔànnahu bi-ṣura:xana wa-dumu:ʕana nastadirr ʕaṭf alla:

5 wa-law ʔànnahu laysa ka-qa:ḍi ẓ-ẓulm / wala:kìnnahu huwa ʔalla:ði ṣarraḥ / huwa lla:ði

6 kašafa sirruh | fa-ma ba:lakum yasmaʕ li-ṣ-ṣa:rixi:na ʔilayhi wa-huwa mutamahhil

7 ʕalayhim miš bi-yismaʕ ʕala ṭu:l /

9

1 ʕaša:n yiṣarraxu ʔaktar w-yiṣarraxu ʔaʕla / ʔiḥna kašafna l-le:la sirr min ʔasra:r / ʔalla: |

2 muḥta:g alla:h muḥta:g / ʔalla:h bi-yiḥibb / ʔaṣ-ṣala:h ʔalla:ti bi-ṣ-ṣura:x / wa-yasmaʕha

3 wa-la yastagi:b li-ʔann iṣ-ṣura:x yadxul ʔile:h / bi-ṣo:t / gami:l yastaʕðibu / ʕiwaḍ / min

4 in-no:m ʔilli ʕa:šit fi: nufusna w-qulubna | qa:laha lla:h wa-huwa muṣirr ʕalayha / wa-

5 ʔana ka-ša:hid / ʔana ʔaša:hi… ʔastašhid bi: / lahu ʔànnahu muḥibb iṣ-ṣura:x / wa-

6 muḥibb ṣula:t… ṣala:t iṣ-ṣura:x / wa-na l-ʔa:n ʔuna:di bi-ṣura:x / ʔaṭlub iṣ-ṣa:rixi:na ʔile:

7 layla naha:r | /

10

1 ʔaṭlub ʔan taku:n huna:k qulu:b mustaʕidda li-ṣ-ṣura:x / ʔile: layla naha:r | ʔana

2 ʔatakallam maʕa qulu:b sà:miʕa / ʔana ʔaṭlub hà:ðihi l-qulu:b ʔalla:ti tasmaʕani / ʔan

3 tatadarrab ʕala ṣala:t iṣ-ṣura:x / li-ʔànnahu wa-law ʔànnahu yasmaʕaha ʔilla ʔànnahu

4 ʔayḍan sa-yatamahhal / likay yasmaʕaha wa-yasmaʕaha wa-yasmaʕaha wa-yasmaʕaha /

5 ʔalla:h yastalliðð / giddan bi-ṣala:t iṣ-ṣura:x li-ʔànnaha fi l-ḥaʔi:ʔa ṣula… ṣala:h bi-l-ḥaqq |

6 ʔalla: ṭa:lib ʔas-sa… ʔas-sa:gidi:na lahu bi-r-ru:ḥ wa-l-ḥaqq | la tu:gad ṣala:h fi l-ḥaqq /

7 ʔilla ʔalla:ti taxrug min ʔaʕma:q il-qalb bi-ṣura:x / ḥi:nama: tabluɣ ḥadd il-ḥaqq la yaṭi:q

8 il-qalb / wa-la taṭi:q in-nafs ʔan tuṣalli bi-hidu:ʔ | tahtazz in-nafs kùllaha min ad-da:xil

11

1 wa-yahtazz laha l-gasad / wa-yaxrug il… / ʔaṣ-ṣawt bi-ṣura:x / la yastaṭi:ʕ il-ʔinsa:na ʔan

2 yaḍbiṭu | / ʔana ʔuna:di bi-ma: yuri:duhu r-rabb | ʔar-rabb yuna… ʔar-rabb yuri:d

3 ṣura:xana / wa-r-rabb yaštahi ʔan yasmaʕ ṣala:t iṣ-ṣura:x | / qallaman yaqu:la ha:ða l-

4 kala:m / wala:kìnnana naḥnu bi-ṣadad / ṣala:t il-ḥaqq wa-sugu:d il-ḥaqq / kayfa naʕrif

5 ḥaqq iṣ-ṣala:h min iṣ-ṣala:h illa:ti laysat bi-l-ḥaqq ʔilla bi-ṣura:x il-qalb / wa-d-dumu:ʕ /

6 ʔalla:ti tasi:l ka-n-nahr? | ḥasab it-tarti:la ʔalla:ti katabha man ma:rasaha | / ʔa:h ʕala d-

7 dumu:ʕ ʕindama: tasi:r ka-n-nahr | laysa yu:gad ʔagmal min ha:ðihi sa:ʕa

12

1 ḥi:nama: / nastawfi:ha bi-l-ka:mil / fi dumu:ʕ la takuff | ha:ðihi hiya dumu:ʕ ʔal-ḥubb

2 dumu:ʕ iṣ-ṣala:h alla:ti tuqaddam min qalb ṣa:diq ʔami:n / li-man yuḥibbuh | // fi ha:zihi

3 l-layla ʔalla:ti ʔara:daha lla: / ʔan taku:n bida:ya li-t-taʕarruf / ʕala maṭa:lib alla:h minna

4 / ʕaθurna ʕala kanz maxfi fi ḥaql | ʔaṣ-ṣala:h ʔalla:ti bi-ṣ-ṣura:x wa-:-ʔalla:ti yatamahhal

5 ʔalla: ʕalayha wa-la yastagi:b | ʕagi::b giddan giddan ʔan nasmaʕ ha:za min alla: / maʕa

6 ʔànnahu maʕru:f / ʔannahu sa:miʕ iṣ-ṣala:

13

1 wa-ʔilayhi yaʔti kull bašar / wala:kin il-yo:m yakšif / ʕan šayʔ / yuma:risuhu maʕa

2 ʔawla:dihi / ʕan faraḥ wa-masarra / ʔannahu yasmaʕ ṣala:tahum wa-taku:n bi-ṣ-ṣura:x

3 wa-yatamahhal | yasmaʕ il-mazi:da min aṣ-ṣura:x wa-yartafiʕ iṣ-ṣura:x ʔila l-mazi:d | /

4 ʔatawassal min kull qalbi / ʔan yasmaʕ alla: ṣura:xana kull masa:ʔ / wa-law sa:ʕat zaman

5 / sa:ʕat zaman nukarrisha li-ṣ-ṣura:x l-alla: ṣura:x il-ḥubb / ṣura:x iṣ-ṣala: / naṣruxu ʔile:h

6 ša:kiri:n / nabki min il-faraḥ kayfa yaṣnaʕ maʕana naḥnu llaði:na ʔahanna ʔismu / naḥnu

7 llaði:na ṣanaʕna l-xaṭiyya ʔama:m ʕayneh / wa-ṣirna

14

1 ʔawla:d il-ʕa:lam wa-/luġafa:ʔ ʔal-luṣu(:)s kama taqu:l il-ʔa:ya | la budd ʔan nuʕawwiḍ

2 ʕan ha:za kulluh / bi-ʔan yaku:n lana ṣura:x masmu:ʕ lada ʔalla: | huwa yatamahhal wa-

3 naḥnu nazda:d / nazda:d ṣura:x / likay / nufarriḥ qalb alla: bi-ʔawla:d ʔistaṭa:ʕu ʔan

4 yuqaddimu lahu / sugu:d bi-r-ru:ḥ wa-l-ḥaqq | /// kunt fi ʔawwil marra / ʔaṣalli fi:ha bi-

5 ṣura:x / kunt li-waḥdi fi maka:n na:ʔi fa-ma ka:n li: / ʕa:ʔiq / kunt ʔaṣrux bi-ṣo:t

6 murtafiʕ/

15

1 wala:kin bi-masarra:: / la yumkin ʔaḥissaha fi waqt ʔa:xar | w-ga:ʔat ʔayya:m wa-ṣirt fi

2 wusṭ in-na:s / kayfa ʔuṣalli bi-ṣura:x? / nifsi ʔaṣarrax / nifsi ʔaṣarrax ya rabb ʔaʕmil e:?

3 gibt hdu:mi w-ʕamàltaha zayy il-maxadda / ḥaṭṭitha ʕala buʔʔi / wa-ʔaʕatt ʔaṣalli bi-

4 ṣura:x | id-dumu:ʕ nazla ma-ḥaddi-š ša:yifha wi-ṣ-ṣura:x ʕala ʔaʕla: mustawa / wa-la ḥadd

5 samʕu ġe:ru huwwa | fa-kunt saʕi:d saʕa:da la yumkin ʔan yaḥlam bi:ha ʔinsa:n | wa-

6 ẓallat hà:ðihi ʕà:dati / ḥinama: ʔaku:n bayn an-na:s / ʔuṣalli / wa-fammi maktu:m la

7 yasmaʕni ʔilla l-masi:ḥ / wa-ʔana l-ʔa:n ʔusallimkum finu:n / finu:n iṣ-ṣala:h bi-ṣ-ṣura:x

16

1 fi wasṭ in-na:s / wa-la ʔaḥad yuʕayyirna wa-la yasmaʕna | nifsi giddan giddan giddan ʔan

2 yafraḥ ʔalla: bi-ʔawla:d yaṣruxu:na ʔilayhi ʔil-lay… ʔan-naha:r wa-l-layl | ʕiwaḍ gi:l /

3 qaḍa ʔayya:mu wa-sini:nu / fi ṣala: ṣà:mita la tusmaʕ / bal / la / la taxrug min al-qalb | /

4 ṣala: / bi-šafate:n li-taʔdiyat wa:gib / ṣalle:t kam mazmu:r? ʔarbaʕ w-sabʕi:n mazmu:r |

5 xala:ṣ il-ḥamdulillah ʔana ʔadde:t il-wa:gib bita:ʕi | [……………..] wa-la simʕu ʔalla: wa-

6 la simiʕ ʔaḥad wa-la na smiʕt | ʔaʕtaqid ʔinn di ʔayya:m ʔintahat / wa-ʔayya:m / ʔaṣ-ṣala:

7 / bi-qalb / wa:ʕi li-maʕna ṣ-ṣala: /

17

1 ʔalla:ti tuqarribna l-alla: / li-ʔànnahu laysat lana wasi:la ʔan nataqaddam ʔila lla: wa-

2 nadxul ʔile: / ʔilla bi-ṣ-ṣala: / hiya šarikatna | ʔaš-šarika ʔal-ḥayya / ʔal-maʕru:ḍa ʕalayna

3 l-ʔa:n / maʕa l-ʔa:b wa-l-ʔibn wa-r-ru:ḥ il-qudus / hiya šarikat ṣala: min qalb / yaʔinn /

4 magru:ḥ / bi-l-ḥubb / yaṭlub il-ġufra:n ʕan sini:n ʔakalha l-gara:d / ʕan ʔayya:m lam

5 takun tartafiʕ fi:ha ʔaṣwa:tana / wa-kunna naktafi / bi-ṣ-ṣala:h is-sirriyya ʔalla:ti la

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6   qi:mata laha | / ʔaštahi wa-taštahi ru:ḥi fi dà:xili ʔanna kull wa:ḥid minkum / yaðu:q /

7   ʔaṣ-ṣala: bi-ṣ-ṣura:x / wa-xuṣu:ṣan bi-l-layl / ʔaṣ-ṣa:rixi:na ʔilayhi / w-ḥaṭṭ il-le:l ɾabl in-

8   naha:r

    18

1   laylan wa-naha:ran | law la ʔanna r-rabb / yaʕrif tamama:n / qi:mat ha:ðihi ṣ-ṣala:

2   ʔànnaha ʔaʕla: ʔuslu:b li-ṣ-ṣala: mumkin ʔan nataqaddam luh | ma:ða [………..] r-rabb?

3   wa-ma: qa:la fi:ha / ʔannahu huwa mutamahhilun ʕalayhi? da sirr / min ʔasra:r alla:h il-

4   fari::da / ʔalla:ti kašafna:ha fi ha:za l-masa:ʔ | ʔinnu bi-yismaʕ iṣ-ṣala: / wa-lla:ti bi-

5   laga:ga wa-ṣura:x / wa-yatamahhal li-ʔinnu yuri:d ʔan yasmaʕ il-mazi:d | ʕaðzbun ʕala

6   qalb alla: giddan ʔan yasmaʕ ʔawla:dahu yaṣruxu:na ʔilayhi bi-l-ḥubb / muṣalli:na min

7   ʕumq il-qalb | fa-smaʕ ya rabb ṣala:tana / wa-stagib šahwat qulu:bana / ʔan la takuff

8   qulu:bana ʕan iṣ-ṣala: ʔile:k bi-ṣura:x il-layl wa-n-naha:r | ʔami:n ʔistagib

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