Tanulmány

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Arabic Diglossia

A Phonological Study

Abstract

This study investigates the phonological differences between Written Arabic (hereafter WA) and Madani Arabic (hereafter MA) as an aspect of diglossia. The differences identified in this study between WA and MA prove that there is a wide gulf between the two varieties. Many of the differences found are quite common in situations where other different spoken dialects are compared with WA (cf., Blanc 1953, Harrel 1960 and Suleiman 1985). The emergence of the long vowels /e:/ and /o:/, the consonantal changes /ẓ/ > /ḍ/, /θ/ > /t/, /ð/ > /z/ or /d/, /ꓷʒ/ > /ʒ/ and /q/ > /ʔ/, and insertion of anaptyctic vowels lead to declusterization and initial cluster formation or some such phonological changes.

The trend in Arabic diglossia in general proves to be that there are clear cut linguistic differences between WA and different spoken varieties, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the distinctive identities of the spoken dialects are also simultaneously maintained. The situation on the whole reflects the maintenance of cultural unity within linguistic diversity among different Arabic communities.
Keywords: diglossia, Arabic Language, Jordanian Arabic, phonological changes

1   Introduction

Language is an essential segment of human knowledge. It pervades every aspect of human life: intellectual, social and cultural. We think, talk, question, command, argue, theorize, promise, insult and joke, all with language. People use different languages, and language varies according to use. It is always interesting and important to study how language varies across nations and societies, and also within a particular speech community.

1.1   *Diglossia*

Diglossia is a linguistic situation where two varieties of the same language exist to fulfil different social functions. Ferguson (1959a: 336) defines diglossia as

> A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard), 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 of 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.

The superposed variety is usually referred to as High variety and the spoken one as Low variety. This variation may be based on religion, education and other aspects of culture on the one hand, and everyday pursuits of basic needs of life on the other hand.

Ferguson (1959a: 328-36) has proposed a set of nine features by which diglossia might be identified and distinguished from other sociolinguistic situations. They are as follows:

i. the superposed variety (H) and the vernacular variety (L) are in a strict complementary functional distribution;

ii. H is uniformally held in higher esteem than L by members of a speech community;

iii. H has associated with it a substantial and highly regarded body of written literature;

iv. proficiency in H is typically attained as a result of formal schooling, whereas proficiency in L is attained through the natural process of mother-tongue acquisition;

v. the pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of H are standardized and tolerate only limited variation, whereas there is wide variation in the pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of L;

vi. diglossic situations are extremely stable and typically persist for several centuries at least;

vii. there are always extensive differences between the grammatical structure of H and L;

viii. there exists a series of phonologically unrelated lexical doublets for concepts frequently expressed in H and L; and

ix. the sound system of H and L constitutes a single phonological structure of which L is the basic system.

These features are useful to distinguish diglossic situation from bilingual and bidialectal situations.

The use of two languages in similar situations is called bilingualism, whereas the use of two varieties of a language in the same speech community is called diglossia. There is freedom of choice of language use in the case of bilingualism, but no freedom is possible in the case of diglossia; since the use of the two varieties is socially determined and they are functionally complementary. Diglossia is stable while bilingualism is unstable as one of the languages may dominate the other. For instance, Classical Arabic is used for traditional Islamic studies and vernacular Arabics such as Egyptian, Syrian, Lebanese, Iraqi, Jordanian etc., are used for informal conversation. French or English is also used for intra-group scientific or technological communications.

The use of a dialect is restricted to a particular geographical area or to a particular community. In the case of formal variety of a diglossic situation, it is not restricted to a particular region or community. For instance, in the context of Jordan, Madani dialect is used in urban areas, while Fallahi is used in rural areas for informal communication. It is also possible to distinguish between the northern dialect and southern dialect. Bedouin dialect is used exclusively by the nomadic tribes of the country. Classical as well as Modern Standard Arabic (hereafter MSA) are used in religious and educational contexts by all.

Though diglossia exists in different languages in different degrees, ancient languages like Arabic, Greek and Tamil represent the case of 'classical diglossia' with a high degree of difference between H and L.

1.2   The Arabic Language and its Diglossic Situation

Arabic is one of the major world languages belonging to the Semitic family. Its use is prevalent in the Arabian Peninsula and other countries like Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

Diglossia is a remarkable phenomenon in Arabic. While some scholars maintain that diglossia in Arabic emerged with the Islamic conquests of the 7th century A. D. (Blau 1977), others hold that the language of Pre-Islamic poetry was radically different from that of the colloquials, and so they trace the roots of Arabic diglossia to a period predating the rise of Islam (Al-Toma 1969). According to Rabin (1955), Classical Arabic had ceased to be a spoken variety and had become a purely literary medium by the end of the Umayyad Caliphate in 750 A. D.

Classical Arabic is still used for religious purposes and is formally taught in schools, particularly in preparation for the study of religion or the study of Arabic language and Arabic literature. Modern Standard Arabic, a modernized and somewhat simplified derivative of the Classical Arabic, has become the medium for serious writing, broadcasting and formal public speaking. Different colloquial varieties of Arabic, substantially different in structure from the Modern Standard Arabic, are employed in all informal interactions.

Classical Arabic is reverentially upheld by all Arabic speakers as pure representation of the language in the pretext of religion. According to De Silva (1975), Arabic is a classical case of diglossia in which the day to day conversation is impracticable in the prestigious variety and is therefore conducted in the vernaculars, but all prestigious activities are carried out in the classical language. The situation is, however, complex in practical context like education. In the words of Ferguson (1959a: 327)

> In the Arab world… formal university lectures are given in H, but drills, explanation, and section meetings may be in large part conducted in L, especially in the natural sciences as opposed to the humanities. Although the teachers' use of L in secondary school is forbidden by law in some Arab countries, often a considerable part of the teacher's time is taken up with explaining in L the meaning of material in H which has been presented in books for lectures.

While discussing the present situation of Arabic diglossia, Bentahila (1991: 81) has stated:

> We have the opposition between high and low varieties which leads to such a gulf between formal written language on the one hand and everyday spoken language on the other. This duality, of course, exists within each Arab nation and within the repertoire of each individual educated speaker. On the other hand, we have the opposition between the different regions of the Arab world, which have quite distinctive dialects as their mother tongues. The situation, thus, exhibits both intranational and international diversity. At the same time, there is a unity even at the international level through the common recognition of Classical Arabic, the only clearly codified and standardized form. Paradoxically, this classical variety both unites and divides speakers of Arabic: an educated Moroccan writing in Classical Arabic will be easily understood by his scholarly counterparts in Iraq, Jordan or Libya, yet his writing will not be accessible to many of his own fellow countrymen whose education has not been sufficient to enable them to read Classical Arabic fluently. The main question when considering future trends, then, seems to us to be whether or not either or both of these oppositions will be weakened or entirely removed.

There is an expectation among many Arab scholars that the Arabic language of the future is going to be unified, standardized and used for both speaking and writing, but when and how it will take place is not at all clear. With this brief background, let us now examine some of the studies related to the differences between Written Arabic, and Colloquial Arabic (hereafter CA).

A linguistic analysis of Arabic diglossia has been approached by many scholars (Blanc 1953, 1960; Blau 1977; Ferguson 1957, 1959 a and b, 1989; Harrel 1960; Al-Toma 1969; Suleiman 1985; Bentahila 1991; Salih 1995; Dahir 1998; Al-Saidat 1999; Tamimi and I'lawi 2006, Al-Saidat & Al-Momani 2010) who all study Arabic varieties from different angles.

Blanc (1953) makes a detailed study of the phonology of North Palestinian Arabic in comparison with WA and explored the differences in the phonemic inventory of vowels and constants, word juncture and syllabic structure. He also studies the style variation in CA, as consisting of different dialects at phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels, (Blanc 1960).

The following observations of Ferguson in his studies about Arabic diglossia are noteworthy:

i.   The disappearance of final short vowels and dropping of /h/ in certain conditions in many dialects of Arabic are very significant changes (cf., Ferguson 1957: 469).

ii. The phonological differences between Classical Arabic and spoken Arabic are moderate while the grammatical differences are the most striking ones. The lexical differences are marked with variations in form and with differences of use and meaning (Ferguson 1959a).

iii. The only category for which dual exists in modern Arabic dialects is the noun and that it invariably takes plural agreement which is very different from Old Arabic and WA (Ferguson 1989).

Harrel (1960) points out that CA is not entirely uniform from one set of cultural conditions to another or from one geographical area to another. He also suggests the necessity for a comparison among the regional and social varieties of CA and then their comparison with WA. Through his study of Egyptian Radio Arabic in comparison with Classical Arabic, he establishes that through the use of the long vowels /o:/ and /e:/ and the absence of long versus short vowel contrast in word final position, the Egyptian Radio Arabic is away from Classical Arabic and closer to the colloquial situation.

Al-Toma (1969), comparing Classical Arabic with Iraqi CA, points out several phonological and grammatical differences, which are specific only to the Iraqi situation (for instance, the correspondence between classical /q/ with colloquial /dʒ/).

Suleiman (1985) studies Jordanian Arabic spoken by the students at Yarmouk University in relationship with Classical Arabic and arrives at some striking differences at phonological, grammatical and lexical levels. The phonological changes taking place in the context of borrowing English words are also described. It is also found that the speakers of Jordanian Arabic present three different varieties viz., Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic within the geographical boundaries of Jordan.

Bentahila (1991) addresses the issue of standardization in the context of diglossia. He concludes that Modern Standard Arabic, despite its name, has not really achieved a very high degree of standardization. He envisages the possibility of the emergence of a single standard for Arabic, which would be used for both speech and writing across the Arab world.

Salih (1995), studying the acceptance of loan words in WA and CA, concludes that the absorption and adaptation of loan words is wider in CA rather than in WA.

Dahir (1998) studies the linguistic variation in the Damascus speech community. He focuses on the variation in men's and women's use of standard and colloquial variants of three phonological variables, /q/, /θ/, /ð/ and /aw/ /ay/. He concludes that both standard Arabic

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and Damascus Arabic function as speech norms. He adds that the variation in θ/ð and aw/ay is stable; whereas, the variable /q/ is socially marked in the sense that men tend to use it in its standard value while women mostly change it into /ʔ/.

Al-Saidat (1999) investigates the differences between WA and the spoken Arabic of South Jordan at the phonological, grammatical and lexical levels. He concludes that the phonological, grammatical and lexical differences identified in his study between WA and the spoken Arabic of South Jordan prove that there is a wide gulf between the two varieties.

Tamimi and I'lawi (2006) investigate the phonetic behavior of the glottal stop in different word positions in Northern Jordanian Arabic in order to compare it with that of standard Arabic. They conclude that the glottal stop behavour in North Jordanian Arabic word initial position is similar to standard Arabic; whereas, it is different in word medial and final positions.

Al-Saidat and Al-Momani (2010) investigate the differences between MSA and Jordanian Arabic in the area of future focusing on form and uses of future markers. They state that MSA future markers are not used in Jordanian Arabic; instead, a number of different markers are used to express different speakers' attitudes towards the future activity.

All the studies discussed above underline the importance of closely studying Arabic diglossia in its geographical and sociological contexts. A systematic and detailed comparison of regional and social dialects of Jordan in general and those of Jordan Madani Arabic in specific with WA has not so far been undertaken. The present study has been undertaken in response to the above need.

2 Methodology and Objectives

The purpose of the present study is to compare WA with MA at the phonological level and check if there are differences between the two varieties of Arabic at the above level.

The term 'Written Arabic' (WA) is used here to refer to the variety of Arabic widely used in the present day education, administration and mass communication. WA is a developed form of the Classical Arabic with a considerable amount of flexibility in the phonological, grammatical and lexical systems of the language, and it does not represent any particular spoken dialect. WA may be considered as the standard form of Arabic serving as a bridge between the classical variety and the different spoken varieties.

Madani Arabic (MA) here refers to the variety of Arabic used in the capital city of Jordan, Amman. MA is different from the dialects spoken in southern region of Jordan covering the provinces of Kerak, Tafila, Ma'an and Aqaba - situated towards the south - keeping Amman the capital city of the country as the focal point. It is also different from the dialects spoken in the northern region, including the provinces of Mafrak, Irbid, Jerash, Ajlun and Ramtha.

The spoken variety of Arabic used in Amman is not, however, uniform throughout the city. A clear cut difference is observed between the variety used by people who originally belong to other cities but settled in Amman for a reason or another as they retain their original dialects.

Data for WA were chiefly drawn from *Al-Mawrid, A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary* (Baalbaki 1994), *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Wright 1955), the modern linguistic studies of Arabic language such as *Arabic Phonology* (Al-ani 1970), *The Arabic Language Today* (Beeston 1970), *The Modern Arabic Literary Language – Lexical and Stylistic*

Developments (Stetkevych 1970) and "Arabic" (Kaye 1987), *Phonemic Representation of Long Vowels in Arabic* (Mahadin 1996) and several other Arabic materials such as school and college level grammar, journals etc. The equivalences from MA for the written data were provided by the researchers, who themselves are residents of Amman, specifically identified with the Madani dialect. However, the spoken equivalences were cross-checked with a few other native speakers of the dialect. The structural approach of linguistic analysis was broadly adopted for both description and comparison.

3   Discussion and Results

An attempt is made in this chapter to bring out the differences between WA and MA at the phonological level. In order to do this, a brief description of the phonological systems of the two varieties of Arabic is provided in the first section. In the second section, the phonological differences are discussed on the basis of the changes involved in MA when compared with WA.

3.1   *Phonological Description*

The phonological description includes two major aspects of relevance for diglossia viz., the phonemic inventory and consonant clusters. These aspects related to both varieties of Arabic are presented below.

3.1.1   *Phonemic Inventory*

The vowel and consonant phonemes used in WA and MA are as follows:

3.1.1.1 Vowels

WA consists of three short vowels, three corresponding long vowels and two diphthongs as phonemes. The chart given below provides the description of the vowel phonemes of WA.
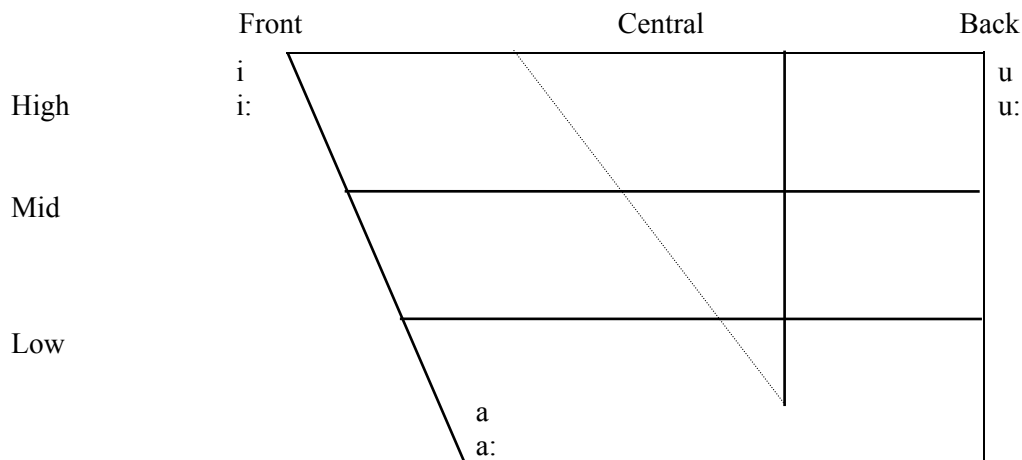
Table 1: Vowel phonemes of WA

Besides the vowel phonemes used in WA, MA includes two more vowel phonemes of length /e:/ and /o:/ at the mid position. Consider the following chart describing the vowel phonemes of MA:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:		u u:
Mid	e:		o:
Low		a a:	

Table 2: Vowel phonemes of MA

3.1.1.2 Consonants
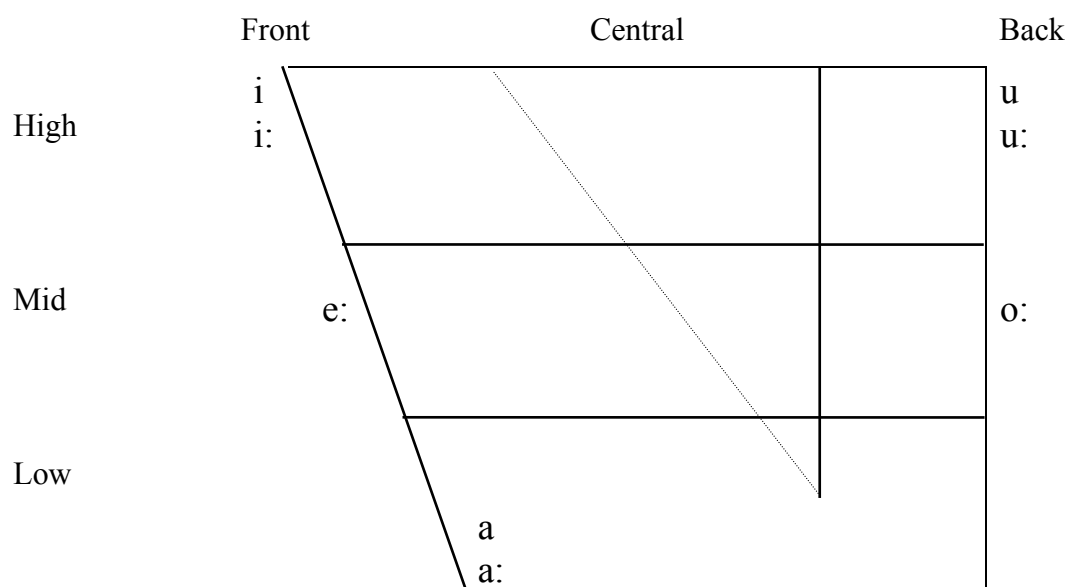
There are 28 consonant phonemes in WA. The description of these consonants is provided in table 3 below.

	Bila-bial	Labio-dental	Interdental		Dental		Palato-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
			Plain	Em-phatic	Plain	Em-phatic					
Stop	b				t d	ṭ ḍ		k	q		?
Nasal	m				n						
Fricative		f	θ ð	ẓ	s z	ṣ	ʃ	X ɣ		ħ ç	h
Affricate							ʤ ʒ				
Trill					r						
Lateral					l						
Semi-vowel	w						y				

Table 3: Consonant phonemes of WA

MA makes use of all the consonant phonemes except the interdental voiceless fricative /θ/, the interdental voiced fricative /ð/ and the emphatic interdental voiced fricative /ẓ/. However, the number of consonant phonemes in MA is 26 with the addition of the velar voiced stop /g/,

which is not used in WA. The description of the consonant phonemes of MA is given in table 4 below.

	Bila-bial	Labio-dental	Dental		Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
			Plain	Emphatic					
Stop	b		t d	ṭ ḍ		k g	q		ʔ
Nasal	m	n							
Frica-tive		f	s z	ṣ	ʃ ʒ	X ɣ		ħ ʕ	h
Trill			r						
Lateral			l						
Semi-vowel	w				y				

Table 4: Consonant phonemes of MA

3.1.2 Consonant Clusters

Cluster formation with homogeneous consonants and heterogeneous consonants in WA and MA are dealt with here.

3.1.2.1 Homogeneous Clusters (Gemination)

In WA all the consonants get geminated and occur in word medial and final positions except /ʔ/, /ɣ/ and /h/, which do not occur in gemination in word final position.

In MA also, all the consonants occur in gemination in word medial and final positions except /q/, /ʔ/ and /h/, which do not occur in gemination in word final position. Examples:

Medial Cluster	WA Example	Gloss
/-tt-/	/rattaba/	'to arrange'
/qq/	/daqqaqa/	'to scrutinize'
/ww/	/lawwana/	'to colour'
/yy/	/ɣayyara/	'to change'

Final Cluster	WA Example	Gloss
/bb/	/rabb/	'God'
/ʕʕ/	/ʃuʕʕ/	'spider web'
/dʒdʒ/	/fadʒdʒ/	'mountain pass (defile)'
/ww/	/dʒaww/	'atmosphere'
/yy/	/ʃayy/	'broil(ing)'

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Medial Cluster	MA Example	Gloss
/tt/	/ҫatta:l/	'porter'
/dd/	/hadda:d/	'ironsmith'
/ṭṭ/	/baṭṭa/	'duck'
/xx/	/raxxaṣ/	'to cheapen'
/ħħ/	/ṣiħħa(h)/	'health'

Final Cluster	MA Example	Gloss
/kk/	/ħakk/	'to scratch'
/ḍḍ/	/ҫaḍḍ/	'biting'
/ṣṣ/	/ʔaṣṣ/	'to cut'
/ʃʃ/	/raʃʃ/	'to sprinkle'
/ħħ/	/ʔaħħ/	'to cough'
/ʒʒ/	/ħaʒʒ/	'pilgrimage'

3.1.2.2 Heterogeneous Clusters

Clusters with three heterogeneous consonants are not used in Arabic in general. Two consonant clusters do not occur in word initial position in WA while they are possible in medial and final positions. MA is distinctive from WA in allowing word initial clusters while it accommodates word final clusters very rarely. Keeping in view the purpose of this study, we illustrate a few MA initial position combinations that reveal the difference between WA and MA, and they are shown below:

Initial Cluster	MA Example	Gloss
/bṭ/	/bṭa:na/	'lining (of garment)'
/bh/	/bha:r/	'cardamom'
/tr/	/tra:b/	'sand'
/dm/	/dma:ɣ/	'brain'
/ṭħ/	/ṭħa:l/	'spleen'
/kt/	/kta:b/	'book'
/kt/	/kti:r/	'too much'
/nħ/	/nħa:s/	'copper'
/fr/	/fra:ṭa(ʔ)/	'useless' / 'change'

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/sw/	/swa:ra/	'bangle'
/xy/	/xya:r/	'cucumber'
/ħṣ/	/ħṣa:n/	'horse'

The differences observed above between WA and MA in phonemic inventory and clusters are closely related to the phonological changes discussed in the next section.

3.2 *Phonological Differences*

The phonological changes take place through the processes of substitution, omission, insertion, or transposition of phonemes at initial, medial, or final position of words. The changes which are definable by phonological or morphological contexts are considered as regular changes. However, those which are restricted to a limited number of lexical items with exceptions are treated as irregular changes. As far as the aim of this research is concerned, the former is discussed below.

3.2.1 *Phonologically Conditioned Changes*

3.2.1.1 Substitution

    a)   Initial

    i.   /θ-/ > /t-/

            /θaldʒ/   >   /talʒ/   'snow'

    ii.   /ð-/ > /d-/

            /ði?b/   >   /di:b/   'wolf'

    iii.   /dʒ-/ > /ʒ/

            /dʒabal/   >   /ʒabal/   'mountain'

    iv.   /s-/ > /ṣ-/ near /ṭ/ as in

            /saṭħ/   >   /ṣaṭiħ/   'surface'
            /saṭw/   >   /ṣaṭuw/   'robbery'

    v.   /q-/ > /?-/

This change, which also occurs in word medial and final positions, leads to the emergence of an additional consonant in the phonemic inventory of the spoken variety. /q/ is not totally lost and it is sparingly used in a few words.

/qaṭaça/	>	/?aṭaç/	'to cut'
/qami:ṣ/	>	/?ami:ṣ/	'shirt'
/qamar/	>	/?amar/	'moon'

Words retaining /q-/

/qa:mu:s/	>	/qa:mu:s/	'dictionary'
/qur?a:n/	>	/qur?a:n/	'Quran' (the Holy Book)

The /q/ sound is retained in the above two words for the reason that these two words are used more in formal situations than in informal ones. In such cases the original sound is maintained and if altered, it would sound uncommon.

b)   Medial

i.   /-a-/ > /-a:-/ in monosyllabic words of /c_1a?c_2/ structure, where /?/ will be lost in MA

/fa?s/	>	/fa:s/	'axe'
/fa?r/	>	/fa:r/	'mouse'
/ra?s/	>	/ra:s/	'head'

ii.   /-a:-/ > /-a-/ before /?/ which may be omitted or retained in MA

/masa:?/	>	/masa(?)/	'evening'
/ sama:?/	>	/sama(?)/	'sky'
/wara:?/	>	/wara(?)/	'behind'

iii.   /-ay-/ > /-e:-/ when followed by a consonant except /y/

/bayt/	>	/be:t/	'house'
/zaytu:n/	>	/ze:tu:n/	'olive'
/ṣayf/	>	/ṣe:f/	'summer'

Not changed before /y/

/bayya:rah/	≈	/bayya:ra(h)/	'orange grove'
/?ayya:m/	≈	/?ayya:m/	'days'
/ɣayyara/	≈	/ɣayyar/	'to change'

/-aw-/ > /-o:-/ when followed by a consonant except /w/

| /ʃawkah/ | > | /ʃo:ka(h)/ | 'thorn' |
| /yawm/ | > | /yo:m/ | 'day' |

Not changed before /w/

| /bawwa:b/ | ≈ | /bawwa:b/ | 'porter' |
| /ʔawwal/ | ≈ | /ʔawwal/ | 'first' |

The changes (iii) and (iv), where the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ become /e:/ and /o:/ respectively lead to the addition of vowels in the phonemic inventory of MA.

iv.   /-θ-/ > /-t-/

| /muθallaθ/ | > | /mutallat/ | 'triangle' |

v.   /-ð-/ > /-z-/

| /ʔiða/ | > | /ʔiza/ | 'if' |
| /laði:ð/ | > | /lazi:z/ | 'delicious' |

vi.   /dʒ-/ > /ʒ/

| /madʒallah/ | > | /maʒallah/ | 'magazine' |

vii.   /-s-/ > /-ṣ-/ near /ṭ/

| /masṭarah/ | > | /miṣṭara(ʔ)/ | 'ruler' |
| /wusṭa:/ | > | /wuṣṭa/ | 'middle (finger)' |

viii.   /-q-/ > /-ʔ-/

| /baqarah/ | > | /baʔara/ | 'cow' |
| /waraqah/ | > | /waraʔa/ | 'paper' |

Word retaining /q/

| /ʔaqsama/ | > | /ʔaqsam/ | 'to swear' |

In the above example, the word /ʔaqsama/ begins with the glottal stop /ʔ/; a fact that makes the replacement of /q/ by /ʔ/ difficult somehow to pronounce since there will be two glottal stops in the same syllable.

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c)   Final

i.   /-a:/ > /-a/

The original /a:/ in the final position undergoes this change. If /a:/ is found in word final position in MA, it is the result of a change.

/?iʃtara:/	>	/ʃtara/	› 'buy'
/mustaʃfa:/	>	/mustaʃfa/	'hospital'
/nada:/	>	/nada/	'dew'

/a:/ retained following the omission of /-h/ in feminine gender marker

| /ħama:h/ | > | /ħama:/ | 'mother-in-law' |
| /wafa:h/ | > | /wafa:/ | 'death' |

ii.   /-q/ > /-?/

| /ṭari:q/ | > | /ṭari:?/ | 'way' / 'road' |
| /ṭala:q/ | > | /ṭala:?/ | 'divorce' |

3.2.1.2   Omission

a)   Medial

i.   /-i-/ > /ɸ/ omission of /-i-/ when followed by /a:/ in the immediately succeeding syllable

| /ʃima:l/ | > | /ʃma:l/ | 'left' |
| /lisa:n/ | > | /lsa:n/ | 'tongue' |

ii.   /-u-/ >/ɸ/ when followed by $c_1vc_2c_2$-

| /muxallal/ | > | /mxallal/ | 'pickled' |
| /muwaẓẓaf/ | > | /mwazzaf/ | 'employee' |

iii.   Omission of vowels in the above cases results in initial cluster formation in MA.

b) Final

i. /-a/ > /ɸ/

The original /-a/ in the final position undergoes this change. If /-a/ is found in word final position in MA, it is the result of a change.

/taraka/	>	/tarak/	'to leave'
/kayfa/	>	/ke:f/	'how'
/qa:la/	>	/ʔa:l/	'to say'

ii. /-y/ > /ɸ/ when it is preceded by /-iy-/

| /ṣaħafiyy/ | > | /ṣaħafiy/ | 'journalist' |
| /dʒundiyy/ | > | /ʒundiy/ | 'soldier' |

3.2.1.3 Insertion

a) Medial

i. /-i-/ is inserted between the consonants of a cluster when the cluster is preceded by original or changed /i/ or by /a/.

Preceded by original /i/

/ṭifl/	>	/ṭifil/	'child'
/qidr/	>	/ʔidir/	'cooking pot'
/ʔibn/	>	/ʔibin/	'son'

Preceded by changed /i/

| /fudʒl/ | > | /fiʒil/ | 'radish' |

Preceded by /a/

| /ḍabç/ | > | /ḍabiç/ | 'hyena' |

ii.   /-u-/ when the cluster is preceded by /u/ or if it is of /cw/ type

1. Preceded by /u/

| /furn/ | > | /furun/ | 'oven' |
| /rumħ/ | > | /rumuħ/ | 'spear' |

2. /cw/ type of cluster

/dalw/	>	/daluw/	'bucket'
/saṭw/	>	/ṣaṭuw/	'robbery'
/dʒarw/	>	/ʒaruw/	'cub'

The insertion of anaptyctic vowels /i/ and /u/ leads to change in the syllabic structure of the words, i.e., increase in the number of syllables.

3.2.2   *Morphologically Conditioned Changes*

3.2.2.1 Substitution

a)   Medial

i.   /-a-/ > /-i-/ optionally in the feminine gender marker /-ah/

| /xiṭbah/ | > | /xiṭbih/ | 'engagement' |
| /wali:mah/ | > | /wali:mih/ | 'banquet' |

ii.   /-a:-/ > /-a-/ optionally in the feminine gender marker /-a:h/

| /mikwa:h/ | > | /makwa/ | 'flatiron' |

iii.   /-a:-/ > /-e:-/ in dual number marker /-a:ni/

| /?iθna:ni/ | > | /tne:n/ | 'two' |
| /qalama:ni/ | > | /?alame:n/ | 'two pens' |

iv.   /-u-/ > /-i-/ in plural third person feminine gender accusative marker

| /?axbartuhunna/ | > | /xabbarithin/ | 'I told them' (f) |
| | (/-hunna/ > /-hin/) | | |

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3.2.2.2 Omission

a) Final

i. /-i/ > /ɸ/ in dual marker

/ʔiθna:ni/	>	/tne:n/	'two'
/ʔiθnayni/			
/walada:ni/	>	/walade:n/	'two boys'

ii. /-ʔ/ >/ɸ/ optionally when preceded by the article /ʔal-/

/ʔalʔaħad/	>	/ʔil(ʔ)aħad/	'Sunday'
/ʔalʔarnab/	>	/ʔil(ʔ)arnab/	'the rabbit'
/ʔalʔusbu:ç/	>	/ʔil(ʔ)isbu:ç/	'the week'

iii. /-h/ >/ɸ/ optionally in the feminine gender markers /-ah/ and /-a:h/

/mawdʒah/	>	/mo: ʒa/	'wave'
/sa:çah/	>	/sa: ça/	'watch'
/ħama:h/	>	/ħama:/	'mother-in-law'
/wafa:h/	>	/wafa:/	'death'

4   Conclusion

The present study 'Arabic Diglossia: A Phonological study' includes: the definition and distinctive features of diglossia, the way diglossia differs from bilingualism and bidialectalism, the nature of Arabic diglossia and earlier studies on the linguistic aspects of diglossia and the differences between the two varieties. However, the major phonological changes which demarcate WA and MA are as follows:

1. The addition of the mid front long vowel /e:/ and the mid back long vowel /o:/ in the phonemic inventory of MA;
2. The emphatic dental voiced stop /ẓ/ of WA being lost in MA and getting merged with the emphatic interdental voiced fricative /ḍ/;
3. The uvular voiceless stop /q/ of WA being changed into glottal voiced stop /ʔ/ in MA and the total absence of /g/ in WA;
4. The interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are being changed into /t/ and /d/ or /z/ respectively;
5. the palato-alveolar voiced affricate /ʤ/ changes into palatal voiced fricative /ʒ/;

6. The emergence of word initial consonant clusters in MA through the omission of short vowels in MA;
7. The prevalence of declusterization in MA through the insertion of anaptyctic vowels /i/ and /u/;
8. The omission of word final short vowels in MA.

It is quite possible that the above phonological differences observed between WA and MA are also true of many other spoken dialects of Arabic.

There is an ample scope for further in-depth research in the area of Arabic diglossia. A detailed study of the differences between Classical Arabic and Modern Written Arabic has to be done. All different regional and social dialects of Arabic need to be fully described and compared with Classical Arabic as well as Modern Written Arabic. Such studies would prove most useful for language planning activities in order to regulate language use in education, administration and mass communication.

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