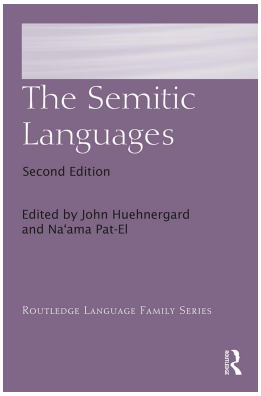

The Semitic Languages

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Egyptian Arabic

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CHAPTER 17

EGYPTIAN ARABIC

Thomas Leddy-Cecere and Jason Schroepfer

1 INTRODUCTION

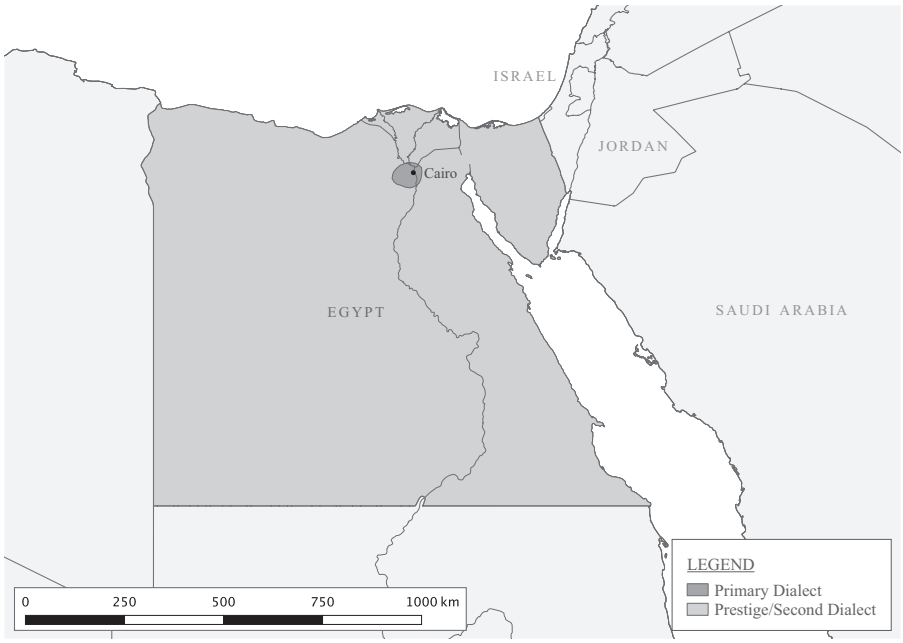
Egyptian Arabic (EA) is the language spoken by the nearly 20 million residents of Cairo (cf. Paul et al. 2017). EA is not an official language, nor is it a standardized language in Egypt. However, as a native tongue it is spoken in contexts ranging from daily interactions to academic discourse. It is internationally exported in television, music and other forms of media, which propagate EA not only across Egypt but throughout the Arab world. EA also represents an influential *lingua franca* within the country. Egyptians living outside of Cairo as well as Cairenes of diverse dialect backgrounds are frequently conversant in EA alongside their native Arabic varieties (Schroepfer 2016, Leddy-Cecere 2014). Egyptians who are speakers of other minority indigenous languages such as Nubian and Siwi often proficiently speak EA as well. In total, when taken together with closely related varieties spoken across Lower Egypt, the Ethnologue estimates speakers of EA (in the broad sense) to number over 60 million, rendering it the most widely spoken extant Semitic language by a wide margin (Paul et al. 2017) (see Map 17.1).

EA is representative of the broader Egyptian Arabic dialect group, identified as a primary tier dialect area in most proposed classifications of modern Arabic varieties (e.g., Kaye and Rosenhouse 1997). It also constitutes one of the most thoroughly studied varieties of Arabic. Several quality descriptive works have documented EA from the end of the 19th century until the present, for example Spitta-Bey (1880), Mitchell (1962) and Woidich (2006), with the last considered the most complete modern descriptive work on the language. Hinds and Badawi (1986) have assembled a crucial and trusted lexical resource. Harrell (1957) and Lehn (1963) have analyzed the phonology of EA, while Brustad (2000) has investigated its syntax in comparison with other varieties of spoken Arabic. Other scholars have studied sociolinguistic aspects of the EA speech community (Royal 1985, Haeri 1996).

In addition to published materials and publicly available media, the linguistic attestations upon which this description is based derive from both direct elicitation and naturalistic observation conducted during the authors' respective periods of dialectological field research in Cairo (spanning 2011–13). A characteristic example of EA is provided in the sample text at the end of this chapter, to which reference is made whenever relevant (i.e., [ST 7], indicating "Sample Text, Line 7").

2 WRITING SYSTEM

Scholars have traditionally claimed that Egyptians exclusively reserve Modern Standard Arabic for the written realm. However, an increasing body of literature challenges this view, demonstrating that most Egyptians write more frequently and in more contexts



MAP 17.1 THE SPEECH AREA OF EGYPTIAN ARABIC. THE DARKER SHADING MARKS THE REGION OF THE PRIMARY DIALECT, THE LIGHTER SHADING THE AREA IN WHICH IT IS IN USAGE AS A PRESTIGE OR SECOND DIALECT

in EA than they do in Modern Standard Arabic (Kindt et al. 2016: 331). The EA encyclopedia Wikipedia Masry ('Egyptian Wikipedia'), social media websites like Facebook and Twitter, SMS messages and commercial advertisements all represent popular venues for writing in EA (see Panovic 2015). Further, recent novels dealing with contemporary Egyptian social issues such as Khaled Al Khamissi's *Tāksī* (*'Taxi'*) and Ghada Abdel Aal's *ʿĀyza Atgawwiz* (*'I want to get married'*) are written wholly or partially in EA.

Although EA is a written language in a variety of spheres, no standardized writing system yet exists. It is written in both Latin and Arabic scripts like other contemporary varieties of Arabic (compare "Moroccan Arabic" and "Levantine Arabic" in this volume). A recent ad from the prominent Egyptian telecommunications company Vodaphone demonstrates EA written in Arabic script:

<الكارت بقى كارتين>
ik-kart *baʔa:* *kart-e:n*
DEF-phone.card become.PFV phone.card-DU
'The phone card has become [the value of] two phone cards.'

Writing EA in Latin script began as a solution to the lack of Arabic script in electronic devices during the early 2000s. However, Arabic script is more common in electronic devices today in Egypt. Latin script is still used to write EA, although its use is now much

TABLE 17.1 ORTHOGRAPHY OF EA

Trans.	**b**	**f**	**m**	**w**	**t**	**ŧ**	**d**	**đ**	**s**	**ṡ**	
Latin	b	f	m	w, u	t	6, t	d	d, 9’	s	s, 9	
Arabic	ب	ف	م	و	ت،ث	ط	د	ض	ث، س	ص	
Trans.	**z**	**ƶ**	**n**	**l**	**ɬ**	**r**	**j**	**ʃ**	**g**	**k**	**x**
Latin	z	z, 9’	n	l	l	r	y, i	sh	g	k	5, kh, 7’
Arabic	ذ، ز	ظ	ن	ل	ل	ر	ي	ش	ج	ك	خ
Trans.			**ɣ**		**ħ**			**ʕ**	**h**	**ʔ**	
Latin			3’, gh		7, h			3	h	2	
Arabic			غ		ح			ع	ه	ء,ق	

less common than that of Arabic script (Kindt et al. 2016). Nonetheless, one can still find Latin script employed on social media, as shown in the following post:

< EZAYAK YA EHAB 3AMEL EH ANA F MASR ELGEDIDA GAMBAK!!! >

ʔizzajj=ak	*ja:*	*iha:b*	*ʕa:mil*	*ʔe:h*
how=POSS.2MSG	VOC	ehab	do.PTCP	what

ana:	*f=masr*	*ig-gidi:d-a:*	*gamb=ak!!!*
SBJ.1SG	in=Cairo	DEF-new-FSG	next.to=POSS.2MSG

‘How are you Ehab? What’s up? I am in New Cairo next to you!’

Table 17.1 supplies the respective graphemic representations of the EA consonantal phonemes (see §3.1) in both scripts, with the more common values listed first where there is regular variation.

3 PHONOLOGY

3.1 Consonantal

EA possesses a large consonant inventory, as Table 17.2 illustrates. The marginal phonemes /v/ and /p/ are variable by speaker and are documented in loan words only. The palato-alveolar /ʒ/ is also found in loan words (*raʒi:m* ‘diet’ < Fr. régime), but has achieved contrastive phonemic status in EA. All consonants can be geminated. Notable features include the following:

- Proto-Semitic interdentals */θ/, */ð/, and */θ’/ merge to stops or fricatives: /θ/ > /t/, /s/, /ð/ > /d/, /z/, and /θ’/ > /đ/, /ƶ/. No clear phonological conditioning determines the choice of fricative or stop reflex, though stops are significantly more frequent. Modern Standard Arabic lexemes containing interdentals are typically borrowed with fricative realizations.
- The realization of Proto-Semitic */g/ is a velar stop /g/, though there is strong evidence from historical documentation and loan phonology that this is a secondary development via Old Arabic */d͡ʒ/.

TABLE 17.2 PRIMARY CONSONANTAL PHONEMES

	(Bi-)labial	*(Denti-)alveolar*	*Palato-alveolar*	*Velar*	*Uvular*	*Pharyngeal*	*Glottal*
Voiceless Stops	(p)	t		k	q		ʔ
Voiced stops	b	d		g			
Voiceless Fricatives	f	s	ʃ	x		ħ	h
Voiced Fricatives	(v)	z	ʒ	ɣ		ʕ	
Nasals	m	n					
Laterals		l					
Rhotics		r					
Semivowels	w		j				

Pharyngealized consonants: ɬ̠, ɖ̠, s̠, z̠, ɬ̠

- Proto-Semitic */k'/ has split to /ʔ/ and /q/ following a lexical distribution without regular phonological conditioning, leading to numerous contrastive doublets: *ʔaraːr* 'bottom', *qaraːr* 'decision'.
- Proto-Semitic */ʔ/ is generally lost with compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel, though it is sporadically present in some lexemes: *ʔadab* 'literature', *suʔaːl* 'question'.

3.2 Vocalic

The vocalic inventory of EA consists of six long vowels and four short vowels, as Table 17.3 demonstrates.

The present account departs from most previous analyses by identifying distinct phonemic status for /ɑː, ɑ/ [ɑː ~ ɒː, ɑ ~ ɒ] and /aː, a/ [aː ~ æː, a ~ æ ~ ɛ] in EA. In the presence of pharyngealized/velarized consonants /ɬ̠, ɖ̠, s̠, z̠, ɬ/ and /q/, all vowels show allophonic backing and lowering in quality. In the terminology of Kiparsky (2016), this quality difference is quasi-phonemic, being distinctive (a highly salient secondary cue to the pharyngealization/velarization of the triggering consonant) but not contrastive. In the case of /ɑː, ɑ/, however, numerous examples exist outside of this traditionally recognized complementary distribution, resulting in minimal pairs such as the following: /kadd/ 'to comb' vs. /kɑdd/ 'to toil', /barr/ 'to keep a promise', vs. /bɑrr/ 'door jam', /ʕarʃ/ 'ceiling' vs. /ʕɑrʃ/ 'throne'. Similarly for /aː/ and /ɑː/: /kaːdid/ 'comber' vs. /kɑːdid/ 'toiler', /zaradaːn/ 'a yield of juice' vs. /zɑrɑdɑːn/ 'gulp', /raːsiː/ 'sensible' vs. /rɑːs=iː/ 'my head', /sakakaːn/ 'vitiating' vs. /sakɑkɑːn/ 'closing', /baːbaː/ 'text of a shadow puppet play' vs. /bɑːbɑː/ 'father'. Prior descriptions have generally identified consonants as the locus of contrast in such pairings, positing the existence of phonemically distinct "emphatic" variants of /k/, /r/, /b/, etc., which condition the lowered quality of [ɑː, ɑ]. However, as no segmental phonetic difference (e.g., pharyngealization or velarization) has been proposed or instrumentally demonstrated to distinguish these emphatic consonants from their plain counterparts, it is theoretically preferable in a synchronic sense to identify the relevant

TABLE 17.3 PRIMARY VOCALIC PHONEMES

	Short Vowels		*Long Vowels*	
	Front	*Back*	*Front*	*Back*
High	/i/	/u/	/iː/	/uː/
Mid			/eː/	/oː/
Low	/a/	/ɑ/	/aː/	/ɑː/

vowels themselves – which are phonetically differentiated – as the locus of any segmental phonemic contrast (cf. Kiparsky 1982, Blevins 2004). This contrastiveness indicates a phonologization of the distinct vowel qualities and points to an incipient phonemicization of /ɑː, ɑ/ alongside /aː, a/.

Models of emphasis beyond the segment have been occasionally proposed for EA: Harrell (1957) views it as a word-level phenomenon, Lehn (1963) as a syllable-level characteristic. Such views may ultimately prove superior in accounting for the global distribution of backed vowel phones and of contrastive/non-contrastive tokens, but much empirical investigation remains to be done before a suprasegmental hypothesis may be accepted for EA.

3.3 Syllabification and phonotactics

The following five syllables are permissible in EA: CV, CVː, CVC, CVːC and CVCC. CCC consonant clusters are not permitted in words or across word boundaries and must be resolved with an epenthetic vowel between the second and third consonants (CC^{i}C): *il-bint^{i} diː* ‘this girl’, *ʕand^{i} ṭaːriʔ* ‘at Tariq’s (house)’. Long vowels in CVːC syllables are realized as short if closed by a following C, with long mid vowels reverting to short high counterparts: /beːt=haː/ > [bɪthaː] ‘her house’. Unstressed short vowels in open syllables undergo syncope when preceded by an open syllable; deletion of /i, u/ in this case may be conditioned by any preceding vowel, while that of /a, ɑ/ requires a preceding long vowel (Woidich 2011). These latter two rules can and do interact, even across word boundaries: /daː biːkaːm/ > [dab.kaːm] ‘How much does this cost?’ (‘this with=how.many?’).

Stress falls on the vowel of the final VːC or VCC sequence in a given word, unless two or more subsequent syllables intervene before the word boundary (in which case it falls on the penultimate): /kitaːb/ > [kiˈtaːb] ‘book’, /b-adris/ > [ˈbad.ris] ‘I study’, /maɣsalaː/ > [maɣˈsa.la] ‘laundry, cleaners’. Long vowels are realized as short when in unstressed position: /kaːbuːs/ > [kabuːs] ‘nightmare’, /salaːmaːt/ > [salamaːt] ‘greetings’. Given this pattern, there is strong evidence from processes of clitic addition and lexicalization that all word-final vowels in EA are phonemically long, though most often phonetically realized as short due to lack of stress (cf. McCarthy 2005). Once additional phonological material is added and changes the stress calculation, the underlying quantity becomes apparent: /ʕanduː/ > [ˈʕan.du] ‘he has’ but /maːʃʕanduːʃ/ > [ma.ʕan.ˈduːʃ] ‘he doesn’t have’, /maʕaː/ > [ˈma.ʕa] ‘with’ but /maʕaːnaː/ > [ma.ˈʕaː.na] ‘with us’, /sanaː/ > [ˈsa.na] ‘year’ but lexicalized /issanaːdiː/ > [is.sa.ˈnaː.di] ‘this year.’

4 MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Pronouns

EA contrasts its personal pronouns on the basis of person, gender and number. There are four morphologically separate sets of pronouns, which are similar to other spoken varieties of Arabic (see "Moroccan Arabic" and "Levantine Arabic" in this volume). The pronouns are as follows:

- Subject (morphologically free)
- Possessive (cliticize to nouns and prepositions)
- Object (cliticize to verbs; precede dative pronouns if present)
- Dative (cliticize to verbs; follow object pronouns if present)

As demonstrated by the subject pronouns in Table 17.4, EA pronouns differentiate plurality for all persons. Gender is distinguished only in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular, but not the 1st person, or any plurals.

The possessive clitics (Table 17.5) attach to nouns and prepositions. EA's 2nd and 3rd person singular possessive clitics are differentiated according to gender. The pronouns show distinct allomorphs when preceded by single consonants, consonant clusters and vowels.

The object pronouns are identical in form to the possessive suffixes with the exception of the 1st person singular *=ni:*. These cliticize to finite verbs and active participles in verbal function: *ʃa:f=u:* 'he saw it (M)'.

The dative pronouns can be suffixed directly after verbs: *ʔa:l=lu:* 'he told him'. They can also be suffixed after object pronouns in verb phrases: *ʔidda:=hu:=li:* 'he gave it (M) to me'. Table 17.6 displays their distribution.

TABLE 17.4 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

		Singular	*Plural*
1		*ana:*	*iħna:*
2	MASC	*inta:*	*intu:*
	FEM	*inti:*	
3	MASC	*huwwa:*	*hum:a:*
	FEM	*hijja:*	

TABLE 17.5 POSSESSIVE CLITICS

		Singular	*Plural*
1		*=i: (V-ja:)*	*=na: (CC=ina:)*
2	MASC	*=ak (V=k)*	*=ku: (CC=uku:)*
	FEM	*=ik (V-ki:)*	
3	MASC	*=u: (V=h)*	*=hum (CC=uhum)*
	FEM	*=ha: (CC=aha:)*	

TABLE 17.6 DATIVE PRONOUNS

		Singular	*Plural*
1		*=li: (=CCili:)*	*=lina:* (*CC=ilna:, V=lna:)*
2	MASC	*=lak* (*CC=ilak)*	*=luku:*
	FEM	*=lik (CC=ilik)*	*(CC=ilku:, V=lku:)*
3	MASC	*=lu: (CC=ilu:)*	
	FEM	*=laha:* (*CC=ilha:, V=lha:)*	*=luhum (CC=ilhum, V=lhum)*

TABLE 17.7 EA DEMONSTRATIVES

Masculine Singular	*Feminine Singular*	*Plural*
da:	*di:*	*do:l*

TABLE 17.8 CONTRASTIVE DEMONSTRATIVES[1]

Masc	*Fem*	*col*
dukha:	*dikha:*	*dukhum*

4.2 Demonstratives

The proximal demonstratives in EA also semantically play the role of distals. They can be freestanding pronouns or attributive adjectives that agree with their referent in number and gender. In the latter case, the demonstratives must follow a definite noun: *il-bint*^{i} *di:* DEF-girl DEM.FSG 'this girl, that girl'. Table 17.7 displays their distribution.

The EA contrastive demonstratives (Table 17.8) are much less common than the forms listed above but function identically in terms of morphosyntax. They differ in that they express a contrastive meaning, and virtually always occur paired with a general demonstrative:

il-fusta:n *da:* *ʔaħla:* *min* *dukha:*
DEF-dress DEM.MSG prettier from DEM.CNTR.MSG
'This dress is prettier than that other one.' (Hinds-Badawi 1986: 274)

The EA form *kida:* is a demonstrative manner adverb that means 'thus, like so'. It is also employed as an uninflected anaphoric deictic: *baʕd*^{i} *kida:* 'after that', *ʔakbar min kida:* 'bigger than that'.

4.3 Interrogatives

There are pronominal and adverbial interrogatives in EA. Pronominals include *mi:n* 'who?', *ʔe:(h)* 'what?' and *ʔajj* 'which?'. The last precedes indefinite nouns, and has

paradigmatic alternatives *ʔanhu:* (MSG), *ʔanhi:* (FSG) and *ʔanhum* (PL) which agree with a modified noun in number and gender. Of the latter set, FSG *ʔanhi:* may be generalized across masculine and plural contexts.

The adverbial interrogatives are as follows: *ʔimta:* 'when?', *fe:n* 'where?', *mine:n* 'from where?', *le:(h)* 'why?', *ʔizzajj* 'how?', *ka:m* 'how many?', *bika:m* 'for how much?', *ʔadd*^{i} *e:(h)* 'how much?', and *ʔiʃmiʕna:* 'why (in particular)?'.

4.4 Relative

Relatives in EA are indicated by a zero form and the relativizer *illi:*. Refer to §5.5 for syntax.

4.5 Nominals

4.5.1 Inflection

EA nouns do not show case. There are two categories for gender, masculine and feminine, and three for number, singular, plural and (nonobligatory) dual. Masculine gender is marked with a zero form, while feminine nouns are usually marked with a suffixed *-a:*. The dual is denoted by the *-e:n* suffix.[2] So-called broken plurals formed on a nonconcatenative morphological template are extremely common (*kalb* 'dog', *kila:b* 'dogs'), as is the suffixed feminine plural marker *-a:t*. It is often suffixed to feminine nouns as in *ʕarabijj-a:* 'car', *ʕarabijj-a:t* 'cars'. However, it can be suffixed to some masculine nouns: *gawa:b* 'letter', *gawa:b-a:t* 'letters'. The suffixed masculine plural marker *-i:n*, however, is usually restricted to human nouns. Table 17.9 exemplifies these inflectional patterns for the substantive *masri:* 'Egyptian'.

Some feminine lexical items carry no formal inflection of feminine gender; examples are *ʔumm* 'mother', *ħarb* 'war', *balad* 'town', and *ru:ħ* 'soul'. Adjectival inflection corresponds to that of the noun modified, though adjectives modifying dual nouns display plural agreement. However, pragmatics play a role in adjective marking and lack of concord between substantives and adjectives frequently occurs (cf. Brustad 2000: 52).

4.5.2 Patterns and derivational affixes

The *-a:t* suffix represents a common non-human plural in EA that is suffixed to many feminine nouns in addition to some masculine substantives: *bida:j-a:* 'beginning', *bida:j-a:t* 'beginnings', *ħiwa:r* 'conversation', *ħiwa:r-a:t* 'conversations.' Some frequent "broken" plurals formed via nonconcatenative morphology are as follows: *be:t* 'house' *buju:t 'houses'*, *xabar* 'a piece of news', *ʔaxba:r* 'news', *zami:l* 'colleague', *zama:jil* 'colleagues'. See §4.5.1 for further information.

TABLE 17.9 NOUN INFLECTION

	Masculine	*Feminine*
SINGULAR	*masri:*	*masrijj-a:*
DUAL	*masrijj-e:n*	*masrijj-it-e:n*
PLURAL	*masrijj-i:n*	*masrijj-a:t*

The reflexes of the Semitic monosyllabic patterns (**qatl, *qitl, *qutl*) are extant: *katf* 'shoulder', *rigl* 'foot', *ðufr* 'nail'. The inherited Old Arabic diminutive pattern *CuCajjiC is no longer productive though numerous lexicalized examples exist, particularly noting the lower end of scalar adjective pairs: *ṣuyajjar* 'small', *ʔurajjib* 'near', *ʔulajjil* 'few'.

One of the more common derivational suffixes is *-i:*, which can be used to derive adjectives from nouns: *si:n-i:* 'Chinese'. The suffix *-a:ni:~ -a:ni:* is fairly productive and can denote skin colors, negative characteristics, locatives, origins, professions and other attributes: *ʔasmar* 'dark skinned', *asmar-a:ni:* 'dark skinned (pejorative)', *miʃʕar-a:ni:* 'hairy (pejorative)', *guwwa:* 'inside', *guww-a:ni:* 'internal', *fakha:*, 'fruit', *fakah-a:ni:* 'fruit merchant', *iskindiri:jja:* 'Alexandria', *iskindir-a:ni:* 'Alexandrian', *ru:ħ* 'spirit', *ru:ħ-a:ni:* 'spiritual', *ʔaħmar*, 'red' and *aħmar-a:ni:* 'reddish'.

4.5.3 Numerals

The numerals in EA have one cardinal and one ordinal set. The cardinal number 'one' is the sole cardinal number that can demonstrate gender agreement, and then only if it follows the noun that it modifies: *wa:ħid ʈaʕmijja:*, *ʈaʕmijja: waħda:* 'one falafel ball'. For 'two', invariant *itne:n* may either precede a singular noun or follow a noun inflected by dual suffix *-e:n*. Cardinals 'three' through 'ten' take invariant long forms when they are standing independently or modifying a plural substantive as an adjective, and short forms when preceding the plural noun (see Table 17.10). When plurals in the vowel-initial patterns aCCa:C, aCCuC and aCCiCa: are preceded by a short form numeral, they gain a prefix *t-* and undergo mutation of the initial vowel to /i/ or /u/: *sabaʕ tiwla:d* 'seven children'.

The ordinal numbers generally assume the Ca:CiC pattern and follow the noun that they modify. They usually agree in gender with the head noun. Table 17.11 exemplifies these patterns (feminine forms are represented in parentheses).

TABLE 17.10 EA CARDINAL NUMBERS 1–10

#	*Cardinal*	*Short Form*	#	*Cardinal*	*Short Form*
1	*wa:ħid* (M), *wa:ħda:* (F)		6	*sitta:*	*sitt*
2	*itne:n*		7	*sabʕa:*	*sabaʕ*
3	*tala:ta:*	*talat*	8	*tama:nja:*	*taman*
4	*arbaʕa:*	*arbaʕ*	9	*tisʕa:*	*tisaʕ*
5	*xamsa:*	*xamas*	10	*ʕaʃara:*	*ʕaʃar*

TABLE 17.11 EA ORDINAL NUMERALS 1–10

#	*Ordinal*	#	*Ordinal*
1	*awwil* (*u:la:*), *awwala:ni:* (*awwala:nijja:*)	6	*sa:dis* (*sa:dsa:*)
2	*ta:ni:* (*ta:nja:*)	7	*sa:biʕ* (*sa:bʕa:*)
3	*ta:lit* (*ta:lta:*)	8	*ta:min* (*ta:mna:*)
4	*ra:biʕ* (*ra:bʕa:*)	9	*ta:siʕ* (*ta:sʕa:*)
5	*xa:mis* (*xa:msa:*)	10	*ʕa:ʃir* (*ʕa:ʃra:*)

The enumerated noun after '11' is invariably singular. The second decade is generally constructed by suffixing *-ɬaːʃar* to the short form cardinals: *xamasɬaːʃar* '15', *tisaʕɬaːʃar* '19'. Irregular forms are *ħidaːʃar* '11', *iɬnaːʃar* '12', and *siɬɬaːʃar* '16'. The tens are formed by suffixing *-iːn* to close variants of the cardinal numbers: *talatiːn* '30', *arbiʕiːn* '40', *xamsiːn* '50', *sittiːn* '60', *sabʕiːn* '70', *tamaniːn* '80', *tisʕiːn* '90'. The number '20' is an exception: *ʕiʃriːn*.

The hundreds are constructed by prefixing forms in the pattern *CuCCu-mijjaː*: *mijjaː* '100', *tultu-mijjaː* '300', *rubʕu-mijjaː*, '400', *xumsu-mijjaː* '500', *sutːu-mijjaː* '600', *subʕu-mijjaː* '700', *tumnu-mijjaː* '800', *tusʕu-mijjaː*, '900'. The exception to this is 200, which uses *miːt* and the dual suffix *-eːn*: *miːt-eːn*. The form *miːt* is also an allomorph of *mijjaː* for the construct state: *tultu-miːt gineː* '300 Egyptian Lira'.

The thousands are constructed with the short form cardinals followed by the enumerated plural of *alf* 'thousand', *talaːf*: *xamas talaːf* '5,000'; '2,000' uses the singular *alf* and the dual suffix *-eːn*: *alf-eːn*.

4.6 Verbs

4.6.1 Tense, aspect and mood

Tense, aspect and mood (TAM) values are indicated in EA through the use of two finite stem types, the suffix conjugation and the prefix conjugation, combined with a set of TAM prefixes and auxiliary verbs, in addition to the active participle form.

The suffix conjugation indicates perfective aspect. This generally aligns with the past tense (*ʃirib-t* 'you (MSG) drank'), but may also be employed in non-simple past contexts, such as conditional constructions and perfect structures of various tense values.

The prefix conjugation marks imperfective aspect. Utilized with no other inflectional markers, the prefix conjugation delivers a subjunctive reading, as in multi-verb constructions, modals and indirect suggestions, as demonstrated by the following examples:

giːt *ti-ʃrab*
come-2MSG 2-drink
'You came to drink.'

laːzim *ti-ʃrab*
must 2-drink
'You must drink.'

ti-ʃrab *ħaːgaːʔ*
2-drink thing
'(would you like to) drink something?'

In combination with the continuative prefix *bi-*, the prefix conjugation marks the present indicative, with both habitual and progressive readings possible depending on the verb's internal semantic qualities, and when used with the prefix *ħa-* ~ *ha-* it indicates the future tense:

bi-ti-ʃrab
CONT-2-drink
'You drink, are drinking.'

ħa-ti-ʃrab
FUT-2-drink
'You will drink.'

The active participle form plays a critical role in the EA verbal system. It interacts with the internal semantics of the verb to express a variety of inflectional values. With telic actions, the meaning is generally equivalent to a present perfect: *ʃaːrib* 'has drunk'. With atelic actions, the unmodified meaning is present progressive: *gaːriː* 'is running'. With stative verbs, both continuous and (inchoative) perfect readings are viable: *faːhim* 'understands, has understood'. In-depth studies of this complex phenomenon in EA include Eisele (1990), Mitchell and Al-Hassan (1994) and Brustad (2000). The active participle in verbal function does not require an overt subject.

Complex tenses are formed via the combination of these forms with the verb *kaːn* 'be'. Varying tense values of inflected *kaːn* followed by the suffix conjugation indicate past and future perfect: *kun-t*^{i} *ʃrib-t* 'you had drunk', *ħa-t-kuːn ʃirib-t* 'you will have drunk'. Suffix conjugation *kaːn* with the *bi-* and *ħa-* prefix conjugations is used to mark past continuous actions and past intent: *kun-t*^{i} *b-ti-ʃrab* 'you were drinking, used to drink', *kun-t*^{i} *ħa-ti-ʃrab* 'you were going to drink'.

4.6.2 Gender/number/person inflections

Both prefix and suffix conjugations agree with their subject for person, gender and number, while the imperative and active participle show agreement for gender and number only. Both prefix and suffix conjugations distinguish three persons and two numbers (there is no dual in the verbal system); gender is further distinguished in the singular forms of the 2nd and 3rd persons. In the suffix conjugation, all values are marked by suffixes (Table 17.12), while in the prefix conjugation they are primarily marked by prefixes with the addition of suffixes to mark feminine gender in the 2nd person singular and plural number in the 2nd and 3rd persons (Table 17.13). Examples are shown using the root √*ʔtl* 'kill', with a suffix conjugation base stem of *ʔatal* and a prefix conjugation base stem of *-ʔtil*.

TABLE 17.12 THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION

		Singular	*Plural*
1		*ʔatal-t*	*ʔatal-naː*
2	MASC	*ʔatal-t*	*ʔatal-tuː*
	FEM	*ʔatal-tiː*	
3	MASC	*ʔatal-Ø*	*ʔatal-uː*
	FEM	*ʔatal-it*	

TABLE 17.13 THE PREFIX CONJUGATION

		Singular	*Plural*
1		*a-ʔtil*	*ni-ʔtil*
2	MASC	*ti-ʔtil*	*ti-ʔtil-uː*
	FEM	*ti-ʔtil-iː*	
3	MASC	*ji-ʔtil*	*ji-ʔtil-uː*
	FEM	*ti-ʔtil*	

Imperatives are derivable from the corresponding 2nd person prefix conjugation forms by removing the person prefix and preposing an initial /i/ when necessary to resolve the resulting consonant cluster: *iʔtil* 'kill! (MSG)', *iʔtil-iː* 'kill! (FSG)', *iʔtil-uː* 'kill! (PL)'. Active participle forms in verbal function approximate nominal agreement patterns, with the stem showing regular phonological changes triggered by changes in syllabification: *ʔaːtil* 'has killed (MSG)', *ʔaːtl-aː* 'has killed (FSG)', *ʔaːtl-iːn* 'have killed (PL)'. They are, however, distinct from nominal equivalents in terms of allomorphy: verbal *hijjaː kaːtb-aː=haː* 'she has written it' vs. nominal *hijjaː kaːtb-it=haː* 'she is its author'.

4.6.3 Verbal stems

EA verbs belong to multiple stem classes. Several of these continue the common Semitic pattern of fitting a triconsonantal root into nonconcatenative (root and pattern) alternating stem types used in the suffix and prefix conjugations. Others, however, have generalized a single, invariable stem across both paradigms. The former, alternating stem classes and the latter, non-alternating stem classes are each discussed separately in Tables 17.14 and 17.15.[3]

Stems in CiCiC represent a continuation of the Old Arabic patterns *CaCiCa and *CaCuCa, though the class has expanded to absorb some previous members of *CaCaCa (e.g., *nigiħ* 'succeed' < OA **nad͡ʒaħa*). In the prefix conjugation, verbs of this class display a stem -CCaC while those with CaCaC suffix stems generally alternate to -CCiC or -CCuC, with some exceptions. Syntactically, verbs of CiCiC may be transitive or intransitive. In terms of thematic relations, they tend to assign their subject the role of patient, experiencer or theme, and thus often describe physical state changes (*xirib* 'be destroyed'), mental or sensory experience (*ziʕil* 'be angry'), and bodily motion (*nizil* 'go down'). It is not uncommon for pairs of CiCiC and CaCaC verbs to exist in a causative relationship: *wiʔif* 'come to a stop', *waʔaf* 'stop s.t.'. The historical presence of back consonants in a root may yield a variant of CiCiC in CuCuC: *ʔirib* ~ *ʔurub* 'become near' (< Old Arabic **qaruba*).

TABLE 17.14 ALTERNATING STEM CLASSES

Suff. Conj.	*Pref. Conj.*
CiCiC, CuCuC	-CCaC
kimil 'become complete'	*-kmal*
CaCaC	-CCiC, -CCuC, -CCaC
fataħ 'open (TR)'	*-ftaħ*
itCaCaC	-tCiCiC
itfataħ 'open (INTR), be opened'	*-tfitiħ*
inCaCaC	-nCiCiC
infataħ 'open (INTR), be opened'	*-nfitiħ*
iCtaCaC	-CtCiCiC
iftataħ 'inaugurate'	*-ftitiħ*
ʔaCCaC, ʔiCCaC	-CCiC
ʔakmal 'to complete, finish'	*-kmil*

TABLE 17.15 NON-ALTERNATING STEM CLASSES

CaCCiC, CaCCaC, CɑCCɑC
fattaħ ‘open wide, repeatedly’
itCaCCiC, itCaCCaC, itCɑCCɑC
itfattaħ ‘be opened wide, repeatedly’
istaCaCCiC, istaCaCCaC, istaCɑCCɑC
istaħaḍḍar ‘prepare oneself’
Ca:CiC
fa:tiħ ‘address oneself to’
itCa:CiC
itfa:tiħ ‘be addressed’
istaCa:CiC
istaba:rik ‘seek a blessing’
istaCCiC, istaCCaC, istɑCCɑC
istaʃtaħ ‘approach initially’
iCCaCC
iswadd ‘blacken (INTR)’

The class itCaCaC is the regular, productive passive of both the CiCiC and CaCaC classes. A few isolated members of the class, as well as those with a glide as the second radical, are more properly identified as non-alternating with a single, invariant stem utilized for both suffix and prefix conjugations: *itwasaʔ*, *jitwasaʔ* ‘be trusted’. The non-productive inCaCaC class designates the passive for a much smaller subset of lexically specified verbs (e.g., *inḍarab* ‘be hit’). The infixed form iCtaCaC, encompassing a broad range of (generally intransitive) meanings, is similarly nonproductive. A small number of verbs constitute a class ʔaCCaC or ʔiCCaC, corresponding formally and functionally to the Semitic causative stem (Classical Arabic Form IV): *ʔadrak* ‘realize’, *ʔidrak* ‘reach puberty’, *ʔaxrag* ‘produce (a movie or film)’. These may represent borrowings from Modern Standard Arabic. The anomalous *ʔidda:* ‘give’ may belong to this class, via **ʔahda:*.

Several EA inflectional classes have leveled a single stem across both suffix and prefix conjugation paradigms. This change is relatively minor as a dialectological isogloss, often involving the fixing of a single short vowel, but its results are typologically significant as it serves to shift these verbs away from an inherited root-pattern morphological scheme toward a stem-affix inflectional model. This trend is further evidenced by the clear analyzability and historical productivity of the *it-* and *ista-* prefixes as applied to the CaCCiC and Ca:CiC stem classes. The transition is not complete – many imperative forms and roots containing long vowels still display inherited ablaut – but nonetheless the change to the underlying mechanics of EA verbal inflection should not pass unnoticed.

Verbs of the class CaCCiC, CaCCaC or CɑCCɑC in which the middle radical is geminated often share a causative relationship with CaCaC or CiCiC equivalents as in *daras* ‘study’, and *darris* ‘teach (lit. make s.o. study)’. However, they are also a highly productive source of denominal and deadjectival verbs and adapted loan verbs as in *sannaf* ‘classify (derived from *sanf* ‘type’)’, *ʃaddid* ‘intensify (derived from *ʃidi:d* ‘intense’)’, and *ʿʃajjir* ‘share’ (Fan 2014). Quadriliteral verbs in EA also have the pattern CaCCiC, CɑCCɑC, as in *farfiʃ* ‘cheer s.o. up’, *baʕtar* ‘scatter’.

The leveling of /ɑ/, /a/ or /i/ in the final syllable has a phonological basis: /ɑ/ is linked by Woidich (2011) to the historical presence of adjacent back consonants, while /a/ appears to occur in non-back environments immediately preceding /ħ/. The addition of prefix *it-* to this class often results in a reflexive meaning, though at times the semantic relationship is less transparent: *kallim* 'talk to s.o.', *itkallim* 'talk, speak'. The addition of prefix *ista-* also generally denotes reflexivity: *xabbaː* 'hide s.t.', *istaxabbaː* 'hide oneself'.

Verbs of the class CaːCiC often have an associative meaning, and may similarly be modified by the prefixes *it-* and *ista-*. Application of *it-* tends to lead to a reciprocal reading: *xaːniʔ* 'quarrel with (s.o.)', *itxaːniʔ* 'quarrel (with one another)'. The addition of *ista-* to CaːCiC is rare, but attested by Woidich (2011).

Verbs of the istaCCiC, istaCCaC or istɑCCɑC class are often denominal (with a meaning of 'to seek X') or deadjectival ('to consider s.t. X'). The leveling of /i/ and /ɑ/ in the final syllable follows similar phonological conditioning to CaCCiC, CɑCCɑC. Verbs of iCCaCC are predominantly deadjectival, most often relating to color and bodily defects: *ibjađđ* 'be, become white', *iʃwarr* 'go blind in one eye'.

4.6.4 Roots

Regular EA verb stems derive from roots consisting of three (rarely four) consonants. Root-initial glides are maintained in EA in both suffix and prefix conjugations: *wisil* 'he arrived', *jiwṣal* 'he arrives'; in stem class iCtaCaC the glide may be deleted with compensatory gemination of the following /t/: *ittaṣal* 'contact'. In CiCiC/CaCaC verbs, root-medial glides are realized as long vowels of corresponding quality in the prefix conjugation, short vowels of corresponding quality in the suffix conjugation preceding consonant-initial suffixes, and /aː/ in the suffix conjugation preceding vowel-initial suffixes or zero: *ni-ʔuːl* 'we say', *ʔul-naː* 'we said', *ʔaːl-it* 'she said' (√ʔwl). A few verbs show /aː/ in both prefix and suffix conjugation stems and an unpredictable short vowel preceding consonant-initial suffixes: *ni-naːm* 'we sleep', *nim-naː* 'we slept', *naːm-it* 'she slept' (√nwm). In class ʔaCCaC, root-medial glides are reflected by /iː/ in the prefix conjugation, /a/ before consonant-initial suffixes and /aː/ elsewhere. In classes itCaCaC, inCaCaC and iCtaCaC, they are realized as /a/ before consonant-initial suffixes and /aː/ in all other positions. Class istaCCiC generally follows the latter pattern, though many variants exist displaying the same pattern as class ʔaCCaC: *jistafaːd* ~ *jistafiːd* 'he benefits' (√fjd). Root-final glides in CiCiC are reflected by /j/ before vowel-initial suffixes and /iː/ elsewhere. Those of the other alternating stem types plus CaCːiC, CaːCiC and istaCCiC, display /iː/ in the prefix conjugation, /eː/ before consonant-initial suffixes, zero before vowel-initial suffixes and /aː/ elsewhere. Remaining classes show /eː/ before consonant-initial suffixes, zero before vowel-initial suffixes and /aː/ in all other cases.

Verbs with a geminate second root consonant receive the formative *-eː* before the addition of consonant-initial suffixes. Historical root-initial /ʔ/ may be maintained in the suffix conjugation or deleted along with the following vowel, and is reflected by /aː/ in the prefix conjugation and /w/ in the active participle: *ʔakal*, *j-aːkul*, *waːkil* 'he ate, eats, has eaten' (√ʔkl).

4.6.5 Non-finite forms

Non-finite verb forms in EA consist of active and passive participles and the verbal noun. As previously discussed, the active participle is a fundamental component of the

EA verbal system in addition to its nominal and adjectival functions. Formation of the active participle is dependent on stem class. Verbs of class CaCaC have active participles in Ca:CiC (*baʕat* 'send' > *ba:ʕit*), while those of class CiCiC have participles in either Ca:CiC or CaCCa:n (*wisil* 'arrive' > *wa:sil*, *xilis* 'be finished' > *xalsa:n*). For other alternating stem classes (see Table 17.14), a prefix *mi-* is added to the prefix conjugation stem, while for non-alternating classes (Table 17.15) *mi-* is added to the invariant stem following deletion of any initial vowel (*itđa:jiʔ* 'be upset' > *mitđa:jiʔ*). It is not uncommon for lexically specified verbs, particularly of classes aCCaC and istaCCiC, to have a variant participle formation in *mu-* (*ʔadrak* 'realize' > *midrik* ~ *mudrik*).

Formally distinct passive participles are largely limited to classes CiCiC and CaCaC, taking the form maCCu:C (*simiʕ* 'hear' > *masmu:ʕ*). For all other classes, the passive participle, if extant, is generally identical with the active participle and distinguished via context. Some stem classes (e.g., itCaCaC, inCaCaC) cannot broadly be said to contain distinct passive participles, as such a reading is expressed via the application of active morphology to the verbs' inherently passive internal semantics. Some lexically specified verbs have alternate passive participles on a model analogous to Modern Standard Arabic, utilizing a prefix *mu-* and a change in the final stem vowel to /a/ (*istaxdim* 'use' > *mistaxdim* ~ *mustaxdam*). It is unclear whether these forms are productive derivations or lexicalized borrowings.

Verbal nouns in EA do not fulfill many of the infinitival and gerundive functions of their counterparts in closely related varieties (see "Classical Arabic," this volume). Instead, they are largely limited to "true" nominal roles and restricted to nominal morphosyntax. These nouns are not productively derivable from the verb stem as a string but rather represent a complete templatic reorganization of the root and any accompanying derivational morphology: *itɣajjar* 'change (INTR)' > *taɣajjur*. When modified with the feminine marker *-a:*, they may be interpreted as individuated instance nouns: *ɣasl* 'the act of washing', *ɣasla:* 'a specific instance of washing'.

4.7 Prepositions/adverbs

4.7.1 Position

Prepositions must precede nominals in EA, while adverbs usually occur post-verbally.

4.7.2 Derivation

Most prepositions in EA are shared with the common Arabic lexicon (see also the chapters on "Moroccan Arabic," "Levantine Arabic," and "Classical Arabic"). One common strategy for creating adverbs is to procliticize the instrumental preposition *bi=* to a bare deadjectival noun: *bi=surʕa:* 'quickly' (*surʕa:* 'speed'), *bi=sara:ħa:* 'frankly' (*sara:ħa:* 'frankness'). EA does not formally distinguish between lexical adverbs such as *ʃwajja:* 'a little', *hina:* 'here', and *hina:k* 'there', and adjectives in adverbial function. Almost any adjective can be used as an adverb in its uninflected form: *kwajjis* 'good' vs. *daras-it kwajjis* 'she studied well'. There exists also a closed class of adverbs marked by the suffix *-an*, such as *ʔabadan* 'never', *ɣa:liban* 'probably'. While lexical connections may often be observed between such forms and corresponding nouns or adjectives in EA (e.g., *il-ʔabad* 'eternity', *ɣa:lib* 'probable'), the relationship is not one of productive derivation. Rather, many phonological details of this class' members indicate that they represent

borrowings from Modern Standard Arabic, where a productive *-an* adverbial suffix is active. For example, the fricative realization of historical interdentals and lack of syncope in EA *sa:lisan* 'thirdly' clearly recommend an origin in Modern Standard Arabic *θa:liθan* 'thirdly' (< *θa:liθ* 'third') over a synchronic derivation from EA *ta:lit* 'third', which would deliver the hypothetical ***ta:ltan*.

5 SYNTAX

5.1 Sentential and phrasal word order

EA word order in basic declarative sentences may be either VSO or SVO. Brustad (2000) has argued convincingly that these reflect two distinct typologies of information packing active in the language, with subject-initial order indicative of topic-prominent and verb-initial order of subject-prominent sentences (particularly those in which the subject is discursively new information):

ru:ħ=ak *ti-bʔa:* *mirta:ħ-a:*
soul=POSS.2MSG 3FSG-become.PC comfortable-FSG
'Your soul becomes content.'

ga:=li: *is-sa:ʕa:* *tala:ta:* *wagaʕ* *fi=widn=i:* *faʒi:ʕ*
come.3MSG.SC=DAT.1SG DEF-hour three pain in=ear=POSS.1SG terrible
'At three o'clock I got a terrible pain in my ear.' (Brustad 2000: 344)

Among modern Arabic varieties, EA is notable for the lack of WH-movement in unmarked interrogative sentences.

ibn=ik *ħa-ji-ʕmil* *ʔe:h* *sa:ʕit=ha:?*
son=POSS.2FSG FUT-3MSG-do.PC what time=POSS.3FSG?
'What will your son do then?'

Phrasal word order in EA is Head-Dependent:

P–N: *ʕala: s-siri:r*
on DEF-bed
'on the bed'

N–N: *tarbijit bana:t=i:*
raising girls=POSS.1SG
'the raising of my daughters'

N–Adj: *mawđu:ʕ saʕb*
subject difficult
'a difficult subject'

N–Rel: *is-sana: illi: ga:jj-a:*
DEF-year REL come.PTCP-FSG
'the year which is coming, next year'

N–Dem: *is-saʕa:da: di:*
DEF-happiness DEM.FSG
'this happiness'

5.2 Types of predication

The major predicate types of EA are verbal, nominal and existential. Verbal predicates are built on a finite verb phrase, and nominal predicates consist of a noun phrase, an adjective phrase or a prepositional phrase. Locative and interrogative adverbs may also serve as nominal predicates. Semantically and morphologically distinct from their substantive counterparts, predicative active participles in verbal function display a mixture of verbal and nominal features; while able to take objects as part of a verbal complementation structure, for example, they are negated by means of nominal morphosyntax (see §5.6 for details).

gudu:r=ak *di:* *ti- mtadd* *li=l-ħaja:*
roots=POSS.2MSG DEM.FSG 3FSG-extend.PC to=DEF-life
'Those roots of yours extend to life.'

da: *mawđu:ʕ* *ṣaʕb*
DEM.MSG subject difficult
'This is a difficult subject.'

inti: *miʃ* *ʕa:rfa:=ni:*
SUBJ.2FSG NEG know.PTCP=OBJ.1SG
'You don't know me.'

Existential predicates consist of either the existential marker *fi:(h)* 'there is' or a prepositional phrase composed of a preposition and a pronominal complement. A closed set of these (existential *fi:(h)*, and prepositions *fi=* 'in, at', *li=* 'to', *ʕand* 'by, belonging to') take verbal morphosyntax when negated in this function. The latter two prepositions are also utilized in existential predicate structures to express predicative possessive relation. The possessor is expressed by means of a clitic pronoun and the possessed noun follows the resulting prepositional phrase; if an explicit nominal possessor is expressed, it occurs preceding the prepositional phrase in topic position.

ma=fi:=ʃ *masalan* *ʃagara:* *ṣɣajjar-a:*
NEG=EXIST=NEG for.example tree small-FSG
'There isn't, for example, a small tree.'

wara:=ja: *sitti:n* *ħa:ga:*
behind=POSS.1SG sixty thing
'There are sixty things behind me (I have a thousand things to do).'

ir-ra:gil *da:* *ma=ʕand=u:=ʃ* *fikra:*
DEF-man DEM.MSG NEG=by=POSS. 3MSG=NEG idea
'That man has no idea.'

5.3 Definiteness

Definiteness marking in EA is less elaborated than in many other dialects of spoken Arabic (compare "Levantine Arabic" and "Moroccan Arabic" in this volume). In the majority of cases, definiteness is expressed by prefixing *il-* or encliticizing possessive pronouns to bare substantives: *il-be:t* 'the house', *be:t=hum* 'their house'. Adjectives must also agree in definiteness with head nouns they modify. This is accomplished by prefixing *il-* to the

respective adjective: *beːt=ħum il-waːsiʕ* 'their spacious house'. Definiteness can also be manifested in the construct state: *beːt il-mudiːr* 'the manager's house' (see §5.4.2). As in many other varieties of modern Arabic, the /l/ of the definite marker *il-* undergoes total assimilation to a following coronal consonant; in EA, this pattern variably extends to velar and uvular stops: /iq-qaːhira: ig-gamiːlaː/ 'beautiful Cairo'.

Indefinite nouns typically remain unmarked: *beːt* 'a house'. If an adjective modifies an indefinite head noun, then it must also remain bare: *beːt kibiːr* 'a big house'. When EA speakers want to express a degree of specificity with a bare noun, they frequently employ the adverb *kidaː: ʃuf-tᵘ ħaːgaː kidaː* 'I saw something . . . or I saw this thing . . .' (cf. Brustad 2000: 30). An inflected indefinite modifier *waːħid* 'one' may precede a bare animate noun to identify an indefinite yet specific individual: *fiːh waːħdaː ʂaːħbit=iː* . . . 'there is this friend of mine. . . .'. For more information on indefinite modifiers in EA, see Brustad (2000).

5.4 Synthetic/analytic

5.4.1 Analytic constructions in the verbal system

See §4.6.1 for discussion of the analytic construction of complex tenses in EA.

5.4.2 Analytic constructions in the nominal system

EA nouns may be placed in a genitive relationship either via direct apposition (construct state) or through the use of the genitive exponent *bitaːʕ*. The only overt morphological marker of the construct state is the use of the allomorph *-it* for the feminine singular nominal marker *-aː*. Only the final noun in a construct sequence may be marked for definiteness, and it determines the definiteness of the construct as a whole:

ħimaːjit *il-ʔaʔbaːʈ*
protection.CST DEF-Copts
'the protection of the Copts'

Analytic genitive constructions with *bitaːʕ* may be used to express a semantically similar meaning to the construct state in all cases save that of inalienable possession. Both the antecedent of *bitaːʕ* and the following noun are nearly always definite, and it agrees with the antecedent in gender and number: *bitaːʕ* (MSG), *bitaːʕit* (FSG), *bituːʕ* (PL). The following noun may be replaced by a cliticized possessive pronoun.

il-ʔamiːʂ *bitaːʕ* *ʂaːħb=uː*
DEF-shirt GEN friend=POSS.3MSG
'his friend's shirt'

il-ʔoːđaː *bitaːʕt=iː*
DEF-room GEN.FSG=POSS.1SG
'my room'

As a stand-alone substantive, definite *il-bitaːʕ* serves as a nominal placeholder [ST 7, 9].

5.5 Subordination

Relative clauses can be introduced with *illi:* or a zero marker. When the relativized head noun is definite, *illi:* is employed. Relative clauses can encompass predicates [ST 7–8] or nested sentences. When the head noun is the object of a subordinated verb or preposition, and with equative sentences, a resumptive pronoun is required which matches the gender and number of the head noun:

huwwa:	*ir-ra:gil*	*illi:*	*ʃuf-na:=h*	*imba:riħ*
SBJ.3MSG	DEF-man	REL	see.SC-1PL=OBJ.3MSG	yesterday

'He is the man who we saw yesterday.'

If the head noun that is being relativized is indefinite, the relativizer usually is asyndetic:

ʕa:rif	*ṭa:liba:*	*Ø*	*ism=aha:*	*sa:mja:*
know.PTCP	student	REL	name=POSS.3FSG	Samya

'I know a student whose name is Samya.'

The relativizer *illi:* may be used in some cases with an indefinite head noun for pragmatic reasons (cf. Brustad 2000: 93).

The sentential complementizer *inn* 'that' requires a possessive enclitic pronoun, subject pronoun or noun to act as the subject of the nested sentence.

inn=ak	*tu-ʔʕud*	*mabsu:ṭ*	*wi=mistakanjaṣ*
COMP=POSS.2MSG	2MSG-sit.PC	happy	and=lounging

'. . . that you sit happy and lounging.'

Although it is a far less productive function, *illi:* can also serve as a sentential complementizer (cf. Brustad 2000: 105).

Adverbial subordination occurs with a variety of temporal nouns, locative interrogatives, and adverbial interrogatives. These are marked with the complementizer *ma:=*, which procliticizes to the main verb of a subordinated sentence:

ʔabl	*inta:*	*ma=t-ru:ħ*
before	SBJ.2MSG	COMP=2MSG-come.PC

'before you go'

5.6 Negation

Nominal predicates, active participles in verbal function, and the future tense marked with *ħa-* and are negated with *miʃ* (var. *muʃ*); the inclusion of the future marker *ħa-* in this class is a legacy of its origin in a grammaticalized active participle *ra:jiħ* 'going'.

da:	*muʃ*	*ħaʔi:ʔi:*
DEM.MSG	NEG	true

'That isn't true.'

miʃ	*ʔa:dr-a:*	*a-staħmil*
NEG	be.able.PTCP-FSG	1SG-bear.PC

'I can't bear [it].'

miʃ ħ-a-skut ʕala: kida:
NEG FUT-1SG-be.quiet.PC on DEM
'I won't be quiet about that.'

The particle *miʃ* may also be used as a sentential negator:

il-walad ra:jiħ ji-tʕallim, miʃ ji-tħibis fi=lundun
DEF-boy go.PTCP 3MSG-learn.PC NEG 3-be.imprisoned.PC in=London
'The boy is going [there] to learn, not to be trapped in London.'

Increasingly, it is reported (Brustad 2000, Woidich 2011) that *miʃ* is a valid negator for the prefix conjugation modified by the continuous marker *bi-*. In this context, it remains secondary to that of the discontinuous negation marker discussed below, and any sociolinguistic or pragmatic conditioning for its use is yet to be investigated.

miʃ b-a-tkallim fi=s-sija:sa:
NEG CONT-1SG-talk.PC in=DEF-politics
'I'm not talking about politics.'

Verbs in both the suffix and prefix conjugations (save those marked with *ħa-*) are negated with the discontinuous negation marker *ma= . . . =ʃ*. All inflectional prefixes, direct object and dative object clitics associated with a given verb fall within the syntactic scope of the bipartite negator. Used with the bare prefix conjugation, it can express a negative imperative.

ma=fakkar-ti:=ʃ in-na:s ħa-t-ʔu:l ʔe:h
NEG=think.SC-2FSG=NEG DEF-people FUT-3FSG-say what
'You didn't think about what the people would say.'

ma=b-a-ħibb =u:=ʃ
NEG=CONT-1SG-love.PC=OBJ.3MSG=NEG
'I don't love him.'

ma=ti-ʔlaʔ=ʃ!
NEG=2MSG-worry.PC=NEG
'Don't worry!'

The discontinuous negation marker is also utilized with existential and prepositional predicates.

ma=fi:=ʃ ħall xa:lis?
NEG=EXIST=NEG solution totally
'There isn't a solution at all?'

It may also occasionally be used to negate pronouns, both subject and indefinite, and nominal predicates (e.g., *ma=ħna:=ʃ* 'we are not'). Use of this negation strategy generally indicates the negation of a presupposition (Brustad 2000).

Negation of verbs with *ma=* only, without a corresponding second component, is reserved for emphatic or categorical negation contexts triggered by specific operators, most commonly *ʕumr*=POSS 'never' and oath particles such as *wałła:hi:* 'by God', *waħja:tak* 'by your life', etc. Negation using only *=ʃ* has been reported as a marginal phenomenon by Lucas (2010), and is attested in the common expression *ism=aha:=ʃ* . . . 'It's not called . . .' (name=POSS.3FSG=NEG).

6 LEXICON

The EA lexicon boasts elements from diverse linguistic sources, reflecting the long-standing integration of Egypt into a broader Eastern Mediterranean cultural area. Sources attest loans from languages including Italian, French, Turkish, Greek, Persian and English. These belong to numerous semantic domains, from the civic sphere and technology (*abu:ne:* 'metro pass' < French *abonné*, *fla:ʃa:* 'flash drive' < English *flash [drive]*) to home life and material culture (*ŧara:be:za* 'table' < Greek *trapéza*, *bantufli:* 'slippers' < Italian *pantofoli*); they comprise nouns, verbs (*dallit* 'delete (a file)' < English *delete*), adjectives (*ʃi:k* 'chic' < French *chic*), and adverbs (*tamalli:* 'continually, always' < Turkish *temelli*). Some borrowed nouns receive broken plurals: *fa:tu:ra:* 'bill' < Italian *fattura*, pl. *fawa:ti:r*. While new loan words are continuously entering the language, many older loans are simultaneously phased out as terminology in certain fields becomes increasingly Arabized: compare previously attested *ʔagzagi:* 'pharmacist' < Turkish *eczacı*, *isbita:lja:* 'hospital' < Italian *ospedale* (Vollers 1895) with modern *ʂajdali:*, *mustaʃfa:*.

7 SAMPLE TEXT

The text here represents an original transcription of a segment from a 2017 YouTube show called *tilifizjo:n ʕasse:li:* 'Esseily Television', in which Ahmad Esseily analyzes contemporary social issues in Egyptian society. In this segment, Esseily philosophizes about the meaning of happiness and how one can attain it despite challenging circumstances. It showcases the use of EA in highly abstract and intellectual discourse.

Line 1:

liʔann	inta:	ma=ji-nfaʕ=ʃ	ti-wsal	is-saʕa:da:	bi=ʂudfa:
because	SBJ.2MSG	NEG=3-suffice=NEG	2-arrive	DEF-happiness	by=chance

Line 2:

ma=ji-nfaʕ=ʃ	ti-ʂħa:	kida:	inta:	mumkin	ti-ʕmil
NEG=3-suffice=NEG	2-wake.up	DEM	SBJ.2MSG	possible	2-make

Line 3:

iʃ-ʃa:j	b=il-laban	wi=ti-ʃrɑb=u:	wi=ti-bʔa:	ʔɑ:	mabsu:ŧ
DEF-tea	with=DEF-milk	and=2-drink=OBJ.3MSG	and=2-become	yeah	happy

Line 4:

bass	is-saʕa:da:	miʃ	ha-ti-wsal=laha:	saʕi:d	la:	da:
but	DEF-happiness	NEG	FUT-2-arrive=DAT.3FSG	happy	NEG	DEM.MSG

Line 5:

mawđu:ʕ	saʕb	ʕaʃa:n	fi=s-saʕa:da:	xalli:	ba:l=ak	is-saʕa:da:
subject	difficult	because	in=DEF-happiness	keep.IMP	mind=POSS.2MSG	DEF-happiness

Line 6:

di:	miʃ	ʕan	inn=ak	tu-ʔʕud	mabsu:ŧ	wi=mistakanjas
DEM.FSG	NEG	about	COMP=POSS.2MSG	2-sit	happy	and=lounging

Line 7:

is-saʕa:da:	ʕan	inn=ak	ti-ku:n	fa=ti-rta:ħ	min	il-bita:ʕ
DEF-happiness	about	COMP=POSS.2MSG	2-be	so=2-relax	from	DEF-thing

Line 8:

illi:	fo:ʔ	da:	fa=ru:ħ=ak	ti-bʔa:	mirta:ħ-a:
REL	above	DEM.MSG	so=soul=POSS.2MSG	3FSG-become	relaxed-FSG

Line 9:

wi=ma=ji-bʔa:=ʃ	ʕand=aha:	ʔasrijja:	fa:sl-a:=ha:	ʕan	il-bita:ʕ
and=NEG=3MSG-become=NEG	at=POSS.3FSG	pot	separate.PTCP- FSG=3FSG	from	DEF-thing

Line 10:

fa=ti-ʕraf	gudu:r=ak	di:	ti-mtadd^{i}	li=l-ħaja:	wi=ti-bʔa
so=2-know	roots=POSS.2MSG	DEM.FSG	3FSG-extend	to=DEF-life	and=3FSG-become

Line 11:

guziʔ	min=ha:	wi=ti-bʔa
part	of=POSS.3MSG	and=2-become

Line 12:

ge:-t	ʕamal-t	illi:	ge:-t	ti-ʕmil=u	
come-2MSG	do-2MSG	COMP	come-2MSG	2-do=OBJ.3MSG	
ge:-t	ʕamal-t	illi:	ge:-t	ti-ʕmil=u	zajj=ak
come-2MSG	do.2MSG	COMP	come-2MSG	2-do=OBJ.3MSG	like=POSS.2MSG

Line 13:

bi=~~ʒ-ʒabŧ~~	zajj^{i}	kull^{i}	ħa:ga:	fi=~~ŧ-ŧ~~abi:ʕa:	lamma:
with=DEF-precision	like	every	thing	in=DEF-nature	when

Line 14:

ti-tʔammil	fi=~~ŧ-ŧ~~abi:ʕa:	ha-t-la:ʔi:	inn=u:	ma=fi:=ʃ	masalan
2-look	at=DEF-nature	FUT-2-find	COMP=POSS.3MSG	NEG=EXIST=NEG	for.example

Line 15:

ʃɑgɑrɑ:	sɣajjar-a:	ʔawi:	bi-t-ʔu:l	li=ʃɑgɑrɑ:
Tree	small-FSG	very	CONT-3FSG-say	to=tree

Line 16:

tultumi:t	matr	il-ʕamla:qa:	di:	ja:	ħa~~zz~~=ik
300.CST	meter	DEF-giant	DEM.FSG	VOC	luck=POSS.2FSG

'Because it will not do for you to reach happiness by chance. It will not do for you to wake up like that. You can make tea with milk and you get – yeah – happy, but you will not reach [true] happiness. Are you happy? No. This is a difficult subject because in [true] happiness, mind you, happiness is not about you sitting happy and lounging about. Happiness is about you just being. So, you relax from that thing up above [your mind] and your soul becomes relaxed. It [your soul] doesn't have a pot separating it from the thing [mind] there. You know that those roots of yours extend to life and become a part of it. You have come and done what you came to do, just like everything in nature. When you look at nature, you will find that there isn't, for example, a really small tree saying to a 300 meter tall tree, this giant thing, "you are so lucky." '

NOTES

1 These forms can also include variants of *huwwa:* 'he', *hijja:* 'she' and *humma:* 'they' (cf. Woidich 2006: 46).
2 Body parts that come in pairs and some other noun classes use *-eːn* for plural, not dual, number: *iːd-eːn* 'hands', *rigl-eːn* 'feet'.
3 If one accepts the independent phonemic status of /ɑ, ɑː/ (see §3.2), then for each stem class including /a, aː/ it is also necessary to posit an additional possible variant of the stem with /ɑ, ɑː/. While less than ideal in terms of morphological description (as noted by Lehn 1963), this is not inherently problematic: since the phonemic distinctness of /i/ and /u/ is accepted, the assignment of CiCiC and CuCuC stems to the same inflectional class is uncontroversial. In the interest of concision, the more frequent stem forms with /a, aː/ are used when referring to the class as a whole.

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