

II ANALYSIS

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Diglossia and Multiglossic Continuum

1.1.1 The linguistic situation in Arab countries has been described in the framework of diglossia, which assumes a 'high' variety, that is, primarily written Classical Arabic, and a 'low' variety, that is, primarily spoken colloquial Arabic. In 1930, in an article entitled 'La diglossie arabe', Marçais described the diglossia in the Arab world as "la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire, parfois exclusivement parlée."¹ Ferguson developed the notion of diglossia further by stating that 'high' and 'low' varieties have specialized, sociolinguistically conditioned functions and presented a sample listing of situations in which each variety is normally used.² Although Ferguson's presentation of diglossia is dichotomic, he moderates his statement by admitting the existence of communicative tensions which arise in a diglossic situation and which may be resolved by the use of relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language (*al-luġa l-wuṣṭā*), a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semiformal or cross-dialectal situations and which 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.³ Ferguson further elaborates his views on the H (= 'high') and L (= 'low') varieties by admitting that "there are always extensive differences between the grammatical structures".⁴ However, he states that H and L constitute a single phonological structure of which the L phonology is the basic system and that the divergent features of H phonology are either a subsystem or a parasystem.⁵ Ferguson's view on the hierarchic order of H and L varieties seems to gain support from dialectal studies as the opposite development, namely classicization, which *prima facie* favours the H variety, is basically lexical and as such does not suggest a radical linguistic change.⁶

¹ See Ferguson, *Diglossia*, pp. 325-40; for the development of the concept and terminology, see Britto, *Diglossia*, p. 5.

² Ferguson, *Diglossia*, pp. 328-329.

³ Ferguson, *Diglossia*, p. 332.

⁴ Ferguson, *ibid.*, p. 333.

⁵ Ferguson, *ibid.*, p. 335.

⁶ Palva has observed that the strengthening of the colloquial in many social situations has led to koineization, which is supported primarily by lexical borrowing from the H variety. See Palva, *Patterns*, p. 32; cf. further Palva, *Notes*, pp. 40-41.

1.1.2 Ferguson's concept of diglossia has been elaborated further through attempts to identify subvarieties.¹ The identification of individual variables, based, e.g., on different realizations of etymological interdental fricatives allows 'clear' hierarchization. Five distinct 'levels' have been presented by Badawi, who admits that his levels are not real and that the dividing lines between them are imaginary.² Despite Badawi's reservations, the impression of underlying "neat categories" has been criticized by Hary, who objects to the establishment of any finite number of levels vs. the notion of a (multiglossic) *continuum*.³ Hary's criticism seems particularly valid as intermediate varieties are often characterized by hybrid forms.⁴ Despite the general acceptance of the notion of continuum,⁵ recent studies seem to focus on more or less distinct subvarieties, if only for practical reasons.⁶

1.1.3 The recent theoretical discussion about the relationship of written Arabic and regional vernaculars has been conducted mainly in the modern context.⁷ Mitchell rejects the notion of 'diglossia' as an adequate descriptive framework for ESA (= Educated Spoken Arabic) by suggesting its definition through the recognition of two primary stylistic grades, 'Formal' (F) and 'Informal' (-F), with the latter divided where necessary into 'Careful' (-Fa) and 'Casual' (-Fb), which allows not only a simple two-fold distinction between Unstigmatized vs. Stigmatized but also a third

¹ Thus, Blanc (1960) and Badawi (1973) suggest *grosso modo* five variational levels based on sociolinguistic hierarchization of key variables. Badawi bases his levels, e.g., on the various realizations of interdental fricative t (s, t). See Hary, p. 9.

² The problem of variational boundaries also seems related to the 'direction' of variation. Niloofar Haeri has argued that there are important differences between what she calls 'diglossic variables', i.e., variables which come about as a result of the influence of Classical Arabic on the national (dialectal) varieties and those discussed in the literature on non-diglossic speech communities. It seems evident that not all linguistic variation, even in diglossic communities, is stylistically, sociolinguistically motivated and it is, therefore, important to make a difference between, e.g., phonological/phonetic variation which does not have a sociolinguistic stylistic function and phonological/phonetic variation which has such a function. Against this background, it seems that the difficulty in defining boundaries between varieties is due to stylistically non-functional variables which add a vertical, stylistically redundant dimension to a continuum. Their use could possibly be described as non-stylistical variation. Niloofar Haeri draws attention to the fact that in order to achieve stylistic variation, speakers do not necessarily have to resort to the use of elements from classical Arabic, i.e., diglossic variables but suggests that, for example, palatalization is one among a large number of processes which point to the resources of Egyptian Arabic for style shifting. Thus, if applied to the notion of a continuum, a shift in style does not necessarily involve moving 'horizontally' towards either end of a continuum but can take place as a 'vertical' movement 'within' one specific place on the continuum. See Haeri, *Synchronic Variation in Cairene Arabic*, p. 169f.

³ Cf. Hary, *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴ Cf. Hary, *ibid.*, pp. 20-27.

⁵ El-Hassan refers to the "insufficient sensitivity (of *diglossia*) to be adapted to the 'stylistic' variation". See El-Hassan, *Educated*, p. 112.

⁶ E.g. Meiseles suggests four varieties of contemporary Arabic, 1. Literary (or standard) Arabic, 2. Sub-standard Arabic, 3. Educated spoken Arabic and 4. Basic or plain vernaculars, by defending this categorization by practical methodological considerations "which compel, for the time being, to describe linguistic variations in terms of independent structures and separate systems instead of pretending to solve the problem of the coherent description of the intricate linguistic reality of contemporary Arabic."

⁷ See Mitchell, *Dimensions*, p. 89.

dimension of stylistic difference.¹ The stylistic classification of forms is based on criteria of linguistic distribution and further on extra-linguistic considerations.² In cases of stylistic use of a variable, a quantitative *relative* increase in its frequency of occurrence is observable vs. its stylistically contrasting pair(s).³ As such, the mere existence of one variable vs. another does not provide an ideal basis for the definition of a variety even less for defining a distinct boundary between them. It seems justified to add here that relatively subtle changes in conversational/interviewing situations have been observed to cause changes in the relative frequencies of occurrence. In a pilot experiment conducted by George Mahl the facing vs. facing away of the interviewer and the use vs. non-use of masking noise to block a subject's self-monitoring of speech both caused a shift toward vernacular forms. This would indicate that visual cues are essential for maintaining an elevated style of speech and that social status motivation plays a large part in maintaining the prestige dialect.⁴ Mahl's experiment is particularly interesting from the point of view of style-shifting even if the situational context remains unchanged. This is difficult to solve by purely socio-linguistic approaches.⁵

1.1.4 There has until now been relatively little interest in investigating Arabic diglossia in a written context as for most Arabic speakers written Arabic is usually identified with the 'high' variety, if not the CA of the grammarians. Werner Diem has identified uses of written vernacular Arabic which seem originally closely related to the recording of direct speech.⁶ The main literary *genre* in the modern context in which the use of dialect seems readily accepted seems to be *al-adab aš-šā'ibī*, i.e., tales and stories, *zağal*-poetry and proverbs.⁷ The concurrent use of 'high' Arabic with 'low' Arabic (dialect) is consciously used for comic effect.⁸ Diem's observations seem to be consistent — even for the written medium — with Hary's observation that multiglossia tends to be *topic-triggered*.⁹

1.1.4.1 There are virtually no systematic studies of the linguistic treatment of Arabic proverbs in living speech. The existence of a plethora of collections of *dialectal* proverbs indicates that *dialectal* proverbs are treated basically by the speakers as any linguistic segment of their dialect. In contrast, *classical* proverbs became very early on a more or less integral part of the Arabic literary tradition.¹⁰

¹ Mitchell, *ibid.*, p. 91.

² Mitchell, *ibid.*, p. 92.

³ Cf. El-Hassan's elaboration of Labov's quantitative *probabilistic* model applied to variation in the demonstrative system in ESA (p. 48) and further his conclusions on the relative frequencies of occurrence (p. 52).

⁴ See, Kroch, *Toward a theory*, pp. 31-32.

⁵ El-Hassan, *Variation*, pp. 51-52.

⁶ See Diem, *Hochsprache*, pp. 96-104.

⁷ See Diem, *ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

⁸ See Diem, *ibid.*, p. 106-107.

⁹ See Hary, p. 5.

¹⁰ Although the proverbs of a *classical* collection do not always represent ideal Classical Arabic, the main point is that they were, so to speak, codified very early in the assumed form in which they were *lancés* and were consequently copied in this form (or another variant CA form) in later *classical* collections. The actual living proverbs followed a different route outside the collections from which *classical* proverbs found their way as

Although both *dialectal* and *classical* proverbs are used in living speech, many speakers seem to be conscious of the *speech-based* vs. *non-speech-based*¹, i.e., *literary* origin of these proverbs.²

1.1.5 One or two linguistic systems ?

1.1.5.1 While the notion of a continuum solves, for example, the problem of variational boundaries, it has not given, in turn, a satisfactory answer to the question whether, in fact, CA vs. vernaculars represent one or two separate linguistic systems within a single continuum. The present situation has been summarized by Meiseles as follows: "[...] while not losing sight of the great extent of the fluidity and overlapping characterizing the language varieties of contemporary Arabic, we would suggest they may be classified — applying both linguistic and social-functional criteria — on a scale of four, based on the fundamental fact that the existence of a mixed language variety or several such does not necessarily invalidate the dichotomous model of the co-existence of two basic language systems. This is confirmed by the fact that the contrast between the two systems is so consistent, that every text, or part of it cannot help being either LA (= Literary Arabic) or colloquially oriented."³

1.1.5.2 Although the notion of a continuum seems to solve the most imminent theoretical problems of diglossia regarding variation, some of the basic problems persist as summarized by Meiseles:

borrowings into literary texts. Post-classical proverbs were collected only in a very limited way but the few collections which have survived indicate *vernacular* influence in *writing*. R. Sellheim, in his comment on aṭ-Ṭāḷqānī, says that the proverbs of *Risālat al-amṭāl* "mit den klassisch-arabischen nur noch wenigens gemeinsam haben", see Sellheim, p. 143. The existence of a strictly codified *classical* proverbial tradition needs no further proof than Sellheim's finding that virtually *all* later collections descend more or less from Abū 'Uбайд's collection. See Sellheim, p. 151.

¹ For the distinction of *non-speech-based* vs. *speech-based* texts in historical context, see Merja Kytö, *Variation*, pp. 28-30 and especially 38-39.

² Although this has not been systematically studied, occasional evidence exists. In his study of interdialectal educated conversation, Haim Blanc found no trace of *'irāb*, except in one proverb, quoted entirely in Classical Arabic, see Blanc, *Style*, p. 101. In her study of Cairene proverbs F. Mahgoub divides her data into two clear categories: 1. those which belong to the colloquial language and 2. those (9.3%) which are borrowed from the standard language but are integrated in the daily speech of the educated. Interestingly, Mahgoub has excluded the latter from her analysis "since they contain linguistic features which are not present in the colloquial language. However, Mahgoub elaborates further that her linguistic criterion in this respect is "the appropriate internal and final vowels which characterize the standard language" and further, that a proverb originally from the standard language may be classified as belonging to the colloquial language "because each item ends in a closed syllable ('sukūn'), i.e., it is used in speech without final vowels of the standard language. Although the validity of Mahgoub's argumentation could be questioned, it deserves to be mentioned here because it exemplifies the linguistic approach of a native speaker to literary proverbs in a speech flow. It seems to indicate that consciousness of the origin of the proverbs is a vital extralinguistic factor which in turn must be closely related to the level of education of a speaker. Cf. Mahgoub, p. 7 and p. 50, note 35.

³ Meiseles, *Educated*, pp. 122-123.

"[...] it must be said that, although the linguistic situation of contemporary Arabic as a language continuum, indivisible in any finite number of varieties is quite clear, its problems of description are too complex to lend themselves to an easy solution. Even variationism, which seems most suitable to handle this kind of problems, cannot, at this stage, provide a workable solution; (as) Mitchell (1978) puts it in the best way, and I would like to quote: '... although variationism may seem to offer the best prospect for success, its practice has so far been largely confined to programmatic statements or to the study of particulars and, as far as I know, not even an outline grammar of a koiné, indeed of a foreign language, has been produced in variationist terms'. I feel that this applies to El-Hassan's (1978) attempt to exemplify a chapter of a 'would-be' unified, pan-Arabic grammar. There is no doubt that a single-grammar approach for Arabic (or any other language) is, a priori desirable; but we have to admit that, for the time being, we cannot provide it. Yet, in the meantime, we have to face such crucial practical tasks as teaching Arabic or (to some extent in the Arab world) language planning. The purpose of this paper has been to provide a methodological framework for handling contemporary Arabic which—I feel—is able to produce a proper linguistic description with practical and effective applicability. It takes into account the fact that differences between the two basic language systems of Arabic—LA (= Literary Arabic) and the vernaculars—are too obvious to be ignored."¹

1.1.5.3 Multiglossic Continuum in the Historical Perspective

1.1.5.3.1 In his historical treatment of multiglossia, Hary concludes that Old Arabic consisted of a continuum whose Variety A for the most part represented a synthetic language but concludes that the opposite end, Variety C, may have been of either a synthetic or analytic nature. One interesting aspect of the problem is whether a Middle Arabic Literary Standard really existed or whether it originated from multiple sources as a more or less direct reflection of Old Arabic dialects. The latter assumption seems plausible as the first traces of MA forms in a written text date from the early eighth century, i.e., well before the norms and content of CA were finally fixed by the grammarians of the eighth to tenth centuries.² The problem seems directly related to the findings of Ann M. Gruber-Muller, who in her reanalysis of Southern (Palestinian) Arabian Middle Arabic (= ASP) finds evidence which seems to indicate that ASP presents CA features which were retained, contrary to Blau's claim that they were lost, or developed in the direction of new functions and as such could not be interpreted as hyper-corrections in either case.³

1.1.5.3.2 Hary's also suggests a single-system model of continuum⁴ also for Middle Arabic which involves both synthetic and analytic types being, in fact, placed on

¹ Meiseles, *ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

² Cf. Schen, p. 218; For dialectal differences and their treatment especially from the point of view of 'irāb, e.g., by Sibawaihi, see Ramzi Baalbaki, pp. 17-33.

³ Gruber-Muller, pp. 235-253.

⁴ Hary, p. 28.

the same continuum of Middle Arabic.¹ Blau suggests that the dialects were merely mirrored in Middle Arabic Literary Standard, detached from the synthetic type. Hary argues that the *entire* language had changed², which implies that Middle Arabic had only the varieties B_n [= Literary (Written) Judeo-Arabic] and Vc [=Dialectal Spoken Judeo-Arabic], and that the written variety of Middle Arabic (B_n) approximates the analytic type.³ In his argumentation he criticizes Blau's tendency to label different Middle Arabic varieties as "synthetic" or "analytic" although these varieties, according to Hary, are not synthetic and analytic types in absolute terms even though they may exhibit related characteristics or tendencies.⁴ Although Hary's argumentation focuses specifically on Judeo-Arabic it seems a suitable starting-point for investigating Middle Arabic Muslim texts, which reflect concurrently both CA and vernacular features.

1.1.5.3.3 Previous historical studies of Middle Arabic texts have been primarily interested in the reconstruction of underlying historical dialects⁵ instead of focusing on the written language and related variational features as a research subject *per se*. The traditional approach is further characterized by the attempt to identify genuine dialectal features from Classical Arabic and pseudo-corrected ones⁶ and often considers any deviation from an assumed CA or MA standard as an indication of scribal incompetence.⁷ The fact that some pseudo-corrections eventually may become standardized in what Hary calls non-prestigious language⁸ suggests development of the written language, possibly via stylistic variation.⁹ In this context the frequently made claim that Muslim writers in particular made efforts to write as per CA grammar has been rarely challenged. As pointed out by Davies, problems of interpretation arise from the lack of a historical study of Arabic handwritten and printed orthography, which makes certain spellings impossible to evaluate.¹⁰ As the most immediately striking general characteristic of the orthography of HQ (= Hazz al-Quhūf) Davies mentions its inconsistency, which in turn is an aspect of its general conservatism: "Modification of the consonantal ductus to reflect colloquial features does occur, but is rarely maintained consistently."¹¹ The problem is not limited to late Middle Arabic Muslim texts.

¹ Hary mentions as the main characteristics that distinguish MA from CA, e.g., the disappearance of moods and cases, the analytic possessive construction, the disappearance of the dual in verbs, pronouns and adjectives and the change in word order. [See further, Blau, Middle Arabic, pp. 69ff. in Studies.] The eventual stylistic levelling towards CA involves, obviously, restoration of the same as per CA.

² Hary, p. 60.

³ For Hary's treatment of the subject and abbreviations used, see pp. 60-61.

⁴ Hary, p. 59.

⁵ Cf. Blau, Importance, p. 64/209 in Studies; Hary, p. 68; Schen, Usama (Part I), p. 219.

⁶ Cf., e.g., Hary, p. 68.

⁷ Cf. Blau, Middle Arabic, p. 64/209 in Studies; Knutsson, p. 43.

⁸ Hary, p. 62.

⁹ Cf. Labov, Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Class as a factor in Linguistic Change, pp. 84-113, in Sociolinguistics, ed. by William Bright, The Hague - Paris 1966.

¹⁰ Davies, p. 56.

¹¹ Davies, pp. 57-58, mentioning old interdentalals and their vernacular equivalents.

1.1.5.3.4 In his analysis of Usama Ibn Munqidh's [1095-1188 A.D.] Memoirs I. Schen indicates that virtually faultless CA was used side-by-side with a written non-CA which can hardly be defined as a reflection of its writer's insufficient knowledge of Classical Arabic but rather as a conscious stylistic choice not to write Classical Arabic. As Hitti says regarding Usama's Memoirs, "the subject matter virtually invites the use of the vernacular."¹ Usama's Memoirs are particularly interesting as an early example which seem to exhibit a 'diglossic' stylistic contrast more or less consciously maintained by a writer for stylistic reasons.²

1.1.5.3.4.1 Further examples of conscious use of the written vernacular, which fall into the *genre* of *al-adab aš-ša'bī* at a relatively early date, are, e.g., *Risālat al-amṭāl al-baġdādīya* collected in 421 A.H. [1030 A.H.] by Abū'l-Hasan aṭ-Ṭālqānī³ and the list of spoken Andalusian proverbs compiled by Ibn 'Āṣim [760-829 A.H., 1358-1425 A.D.].⁴ These examples are interesting from the point of view of the present study because they suggest that the *speech-based* origin of the proverbs was probably the main reason for the use of the colloquial in writing.

1.1.5.3.5 While the above examples indicate conscious stylistic variation, Middle Arabic texts exhibit graphemic variation which seems *prima facie* to reflect respective, possibly sociolinguistically motivated, variation in the dialect. In his thesis, "Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements," Knutsson presents a highly interesting quantitative analysis of orthographic variants of CA etymological interdentals, i.e., *tā/ṭā* and *dāl/qāl*, to indicate that they reflect, not simply scribal negligence in using diacritics but plosive vs. sibilant pronunciation which is stylistically (sociolinguistically) relevant as in modern spoken Egyptian Arabic. While making his point fairly conclusively for *qāl*, Knutsson believes that the analysis of more extensive textual material could prove that the irregular spelling of *ṭā* could possibly be of the same nature for *qāl*. The inconsistency would be in this case intentional, i.e., the sibilant pronunciation would be stylistically motivated and lexically dependent, as in modern Egyptian Arabic.

1.1.5.3.6 Based on the above, it seems relevant to know more about scribal practices and the written language the scribes used in order to evaluate in a reliable manner what kind of language they wrote, what they intended with their orthography and to what extent their writing resulted from sheer incompetence and writing errors vs. controlled scribal usage and intentional stylistic devices in action.

1.2. This Study

1.2.1 The Aim of this Study

¹ Schen, Usama (Part I), p. 229.

² Cf. Hary, p. 68.

³ Ed. Louis Massignon from ms. 399 Aga Sofia, publ. in Cairo.

⁴ Published in *Mélanges Taha Husain*.

The proverbs of Chapter 6 of al-Mustaṭraf consist of *non-speech* based classical proverbs of literary origin and *speech-based* Proverbs of Men and Women.¹ The present study intends to investigate how the copyists of the MSS. treated these proverbs both scribally and linguistically and whether the nature of these proverbs triggers specific stylistic variation which reflects or not an assumed diglossic contrast between the two groups of proverbs.

1.2.2 The Method

As the present material is based on mss. which have been copied, it seems justified to focus on mainly orthographic and phonological and on selected morphological features which occur relatively frequently in the texts and as such are most likely to represent the individual language usage of the copyists. The study is conducted by analysing² both quantitatively and qualitatively features which display variation instead of merely describing all the linguistic characteristics of the texts.³

¹ It is assumed preliminarily that the classification of the classical proverbs under *amṭāl al-Qur'ān* etc. is sufficient evidence that these proverbs are recognized as *literary* by the copyists. The Proverbs of Men and Women and respective variants occur in most collections of *dialectal* proverbs, which indicates that they are primarily *speech-based*.

² Although the basic data is relatively small, its systematic treatment proved to be possible only by computer. The material was coded by using ASCII codes 33-126 and their combinations and processed by using conventional software. The basic principle of coding was to indicate all signs used by the copyists and, in addition, relevant *missing* features. The analysis was conducted both by identifying selected strings in the data for further analysis and through databases in which each proverb and each microsegment was separately coded and studied as per various quantitative and qualitative criteria. All relevant, especially dubious cases were studied based on the microfilms and photocopies of the mss.

³ This approach is common in sociolinguistic studies. E.g. Labov, 1966, used only five phonological features in his study, p.33.

1.3 TRANSLITERATION

All manuscripts use the basic graphemes of the Classical Arabic alphabet. In order to maintain scribal differences between the MSS. which may potentially indicate scribal interrelationship as a result of the copying process, a fairly detailed transliteration has been applied. As copying may eventually entail stylistic and linguistic borrowing, it seems justified to maintain the original scribal form instead of editing the texts which would undoubtedly make them more uniform in a very artificial way. While the general principle has been to transliterate as closely as possible to the original, the various 'vernacular' realizations of etymological CA graphemes and somewhat unconventional scribal usages have been indicated by using superscript numbers (¹, ²).¹ The codes for data processing are presented between brackets.²

1.3.1 Symbols used for Transcription and Transliteration

ا	= l (A); <i>alif al-waṣl</i> ا̣ = ḷ
ب	= b (b)
ت	= t (t); [t³ = <i>tā' ṭawīla</i> , see below]
ث	= ṭ (t3); t² pro ت t; س s² = s pro ث ṭ.
ج	= ġ (j); ي y² (y) pro ج ġ; ع = ċ (j4) pro ج ġ [Only in MS. E].
ح	= ḥ (H)
خ	= ḫ (x)
د	= d (d)
ذ	= ḏ (d2); ذ = d² (d3) pro ذ ḏ; ز = z² (z) pro ذ ḏ.
ر	= r (r)
ز	= z (z)
س	= s (s)
ش	= š (s3)
ص	= ṣ (S)
ض	= ḏ (D)

¹ The main reason why the textual material was transliterated in the first place instead of rendering it in Arabic script, has been data processing. However, instead of publishing the data-coded text, it has been transliterated again in order to make it easier to read and in order to compare individual scribal styles. I wish to emphasize that the transliteration of the present texts serves an entirely different aim than conventional text editing. Tuulio demonstrates the difference between the two in his study on Ibn Quzmān by presenting both a transliterated text which is close to my present way of transliteration and a *texte critique* which means presenting a further edited text which is easy to read.

² The codes consist of simple sign combinations which maintain the readability of the research material and use ASCII codes which were appropriate for the computer software used for elementary quantitative analysis.

ط	= t (T)
ظ	= z (Z)
ع	= ' (c)
غ	= ġ (g)
ف	= f (f)
ق	= q (q)
ك	= k (k)
ل	= l (l)
م	= m (m)
ن	= n (n)
ه	= h (h)
و	= w (w)
ي	= y (y)
ى	= y (y2); with <i>šadda</i> marked as y^2 ; $ى = y$

1.3.2. Vowel Signs

1.3.2.1. Short vowels: َ (a), ِ (i), ُ (u). E writes occasionally *fatha* and *ḍamma* together in syllables next to each other but in short words jumping over one syllable in between.

1.3.2.1.1. Dagger *alif* and dagger *kasra*: ms. F uses a miniature alif, "dagger alif" ٰ = á (a2) usually in positions where it would correspond to *fatha* /a/ and a similar but subscript sign, 'dagger kasra', indicated with ِ (i2) for kasra. Both signs are used occasionally for purely decorative purposes. Suspected occurrences in other MSS. have been indicated by using the same transliteration but all of them are uncertain and might represent conventional *fathas* and *kasras*.

1.3.2.2. Long vowels: َ = ā (A), َو = ū (w), ِ = ī (y), ِ = ī (y2) with or without respective short vowels. However, the actual phonetic length of the graphemic long vowels in final position is unconfirmed. Word final ِ /ī/ (y) is usually marked with two dots but M occasionally used an oblique stroke, which is indicated in the text by [y/]. Both ِ (y) and ِ (y) are used for *alif maqṣūra*, /ā/ alongside ٰ (*alif mamdūda*). In order to maintain the individual scribal differences of the manuscripts, the transliteration follows the Arabic script without conventional editing. Thus, alif preceded by *fatha* is indicated with a, not as ā. An *alif* without *fatha* is indicated with plain *alif* (l) even in cases where it clearly stands for ā. Accordingly, -uw stands for ُو and -w for َو even in cases where they both stand clearly for ū. In the case of ī, iy = ِي and iy = ِي ; without kasra y and ِ. However, both y and ِ may also stand for *alif maqṣūra*.

1.3.3. Other Signs

1.3.3.1. Tanwin: $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ (-an), $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ (-un), $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ (-in).

1.3.3.2. *Tā' marbūta* is usually indicated in the texts by $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ /t/ (t2), $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ /h/ (h2). The tiny $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ used almost exclusively by the copyist of ms. F and placed over *tā' marbūta* /h/ is indicated in the transliteration by /h^h/. *Tā' ṭawīla*¹, *tā' marbūta* (i) written open (◌), is indicated with t².

1.3.3.3. *Hamza* is used as in CA either independently, $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ /' ('), or with appropriate *kursī*, *alif*, *wāw* or *yā'*. In medial position before and after *i*, hamza is used with *kursī yā'*, which normally loses its dots; ('y) corresponds to $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ /◌◌, hamza with *yā'* kursī with two dots and ('y2) to $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ /◌◌, hamza with *yā'* kursī without dots. The MSS. E and M which use occasionally hamza-alif with fatha or kasra in initial position, the ms. F uses only fatha-alif, mainly for 4th verbal forms and elative (21 and 18 occurrences in Classical and Proverbs of Men and Women, respectively) or very rarely $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ with imperative. $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ has only 9 occurrences in A cl. and 3 in E cl.

1.3.3.3.1 As the signs of Arabic script may be written not only horizontally from right to left but also vertically from the base line up or down this may result in combinations which are difficult to transliterate horizontally²: 31Q. E: $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ 'alyh يا أَيُّهَا , 41Q:A $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ š'n شَنْ , 186'A:F: $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ k'l lnd'īn كَلِّ ائْتِ , 150'A:A $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ ulmuk أَمَك , 329P:H: $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ hġ' هَجْمٌ . As different scribes may write the same linguistic expression differently, a different transliteration may refer to sequences which represent identical linguistic values. In practice, however, such instances are rare and usually present no problems of interpretation. The original Arabic form is given between brackets in cases where the risk of misinterpretation may exist.

1.3.3.4. Mādda $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$; $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ /ʌ/; $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ indicates a mādda on which the scribe has placed a tiny madda (◌).

1.3.3.5. Šadda $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ is indicated by using a bold letter e.g., **b** for $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$. Sukūn $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ is indicated with | (0), made by extending the 'pipe-letter' (ASCII 124), which is placed *after* the consonant it refers to. *Yā'* without dots, $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$, with šadda is transliterated $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$.

1.3.3.6. The v-like sign used in the MSS. E and F and which is a differentiation sign usually placed slightly over to the left of a consonant³ has been indicated with $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ which is placed *after* the consonant to avoid possible misreading of *s* as *š*. Although the use of this sign seems mainly decorative (cf. above note), it has been included in the transliteration.

1.3.3.7. MSS. E, F and M have a large round dot or 'reading' mark⁴, possibly to

¹ See Grohmann, Arabische Papyruskunde, p. 96.

² I.e. if the text is to be written by using ASCII signs for computer processing.

³ This sign originates from $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ (for لا نقطة) to indicate the absence of superscript diacritics. See Grohmann, Arabische Paläographie II, pp. 42-46. It seems that in ms. E it could be interpreted to stand occasionally, albeit rarely, for sukūn also and even for the three dots of *šīn*.

⁴ Cf. Grohmann, Arabische Paläographie, pp. 46-47 (esp. Lesezeichen and

indicate a pause either at the end of the verse or at the end of a proverb. As this work was mainly done by using black-and-white microfilms, this mark appears as a black spot (o) which is, occasionally difficult to differentiate from an unattached h (•). This mark has not been indicated in the text except when its collision with h is suspected.

1.4 Presentation of quantitative data on orthographic signs

1.4.1 The basic statistics of chapter 6 are set out in Tables (1.1: Proverbs), (1.2: Microsegments, 'words' and 'units', for these terms see the table) and (2.1)consonants, vowels and other signs). As different manuscripts and different sections of a given MS. contain different numbers of words and orthographic signs for various reasons, both absolute and *weighted* values are used, if needed, to make possible comparisons between different MSS. or sections of a given MS. For example, the total number of orthographic microsegments is presented in Table (1.2). MS. F has been chosen to represent a basis for comparison. By dividing the total number of 'words' or units in a section of MS. F by the respective total in another MS. the resulting coefficient gives an indication of the relative size of MS. F vs. the other MSS. It can be seen, e.g., that MSS. FEM contain approximately the same number of microsegments, where as the Classical Proverbs of MS. F contains 1.43 times more differently written microsegments ('words') and 1.44 times more 'units' than MS. A. In order to compare scribal styles in the Classical Proverbs and the Proverbs of Men and Women in a MS., the statistics of individual signs are presented both as absolute total number of occurrences and as *weighted* (w.) total to make the *fusūl* of "cl" and "mw", which are of different length, more easily comparable *as per one MS.* The weight (w.) is obtained by multiplying the total number of occurrences in the Proverbs of Men and Women by a coefficient which is obtained by dividing the total number of 'units' of Classical Proverbs by the total number of microsegments in the Proverbs of Men and Women. Thus, the coefficient of the *faṣl* of Classical Proverbs is always 1 and e.g. of the *faṣl* of Proverbs of Men and Women always >1 as this section contains in these particular MSS. less units than the *faṣl* of Classical Proverbs (e.g. the weighted total of t in the Proverbs of Men and Women in MS. A is 45 which is obtained as follows: $2084 \text{ unit/A cl} \text{ is divided by } 1478/\text{A mw} = 1.38565 \text{ (etc.)} \times 32 \text{ occurrences of } \text{t} \text{ in A mw} = 44.34 \text{ (etc.) rounded to } 44$. It is evident that as all orthographic signs are not necessarily equally distributed in the present data but may be concentrated on certain lexical items, the results thus obtained should be considered only very indicative and they need to be further evaluated with appropriate caution and common sense. The main reason why *weighted* approximations are introduced in this study at all, is the difficulty of making a proper evaluation based on actual occurrences only due to the different sizes of the two proverbial sections in the MSS. The *weighted* totals are set out in the tables marked 'w.'. The occurrence of signs as per 1000 words (presented p/1000, i.e. per 1000) is obtained by dividing the number of occurrences by the total number of units and multiplying the product by 1000 which gives as an indication of the overall use.

Pausalzeichen).

SUBSECTION	MSS. OF TYPE I					Printed edition	MSS. OF TYPE II & III				
	O	D	N	C	P		A	H	F	E	M
Qur'an	53	53	53	53	53	56	53	54	62	61	62
Hadit	32	32	32	32	32	32	33	28	53	59	58
Hukama'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	203	202
'Arab	97	101	101	101	103	99	93	72	101	101	101
'Amma & Muw	71	68	71	71	71	70	54	34	53	53	53
Poetry	68	68	68	68	66	167	87	123	177	175	175
Men	-	-	-	-	-	274	248	109	245	244	244
Women	-	-	-	-	-	118	117	26	113	115	115
TOTAL	321	322	325	325	325	816	685	446	804	1011	1010

*) 808 807

*) without amtal al-hukama'

	A		H		F		E		M		totals
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	
words	1199	1321	1124	569	1716	1505	1858	1476	1967	1501	14236
units	2084	1478	2135	961	3009	2409	2920	2355	3078	2391	22820
	cl+mw		cl+mw		cl+mw		cl+mw		cl+mw		
	words	units	words	units	words	units	words	units	words	units	
total	2520	3562	1693	3096	3221	5418	3334	5275	3468	5469	
cl	1199		1124		1716		1858		1967		w 7864
	2084		2135		3009		2920		3078		u 13226
mw	1321		569		1505		1476		1501		w 6372
	2478		961		2409		2355		2391		u 10594
COEFFICIENTS AS PER THE NUMBER MICROSEGMENTS IN MS. F											
	A		H		F		E		M		
as per	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	
words	1.43	1.14	1.53	2.64	1.00	1.00	0.92	1.02	0.87	1.00	
units	1.44	1.63	1.41	2.51	1.00	1.00	1.03	1.02	0.98	1.01	

cl = The Classical Proverbs
mw = The Proverbs of Men and Women
words = total of orthographically different microsegments, 'words'
units = total of all microsegments
microsegment = ortographic string separated by spaces

Table 2.1.1 Occurrences of Consonants, Vowels and Other Signs

		A		H		F		E		M	
		cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
ا	ا	1552	1753	1679	725	2351	1697	2328	1665	2348	1676
	أ	0	0	1	0	131	177	1	1	0	1
ب	ب	348	478	371	191	493	500	503	489	500	488
	ب	4	3	2	0	29	30	32	30	4	7
ت	ت	282	369	334	137	452	376	447	375	443	373
	ت	8	11	4	0	14	14	22	22	12	12
ث	ث	50	32	53	15	62	31	66	39	62	33
	ث	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	2	0	0
ت	ت²	2	6	1	0	3	5	1	0	2	4
س	س²	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
ج	ج	105	174	125	60	153	159	157	155	157	160
	ج	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	1
ي	ي²	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
چ	چ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
ش	ش²	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ح	ح	207	318	186	129	298	255	311	256	303	262
	ح	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	4	1	3
خ	خ	84	117	91	43	133	119	128	119	131	119
	خ	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0
د	د	215	251	243	89	345	237	328	245	339	244
	د	2	0	3	0	42	12	50	17	11	7
*ذ	ذ	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0
ذ	ذ	85	69	104	28	143	88	142	91	146	90
	ذ	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	3	0	0
د	د²	5	24	2	5	2	5	0	9	1	3
ز	ز²	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
ر	ر	383	564	425	248	582	503	580	510	581	513
	ر	4	0	2	0	41	29	48	27	7	8

Table 2.1.2 Occurrences of Consonants, Vowels and Other Signs

		A		H		F		E		M	
		cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
ز	z	46	100	52	38	67	99	81	95	75	100
	z	0	1	0	1	5	8	7	11	1	2
س	s	189	191	189	75	271	183	266	180	290	186
	s	2	0	0	2	19	8	15	9	2	5
*ص	ʃ	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
ش	š	70	156	78	58	112	148	107	145	106	152
	š	1	0	1	0	8	6	15	13	1	0
ص	ʃ	156	104	303	42	273	102	274	99	269	99
	ʃ	0	0	0	0	6	13	6	15	1	4
ض	ḍ	47	61	50	29	75	58	71	61	72	59
	ḍ	0	0	0	0	5	3	7	5	0	1
*ظ	ẓ	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
*ط	ṭ	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
ط	ṭ	77	102	71	44	98	107	100	103	98	101
	ṭ	0	1	0	0	9	8	10	13	0	2
ظ	ẓ	24	15	27	6	33	10	36	9	36	12
	ẓ	0	0	0	0	3	0	6	1	0	0
ض	ḍ²	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
ع	ʿ	287	348	299	151	417	358	425	355	428	353
	ʿ	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0
غ	g	48	63	54	33	79	60	75	61	74	63
	g	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
ف	f	272	259	315	121	399	218	398	213	396	211
	f	1	2	0	1	5	9	5	9	2	3
ق	q	168	328	170	129	258	330	256	330	256	335
	q	0	1	0	0	3	11	3	13	1	1
ك	k	269	305	287	124	400	300	410	306	406	308
	k	6	0	0	0	2	3	0	5	1	0
ج	l	1078	1121	1148	466	1537	1065	1555	1062	1555	1060

Table 2.1.3 Occurrences of Consonants, Vowels and Other Signs

	A		H		F		E		M		
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	
ل	31	12	32	8	95	52	116	53	54	29	
م	m	652	542	669	216	951	530	957	523	962	525
	m	6	1	6	1	32	22	33	32	15	11
ن	n	603	521	606	207	960	539	1082	524	909	510
	n	4	1	1	0	72	28	102	26	7	2
ه	h	305	312	359	101	469	307	468	319	475	305
	h	0	0	0	0	4	6	0	0	0	1
ه	h ²	0	0	0	0	3	14	0	0	0	0
ه	h	28	247	8	33	9	169	69	232	6	72
ت	t	101	33	96	62	146	111	79	26	152	204
ت	t ³	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1
و	w	453	610	456	234	638	614	643	621	643	613
	w	3	2	2	1	14	15	13	15	2	7
ي	y	683	884	690	342	1029	860	768	609	1049	871
	y	5	0	2	1	36	26	38	29	13	14
ي	y	3	5	31	2	9	7	267	268	1	15
ا	a	206	40	78	37	505	621	2042	1282	1350	1110
ا	i	110	10	14	4	138	98	903	470	438	298
ا	u	138	2	13	1	158	171	716	391	406	231
ا		79	67	103	44	241	309	573	337	431	366
ء	'	45	2	28	3	171	68	239	43	188	46
ا	l	0	0	0	0	1	0	130	54	8	7
ا	^	4	0	8	0	9	2	44	7	42	6
	^	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
ا	-	0	0	1	0	52	82	161	137	6	14

*, e.g. *ص = س written as ص, included in the total number of ص etc.

2. ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONETICS

2.1 Realizations of $t\bar{a}'$

Table 3.1 Occurrences of ت and variants ت and س

	A		H		F		E		M	
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
t	50	32	53	15	62	31	66	39	62	33
w.	50	45	53	33	62	39	66	48	62	43
p/1000	24.0	21.8	24.9	15.6	20.5	13.0	22.4	16.4	19.8	13.9
t	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	2	0	0
t^2	2	6	1	0	3	5	1	0	2	4
$\text{t}^2/\text{t}^2+\text{t}$	3.9%	15.8%	1.9%	0	4.6%	13.9%	1.5%	0	3.1%	10.8%
w.	2	8	1	0	3	6	1	0	2	5
p/1000	1.0	4.1	0.5	0	1.0	2.1	0.3	0	0.7	1.7
s^2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0

2.1.1 Table (3.1) indicates firmly the extensive use of the grapheme ت in both proverb groups and two variants t^2 and s^2 corresponding to [t] and [s] in contemporary Egyptian Arabic.¹ As the voiceless interdental fricative t is not used in MEA simultaneously with both t and s , it could be speculated that ت , in fact, represents [s] and not [t]². However, analysis further suggests that such interpretation is too simplified as the use of CA orthography serves not only phonetical purposes but may potentially help to recognize a word in written form. Thus the use of t in many definitely speech-based vernacular proverbs may not *always* be an indication of classicization but may be read also as [t] depending of the context.

2.1.2 Occurrences of t^2 (ت) pro t (ت)

¹ See, Hary, p. 8 on Badawi (1973). I consider the finding of [s] for the old [t] important because, e.g., Davies found no evidence of such realization in Hazz al-Quḥūf, which approximately comes from the same period, cf. Davies, p. 67. Although no firm evidence is available, I am tempted to concur with Garbell that the actualization of the old interdental phonemes was caused by Turkish influence in the 16th-18th centuries, see Garbell, p. 317. Birkeland, Growth, p. 55, justly underlines literary influence but his argument that the plosives of the Arabic-speaking people of Egypt confronted with the old fricatives (which the Coptic substratum did not have) and led to exaggeration and consequently resulted in $\text{d} > \text{z}$ and $\text{t} > \text{s}$ is inconsistent with the fact that sibilant pronunciation serves explicitly stylistic purposes.

² Cf. Knutsson, p. 88.

As the MSS. are copied, it may be of some interest to see first whether the occurrences of *t*² pro *t* or *vice versa* are dependent on the assumed order of copying the MSS. and if the internal order of the occurrences follow a certain pattern.¹

2.1.2.1 Occurrence of *t*² in the Classical Proverbs

37Q:A: ('ly) *lt*²/*t*lrhm "their tradition ('relics)"; H: ('ly) *lt*lrhm; F: ('ly) *l*²*t*lrhm; E: ('ly) *l*²*t*lrhim; M: ('ly) *l*²*t*lrhm
 42Q:A: (f-bi-lyi) *hdyt*² "(So to what) piece of news"; H: (f-b-ly) *hdyt*²; F: (f-b-ly) *hdyt*²
 [two dots on t but on top of each other]; E: (fa-b-'aly) *hadyt*²; M: (f-b-ly) *hdyt*²
 190'A:A: *ll-t*²*lib* 'foxes'; H: *ll-t*²*lib*; F *ll-t*²*lib*; E: *ll-t*²*libu*; M: *ll-t*²*a'allb*
 304P:H: *nzlt* (sic!) 'fell upon (3rd pers. sing. fem.)'; F: *t*²*rat*; E: *t*²*rt* [sic; the second *t* is a scribal error pro *t*] 'revolt, raise against (3rd pers. sing. fem.)'; M: *t*²*rat*.
 312P:H: ('nd) *ll-t*²*rlyd*; F: ('nd) *ll-t*²*rlyd*; E: ('ind) *ll-t*²*rlyd* "at food (a dish of sopped bread, meat and broth)"; M: ('nd) *ll-t*²*rlyd*.
 426P:A: (*t*wl) *ll-t*²*nl* "length of eulogy" (verbatim); H: (*t*wl) *ll-t*²*nl*; F: (*t*wl) *ll-t*²*nl*²; E: (*t*wl) *ll-t*²*nl*.

2.1.2.1.1 The 9 occurrences of *t*² are in 6 proverbs which probably reflect both the effect of copying and lexical influence in cases of الترايد, which is accepted in vernacular form even by E and probably indicates that this lexeme had become part of the written language as well. Otherwise the occurrences are dispersed, which indicates, in my opinion, inadvertent vernacular influence, possibly due to dictation, as vernacularization would make no sense in the context and the individual occurrences can hardly be regarded as a sign of scribal incompetence.

2.1.2.2 Occurrence of *t*² in the Proverbs of Men and Women

32R:A: *ll-m*²*t*²*r* "an ordinary man, poor devil" F: *ll-m*²*t*²*r*; E: *ll-m*²*t*²*r*; M: *ll-m*²*t*²*r*;
 34R:A: *ll-m*²*t*²*r* ; F: *ll-mwt* [sic]; M: *ll-m*²*at*²*r*.
 218R:A: *lntt*²*r* "spread, became common"; F: *lntt*²*r*; E: *lntat*²*r*; M: *lntat*²*r*.
 230R:A: *t*²*wm*^h "garlic"; F: *t*²*wm*^h ; E: *t*²*wm*^h
 234R:A: *t*²*wbk* "your garment"; F: *t*²*wbk*; E: *t*²*wbak*; M: *t*²*w|bk*.
 291N:A: *rt*² "pretended (that she (sic!) felt pity (for me))"; F: *rt*²; E: *rat*²; M: *rat*²
 294N:A: *t*²*wyblth* "his clothes (dim.)"; F: *t*²*wyblth*; E: *t*²*wybalth* ; M: *t*²*wyblth*
 350N:A: *ythd*²*t* "talks"; F: *ythd*²*t*² ; E: *ytahd*²*t*; M: *ythd*²*t*.

2.1.2.2.1 The total of 15 occurrences of *t*² is divided between 8 proverbs which indicates, as in 1.2.1, the effect of copying but even more manifestly concentration on certain lexical items. Although proverbs like 218R and 234R possibly indicate consistency in maintaining *t* once it has been introduced, proverbs 32R, 291R, 294N

¹ Based on the family tree of the MSS. the order of copying represents AHFEM although it may be assumed that some of the MSS. are missing. Even so, it seems that the order AHFEM seems to explain some of the common features as well as some of the differences between the MSS.

and 3509N suggest that individual copyists probably made individual decisions about using explicitly vernacular variants because it was acceptable due to the speech-based proverbial context. Even in such cases the use of *ṭ* seems conditioned by certain lexical items, e.g., F: *ṭwbk* but *ṭwybṭh* is possibly due to the diminutive which is characteristic of the spoken language.¹ This suggests conscious *vernacularization*, which is triggered by certain would-be spoken lexemes and which is further conditioned by the context, in this case speech-based proverbs.

2.1.2.3 Use of *ṭ* pro *ṭ̣* in words of the same root

Although copying which possibly involved dictation definitely influenced the act of writing and the eventual use of graphemic variants, the use of *ṭ* and *ṭ* is analysed in the following from the point of view of the vocabulary of individual copyists.²

2.1.2.3.1 In A's proverbs of Men and Women *ṭwb* "dress, garment" occurs once in 234R:A: *ll ḥwk w-ll lbn 'mk ṭsq ṭwbk 'lyš* "He is not your brother or cousin, so why tear your dress" but *ṭwb* 7 times, *ṭwybṭ* (1) and *ṭylb* (1). In 234R E, F and M have all *ṭwb* with *ṭ*. In A's classical proverbs we find *ṭṇl* "praise, eulogy" (pro cl. *ثناء*) in 426P:A: *w-ṃl l-lmr' ṭwl ll-ḥlwd w-lnṃl yḥldh ṭwl ll-ṭṇl f-yḥld* "Man has not been given eternity, he cannot be made eternal except by a long eulogy so he will become eternal.", but *also* with *ṭ* in 437P:A: *ll tqblwn ll-škr ṃl lm tṇmẉl ṇ'ṃl ykwn l-hl ll-ṭṇl tby'ṭ* "Don't accept gratitude until you have done a good deed followed by praise." These examples serve as evidence that despite the explicit use of CA grapheme *ṭ* which may have still represented—but obviously not necessarily for the random reader—plosive pronunciation as in A's underlying spoken register. Against this background the use of *ṭ* by A in the Proverbs of Men and Women (pro *ṭ*) could be interpreted as resulting from the conservatism of Classical Arabic orthography rather than from A's attempt to consciously impose CA *pronunciation* despite the speech-based context. In one case A seems to have written *انارهم* "their path, heritage, tradition" first with two dots, one of them partly on *alif* which he then corrected with the same pen by adding a supplementary mark *˘* on *kursi* for *ṭ*, 37Q:A: *lṇl wḡdṇl lbṇl 'ly lṃṭ w-lṇl 'ly lṭ/ṭlrhm muqtadwna*, "We found our fathers following a certain religion, and we will follow their path." This would suggest that despite A's somewhat sturdy handwriting, he exercised some control on his writing. The examples of A suggest that *written* CA *ṭ* might have been read as *ṭ*.

2.1.2.3.2 The case is very similar in F where the variation in *writing* seems to be *primarily* of a lexical nature, thus *ṃ'ṭr* "a stumbled, fallen one³", as in MEA⁴, in 32R:F: *bay|naṃal ys'd (?) ll-ṃ'ṭr frg 'mṛṭ*; cf. *y'ṭr* of the same root in the classical proverb 116'A:F: *lṇ ll-ḡwda qad y'ṭr*; with *ṭ* as in MEA; *ṭwybṭ* "pl. dim. dresses, garments" in 294N:F: *ḡḍlb ṭwybṭh yḡslhm b-ll šwybyṇh ṃ'hm*; cf. cases in Proverbs of Men and Women, *ṭwb* (5), *ṭaw|b* (3) and *ṭylb* (2). An example that may indicate

¹ Cf. Davies, pp. 131-132.

² Ms. H has been excluded from the following due to its many lacunæ.

³ As a synonym for *masḳṇ*.

⁴ See Hinds&Badawi.

that variation existed at the phonemic level instead of replacing a CA lexeme with a vernacular one is $y\dot{h}d\dot{t}^2$ "speaks, discusses" in 350N:F: $kalmah\dot{a}l\ mn\ byt\ \ell-wly\ ml\ y\dot{h}d\dot{t}^2\ fyh\dot{a}l\ swy\ \ell-h\dot{s}y^h$; however, $y\dot{h}d\dot{t}^2$ is written here with two dots of t^2 on top of each other, which looks somewhat awkward and leaves room for interpretation. Against this case F uses the same verb with \dot{t} in another popular proverb $h\dot{d}\dot{t}t\dot{ny}$ "he spoke to me in 76R:F: $h\dot{d}\dot{t}t\dot{ny}\ w-na\dot{s}ah\dot{t}any\ 'alyar\dot{t}ny\ w-qrh\dot{t}any$. Obviously, it is very difficult to say if the use of the variant graphemes is related here in any way to the actual pronunciation, as F normally uses \dot{t} for the corresponding etymological CA phoneme. However, it is difficult to avoid the impression that \dot{t} may also have been read as [t] by F. This assumption seems to be supported by certain occurrences of t^2 in the Proverbs of al-Qur'an and Poetry: 1) $h\dot{d}y\dot{t}^2$ "hadit, tradition" [in MEA $h\dot{a}d\dot{it}$ 'talk, conversation'; $h\dot{a}d\dot{is}$ /coll/ the Trad. of the Prophet Muḥ.], 42Q:F: $f-b-ly\ h\dot{d}y\dot{t}^2\ b'dhu\ y'wmnwn$; F has marked two dots on top of each other which leaves room for interpretation, especially with the occurrence of t^2 rat| "stirred up" (perf. 3. p. fem.) in 304P:F: $\dot{t}d\dot{l}\ t^2rat\ \dot{h}\dot{a}\dot{t}uwbu\ \ell-dhr\ ywmlan\ 'lyk\ f-kn\ lh\ \dot{t}abtu\ \ell-\dot{g}nbln$.

Based on the above, the occasional use of t^2 pro \dot{t} can hardly reflect anything but plosive pronunciation of \dot{t} by F, whose frequent correct use of \dot{t} suggests awareness of CA orthography. As t^2 occurs both in the Proverbs of Men and Women and the Classical Proverbs, the *prima facie* impression is that t^2 has often simply slipped inadvertently through but its stylistic use seems obvious with certain lexical items.

2.1.3.2.3 In E's proverbs the unique word written with t^2 is t^2rlyd in the classical poetical proverbs, 312P:E: $\dot{s}awt\ \ell-a\dot{s}fuwr\ \dot{t}ar\ fw'^\wedge dahu\ wa-lays^2$ [pro CA $\dot{t}ar\dot{a}'id$] $h\dot{d}iyd\ \ell-nlb$ 'ind $\ell-t^2rlyd$, "If a sparrow makes a sound, his heart flies, but at meat and broth (cl. $\dot{t}ar\dot{a}'id$) he is a lion with iron teeth." As $\dot{t}ar\dot{a}'id$, which appears neither in Spiro nor in Hinds&Badawi, was probably in everyday use in the milieu of the copyists, it may have been accepted in the written language. As CA $\dot{t}ar\dot{a}'id$ 'lion' also occurs in the proverb but written with $\dot{s}in$, the proverb might have been dictated, i.e. read from a previous MS. to the copyist. As E has no other occurrences of t^2 , it is possible that in E's register \dot{t} corresponded to s while t^2 was limited to lexical loans from the vernacular.

2.1.3.2.4 The occurrences in M show some resemblance with the ones in F² and they primarily represent variation of a lexical nature. An example of inadvertent influence of the vernacular is M's $t^2a'alb$ 'foxes' (pl.) [as in MEA], in 190'A which both F and E have written with $\dot{t}a'$ which suggests that the text was dictated to M or that this very widely-known classical proverb of al-'Arab was used in speech in a slightly vernacular form and was accepted as such by M for this very reason.

¹ See Hinds&Badawi, p. 194b.

² Somewhat unexpectedly as E and M — not F and M — belong to the same branch of al-Mustatraf's family-tree. However, M represents features which relate it occasionally with F, e.g., regarding the occurrences of t pro \dot{t} , although E (1030 A.H./1621 A.D.) has the same internal structure of Chapter 6 than M (1091 A.H./1680 A.D.). It is possible that M also used F (1069 A.H./1658 A.D.).

2.1.3.2.5 The conclusion based on the above is that despite the fact that the variation of t^2 pro t seems primarily lexically motivated, the occasional individual occurrences of t^2 indicate an underlying vernacular influence of plosive pronunciation, very likely—as it seems—occasionally for $ث$. It seems appropriate to raise this point as Knutsson argues that in contexts where $ث$ is used pro $ث$, the latter represents a consistently sibilant pronunciation. However, Knutsson cannot prove his point on the basis of his MSS. in which t (and eventually d) are not written with $س$ (and, consequently, with $ج$) due to the conservative Arabic orthography, although Knutsson finds indirect support for this argument from examples in MEA.¹

2.1.3.3 Occurrences of s^2 (س) pro t (ث)

2.1.3.3.1 The comparison of the same proverbs in different MSS. firmly indicates the use of $س$ pro $ث$, very likely due to dictation. Unfortunately, in both cases the emerging 'new' words are homonyms of CA words which also fit in the context. As the result it seems doubtful that all readers could recognize in these cases that $\langle s \rangle$ stands, in fact, for $\langle t \rangle$ unless the proverb was previously known to them.

2.1.3.3.2 In the classical, poetical proverbs of E Cl. $layt$ 'lion' is written with s in 312P:E: $\text{ṣawt ll-ʿaṣṣfuwr ṭalr fwʾlʿdahu wa-laysʿ ḥdiyd ll-nʿlb ʿind ll-trlyd}$ '(If) the sparrow twitters, his heart jumps but at the *ṭarāyid*-dish (at the table) he is a lion with iron teeth.' To read the proverb with *laysa* 'he is not' changes the meaning completely and would, in fact, make no sense. F and M both have $layt$ 'lion', which seems correct and also occurs in the printed edition. The proverb does not occur in A and H. An overview of some of the MSS. of type I which do not have the proverbs of men and women gives the following result:

- Wien/Flügel no. 395 (undated) لبيس ... الترايد (23b:5)
 Paris 3369 "B" (XVI^e siècle) ليس... الترايد (31a:7)
 Princeton/Hitti "C" (XVIth century?) ليت... الترايد (34a:9 below)
 Leiden Or. 279 "O" (999 H./1590 A.D.) ليس... الترايد (20b:5 below)
 Paris 3370 "G" (1052 H./1642 A.D.) [sic!] ليس ... الترايد (23b:13)
 Manch. 57 "D" (1065 H./1654 A.D.) [sic!] ليس... الترايد (15a:11)
 Leiden Or. 52 "N" (ante 1667 A.D.) ليس ... الترايد (21a:9 below)
 Berlin Spr. 1224 (1100 H./1688 A.D.) [sic!] ليس... الزواير (4a:6)
 Leiden Or. 1439 "P" (1250 H./1834 A.D.) لكن... الترايد [الترايد؟] (21a:4 below)

The MS. Wien/Flügel no. 395 with $\langle lysa \rangle$ "he is not" and Leiden Or. 1439 with $\langle lkn \rangle$ 'but' indicate that the contact of the original meaning may have been lost when $لبيس$ was dictated for the first time with $[s]$. The evidence of Princeton/Hitti "C" (XVIth century?) with $\langle lyt \rangle$ is highly interesting because it indicates the reading of $[t]$ (our t^2) pro $[t]$ of CA $لبيس$, which may indicate that $[s]$ as a stylistic variant for CA $[t]$ was not entirely established at the time and provides support for Garbell's argument that the sibilant pronunciation was introduced during the

¹ See Knutsson, pp. 88-89.

Ottoman rule.

2.1.3.3.3 In the proverbs of men and women F uses *ħrīṣ* against *ħrīṭ* 'ploughman' in A, E and M: 235R. A: *lī 'š blyq lī ħrīṭ w-lī drīṣ* "May *Blyq*¹ perish, (as) its neither a plougher nor a thresher." (A32a:2) F: *lāī 'š blyq lī ħrīṣ*² (sic!) *w-lī drīṣ* (F22b:26) E: *lī 'aš blyq lī ħrīṭ w-lī drīṣ* (E53a:2) M: *lī 'šā blyq lī ħarīṭ w-lī drīṣ* (M84a:13). The rhyme seems to support a pronunciation with [s] — [ħarrās] - [darrās], which suggests that this proverb was originally coined with [s]. The orthography with <ṭ> helps to avoid collision with 'guardian' from *ħarīs*. The orthography of *ħarīs* could be interpreted as representing a hypercorrection, especially as the word was probably usually pronounced with -t as in MEA.²

2.1.3.4 The occurrences of <s> pro <ṭ> indicate that *ṣ* was pronounced [s] but perhaps not consistently in every case as some occasional occurrences of *t*² pro <ṭ> suggest. The most plausible explanation for the use of *ṣ* pro *ṣ* is, in my view, that the MSS. E and F were, at least partly, dictated. A conscious use of *s* pro *ṭ* in writing, does not seem to make sense in the context of classical proverbs and especially if <ṭ> already represented [s].

2.2. Realizations of *dāl*

Table 3.2 Occurrences of *ḍ* and variants *d*² (*ḍ*) and *z*² (*ḍ*)

	A		H		F		E		M	
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
<i>ḍ</i>	85	69	104	28	143	88	142	91	146	90
w.	85	97	104	62	143	110	142	113	146	116
p/1000	40.8	46.9	48.9	29.1	47.1	37.0	48.3	38.2	46.7	37.8
<i>ḍ</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	3	0	0
<i>d</i> ²	5	24	2	5	2	5	2	9	1	3
<i>d</i> ² /tot.	5.6%	25.8%	1.9%	15.2%	1.4%	5.4%	1.4%	9.0%	0.7%	3.2%
w.	5	34	2	11	2	6	2	11	1	4
p/1000	2.4	16.3	0.9	5.2	0.7	2.1	0.7	3.8	0.3	1.3
<i>z</i> ²	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

2.2.1 Occurrences of *ḍ* pro *ḍ* in the Classical Proverbs

51Q:A: *lī-mṭlī ḥḍī* "Because of something like this"; H: *l-mṭlī ḥḍī*; F: *l-mṭlī ḥḍī*; E: *l-mṭlī*

¹ "Nomen equi velocis et tamen vituperati", see Freytag, Vol. I, p. 155.

² Cf. Hinds&Badawi, p. 196b, Spiro, p. 128, Nallino, p. 284.

haḡat; M: li-mṡl [or -mi-] haḡal.

119'A:A: in ḡ-d²lyl ḡḡy "A miserable being is (indeed) a person who"; F: in ḡ-dlyl ḡḡy; E: in ḡ-d²lyl ḡḡy; M: in ḡ-daliyl ḡḡy.

302P:A: mḡ "since"; F: munḡḡ; E: mund²; M: mḡ.

417P:A: w-lḡl lftḡrt ḡy ḡ-d²ḡlyr ḡm ḡḡd d²ḡrl "If you are in need of treasures, you will not find a treasure"; H: w-lḡl lftḡrt ḡy ḡ-d²ḡlyr ḡm ḡḡd d²ḡrl; F: : w-lḡl lftḡrṡta ḡy ḡ-d²ḡlyr ḡm ḡḡd d²ḡrl [NB. d² in a noun with acc.]; E: wa-ilni lftḡrt 'ily ḡ-dḡlyr ḡm ḡḡd dḡrl; M: wa-lḡl lftḡrṡta 'ily ḡ-d²aḡalyr ḡm ḡḡd dḡrl.

427P:A: w-l-rb nṡl^t yḡyq bh^t ḡ-fty [corrected over ḡ-faḡl] d²r^t "How often a blow of fate is too much for a young man" (/ḡr/ power, force); H: ḡr^t; F: ḡr^tan; E: ḡr^tan.

2.2.1.1 The total of 12 occurrences of d² is distributed among only 5 proverbs. As t² occurs 7 times in the word الدخائر (frequently with d² also in the MSS. of type I) and the rest mainly in A, the variation is primarily of a lexical nature.

2.2.2 Occurrences of ṡ pro ṡ in the Proverbs of Men and Women

6R:A: ḡf d²qn w-l d²qny "A thousand beards, but not mine"; H: d²qn ... d²qny; F: ḡqn ... ḡqny; E: ḡqn ... ḡqny; M: ḡaqn ... ḡqny

10R:A: ḡ-nbyd^t "wine"; F: ḡ-nbyḡ; E: ḡ-nbyḡ; M: ḡ-nbyd^t.

41R:A: ḡ-balḡnḡn "egg-plant"; F: ḡ-balḡnḡn; E: ḡ-balḡnḡn; M: ḡ-blḡnḡn.

52R:A: d²y nwb^h "This is a misfortune"; H: ḡy nwb^t; F: d²y nwb^h; E: d²y nwb^h; M: ḡy nwb^t

81R:A: d²y ḡ-ṡaby "this youngster"; F: ḡl ḡ-ṡby; E: ḡal ḡ-ṡabiy; M: ḡiy ḡ-ṡabiy

85R:A: d² zrb "This lattice-work"; F: d² rzy|t sic; E: d² zar|b; M: haḡl zar|b

87R:A: d² ly wa-d² lydy 'lyh "This one is mine and this is my hand on it"; F: ḡl ... ḡl; E: d² ... d²; M: ḡl ... ḡl.

88R:A: d²y mlyd^h "This is a table"; F: ḡiy-á mḡyḡ^t; E: d²y malyda^h; M: ḡy maḡyda^h

97R:A: rḡḡ ḡlk ḡ-zmḡn b-nḡṡ w-ḡl ḡḡl ḡ-zmḡn b-fḡṡ w-kl mn tkḡm ksrwḡ rḡṡ "That time went by with its (good) people, and came this time with its axe, and anybody who spoke (the truth), they crushed his head."; H: ḡlk ḡ-zmḡn ... ḡḡl ḡ-zmḡn; F: ḡlk ḡ-zmḡn ... d² ḡ-zmḡn; E: ḡlk ḡ-zmḡn ... ḡiy ḡ-zmḡn; M: ḡlk ḡ-zmḡn ... haḡl ḡ-zmḡn.

132R:A: d²y ḡnlq^h "This is ... a quarrel"; H: d²y ḡnlq^t; F: ḡy ḡnlq^h; E: ḡiy ḡnlq^h; M: ḡy ḡnlq^h.

163R:A: mlḡ ḡwḡḡnḡ "his ears were cut off (pass.)"; F: mlḡ ḡwḡḡnḡ; E: mnḡ (sic!) ḡwḡḡnḡ; M: mlḡ ḡḡnḡ

174R:A: l-l d² ṡb^t "Isn't this (my) habit?"; F: ḡl ḡl ṡb^t; 174R:M: ḡl ḡy [y/] ṡab^t; E: l-l ḡy ṡab^t.

198R:A: b-ḡlk ḡ-yn ḡ-qḡym^h "with old eyes (as before)"; F: b-d²yk ḡ-ayḡn ḡ-qḡym^t; E: b-ḡiyk ḡ-ayḡn ḡ-qḡiy^h; M: b-ḡyk ḡ-yn ḡ-qḡym^h.

220R:A: 'ly wrḡ ḡ-sḡlb "on the leaf of rue"; F: 'aly warḡ ḡ-sud²alb; E: 'alay warḡ ḡ-ṡḡlb; M: 'aly warḡ ḡ-sud²alb.

223R:A: ḡtwḡ ḡl ḡ-ḡzl ḡ-mḡḡl l-d²y ḡ-qlb ḡ-mḡ²bl "that mixed up spinning for that languished heart; F: ḡl ḡ-ḡzl ḡ-mḡḡl [sic!] l-ḡl ḡ-qlb ḡ-mḡ²bl"; E: ḡl ḡ-ḡzal ḡ-mḡḡl l-ḡl ḡ-qlb ḡ-mḡ²bl; M: ḡl ḡ-ḡzal ḡ-mḡḡl l-ḡl ḡ-qlb ḡ-mḡ²bl.

244R:A: mn d²qa ḡ-ḡnl "who has tasted riches"; F: mn ḡlq ḡ-ḡnl; E: mn ḡlq ḡ-ḡnl; M: man ḡlqa ḡ-ḡnal.

286N:A: ḡn ḡlḡ d² fy qlbk "If that is in your mind (heart)"; F: ḡn ḡlḡ ḡl fy qlbk; E: ḡn ḡalḡ haḡl fiy qalbik; M: ḡn ḡlḡ ḡl fy qalbik.

292N:A: 'ly bld'ngln^h "for a (fried) egg-plant"; F: 'ly blz'ngln^h [zⁱ pro d]; E: 'alay bldng'lni^h; M: 'ly bldng'ln^t.
 337N:A: d²y dlhy^h "that is ... a misfortune"; F: (qḥba^h); M: (qḥb^t); F: ḍy dlhy^h; MN403 ḍy dlhiya^t; E: d²iy dalhiy^h.
 341N:A: f-d²y qḥb^h "this is a whore" [other constr. in other MSS.]
 357N:A: lyš y^l d²bln^h "Go away [A:What (do you want)], O fly"; F: hšy y^l d²bln^h; E: hšy y^l d²bln^h.

2.2.2.1 The total of 46 occurrences of d² is distributed between 21 proverbs, i.e., on average 2.2 occurrences per proverb indicating concentration due to copying and the presence of favourite lexical items. The decisive rôle of the latter becomes evident in examining the word frequencies below:

2.2.3. Word frequencies as per MS.

A Cl.: ll-d²lyl (1); ll-d²hlyr (1); d²r^l (1); d²hr^l (1); hd²l (1) vs. ḥd^l (2).
 A MW: d²y (7); f-d²y (1); l-d²y (1) vs. ḍy (2); l-ḍy (1); d²l (5) vs. ḍl (5); d² (1) in d² l-ḥwlḡb "these eyebrows"; ll-bald²ngln (1); bld'ngln^h (1); ll-md²bl (1); ll-nbyd² (1); ḥwd²lnh (1); d²qa (1); d²bln^h (1); d²qn (1); d²qny (1).

H Cl.: ll-d²hlyr (1); d²hrtn (1).
 H MW: d²y (2) vs. ḍy (1); vs ḍl (1); ḍlk (1). d²qn (1); d²qny (1).

F Cl.: ll-d²hlyr (1); d²hr^l (1).
 F MW: d²y (1) vs. ḍy (4); l-ḍy (1); d²l (1) vs. ḍl (8); b-ḍl (1); l-ḍl (1); [ḥd^l (4); l-ḥd^l (1)]; d² (1) in d² ll-zmtn vs. ḍ (1) in mn ḍ ll-bld; b-d²yk (1) vs. b-ḍl (1); ḍlk (2); ll-sd²b (1).

E Cl.: mund²l (1)
 E MW: d²y (1); d²y (2); d²iy (2) vs. ḍiy (1); ḍy (1); ḍiy (3); d²l (3) vs. ḍl (5); ḍal (4); b-ḍl (1); d²bln^h (1).

M Cl.: ll-d²aḥalyr (1).
 M MW: NB. almost total lack of occurrences of d²: ḍy (7); l-ḍy (1); ḍy (1); ḍiy (2); f-ḍy (1); b-ḍyk (1); ḍl (6); ḍal (1); b-ḍl (1); l-ḍl (1); ḥad^l (4); ḥd^l (1); ḥad^l (1); ḍlk (1); f-ḥad²iyk (1); ll-md²bl (1); ll-nbyd² (1); ll-sud²alb (1)

2.2.3.1 The *prima facie* conclusion is that d² is used primarily in common words which are pronounced with [d] in the vernacular and that the use of vernacular words is *stylistically* far more acceptable in speech-based proverbs than in the classical proverbs of more or less literary origin. However, it should be added here that the division speech-based vs. literary/written between the Proverbs of Men and Women vs. the Classical Proverbs is not absolute, although it holds true remarkably well in general. Occasional variation exists, e.g., in the well-known proverb كنت مطرقة سنداناً فصرت مطرقة (295W), e.g., in Wien/Flügel no. 395 where vernacular بقيت (22b:6) is used. The above frequency list also indicates that while d² is in general not used in the Classical Proverbs, it is not consistently used in the Proverbs of Men and Women, either, even in the case of the popular words on which the variation seems to be based. An extreme example is MS. M in which d² is used very sparingly although it presents a later link in the chain of the MSS. An interesting case is the

variation of the demonstrative *دا/ذي* pro *ذا/ذي*, especially as this lexeme is virtually non-existent in the classical context. It is evident that the use of <ḏ> must here present a more or less conscious tendency of towards *classicization*, but it is less certain that the use of <ḏ> should necessarily *always* impose a reading as per [ḏ] or [z], but it may have been possible. The fact that the plosive pronunciation of the shorter form of the demonstrative is prevalent in MEA and was probably also prevalent during the period in question¹ does not exclude the possibility of variants with /ḏ/, /z/ and /d/, which would be loosely consistent with the present situation.²

2.2.4 Realizations of *د* as *ḏ*

The copyist of E uses *د* for *ḏ* (these occurrences are included in the total number of *dāl*) in 96H: *lā yldḡ* 'he will not be stung (by a scorpion)', the copyist of M both in 96H and 203'A. The correct form *ylḡ* is used in the MSS A, F and E in 203'A and in the MS F in 96H. The use of *dāl* is, of course, a pseudo-correction possibly involving also pseudo-correct pronunciation, cf. below.

2.2.5 Realizations of *د* as *ḏ*

The MSS. exhibit two interesting occurrences of *د* pro *ḏ*.

2.2.5.1 In the proverbs of al-'Arab (177'A.) MS. F writes the name *Ḥaḏām* with <z>: *f-ln ḡ-qwla ml qllt ḡz'lm* "The word that *Ḥaḏām* said." (F18b:18) whereas A, H, E and M (and the printed editions, e.g., *Būlāq* 1292) use <ḏ>; A: *ḡḏ'lm* [*ḡaḏ'lm?*], H: *ḡḏ'lm*, E: *ḡḏ'lm*, M: *ḡaḏ'lm*. Of the MSS. of type I <z> is used by Paris 3370 "G" and Manchester 57 "D", <ḏ> by Paris 3369 "B", Berlin Spr. 1224, Wien/Flügel Nr. 395, Leiden Or. 52 "N", Leiden Or. 1439 "P" and Princeton/Hitti 211 "C". The only MS. investigated using <d>, i.e. *d*² was Leiden Or. 279 "O" (999 H./1590 A.D.) which represents the older stock of the MSS. and is of particular interest if the possibility of a mere scribal error is excluded. If the present data is taken at its face-value, [z] for <ḏ> became common after the Ottoman invasion.³

2.2.5.2 The Proverbs of Men and Women offer another example regarding the

¹ Cf. Davies, p. 161f., who gives examples with only (?) /d/.

² The variational study of the demonstrative system in ESA by S. A. El-Hassan indicates variation of /haaḏa/, /haaza/, /haada/, /hayda/ and /da/ for masc. and /haaḏi(hi)/, /haazi(hi)/, /haadi/, /ha(a)y/, /haydi/ and /di/ for fem. where /da/ and /di/ is used by Egyptians only, see El-Hassan, *Variation*, pp. 53-54. It may be assumed that /da/ and /di/ could have relatively early received a spoken stamp and shifted the variation /ḏ/, /z/ and /d/ to the longer demonstrative, which would be a natural development if the variation is primarily lexically motivated and needs ideally a lexical dimension to maximize the stylistic impact. The present data would suggest that a very similar variation as in ESA may have existed during the writing of the present mss. but it later shifted to the longer demonstrative, while da/di gradually became associated with the spoken vernacular. The fact that the earlier plosive pronunciation has survived in the expression /dilwa'ti/ does not, as such, exclude a concurrent *stylistic* variation.

³ Again the interpretation of the data presents problems, as both *Ḥizām/Ḥazzām* and *Ḥaḏām/Ḥaḏqām* are in current use, see Mu'ḡam *asmā' al-'arab*. However, in the classical collections the name is invariably written with <ḏ>, See, e.g., Abū 'Ubaid, *Faṣl*, p. 41.

word 'egg-plant', which is used in two proverbs and written with <z²>, <ḏ> and <d²> as follows: 41R:A: ʔ-bald²nġln ; F: ʔ-bald²nġln; E: ʔ-baldnġaln; M: ʔ-bldn|ġln; 292N:A: 'ly bld²nġln^h "for a (fried) egg-plant"; F: 'ly blz²nġln^h ; E: 'alay bldnġln^h; M: 'ly bldnġln^t. The examples indicate fairly convincingly that in this particular context F pronounces <ḏ> as [z], which might be valid also for E and M, who use only <ḏ>. As the word is written in Persian and Turkish with d (Redhouse gives ʔ for vulg., p. 318b), the modern written Arabic form with ḏ possibly represents a hypercorrection vs. MEA *bidinga**, *bitinga*, *biringa* [Hinds&Badawi, p. 59]. Thus, the orthography with <z²> in F probably serves as further evidence of the dictation of the text during the copying process. Although the present data is not overwhelming, it definitely gives support to Knutsson's claim that ḏ represents a sibilant pronunciation, although Knutsson does not, in my view, pay sufficient attention to its stylistic nature.

2.3 Realization of *sīn*

Table 3.3 Occurrence of *س pro ص*

		A		H		F		E		M	
		cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
س	s	189	191	189	75	271	183	266	180	290	186
	s	2	0	0	2	19	8	15	9	2	5
*ص	ṣ	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1

2.3.1 Occurrence of *س pro ص* in the Proverbs of Men and Women

The MSS. A, F, E and M (H does not have this proverb) has one occurrence of the emphatization of *sīn* due to its contact with a back vowel: 200R. A: ṣnmh 'its (camel's) hump'; F: ṣnmh; E: ṣanamh; M: ṣanamh. Interestingly, in MEA *sīn* is maintained possibly due ṣanam 'idol'¹. As the word is written next to word 'camel', its use must be deliberate although the fact that it appears in all four MSS. might also suggest that it has simply slipped through due to copying.

2.4 Realizations of *ض* and *ظ*

2.4.1 Realizations of *ض*

Table 3.4 Occurrences of *ض pro ط* and *ظ*

	A	H	F	E	M

¹ See, Hind&Badawi, pp. 435 and 512.

		cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
ض	ḍ	47	61	50	29	75	58	71	61	72	59
	ḍ̣	0	0	0	0	5	3	7	5	0	1
*ظ	ẓ	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
*ط	ṭ	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

2.4.1.1 Occurrences of ظ and ط pro ض

The MSS. exhibit only one occurrence of ض written as ط and ظ in 253N: وانضمري: 'and dry up' (fem. imperative). A: w-lṭmry (A32a:13); F: w-lṭamiry; E: w-lṭmry; M: w-lṭmry. The verb ḍmr (VII) 'to dry up (bough)' is not listed by Hinds and Badawi. It must be assumed that the orthography reflects the actual pronunciation of the scribes, ط [ḍ] and ظ [ẓ], cf. 2.4.1 below.

2.4.2 Realizations of ظ

Table 3.5 Occurrence of ض (ḍ̣) pro ظ

		A		H		F		E		M	
		cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
ظ	ẓ	24	15	27	6	33	10	36	9	36	12
	ẓ̣	0	0	0	0	3	0	6	1	0	0
ض	ḍ̣	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

2.4.2.1 Occurrence of ض pro ظ

The present data exhibits one example of <ḍ̣> pro <ẓ> in the Proverbs of al-ʿĀmma and al-Muwalladīn, 225W, in which MS. E has ll-ḍ̣riyf 'elegant' against orthography with <ẓ> in A, H, F and M. As E used both *šadda* and *kasra* in the word it seems less likely that <ḍ̣> is simply a scribal error. The grapheme <ẓ> is used in the printed edition as well as in the MSS. of type I which corresponds to MEA /zāriif/.¹ However, MEA gives several examples of variational pairs of words, e.g. /zābiṭ/, /ḍābiṭ/ 'officer', pl. /zubbāt/, /ḍubbāt/; Hinds&Badawi give /ḍubbāt/ as restricted to 'āmmīyat al-muṭaqqafīn which suggests that [ḍ̣] may have once had a broader stylistic function as a 'high' variant² and offers a possible motive for the use of <ḍ̣> by E above.

¹ See Hinds&Badawi, p. 556a.

² The situation as a whole is not clear in MEA, in which ẓ and ḍ̣ are used both in words of the upper and lower social classes, see examples in Hinds&Badawi under ẓ, p. 555.

2.5. Realizations of *ġīm*

Table 3.6 Occurrences of *ġ* and variants *ي*, *ج* and *ش*.

		A		H		F		E		M	
		cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
ج	ġ	105	174	125	60	153	159	157	155	157	160
ي	y ²	0	1	-	-	0	1	0	1	0	1
ج	ċ	0	0	-	-	0	0	0	2	0	0
ش	š ²	0	2	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	1

NB. In MS. H (Paris 3371) the essential part of the proverb no. 341N is missing and it contains only the last part of this proverb.

2.5.1 Preliminary observations on the orthography of *ج*

Table (3.3) clearly indicates that *ġīm* is written, in practice, consistently with *ج* except in a few isolated cases where three variants occur. Although such occurrences are rare, their stylistic impact is very likely considerable as variant graphemes of *ġīm* are only seldom used. Thus their use points directly to vernacular pronunciation, very likely to local, most probably Egyptian pronunciation, as all variant graphemes occur in the Proverbs of Men and Women. However, it should suggest a stylistic contrast between the Classical Proverbs and the Proverbs of Men and Women, as in such cases a higher number of occurrences of non-CA variants might be expected. Although the number of occurrences is very low, the fact that they occur in the same words in the MSS. makes it difficult to accept the possibility of scribal error. Instead, it seems that the vernacular form was written down in the manuscript on purpose, in order to underline the spoken origin of the proverb. The low number of occurrences and the fact that they all occur in words which seem to be more or less neutral indicates that there were no sociolinguistic motives involved, such as laughing at rural or Cairene pronunciation, but variant forms were merely used because an opportunity arose to use them.¹

2.5.2 Analysis of contextual use of variants

2.5.2.1 *ج* pro *ي*

2.5.2.1.1 مسجد corresponding to CA /masġid/; 395P:A: mn kln fy ll-mħd' mn lmrkm f-lnh fy ll-msġd ll-ġlm'; F: ml kln fy ll-mħd' mn lmrkm f-lnh fy ll-msġd ll-ġlm'; E: ml

¹ An interesting question is whether the few non-CA occurrences were originally

kln fy ll-mḥda‘ mn ’lmrkm f-lḥahu fy ll-mas|ǧidi ll-ǧalmi‘; M: ma’ klna fy ll-mḥjd‘ min ’lḥrikum f-lḥ fy ll-msǧd ll-ǧlm‘.

2.5.2.1.2 مسيد [masyid; misyid?] ‘mosque’; in MEA [masgid] where it seems to be the more or less literary alternative for the more popular [gāmi‘] ‘mosque’.

341N:A: qḥb^h m’ knst bythl knst ll-msyd qll f-d’y qḥb^h tṭlb ll-twlb "A whore didn't sweep her own house, she swept the mosque. They say: This whore is asking for a reward"; F: qah|ba^{hh} m’ kanasat| bythl kanas|tu ll-msyd qalluw-’l qḥba^h taṭ|lub ll-tw|ba; E: q’r^h m’ kns-t bythl kns-t ll-ms-yd qlluw| ḥlyin^h tṭlb ll-twlb [q’r^h ‘hole, pit’; possibly used as a euphemism as E also uses ḥlyin^h pro qḥb^h]; M: qḥb^t ma’ knst bythl knsat ll-msyd qll qḥb^t tṭlb ll-twlb.

2.5.2.1.3 As ‘mosque’ is a very common word and the CA form occurs *before* the vernacular *msyd* in the MSS. both of which exclude the possibility of linguistic incompetence, the supposed spoken form must have been written by the copyists on purpose although the primary motive remains obscure. As such, without further extralinguistic evidence, the possibility of three different pronunciations of *ḡim* cannot be excluded. However, it is possible that only one pronunciation existed but the *Egyptian* pronunciation was underlined only in the context of spoken proverbs while the conservatism of CA orthography prevailed in the context of classical proverbs. If this assumption is correct, the use of *yā’* merely functions as a reminder of the spoken origin of the proverb, i.e. that the proverb was primarily used *orally*, i.e., that it corresponded, in fact, to the Cairene *ḡim* with possible prestige value related to the capital.

2.5.2.2 ج and ش pro ج

2.5.2.2.1 وش [wišš] ‘face’ pro CA وجه; 228R:A: wḥš w-ykš w-yq’d fy ll-wš² w-yḡny blynl bkm "Rude and stern-looking and he sits in the face (i.e. in front) and sings: We have been afflicted by you"; M: waḥiš w-ykš w-yaq’ud fy ll-wš² [the rest is missing]; F: wḥš w-ykš w-yq’d fy ll-wǧḥ; E: waḥiš w-ykš w-yq’ud fy ll-wǧḥ w-yḡany blynl bikum.

2.5.2.2.1.1 The rhyme of the proverb no. 228R reveals that *ykš* — *wš(š)* in A and M¹ must be original and implies that the use of *وجه*, by F and E could possibly represent *classicization*². If our preliminary suggestion about the chronological hierarchy of the MSS. (AHFEM) is correct, it would imply that the copyist of M must have *vernacularized* the <wǧḥ> of previous MSS., represented in this context by E, back into <wšš>.

2.5.2.2.2 اشتر [ištarr] ‘ruminate’; 170R:A: qllw| l-l-ḥmlr |štr qll mdǧ [the point of the ḡ is missing] ll-ḥmlr m’ yntly "They said to the donkey: *Ruminate!* It is said: *The*

written by one or more copyists.

¹ As well as in the printed edition for this particular proverb.

² However, *وجه*, is also used in the proverbs 57R, 68R, 233R, 258N:A and 358N.

chewing of the donkey doesn't fool anyone."; اچتر <ičtarr> 'ruminat'; E: qalluwl l-l-ħmałr lčtr qll ml lħb ll-mađğ 'alay ll-mħall w-mađğ ll-mħall yntaliy [E:"I don't like to chew (something) impossible and the chewing of the impossible does't fool anyone]; cf. <lğtr> in F: qllwl l-l-ħmałr lğtr qll ml lħb ll-mađğ 'ly ll-mħll f-lħh mál yntly; M: qllwl li-l-ħimłr lğtr qlla mđğ ll-mħll ml yn|tliy.

2.5.2.2.3 چذابہ <čaddābah> 183R:E: kul mly^t 'ašfuwr mal yğuwł čđlb^h ['attractive', cf. A's variant and translation]; cf. چذابہ <ğaddābah> in F: kl mly^t [the dots of the y are not clearly visible] 'šfwr ml yğwl ġđlb^h; [A and M seem to have used the variant¹ ħdly^h 'hawk': A: kl mly^t 'šfwr ml yğy ħdly^h "A hundred sparrows do not equal one hawk."; M: kl mly^t 'šfwr mal yğwl ħdly^h].

2.5.2.2.4 An interesting and fundamental question here is whether *šīn* represents, in fact, the same sound as Turkish *çīm*, which in Turkish loanwords is usually rendered, according to Spitta, by *ś* (=š), rarely *g*². Spitta has difficulty in explaining why OA وجه has become *wiśś*, i.e. "weshalb ist aber dann das ج zu ś geworden, als ob es ein Fremdwort wäre?"³ In my view, the above evidence indicates that two *main* kinds of pronunciation of *šīm* co-existed. The most common was, as noted by Vollers, that *jīm* is pronounced *g* "as in give" in Cairo, but "elsewhere, especially

¹ Their variant is most probably the correct one as its meaning seems best to fit the context.

² Cf. Spitta, p. 17, e.g. *śurāb* 'sock' چوراب, *śurba* 'soup' چوربا, etc. The voiceless equivalent of *ğ* [č] is attested in Persian loanwords in the dialect of Baghdad Muslims, a voiceless dental fricative č [ts] in *Suħne*, see Handbuch, p. 51.

³ See Spitta, *ibid.*, p. 17.

in Upper Egypt, but also in Alexandria, it is *dy* like *di* in soldier." Blanc suggests that Vollers meant [dⁱ], not [ḡ]¹ which also corresponds to the present situation². Although the orthography <msyd>³ 'mosque' as such is *prima facie* clear, it may actually represent a pronunciation which was different from [ḡ] or [z̤] but not necessarily from a variant of Cairene [g] which may have been in certain context a [gy] or [dy] "prépalatale et légèrement mouillée"⁴, which is at present most closely related to the present pronunciation of ḡīm in Upper Egypt [j] and [d]⁵; as such <msyd> may simply refer to the pronunciation of the common people. It seems, however, although it is difficult to prove, that the pronunciation of ḡīm as yā' belongs to a different category than the pronunciation of ḡīm as šīn or ʕ. Spitta puts forward an example⁶ of <taštarru> pro <taḡtarru> "(das Schaf) kaut wieder" by referring to Gāwālyqy⁷. In my opinion, the writing of ḡīm as šīn (or ʕ) represented a hypercorrection but may have been regarded by the middle and upper classes as possibly stylistically more appropriate than the most vulgar

¹ Blanc, Darxe, p. 189.

² Handbuch, pp. 29-30; further p. 51:

		ḡīm		qāf	
Lower Egypt (Delta)	ḡ	g		g	q
Cairo	ḡ			g	
Upper Egypt	ḡ	j	d	g	
Central Egypt	ḡ	g		g	
Ḥarga	ḡ			g	q
Daḥla	ḡ			g	q
Baḥriyya (Mandiša)	z			g	
Baḥriyya (il-Bawīṭi)	z			g	

³ The word <al-msyd> 'mosque' also belongs, in this context accidentally, to the early examples given of laḥn, cf. Maṭar, Laḥn al-'amma referring to Taqwīm al-lisān of Ibn al-Jawzī [1186-1257 A.D.]. Although this is a sporadic example of a much earlier period, the fact that it was repeated by all copyists may suggest that it was wellknown as an example of popular language usage. However, it is interesting to note that despite the written context which supports the conservatism of the Arabic script, it refers explicitly to the local vernacular pronunciation and thus underlines the spoken nature of the text.

⁴ Cf. Cantineau, pp. 57-58.

⁵ "In some Upper Egyptian dialects [ḡīm is] a d 'vorverschoben' whereas it is 'zurückverschoben' in Cairo Arabic [g] ḡ, Handbuch, p. 51; the ḡ > y is attested nowadays e.g. in the dialects of the Syrian desert, Handbuch, p. 51.

⁶ On "zahllosen Verwechslungen zwischen <ḡ> und <k> oder <k pers>." which is very interesting as it indicates that š pro ḡ and k pro ḡ co-existed which, although *prima facie* contradictory, would be perfectly obvious if it was supported by socio-stylistic reasons, Spitta, p. 5, note 3.

⁷ He lived in 465-540 A.H.; see de Sacy, III, p. 535); ḥata el'auwām [ed. Derenbourg in den "Morgenländische Forschungen"; see p. 110], see Spitta, p. 5, note 3; cf. Taymūr, Mu'ḡam, edited by Dr Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, p. 43-48, gives evidence which is more directly relevant to the

pronunciation of *gīm* as *kāf* [= Cairene *gīm*?] or allophonic [gʲ]l. Thus I would associate *šin/cīm* stylistically with the same category than the sibilant pronunciation of the old interdental.² Anybody with little imagination can figure out how socially distinctive the pronunciation of the educated or upper class³ was if [š] / [ʒ] for ج, [s] for ث and [z] for ذ were used, even if only in sociolinguistically restricted contexts, against [g]/[gʲ], [t] and [d] of the Cairene common people. As such [š] pro [g] might in this particular context represent a secondary, stylistic development. The fact that the word *wiṣṣ* has survived as an isolated example in MEA may also

situation in Egypt and *grosso modo* to al-Ibšīh's period and uses as his sources صبح الأعيى and قلب الجيم دالاً في الصعيد . In Mu'gam Taymūr al-kabīr there are listed the following shifts: قلب الجيم دالاً في الصعيد (p. 43: obviously for /dʲ/) قلب الجيم باء (p. 44: ref. al-Lisān with reference to the Bedouins ('Arab) and some places in al-Ṣa'īd) قلب الجيم زايماً (p.44: with ref. to صبح الأعيى and صبح اللامع and قالوا: (وش) في الضوء اللامع) قلب الجيم مائماً (p. 47:) (p. 48: ref. to the people of Alexandria trying to imitate people from Cairo: مزوزة في مزوزة) قلب الجيم همزة (الأوزة) في مزوزة .

¹ In my view the *yā* of <msyd> may even be the Cairene *gīm* pronounced very fronted as it follows a sibilant and is followed by a front vowel; if it represented [gʲ] it was possibly easier to associate it with *yā* than with *gīm*.

² Sociolinguistic variation of *gīm* in the Modern Arabic dialects is so far poorly documented. For /y/ ~ /j/ in Bahrain, see Holes, Patterns (in Lang. Soc. 12, 433-457, 1983). According to Holes the motivation for this kind of variation has to be sought *within* the dialectal context. The commonly occurring dialect words such as /yim'a/ (MSA /jum'a/) 'Friday' and /misyid/ (MSA /masjid/) 'mosque' show a high degree of /y/ ~ /j/ variability in Sunni speech, while equally common words like /rayyāl/ (MSA /rajul/) 'man' do not. For Holes the reason is morphological and semantic. The substitution by a Sunni of /j/ for /y/ to give /rajjāl/ could only be interpreted by a fellow Bahraini as an attempt to sound like a Shi'i—a most unlikely event, Holes adds. According to Holes, this explains why, in cases such as /rayyāl/, Sunnis never (our emphasis) display variation. On the other hand, Holes continues, many Shi'is do display /j/ ~ /y/ variation in just these cases, switching variably from 'Shi'i' /rajjāl/ to 'Sunni' /rayyāl/ in apparent imitation of one stereotypical (and non-standard) feature of the dialect of the dominant social group (my emphasis). Holes concludes that MSA influence can be discounted in this kind of *cross-dialectal* variation, which is due to the lack of close morphological congruence between dialectal and MSA terms for the same referent (Holes, Patterns, pp. 442-443). Further, Antonius van Reisen, Jim-variation in Jordanian Radio Arabic.

³ By 'upper class' I understand in this context the Ottoman Turkish ruling class, chancellery and the Egyptian people dealing with them. It seems evident that if the sibilant pronunciation of the interdentals is seen as a secondary, stylistic development, it is very likely of literary origin and it may have been introduced by non-native speakers of Arabic who referred (or read) official documents and made efforts to imitate Classical Arabic pronunciation as it was written. This was obviously necessary when using CA terms which did not have vernacular equivalents. Native Egyptians who approached Turkish officials were

be supported by stylistic reasons.¹ Kaye suggests that /wišš/ illustrates that Cairo Arabic once had /z̄/ which became /g/ as result of a symmetrical parallelism with /k/, or due to the Coptic substratum, or both.² The present data³ proves that /z̄/ co-existed with palatal /gy/ or /dy/ but the two distinct pronunciations are, in my view, most convincingly explained by stylistic, very likely sociolinguistic reasons as this is also supported by the variants of old interdental. The fact that the copyists of the MSS. not used one variant but two is only *prima facie* contradictory as it is not unusual for native speakers of Arabic to use several variants of /ġim/.⁴ The occurrence of phonetical variants instead of ج gives support to the argument that the MSS. may have been dictated in part to the copyists although it is difficult to see the occurrence of مبد as an 'error' in the MSS., which represent very different styles.

obviously forced to imitate Turkish pronunciation to make themselves understood. As such sibilant pronunciation with *š* pro *ġ* in certain keywords may have become fairly quickly a sign of wealth and power, i.e., denoting association with the ruling class and may not have been entirely replaced even later by vernacular or CA pronunciation for the same reason. I wish to add that the possible 'Turkish' pronunciation of ج must be seen as secondary socially motivated development which played its role only a temporarily.

¹ The word 'face' is not only used in blessings but also in curses, which in my view could explain why it was necessary to use a 'high' variant. Obviously, this is very difficult to prove.

² Kaye, Arabic /ziim/, p. 38.

³ As such the present data is a very rare example of such usage. E.g. Hazz al-Quḥūf which is intended to make fun of the spoken language of the peasants (see Davies, p. 7) is characterized by orthographic conservatism (Davies, pp. 57-58), which is not essentially phonetic (Davies, pp. 59-60). In fact, we cannot find anything in the MSS. of HQ which refers to the palatal realization of *ġim* we would expect to exist in the dialect (See, Davies, p. 69, who refers to Blanc's evidence in al-Mustaṭraf [printed edition?] and to the word <wšš>. The pronunciation [ġ] > [z] is well attested in the Egyptian JA of the same period: 'aġūz > 'azūz 'old woman', zawwaġ > zawwaz "he married", ġazīra > zazīra 'island', ġazzār > zazzār 'butcher', see Lebedev, Pozdnij, p. 32. For the pronunciation [ġ] > [y], see Lebedev, *ibid.*, p. 30f.

⁴ Kaye mentions that (native) teachers of Classical Arabic when teaching American students may use [j], [ž] or [g] (or even other phones, e.g. [dy], [gy], etc.) "depending on certain criteria which are very difficult to define." See, Kaye, *ibid.*, p. 31.

2.6. Treatment of *hamza*

2.6.1 Preliminary notes

2.6.1.1 *Hamza* is extremely interesting from a stylistic point of view because it has totally or partly disappeared from *spoken* dialects.¹ As a result, the restitution of etymological /ʔ/ is one of the simplest and most widespread of classicizing devices and a hallmark of semi-literary style and, for modern educated speakers, often of "mildly formal" style too.²

2.6.1.2 The orthography of the glottal stop *hamza* presents various interpretational problems because it is not really a letter of the Arabic alphabet, even though it clearly represents an Arabic phoneme, but functions orthographically more like a vowel sign.³ This orthographical vowel sign quality of *hamza* is highlighted by the fact that in most positions *hamza* should be written on a *kursī* letter which means supplementary work in writing. As a result the mere existence of a seat may suggest a reading with *hamza*, especially if a scribe uses *hamza* occasionally with a seat in a similar position elsewhere in the text. The eventual 'interpolation' will therefore ultimately depend on the interpretation given by the reader to the occurrences of seats without *hamza*. As Blau points out, as a rule it is rather difficult to decide, on the strength of the orthography alone, whether a particular word was pronounced with or without *hamza*. Classical orthography mirrors a pronunciation that has, in fact, lost the glottal stop, and the pronunciation of the glottal stop is only indicated, as a sort of *qere*, by adding *hamza* above (and sometimes below) the line. Accordingly, one may doubt whether a particular word was spelled without *hamza* because it was pronounced without it or that the author (or the copyist) simply spelled according to CA, but without adding the supralinear marks, including the *hamza*.⁴ Blau further sees the use of *alif kursī* in cases in which CA applies *wāw*, *yā'* or zero, not as an indication of the preservation of the glottal stop in living speech, but rather as an attempt to use this spelling to prevent the vernacular pronunciation without a glottal stop.⁵ However, from the point of view of the present study the problem is not so much that of establishing the situation in the vernacular of the copyists but of indicating when they try explicitly to impose spelling with *hamza*, when without it and when the writing is potentially ambiguous from the reader's point of view. I shall focus on the first two alternatives which seem to be most relevant from the stylistic angle.⁶

¹ As all the mss. which are the subject of this study represent a relatively late period, it seems unnecessary to include here a historico-linguistic perspective to enable us to use the present data to prove that *hamza* had disappeared in spoken dialects except in initial position, since the subject has been treated in full in previous studies, see Davies, pp. 71-74, Hary, p. 254f., Lebedev, Pozdnij, p. 31f.; Garbell, p. 308 and especially regarding the 16th-18th centuries, pp. 318-319.

² See Blanc, *Style*, p. 95.

³ See Parkinson, p. 294, note 2.

⁴ Blau, *Christian I*, p. 84.

⁵ Blau, *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁶ According to Blanc, "restitution of /ʔ/ is one of the simplest and most widespread of classicizing devices and a hallmark of semi-literary and, for educated speakers, often of "mildly formal" style." See Blanc, *Style*, p. 95.

2.6.1.3 By slightly modifying Blau's remarks, the use of *hamza* vs. its omission may be categorized as follows:

1. Explicit indication of *hamza* by writing it with or without *kursī*.
2. Omission of *hamza* but leaving its *kursī*, which may make the interpretation more or less ambiguous.
3. Omission of *hamza* without *kursī*.
4. Explicit indication of the absence of *hamza* by not even writing its *kursī*.

2.6.2 Occurrences of *hamza*

Table 3.7 Occurrences of *ʾ* (*hamza*)¹

	A		H		F		E		M	
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
ʾ	45	2	28	3	171	68	239	43	188	46
w.	45	3	28	7	171	85	239	53	188	59
w/"F". ²	65	3	39	7	171	68	246	44	184	46

¹ Although the data exhibits variation of *hamza* which is occasionally replaced by its vernacular equivalents, usually by *wāw* or *yā'*, they have not been included in the table as they are often interpretationally ambiguous and would require additional coding, which I considered uneconomical for the purpose of this study. While the occurrence or non-occurrence in a speech flow is basically a simple 'yes' or 'no' question, it is more complex in handwritten manuscripts. As writing a *hamza* with *kursī* requires double as much effort as simply writing its *kursī* without necessarily losing any information vital to reading and understanding the word correctly, the use of *hamza* may be indicated by simply writing its *kursī* when a copyist avoids consistently using any extra signs which are not absolutely required. As such the unvocalized text functions as a simple reminder and its interpretation, including reading with or without glottal stops, will ultimately depend on the reader. However, if a copyist-cum-scribe uses non-consonantal signs extensively but still uses *kursīs* which correspond to the vernacular pronunciation, there is obviously every reason to suspect that the traditional spelling has been replaced by the vernacular one. In such a case other supportive evidence should also exist and it is perhaps more fruitful to focus on it, as in the present study, than to try to solve the problem quantitatively.

² The result indicates that the quantitative *contrast* between the Classical Proverbs and the Proverbs of Men and Women is very similar in MSS. FEM and MSS. AH. A potential source of error regarding the very fact that there is a different number of *hamzas* in the two proverbial sections is related to the nature of the vocabulary. Assuming that the two proverbial sections are originally of different *scribal* origin, i.e. two separate texts combined as one text, it could be argued that the copyists do not have real freedom to apply their scribal style as they have 'inherited' two different sets of vocabulary and have to deal with them as well as they can. Although this is undoubtedly true to some extent, a comparison of the totals of other features indicates individual differences which suggest that the eventual *fragmental* contrast between the two sections has more or less disappeared. E.g. MS. F uses

2.6.2.1 Table (5) clearly indicates that approximately 71-96% of the occurrences¹ are in the section of Classical Proverbs². This indicates a conscious stylistic aim which cannot be explained by lexical reasons alone, although the lower totals of the MW section are due to the higher number of vernacular words which limit the opportunities to impose *hamza* by simply placing it in the text. On the other hand, the highest number of *hamzas* in F indicate a conscious effort of *classicization*. The relative importance of *hamza* for F is further underlined by the fact that F uses 25-50% fewer vowel signs than E and M. The higher totals in the section of Classical Proverbs of E and M compared with F are explained by a more frequent use of hamza in initial position on *alif kursī*, where it perhaps serves more decorative purpose than anything else.

2.6.2.2 The above figures are more or less consistent with the use of vowel signs, i.e., the MSS. using more vowel signs also have more occurrences of hamza. The differences between MSS. suggest that the use of hamza depends partly on the individual style of the copyist and as such is not automatically copied or introduced in different contexts. The differences in use in the Proverbs of Men and Women, where it might be expected to be used only marginally, suggest definite stylistic aims to enhance the linguistic level towards the formal, literary end of the continuum.

2.6.3 Treatment of initial *hamza*

2.6.3.1 *Hamza* is consistently indicated in A, H, F, E and M as per CA in the cl. proverbs either by *hamza+kursī alif* or by plain *kursī*. In the Proverbs of Men and Women the omission of *hamza* seems basically restricted to similar patterns to those in *Hazz al-Quhūf*.³

2.6.3.1.1 'iCāC(a) > CāC(a)

16R: A: lyš lnt fy ll-šḥtr^h yl mnḥl b-ll ṭlr^h "What are you doing in the desert, you sieve without a hoop?" H: ṭlr^h F: ṭlr^h E: ṭalr^h M: ṭlr^t.

2.5.3.1.2 'aCVC > CVC

146R:E: ṭra ṭyrk w-ḥḍuwl ḡyrk "Your bird flew and others took it"; but, A: w-ḥḍwt; F: w-ḥḍwt; M: w-ʾaḥḍwt;

217R:E: ḥanāt ll-zlalbiya^h w-klthl bny wlyl "Zalābīyah-pastries became of so little importance that even the Banū Wā'il ate them"; F: w-klthl; M: w-klthl; but, A: ḥty klthl.

more fathas and dammas in the Proverbs of Men and Women than in the Classical Proverbs.

¹ The total number of occurrences in the MS. should be brought into relation with the actual total number of words, which varies in the MSS. This is not done here, as such 'straightening out' of the figures would not make any essential difference. The reader is advised to see Tables 1.1-2 and 2.1-3, page 52-55 which will help to give an approximation of more precise relative differences between the MSS.

² It is difficult to single out individual subsections of the classical proverbs as the differences between them could be explained lexically.

³ Davies gives examples of 'iCāC(a) > CāC(a) and 'aC₁VC₂C₂ > C₁VC₂C₂. See, Davies, p. 71.

264N:A: lq'dy fy 'šk hty yğy hđ ynšk; M: ml' had "Sit in your nest until somebody comes to drive you away!"; but, F: ml' hđ; E: mal' hđlan.
 Cf. 287N:A: ml' l-hđ; F: ml' l-hđ; E: mal' li-'alhadin; M: ml' l-hđ.

2.6.3.1.3 'aC₁VC₂C₂ > C₁VC₂C₂

331N:A: đhk bn sn^h ġmy 'ly lmh qll ml' hf dmh "A one year old child laughed, her mother fell into a swoon. She said: How lighthearted (-blooded) he is."; H: ml' hf; F: ml' hf; E: mal' haf; M: ml' hf.

2.6.3.1.4 ['-'] > [w-]

Pl. /awdān/ of */wdn/ ¹ [pro CA 'ud(u)n, pl. 'ādān], in MEA /widn/ pl. /widān/²; 163R:A: fwq ll-šrt^h [pro šrt^h] ml^h lwd^hlnh "On top of the trade his ears were cut off." F: lwd^hlnh E: lwd^hlnuh M: lđlnh. The forms used by F and E with <đ> represent hybrid forms³.

2.6.4 Treatment of internal hamza

2.6.4.1 -V'C > -VC̄

2.6.4.1.1 -a'C > -āC ; /rās/ 'head' occurs in both proverbial sections with and without hamza: Cl. Prov: 106W:E: rts' ll-'aql; F:: r'ts <رأس> ll-'ql; M: r'ts ll-'aql; 134'A:A: t'tl r'tsah; H: t'tl r'tsh; F: t'tl r'tsh; E: ta'tal ralsuh; M: t'tl r'tsah; 385P:H: hf^t r'tsh; F: hf^t r'tsh; E: hf^t rals'ih; M: hf^t ralsih. Prov. of Mw.: 135R:A: đrbtyn fy ll-r's t'my; H: ll-r's; F: ll-r's; E: ll-r's; M: ll-rals. 166R:A: frđ đrb^h fy ll-r's tkfy; F: ll-r's; E: ll-r's; M: ll-r's. 40R:A: bdll lhmk w-qlqsk hđ lk šy 'ly r'tsk; H: r'tsk; F: r'ts'k; E: r'ts'k; M: ralsak. 199R:A: lw šll r'tsh l-l-sm' k'ln 'syd^h b-m; F: r'tsah; E: r'tsuh; M: r'alsh. 107R:A: r'tsyn fy 'm'm^h ml' ykwn "Two heads..."; H: r'tsyn; F: r'ts'yn [F with dagger kasra for explicitly vernacular pronunciation of dual [-ēn]; E: rals'yn; 107R:M: r'tsay'n. Cf. vernacular /rayyis/ 'captain, chief' as in MEA where CA /ra'īs/ is used as a 'high' variant⁴: 103R:A: lmr^t ll-r'ys "captain's wife"; H: lmr^t ll-r'ys; F: lmr^t ll-r'tys; E: lmr^t ll-r'ys; M: lmr^t ll-r'ys. As clearly vernacular /rayyis/ occurs in the MSS. /rās/ alongside /ra's/ seems probable⁵ although *alif* can stand for both *kursī* and *ā*, which, however, leaves the occurrences in the cl. proverbs ambiguous, cf., e.g., 385P:H: hf^t r'tsh; F: hf^t r'tsh; E: hf^t rals'ih.

2.6.4.1.2 -u'C > -ūC ; 204'A:H: ll-mwmn; M: ll-mwminu; F: ll-m'wmn; E: ll-m'w|min. cf. the same root in: 43Q:A: ywmwn "they believe"; H: ywmwn; E: ywminuwn; but, F: y'wmwn; M: y'wmwn. 216W:A: ywḥđ [all the dots are missing] "is grabbed" (passive) ... ywḥđ; E: yuwḥđ ... yuwḥđ; M: yuwḥđ ... ywḥđ; H: ywḥđ ... ywḥđ; cf. F: y'wḥđ <و> but ... ywḥđ. The difficulty of interpreting of the *unvocalized* cases is evident in the following, where E and M can very well represent identical spelling: 289P:F: ll-ḥ'wwn <الخون> 'disloyal person'; E: ll-ḥa'awn

¹ In HQ WDN pl. AWDAN. See, Davies, p. 71.

² See, Hinds&Badawi, p. 930a.

³ Cf. Meiseles, Hybrid, p. 1080.

⁴ See, Hinds&Badawi, p. 320b.

⁵ For /rās/ in HQ, See Davies, p. 72.

< الخُون >; M: ʕ-hwn.

2.6.4.1.3 -V'V̄ > -V̄; Treatment of the verb *ra'ā* 'to see'. The verb *ra'ā* seems to have been a living form in the Middle Ages¹, as it still is in some modern dialects, as pointed out by Kaye². The verb *ra'ā* is used in both proverbial sections, in the Classical Proverbs, obviously, because it was originally used in these, and in the Proverbs of Men and Women because, in my view, it was the current verb for 'to see'. The most distinctive difference in the treatment is that the basic consonantal shape is in the Classical Proverbs regularly as in CA, occasionally complemented with *mādda*.

2.6.4.1.3.1 3. p. sing. m.: Cl: 300P:A: f-l'n rly "if he sees"; H: f-l'n rly; F: l̄l r'ly; E: w-l'n ra'aly; M: f-l'n r'ly. 441P:A: l̄l r'ly...l'n rly "if he sees him"... "if he sees"; H: l̄l r'ly...l̄l rly; F: l̄l r'ly...l'n r'ly; E: l̄l ra'lyhu...l'n ra'aly; M: l̄l ra'lyhu...l'n rly; cf. also 30Q:A: l-lm tr "Don't you see; H: l-lm tr; F: l-lm tr; E: l-lm tr; M: l-lm tar; An interesting case is 226R:A: w-hw-yanzr rly "and he looks around (and) saw"; F: w-hw r'ly; E: w-hw rly "and he saw"; M: w-hw yanzr "and he looks" but /ra'ā/ missing which may suggest a stylistic replacement by a more literary sounding ينظر .³

2.6.4.1.3.1.1 Cf. treatment of the same root in: 416P:A: b-rly "with opinion"; H: b-rly; F: b-r'ly; E: b-raly; M: b-ra'ly; cf. 145'A:M: b-dl'yhl <بدانها > [correctly from the CA root *dw*) but confused with *r'y* in E: b-ra'lyihl [sic!]; F: b-rlyhl [sic!]; and translated by A and H: A: b-ṭrfhl; H: b-ṭrfhl further 68R:A: mrlk "your mirror"; H: miralk; F: mrlk; M: mirlk.

2.6.4.1.3.2 3. p. sing. f.: 398P:A: lml rt 'ynlhu "when his eyes (dual) saw"; H: lmal rt 'ynlh; F: lml r't 'ynlh; E: lmal ra'alt' 'ynalhu [ra'alyt; with the dots under *yā'* crossed out]; M: lml raalt <رآت > [fatha on *alif*] 'aynlhu.

2.6.4.1.3.3 1. p. sing.: 208R:A: ml rlytk "I didn't see you"; but, F: ml ra'lytk; E: mal r'alytk; M: mal ra'lytk;

2.6.4.1.3.4 3. p. pl. with occasional omission of *alif otiosum* suggesting a pronunciation *[rāw] as in the dialect of Tunis rāu 'they saw'⁴: 98R:A: rlw "they saw"; H: rlw; F: r'lw; E: ra'aw; M: ralwal. 99R:A: rlw "they saw"; H: rlw; M: rlw; but F: ra'aw; E: ra'aw|. With *alif otiosum* 100R:A: rlw "they saw"; H: rlw; but, F: r'lw; E: ra'aw; M: ra'aw|. 101R:A: rlw; M: rlw; but, F: r'lw; E: ra'aw|. 102R:A: rlw "they saw"; M: rlw; but F: ra'aw|. 317N:A: rlw "they saw"; H: rlw; M: rlw; but F: r'lw; E: ra'aw; M: rlw. Then again without it: 321N:A: rlw; F: r'lw; E: ra'aw; M: r'lw.

¹ See Davies, p. 72.

² See Kaye, The Verb 'See', p. 211.

³ Why this replacement links A and M but not, e.g., F and E could be explained by MSS. that I have missed or by the theory that M has also used other MS(S). which are closely linked with A. It should be added here that although A looks old it has undeniable textual features which justify its place as the first in my sketchy family-tree. The fact that it contains many *lacunae* implies that it cannot solely represent the MS. from which the rest of the MSS., including M, was copied.

⁴ See, Singer, p. 363.

3.6.4.1.4 Treatment of the verb *sa'ala*. Hamza is also maintained in certain words in modern vernacular, e.g., in the verb 'to ask'¹. Its occasional indication by *kursī alif* without *hamza* supports the argument about the interpretational ambiguity: Cf. Cl: 438P:A: ll lsl "I do not ask"; H: ll lsl; F: ll lʔl; E: la! lʔʔall <أسأل> M: ll 'alsll <أسأل>; 31Q:A: ll ts'ywl "don't ask!" [pl.]; H: l-l tʔlwl "don't you ask?"; F: ll ts'lw; E: l-l ys'lw "don't they ask?" [sic!]; M: ll ts'allwl.

2.6.4.2 -'VC > -VC

2.6.4.2.1 The construction /kann+/ 'as it were, as if' + pronominal suffix possibly from </ka'inna+/ as suggested by MEA.² In the Proverbs of Men and Women it is used by the copyists both in the plain vernacular and CA forms. The use of *šadda* with the vernacular form indicates that it does not slip through inadvertently but is consciously used as a *lexical* variant: 138R:E: ḍrbtun fy kys-ḡyry knh! fy 'udl tibn; F: knh; but, A: k-lnh; M: k-lnh. 346N:E: knh! nš^h tat'iq fiy ll-ṭwq; M: knh; but, A: k-lnh; F: ka'lnahál. 347N:E: kanh! mn ll-bals'iṭiy^h qmš 'ly ḥariyr; M: knh; but, A: k-lnh; F: ka'lnahál. 348N:E: knh! ḥuzm^t fḡl bay|ḍal w-'ruwqh! ḥuḍr; M: knh; A: k-lnh; F: ka'lnahál. 349N:E: kanh! mn 'amatym ll-yahuwd ṣaf|rl ṭwy|ḥ rqqy^h; M: knh; but, A: k-lnh; F: ka'lnahál. 350N:E: knh! min bay|ti ll-wallyy ma! fiyha!; M: knh; but, A: k-lnh; F: ka'lnahál. 351N:E: knh! ḍbt ḡ'ydy maḥ|luw'a^h w-lal tḥuḍ ṣy; M: knh; but, A: k-lnh; F: ka'lnahál.

2.6.4.3 -'iC > -yiC, -'VC > -yVC

2.6.4.3.1 In E's introduction of Chapter 6: fy ll-lmṭll ll-s'lyr^h "about current proverbs"; F: fiy ll-'almṭlli ll-sa'lyra^t; M: fy ll-lmṭll ll-sa'lyr^t; the word /as-sā'irah/ is missing in A and H. 414P:H: wḍwyh "his ritual washing"; A: wḍw'h; E: wuḍuw'uhu; M: wḍw'h; in F: misspelt as w-ḍrh [NB. *šadda*]. 21Q:A: ll ynbiyuka "doesn't inform you"; H: ll ynbyk; E: ll nbiyk; M: ll ynbyka; but F: ll ynb'yk. 379P:A: kl ll-mšlyb "all adversities"; H: kl ll-mšlyb; F: kl ll-mšlyb; E: kul ll-mašalyib [NB. pausal sukūn instead of genitive]; M: kl ll-mšal'yb <المصائب>. Further 7R:A: dllylh "his proofs"; H: dllyh; F: dllyh; E: dallyh; but M: dla'yluh. 179:A: kšklr dlym; F: kuškálr dlym; E: kšklr dlyim; but M: kšklr da'ym. 9R:A: ryḥ^t ll-nqws; F: rlyḥ^t; H: rlyḥ^t ll-fqws; E: ryḥ^t ll-fqws; M: r'lyḥ^t ll-fqws.

2.6.5 Treatment of final *hamza*

2.6.5.1 The present data is consistent with previous findings on the complete loss of final *hamza*, which, however, is occasionally restored even in colloquial contexts, obviously for purely stylistic reasons.³ The treatment of the very common شيء is illustrative: Cl: 1) 103W:F: mn šy' "of something"; E: mn šy; M: mn sa3y'. 2) 268P:A: kl šy 'everything'; H: kl šy; E: kul šay|in; M: kl šy. 3) 307P:H: (ḍl ḍl) šy "If something disappears"; E: šay|un; F: šy; M: šy'. 371P:F: fy šy' "about something"; E: fy šy'in; M: fy šy. 4) 393P:A: f-lys yrf'h šy "nothing raises it"; H:

¹ Cf. Harrell, *A Linguistic Analysis*, p. 15.

² كُنُو in a *zaḡal*-poem in Ibn Iyās, I, p. 185:19; in Yūsuf al-Maḡribī's text كُنُو, see Sharbatov, p. 312 supra. Cf. Nallino, p. 100: *ke-inn* 'come se'. Feghali, p. 149, derives *kann*- from cl. *ka'anna*, e.g., ma ḡāš kannu mrīḍ "il n'est pas venu; il est sans doute malade."

³ Very similarly as in HQ, see Davies, p. 73.

šy; F: šy'; E: šy'ūn; M: šy'. 5) 424P:A: (wa-'lḥ|sin) šy "and do good"; other MSS. without šy; H: w-lḥsn; F: wa-alḥ|sin; E: w-lḥ|s'n; M: wa-'lḥ|sin. Mw: 1) 40R:A: (ḥḍ lk) šy "(get) something"; H: šy'; F: š'y; E: šiy; M: šiy. 2) 57R:A: (ḥty yṭl') šy "(let it bring up) something"; H: (ḥty yṭl'a) šy; F: ḥty yṭl' šy'; M: šy; E: ṭl' b-šay'i "bring something". 3) 99R:F: (l'ml) šy'l "(do) something"; E: šy; M: šy. 4) 125R:A: šy (ll yğy) "something (that doesn't come)"; F: šy'; E: šy'a [- like *tanwīn* mark on *yā'*]; M: šy. 5) 182R:A: kl šy 'everything'; F: kl šy'; E: kul šay'i'n; M: kl šy. 6) 245R:A: (ml tm) šy "it is useless (it will end up in nothing)"; F: šy'; E: šy; M: šay. 7) 351N:A: (w-ll tḥḍ) šy "and doesn't take (grasp) anything"; F: šy'l [<ش> with dots under *kursī*]; E: šy; M: šay. 8) 120R:A: šy (ml n|bh) "He did not gain anything"; H: šy; F: šy; E: šiy; M: šy. 9) 153R:A: šy [š's points are missing] ml zr' "whatever (he might cultivate)"; [E: 'šq muqil] (just this part in E); M: šy (mal zr'). 10) 263N:A: (lšt'rt ll-r'n) šy "a silly woman borrowed something"; F: šy [scribal error: š without dots]; M: šy. 11) 328N:A: ḍl šy "This is something"; H: ḍl šy; F: ḍl šy; E: ḍl šiy; M: ḍl šy. Used with negative: 1) 50R:A: ml hw šy mwlfq "it is inconvenient"; H: ml hw š'y mwlfq; F: ml hw š'y mwlfq; E: ml hw šy muwalfiq; M: mal hw šy muwlfq.

2.6.5.1.1 Since the use of *hamza* with *šay* in the Proverbs of Men and Women can hardly be interpreted as anything but an attempt at classicization, the use of plain vernacular constructions could be seen as explicit *vernacularization*. It seems that established vernacular lexemes are accepted, in general, as such, e.g., بلاش 112R:A: blš "free", H: blš F: blš M: blš; 12R:A: lyš 'what', H: lyš F: alyš'ḍ [ḍ is purely ornamental] E: lyš M: lyš; 110R:A: llyš 'why', H: llyš bnyt lyš "why was it built" F: llyš E: lyš M: l-'ayš; cf. 234R:A: 'lyš 'why', F: 'lyš E: 'alayš M: 'aly 'alyš. Although the last example from M may indicate stylistic levelling rather than a form actually used, classicization by 'dismantling' such compounds is evident by F in 8R:F: b-lyš ml, cf. E: b-šm; A: b-ml H: b-ml, M: b-mhml. In this case بما used by A and H sounds more original than بهما in M; the expressions used by E in this context could be considered an attempt at vernacularization. In proverb 359N, however, E is the only one to use b-lyš šay'i'n, A: b-lyš, H: b-lyš F: b-lyš M: b-lyš. The above examples indicate clearly that the same copyist may apply both classicization and vernacularization in the same text but rarely continues in a consistent way in either direction.¹

2.6.5.2 المرء 'man' is used with *hamza* in MEA.² In the MSS. *hamza* is regularly used—possibly to avoid ambiguity—with this word even though it has a relatively high frequency, e.g., MS. H exhibits 17 occurrences with *hamza*, e.g. 174'A:A: ll-mar'; H: ll-mr'; F: ll-mr'; E: ll-mr'; M: ll-mar'w <المرؤ>. I have encountered only one occurrence without *hamza* in the present MSS., very likely a scribal error, in the Proverbs of al-'Arab in MS. B (Paris 3369). Cf. سوء 'badness' which occurs with *hamza* in MEA³: 205'A:A: mn klb sw "of a bad dog"; E: mn klb s'w; but, F: mn klb s'w; cf. M: mn klb sw^ (*mādda* on *wāw*). Cf. treatment of the same root in: 363P:F: nusāf' "we are harmed"; E: ys'w^ "does harm"; M: nusa'ʿu. 31Q:H: tswkm

¹ The only logical explanation I can find for such *prima facie* controversial behaviour is that the concurrent use of both ends of the stylistic scale is necessary to be able to use occasionally explicitly vernacular vocabulary without giving the impression that supposed colloquial language is used in writing due to sheer ignorance.

² See Hinds&Badawi, p. 815a.

³ See Hinds&Badawi, p. 439a.

"(would) harm you"; but, A: tas'wkum; F: ts'wkm; E: ts'wkm; M: ts'wkum. 288P:F: ys'wk; E: yasu'awk "(he) hurts you"; M: ys'wka.

2.6.5.3. -V'(V) > -V̄; Treatment of *ḡā'a*. The data indicates the same situation as in HQ and in MEA.¹

2.6.5.3.1 3. p. sing. f. with omission of *kursī alif*: 92R:F: ḡkrwl ll-mdn ḡt ll-qry thḡl; but, A: ḡlt; E: ḡa^l'at; M: ḡalt. The orthography in A may represent the same as in F, i.e. [ḡ/gat] while E is clearly making an effort at classicization.

2.6.5.3.2 24R:M: ḡiynl "we would come"; E: ḡynl; but F: ḡ'y|nl. The use of /qumnā/ by A and H indicates classicization.

2.6.5.3.3 Occurrences of vernacular *ḡāb²*: 210R:A: ml kfnl hm qlm lbwyh ḡlb lbwh [nominative l] ql ḡdwl ḡdkm rbwh "As if the worrying (taking care) about our father was not enough for us, our father went and brought his father and said: "Take your grandfather and take care of him." F: ḡlb; E: ḡalb; M: ḡlb. Further 294N:A: ḡlb; F: ḡ^llb; E: ḡalb; M: ḡlb.

2.7. Treatment of *qāf*

2.7.1 The present data shows almost no trace of the merging of /q/ with /ʔ/, which commenced in Egypt as well as in the East Mediterranean dialect in the 11th-13th centuries and which represented—as it still represents—a stylistically significant contrast between sedentary and rural speakers.³ The reason why *qāf* is consistently written with ق may indicate that only one realization was used by the copyists. However, there are a couple of dubious cases. An indication that ق represented [ʔ] possibly for F is that in proverb 439P he first wrote الحدر but corrected it by placing a ق on the ح. Interestingly, in 354N the scribe of F erroneously uses ق for ع in المقايير [instead of المعايير 'sins']. The fact that he seems to confuse *qāf* pronounced as [ʔ], [ʕ] and [ḡ] seems at least to support the argument that MS. F was partly or wholly dictated but possibly also that either the writer of F or the person who was dictating was not a native speaker of Arabic or very simply that the MS. used was badly written, which would in turn explain why dictation was used in the first place.

¹ See Davies, p. 73.

² See Davies, p. 73.

³ For 13th century Egypt, see Grotzfeld, *Ein Zeugnis*, p. 87; for Eastern Mediterranean Arabic, see Garbell, pp. 313 and 318. Davies has found indirect evidence in HQ and points out that *sqy'* spelt with *sīn* pro CA متع—which indicates assimilation to a non-emphatic second radical, probably *hamza*—occurs "in collocations and contexts that smack of urban and even 'elevated' usage, see Davies, p. 69f.

3. Use of final short vowels, tanwīn and sukūn

3.1 Definition of scribal styles

Before analysing the use of tanwīn and final short vowels by individual copyists, it seems justified to investigate the general use of *matres lectionis* from the point of view of scribal styles. Arabic orthography is basically consonantal, which in most cases makes the use of super- and subscript signs such as short vowels more or less optional.¹ In normal cursory handwritten texts common words may be written in very sketchy orthographic shapes, usually devoid of all auxiliary signs. The fact is that *matres lectionis* are rarely needed in normal written communication dealing with subjects that are wellknown to both the writer and the reader. It seems, therefore, justified to claim *prima facie* that the profuse use of auxiliary signs by MSS. F and E would be *primarily* decorative. However, a valid counter-argument is that the MS. M uses *matres lectionis* in some cases even more frequently with handwriting which is most ordinary, even clumsy compared with F and E. Also, as M is often grammatically more correct than F and E, it could be argued that his style of writing is not 'decorative' but serves linguistic, communicative aims. In further analysis of scribal styles three aspects seem most relevant in the present context: 1. overall consistency vs. inconsistency, i.e., haphazard use, 2. linguistic relevance vs. decoration and 3. individual style vs. a common standard which could result from copying.²

3.1.1 Use of *matres lectionis*: consistency or inconsistency ?

3.1.1.1 Arabic manuscript texts are often characterized by what is called scribal inconsistency³, which may take place in all grammatical categories but which is perhaps most confusing for a reader of a later period when it affects the consonantal ductus itself.⁴ As *matres lectionis* must be considered more or less

¹ In fact, originally Arabic was written *normally* without indicating short vowels [or even diacritics] as in Aramaic orthography. When the indication of short vowels was necessary *scriptio plena* was used exceptionally, e.g., in Koranic texts. Cf. Diem, *Untersuchungen*, p. 212 and pp. 225-226. The system of orthographic auxiliary signs (*naqt*, *šakl*) including signs for the short vowels a, i, u was introduced in the 6th-7th centuries for reading the *Qur'ān*, cf. *Grundriss I*, p. 178. It seems evident that the profuse use of 'Hilfszeichen' in secular texts benefits from the prestige of al-Qur'ān.

² Hary makes an important note on personal orthographic styles (*Schreiberschule*), stating that "each scribe took pride in his own spelling which resulted in a remarkable degree of [individual] standardization in every ms." Despite a common [Later Egyptian] orthography every scribe had his own consistent tradition. Hary's examples all represent the treatment of the consonantal ductus and use diacritics, not short vowel signs. See Hary, p. 97. For the importance of determining the elements of individual copyists' orthographic styles, see p. 102. The study of the 'graphetic' aspects of medieval texts has gained momentum especially in Middle English Dialectology, p. 1-. Although orthographic variation is too easily disregarded as 'extralinguistic', the possibility of its correlation with *places*, as pointed out by McIntosh (p.5) seems too relevant for historical dialectology to be ignored.

³ I refer here especially to late medieval Arabic MSS., although various inconsistencies are frequent in early papyri. Cf. Grohmann, *Arabische Papyruskunde*.

⁴ See, Davies, p. 57. The modification of the consonantal ductus could serve, at least potentially, artistic purposes in HQ but is also prevalent in informal historical texts, cf. Ibn

optional their sporadic and arbitrary use in secular texts is, in fact, what might be expected.¹ However, the fact that auxiliary signs are used, depending on the scribal style, concurrently with unvocalised lexemes gives a somewhat misleading association to the notion of arbitrariness. The assumption that medieval scribes would use *matres lectionis* simply as a calligraphic extension to write *n'importe quoi* seems basically unjustified and must be rejected in most cases. Assuming that a scribe simply wants to fill in a microsegment² of three consonants by using three vowels and a *sukūn* for the middle consonant, he can compose $3 \times 4 \times 3 = 36$ different combinations which are orthographically different and if he uses the option of also leaving one, two or all letters also unvocalized, 71 possible combinations involving both grammatical and ungrammatical vocalizations which could be described as 'arbitrary'. However, the orthographic variation of individual microsegments in the present texts indicates that a scribe rarely uses more than two to five different orthographic forms with one to two forms—often including, but not always, the unvocalised form—having significantly higher frequencies.³ Thus, basically the use of *matres lectionis* is definitely more consistent than inconsistent as the variation takes place, so to speak, within an orthographic register defined by the scribal style. Based on my analysis of the microsegments of Chapter 6 it seems possible to predict the probability that a given word is written by a given scribe as with the relative frequencies of the forms he uses. On the other hand, it seems possible to say that despite the available options for vocalization, a given scribe rarely uses forms which do not belong to his orthographic register, his 'Schreiberschule'. As such it is difficult to accept the claim of orthographic arbitrariness if the variation takes place as with well-defined individual stylistic principles.

3.1.1.2 The differences in scribal styles are most conclusively demonstrated by the use of *matres lectionis* in wellknown *inflexible* words. It seems that scribes who use auxiliary signs, also use them in words where communicative function is more or less redundant.

lyās *passim*.

¹ Cf. Davies, pp. 60-61.

² Cf. Harrell, *A Linguistic Analysis*, pp. 6-8.

³ This conclusion is based on the analysis of all microsegments in Chapter VI of A, H, F, E and M but the detailed findings have been omitted from the present text.

Table 4.1 إذا 'if'

	A		H		F		E		M	
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
إذا	26	18	34	7	51	11	36	14	45	12
إذا				1	1	7	1	2	1	
إذا				1						
إذا						1				
إذا						1				
إذا						1				1
إذا									1	
إذا								2	2	2
إذا							1			

Table 4.2 إلى / الي 'to'

	A		H		F		E		M	
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
إلى	13	1	11	1	22	4	12		15	
إلى			1	1	1				4	
إلى										1
إلى										1
إلى	1								2	
إلى									2	
إلى								1		
إلى								1	1	
إلى								5		
إلى								2		
إلى								1		
إلى								2	3	

Table 4.3 على / علي 'on'

	A		H		F		E		M	
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
على	26	34	19	4	35	34	2	2	30	24
على								1	4	9
على			3	7						1
على									3	2
على						3				
على			2				15	20		
على			1				3			
على							6	2		
على							8	13		

3.1.1.3 The comparison of the above occurrences in the Classical Proverbs vs. the Proverbs of Men and Women indicates that the relative number of occurrences as in both texts are very nearly the same which means that they are treated by the same basic scribal style ‘Schreiberschule’. This in turn suggests that the possible different origin of the texts is not reflected in the orthography as far as the above forms are concerned. However, it is important to note that the above forms are totally neutral from the scribal point of view and thus allowed maximum freedom in the use of a personal scribal style. As such the MSS. reflect relatively individual treatment of individual lexemes despite the unifying nature of the copying process: e.g., only M uses ‘alay in both texts. An intertextual analysis of individual occurrences of the proverbs indicates that there is *seldom* a direct orthographic correlation between the MSS. at this orthographic level. E.g. in Cl. Prov. Nr 101W:E: ‘ly, F: ‘ly, M: ‘alay; Prov of Mw, Nr 299N:A: ‘ly, E: ‘aly, F: ‘ly, M: ‘alay.¹

The previous examples also seem to suggest *prima facie* an equal orthographic treatment of both texts at this particular level. However, as the Proverbs of Men and Women are placed *after* the classical ones, it is appropriate to ask whether the orthography in this section simply reflects previously written forms of the same words.

3.1.1.3 In this respect /baynamā/ ‘while, whereas’ is interesting because it does not occur in the Classical Proverbs.

Table 4.4 بينما /baynamā/ ‘while, whereas’

	A mw	H mw	F mw	E mw	M mw
bynm	8	3			5
baynm				1	
by nm				1	1
bay nm				2	1
bay nam				1	
bay nama				1	
bay namá			5		
bay namá ^r			1		
bay namá ^r -			1		
bay namá ^r á			1		

3.1.1.4 The above occurrences of بينما are all in initial position in the Proverbs of

¹ I am not claiming that the MSS. are copied directly from each other. However, if the MSS. were copied *exactly* in the same form from one to another, the MSS. would be orthographically closer to each other even if some missing ‘links’ exist—as is very likely in this case.

Men and Women Nos 31R-37R and 270N, which has inspired F in particular to exhibit his craftsmanship. The examples indicate clearly that the Proverbs of Men and Women were not considered a secondary *faṣl*. In this respect the orthographic treatment of plainly vernacular words is interesting and is exemplified here by 'ayš.

Table 4.5 ايش /'ayš/ 'what'

	A mw	H mw	F mw	E mw	M mw
lyš 'what'	14	4	6	10	5
ly š					1
lyš-					2
'alyš					1
aly š- ⁴			3		1
f-lyš 'then what'				1	
b-lyš 'with what'	1	1	2		
b-ly ² šay ¹ in				1	
b-šm ¹				1	
'lyš 'why'	2		1	1	
'alayš				1	1
'alyšu			1		
'aly 'alyš					1
lyš		1		1	
llyš 'why'	1		1		
l-'ayš					1
llyš 'where'		1			

3.1.1.5 The above examples indicate that microsegments in the Proverbs of Men and Women were deliberately maintained in their vernacular form with the same orthography which is used in the Classical Proverbs. However, vernacular bundles were occasionally dismantled and classicised, e.g., 8R:E: b-šm¹ 'with what' 1; but b-ly² šay¹in 359N:E; 338N:M: 'alayš, but 234R:M 'aly 'alyš. It is therefore justified to say that, based on the above evidence, that the mere use of *matres lectionis* does not have stylistic, diglossic function reserved for CA items. The above examples, if presented graphically, would eventually serve to describe the *scribal profiles* of MSS. A¹, H, F, E and M.

3.1.2 The relatively large differences between MSS. indicate that individual scribal styles clearly outweigh the effect of simple copying. However, the influence of copying is occasionally felt at the level of proverbs, e.g., in three proverbs from al-Qur'an², 24Q, 29Q and 30Q:

¹ Taking into consideration *matres lectionis* of second hand origin in A.

² 24Q. God does not entrust any soul with more than it can bear. (Q2:286), 29Q. Oh, you who believe, why do you say what you do not do. (Q61:2) and 30Q. What do you think of those who proclaim themselves innocent? Nay, God proclaims innocent whomever he wants.

- 1) A: ll yuka lifu llh n fsl ll wus'ahl
 H: ll yklf llh n fsl ll ws'h
 F: ll yklf llh n fslan ll ws'h
 E: la! yukalf llahu n fslan ll wus'ahal
 M: ll ykalfu llahu n fslan ll wus'ahl
- 2) A: y! yhl llqyna lmnw! li-ma tqwlwn m! ll tf'lwn
 H: y! lyhl llqyn lmnw! l-m tqwlwn m! ll tf'lwn
 F: y! lyhl llqyn lmnw! l-m tqwlwn m! ll tf'lwn
 E: ya! 'yuhl <لها> llqyna l'manuwl <أنتوا> l-m tqwlwn m! la! tf'aluwn
 M: y! yuhl [or: yhál] llqyn l'mnw! li-ma tqwlwn ma! ll tf'aluwna
- 3) A: l-lm tr lly llqyn yuzakwn lnfusahm bl llhu yzkay mn yš!
 H: l-lm tr lly llqyn yzkwn lnfshm bl llh yzky mn yš!
 F: l-lm tr lly llqyn yzkwn lnfshm bl llh yzky mn yš!
 E: l-lm tr lly llqyna yz|kuwn lnfshm bl llh yzky mn yš!
 M: l-lm tar lly llqyn yzkwn lnfusahm bal llahu yzky man yaša^lu

Example 1) indicates that if a microsegment is vocalised in a MS., the same microsegment is likely to be vocalised—with eventual differences in the scribal style—in subsequent MS(S). The individual scribal style seems merely to influence the intensity of vocalization and the placement of individual signs. In example 2) the connection between E and M— and A too—is rather striking.¹ Example 3) indicates fairly independent use of *matres lectionis* by M but this is also the last MS. in its branch of the family-tree.

3.1.3 The frequencies of *short vowels* per thousand microsegments (cf. Table 5: 10; 5:21; 5:32) are relatively close to each other both in the Classical Proverbs and the Proverbs of Men and Women. However, the higher frequency of *a* by F and M and of *u* by F in the Proverbs of Men and Women may indicate both classicization and decorative purposes. The high number of occurrences in the Classical Proverbs of MS. A is mainly due to secondary origin.²

3.1.4 Conclusion: The above findings indicate that while the copyists used *matres*

(Q4:49).

¹ If the vocalisation of A is indeed, as it seems, partly of secondary origin, the copyist of M used A *after* the vowel signs were added by a third party. E must be excluded as it leaves li-ma unvocalised. A MS. linking E and M is apparently missing.

² My *impression* is that the Classical Proverbs of A were vocalized by a foreign, possibly Turkish reader who was probably the same person who added Turkish translations of Arabic words between the lines and in the margin. His vocalisation is characterized by its 'grammatical' nature and almost full vocalisation of individual Arabic words, whereas the normal style of vocalisation also involves redundant, decorative uses. I have excluded the occasional Osman-Turkish translations of individual words in the Classical Proverbs, between the lines and in the margin, as these words simply represent Turkish equivalents [as in the orthography given by the Turkish-English Lexicon of Redhouse] of common Classical Arabic vocabulary and give no relevant information for the interpretation of the proverbs.

lectionis in a very individual manner. On the basis of tables (4.1-4.5) MS. E exhibits a large variety of calligraphically different forms mainly in the Classical Proverbs whereas MS. F exhibits more variety in the Proverbs of Men and Women. The style of MS. M is fairly consistent in both sections. MS. H uses more signs than MS. A although they look 'unvocalised'. Although orthographic links between the MSS. do exist, individual scribal style is usually imposed over the basic consonantal ductus in a manner which outweighs the effect of simple copying. The above evidence further suggests that the writing styles of the scribes are *basically* very consistent, both in the Classical Proverbs and in the Proverbs of Men and Women, which indicates a remarkable control over writing. This seems to give support to the argument that clearly dialectal forms which are used more frequently in the Proverbs of Men and Women are not mere scribal errors but serve specific stylistic purposes. Although this seems, *prima facie*, obvious, a scribe has even for the present text multiple choices available: 1. To write without vocalization which is the normal choice for common texts without any specific *linguistic* interest. 2. Vocalization following the rules of CA grammar—in use especially for Quranic quotations. 3. Vocalization following the rules of CA grammar but adapting, when necessary, poetic licences; a scribe, obviously, merely copies from his original but he may emphasize the poetic nature of his original. 4. As 3. but emphasizing the spoken nature of a poetic text; again the original used for copying must play a role but a scribe may emphasize a specific, spoken pronunciation. 5. The last option is to write 'spoken' language which is in orthographic contrast with 2. and 3. However, although a scribe seems basically to be in control of his personal style of writing, the fact that non-CA features may occur in a CA context, for instance d^2 pro d (see p. 61), suggests that a scribe is not in total control of his underlying language habits. A specific context definitely encourages him to make a special effort, e.g., to write as correct CA as possible, which—as it seems—cannot entirely eliminate the penetration of vernacular elements into his writing exactly as in a similar spoken situation.

Nr	MS.	A		H		F		E		M	
	Section	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
1	'm-segm.'	1199	1321	1124	569	1716	1505	1858	1476	1967	1501
2	occur.	2084	1478	2135	961	3009	2409	2920	2355	3078	2391
3	weight	1	1.41	1	2.22	1	1.25	1	1.24	1	1.29
4	weight/"F"	1.44	1.63	1.41	2.51	1	1	1.03	1.02	0.98	1.01
5	x /1000	0.48	0.68	0.47	1.04	0.33	0.42	0.34	0.42	0.32	0.42
6	occ.:m-se	1.74	1.12	1.90	1.69	1.75	1.60	1.57	1.60	1.56	1.59
7	u	138	2	13	1	158	171	716	391	406	231
8	w.	138	3	13	2	158	214	716	485	406	298
9	w./"F"	199	4	18	2	158	171	738	399	399	299
10	per 1000	66.2	1.4	6.1	1.0	52.1	71.8	243.4	164.2	129.9	97.0
11	%/occ.2)	6.6%	0.1%	0.6%	0.1%	5.3%	7.1%	24.5%	16.6%	13.2%	9.7%
12	-u	30	0	3	0	49	38	127	8	90	5
13	weight	30	0	3	0	49	47	127	10	90	7
14	w./"F"	43	0	4	0	49	47	131	8	88	5
15	per 1000	14.4	0	1.4	0	16.2	16.0	43.2	3.4	28.8	2.1
16	% -u/u	21.7%	0.0%	23.1%	0.0%	31.0%	22.2%	17.7%	2.0%	22.2%	2.2%
17	%-u/occ.	1.4%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	1.6%	1.6%	4.3%	0.3%	2.9%	0.2%
18	i	110	10	14	4	138	98	903	470	438	298
19	weight	110	14	14	9	138	123	903	583	438	384
20	w./"F"	158	16	20	10	138	98	930	479	429	301
21	per 1000	52.8	6.8	6.6	4.2	45.5	41.2	307.0	197.4	140.2	125.2
22	% i/occ.2)	5.3%	0.7%	0.7%	0.4%	4.6%	4.1%	30.9%	20.0%	14.2%	12.5%
23	-i	11	1	3	0	39	24	112	9	65	10
24	weight	11	1	3	0	39	30	112	11	65	13
25	w./"F"	16	2	4	0	39	24	115	9	64	10
26	per 1000	5.3	0.7	1.4	0.0	12.9	10.1	38.1	3.8	20.8	4.2
27	% -u/u	10.0%	10.0%	21.4%	0.0%	28.3%	24.5%	12.4%	1.9%	14.8%	3.4%
28	%-u/occ.	0.5%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	1.3%	1.0%	3.8%	0.4%	2.1%	0.4%
29	a	206	40	78	37	505	621	2042	1282	1350	1110
30	weight	206	56	78	82	505	776	2042	1590	1350	1432
31	w./"F"	297	65	110	93	505	621	2103	1308	1323	1121
32	per 1000	98.9	27.2	36.7	38.5	166.7	260.8	694.3	538.4	432.0	466.2
33	%a/occ.2)	9.9%	2.7%	3.7%	3.9%	16.8%	25.8%	69.9%	54.4%	43.9%	46.4%
34	-a	31	14	6	3	72	44	53	7	154	46
35	weight	31	20	6	7	72	55	53	9	154	59
36	w./"F"	45	32	8	17	72	55	55	9	151	60
37	per 1000	14.9	22	4	17	24	23	19	4	48	25
38	% -a/a	15.0%	35.0%	7.7%	8.1%	14.3%	7.1%	2.6%	0.5%	11.4%	4.1%
39	%a/occ.2)	1.5%	0.9%	0.3%	0.3%	2.4%	1.8%	1.8%	0.3%	5.0%	1.9%

3.2 Use of Final Short Vowel Signs

The analysis focuses here on the indication of final short vowels¹ because the general disappearance of moods and cases represents distinctive Neo-Arabic linguistic features in Middle Arabic.²

3.2.1 Occurrences of Final -u

Table (12:15) indicates distinctly higher frequencies of final short vowels in the Classical Proverbs of E (43.2/3.4), M (28.8/2.1) [and H (1.4/0)] but is equivalent in both sections of F (16.2/16), which *prima facie* serves more or less explicit classicization of the proverbs.

3.2.1.1 Use of Final -u in the Classical Proverbs

The overall impression is that final -u is used indiscriminately where it can be used as in CA, e.g., to indicate a nominative case ending, indicative mood ending, or with 3rd person pronominal suffix. As final -u in such positions explicitly represents CA reading, it may be considered a potential 'classicization' device whereas its non-use leaves the text ambiguous from an interpretational point of view.

3.2.1.1.1 The highest number of occurrences of microsegments with -u is related to constructions with 3rd pers. sing. suff.³ <ـُ > and to the lexeme <الله>: E: lahu (12); llahu/llahu (9); llahu (5); minhu (4); min|hu (3); f-lahu (2). In M: llahu/llahu (7); lhu (2); lahu (2); yakuwnu (2). F, who makes profuse use of non-consonantal signs, does not write a single ordinary word twice with -u but has, e.g., ll-'alm-tāllu (1); ll-'alm-tāllu (1) which may suggest that -u serves more decorative than 'grammatical' aims. MSS. A and H have only single occurrences. The use of -u in the subgroups of Classical Proverbs indicates high frequency of -u, especially in the *Poetical Proverbs*, E (103/127), cf. M (48/90), F (33/49), which may be simply due to the length of this section and creating more grammatical opportunities and poetic licences for the use of -u. The differences in the distribution of -u between other proverbial subgroups are less conclusive, although, for example, F's individual style is reflected in the higher number of occurrences of -u in the Proverbs of *al-*

¹ Short vowels in other positions could equally well be studied for eventual stylistic use. The preliminary analysis of the data indicates that, for example., the imperfect preformative is virtually always vocalised as in CA as well as the conjunction wa- (and fa-).

² Such a general statement probably applies more accurately to the spoken Middle Arabic dialects—as it is supported by Modern Arabic dialects—than to Middle Arabic written language *in general*, which is demonstrated by the discussion on the problem of synthetic vs. analytic varieties, cf. Hary, p. 59; it seems sufficient for the purpose of this study to identify final vowels which represent vocalization as in CA (either as a continuation of CA written tradition or as a stylistic restoration of CA values) vs. consistent non-indication of the final vowel, which would leave the vocalization at least ambiguous. Although the use of vowel signs is, in principle, voluntary in Arabic writing, the explicit indication of cases could be justified for poetical reasons. The opposite—in certain contexts—could be interpreted as an attempt to use a different written standard vs. CA for explicit vernacularization, cf. MAWĀLIYĀ, EI¹ p. 867.

³ The treatment of pronominal suffixes is dealt with separately in this study.

Muwalladīn than in the Proverbs of al-Qur'ān, al-Ḥadīṭ and al-'Arab. Only M and F used -u, (4) and (3), respectively, in the introductory part of Chapter 6 (which is fairly short) which may suggest that the proverbial text received altogether different treatment in the other MSS. The lack of -u in the introductory part of E is unexpected as E uses *matres lectionis* profusely in the proverbs.

3.2.1.2 Use of Final -u in the Proverbs of Men and Women

3.2.1.2.1 The number of occurrences of final -u in the Proverbs of Men and Women is far lower than in the Classical Proverbs, as stated above, and can hardly be explained except by the overall intended spoken nature of this section.

3.2.1.2.2 All occurrences in the MSS. E, F, H and M are single occurrences. In contrast F has ka'alnah^hu "he (is) like" (2), cf. 3rd pers. masc. sing. suff. above, and ṭaw|b'áú 'cloth' (2).

3.2.1.2.3 In F -u is primarily used in microsegments which are in the initial position of a proverb¹ (Men 12, Women 5). F's style of writing the first word is often overly decorative involving abundant use of supplementary orthographic signs, e.g., minuscule superscript extra letters, ~-signs and *dagger alifs* which are usually met with in MSS. of al-Qur'ān: 189R:F: and 191R:F: ka'alnah^hu "He is like"; 289N:F: ṭaw|b'áú sydy "My master's clothing". F uses -u in most cases correctly as in CA but also demonstrates errors: 118R:E: yltiy llh b-ll-lban ll-ḥaliybu "God will bring sour milk"; pro genitive -i; 93R:F: mn d|k ll-'aḡynu "from that dough"; pro genitive -i; 302N:M: mamluwku "slave"; pro tanwīn -un; 331N:F: ḍḥ|ku bn sn^t "A one year old child", noun in st. constr. with nominative -u pro 3rd pers. m. sing. perfect with -a, in contrast MSS. AHEM correctly use ḍḥk 'laughed'.

3.2.1.2.4 Although the use of -u, e.g., with 3. pers. m. sing. suffix -hu, clearly serves 'classicization', vernacular forms are used alongside CA ones fairly frequently: e.g. 72R:E: ḥw|l ḥabyby ma'uwnuh w-qdrtaḥu m' ka'nuwnuh "My beloved took away his things, and his pot with his stove." in which the correct form with the accusative in qdrtaḥu "his pot" is used next to the vernacular m' ka'nuwnuh "with his stove" [pro CA -ih(i)]. The rime is perfectly balanced by the vernacular pair with -u(h) and the extra syllable brought in by the CA -ahu sounds disturbing. In 293N:E: ḡtn| ll-'adu^w mkḥ|ḥ b-qatraln la| ḡayruhu wa-qlbḥa| farḥaln "The enemy came to us with the edges of her eyelids painted with pitch and nothing else (as for mourning) but her heart was full of joy" the definitely vernacular ḡtn| [pro ḡā'at-nā] "she came (3rd pers. sing. fem. perf.) to us" is immediately followed by CA ḡayruhu, which sounds awkward. The unvocalised form in the other MSS. allows vernacular pronunciation: A: ḡtn| ll-'dw^h mkḥ|ḥ qtr|n ll ḡyrh w-qlbh| frḥ|n; F: ḡtn| ll-'dw^h mukḥ|ḥ qtr|n ll ḡyrh [somewhat unclear -h] w-qlbh| frḥ|n; M: ḡtn| ll-'adu^w mukḥ|ḥ qatrln la| ḡyrh wa-qlbh| frḥaln.

3.2.1.2.5.1 Occurrences in E: 123R:E: šamahu 197R:E: lw qaṭ'uw| ly|duhu [uncertain

¹ As with tanwīn -un.

voc. due to multiple signs; possibly corrected towards vernacular] w-dalwhal 'dth mal yuḥaliy|haḥ; NB. ly|duhu, vernacular lyd pro CA yad in nominative and CA suffix -hu pro correct accusative or even more appropriate vernacular -u(h). 30R:E: twlz'at|hu [possibly original.] 67R:E: lahu [possibly original.] 72R:E: w-qdrtahu 95R:E: tnfa'u 118R:E: b-ll-lban ll-ḥaliybu 291N:E: gayruhu.

3.2.1.2.5.2 Occurrences in F: 175R:F: naruwḥu 93R:F: ll-'aḡynu 113R:F: zaw-aḡ|tu 11R:F: ll-quṭ|nu 130R:F: yaḍuru 134R:F: ḍar|b'u ll-ḥbyb 134R:F: w-yaq|'udu 147R:F: tuw'lu 160R:F: rḥyṣu 19R:FM21 |ll-raḡ|mu 184R:F: kuḥu 189R:F: ka'aḥnah^hu 191R:F: ka'aḥnah^hu 197R:F: yadahu, ṭab|'uhu 238R:F: atjidu 243R:F: yaḥ šbu 30R:F: twlz'at|hu lkafu 45R:F: tamuwt'zu 48R:F: tar|ku 3R:F: tlḥas|hu 55R:F: ṭaw|b'zu 61R:F: ḡaw|r'u 84R:F: dālru ll-zllm 211R:F: ll-mwtu 60R:F: ll-watadu 206R:F: wa-hazahu 231R:F: w-wqt ḍar|bu ll-dyr^h 273N:F: ta|ṭaqiduhu 289N:F: ṭaw|b'zu sydy 325N:F: w-tatanaqašu 329N:F: šālma/it'hu 331N:F: ḍḥ|ku (bn sn^t) 338N:F: 'alyšu 341N:F: kanasṭu [sic! pro 3rd pers. sing. fem.] 360N:F: ya'iyšu 361N:F: yaḥ ḡazalltu ll-lqmr 364N:F: yaḥ|basu ll-bzru qtnl

3.2.1.2.5.3 Occurrences in M: 218R:M: ll-ms|ku 30R:M: lkfu ll-qwm 72R:M: w-qdrtahu 95R:M: tanfa'u 302N:M: mamluwku .

3.2.1.3 Possible use of -u as vernacular anaptyctic vowel: The Proverbs of Men of Women offer only one example of the use of final -u which is possibly used for a vernacular anaptyctic vowel: 338N:F: ḡay|ruki yqwm b-mqlmk 'alyšu [ḡayn pro 'ayn] qlyby u'aḍbh "Somebody else will take your place, why should I torment my little heart (for you)?" However, the possibility that -u here stands for 3rd pers. m. sing. suff. cannot be entirely excluded but seems improbable as *ḍamma* is not used for this purpose in the MSS.¹ As MS. F contains a number of scribal errors, the possibility that the above is one of them cannot be entirely excluded. The Proverbs of Men and Women exhibit occurrences which are interpretationally ambiguous, e.g., 113R:F: zaw-aḡ|tu bnty lq'd fy dlrh^h ḡtny w-irb^h wr|hāl "I married my daughter to live (in my dream) in her house; she came (back) to me with four (kids) behind her." cf. 113R:FEM zawḡt; H: zwḡt but with ḡt'ny, A: zwḡt with ḡt'ny. Although this example belongs *prima facie* to the category of spoken proverbs and as such would suggest that the rejection of the 1st pers. sing. perf. ending -tu is an attempt at classicization, the syllable ending in -u fits remarkably well into the sequence -CC# C- which would suggest an anaptyctic vowel in the vernacular.² The problem is that the possibility that this proverb may be semiliterary and originally contained both CA and vernacular elements is entirely plausible. In the proverbs of E (see ref. below), final -u is used almost exclusively in proverbial verses where the final vowel supports their internal rhythm. However, vernacular pronunciation is in most cases equally possible, which is further supported by the spelling imposed by other MSS.

¹ Cf. *مَنْ* pro *مَنْ* and *عَادَ* pro *عَادَهُ* in the Andalusian proverbs, nos 410 and 486. See Ibn 'Aṣim, pp. 335 and 329.

² Cf. Mitchell, *Colloquial Arabic*, pp. 34-35.

3.2.1.4 Conclusion: The examples clearly indicate that final -u's are used in the Proverbs of Men and Women especially in proverbial mawwāl-verses in which the semiliterary context justifies the occasional use of CA forms possibly partly for poetical reasons. The use of final -u has been further extended to proverbs of spoken origin in which it functions as a 'classicization' device. Some versions of proverbs in F indicate that the scribe of the current form of a proverb or its meaning was not known to the copyists. This would suggest use of final -u's for analogic reasons rather than for conscious stylistic levelling despite the fact that the use of final -u definitely serves as a stylistic prestige variety. The final interpretation, however, remains ambiguous due to an *argumentum ex silentio*.

3.2.2 Occurrences of Final -i

Table (12:26), indicates a similar pattern of -i between the MSS. as of final -u, with substantially higher frequencies in the Classical Proverbs especially in E (38.1/3.8) and M (20.8/4.2) but also in H (1.4/0) and even in F (12.9/10.1).

3.2.2.1 Use of Final -i in the Classical Proverbs

Most occurrences of -i, similarly to -u, are in the subsection of Poetical Proverbs, E (89/127) and M (48/90), somewhat fewer in F (14/39), where its indication is likely due to metric reasons: e.g., in E (43/89) and M (11/38) final -i occurs most frequently at the end of a second foot.

3.2.2.1.1 The number of multiple occurrences of microsegments with -i is as follows: E: bihi (9); fyhi (2); l-l-mar'li (2); ll-mr'li (2); sullṭatnihi (2); F: ll-mr'li (3); l-l-mr'li (2); Inti (2); M: ll-mw|ti (3); ll-mar'li (3); ll-mr'li (3); ll-nl̄si (3); bhi (2); 'aly|hi (2); H: ll-mr'li (2). The findings are very similar to final -u indicating some concentration on constructions with 3rd pers. sing. suff. and on specific lexical items, this time especially on *المرء*.

3.2.2.1.2 Use of final -i in the Proverbs of Men and Women: final -i occurs in A (1), E (13), F (29) and M (10) but not in H (0). Only MSS. E and F have multiple occurrences, E bhi (2); F Inti (2).

3.2.2.1.2.1 In the most evident cases of classicization, final -i is used to indicate the CA genitive: F: 60R:F: fy ll-baladi 199R:F: ll-sm'pi 347N:F: mn ll-blsa/iṭiyati; E: 73R:E: b-l-tuwti 251N:E: bhi 328N:E: bhi 350N:E: min bay|ti ll-walliy, [cf. 226R:E l-haḏhi]; M: 9R:M: r'pyh^t ll-fqwsi 123R:M: bi-'umri 362N:M: mn kli baly^h. However, the genitive is used concurrently with explicitly vernacular *بيش* in 20R:F: lqr' yqwl l-'lqr' lmsy bn' nzra' fy brk^t ll-qr'āni alyš'ā [large size] ml' ṭl' yṭl' ll-nšf ly w-ll-rb' ly w-ll-ṭmn ly w-ll-ṭmn ll-'lhr lk w-ly "A bald man says to another: Let's cultivate with the luck of the bald ones, whatever may grow, one half is for me, and a quarter for me, and an eighth for me, and the last eighth for you and for me." Occasional CA segments such as l-haḏhi (226R:E) and bhi (251N:E) belong most likely to the category of lexical borrowing.

3.2.2.1.2.2 Final -i is used in the proverbs of women to indicate a feminine ending but the potential stylistic value of -i with a CA connotation is undermined by the

fact that CA and vernacular feminine endings are in these cases phonetically very likely identical. If a classical connotation should exist, it would be orthographical. The use of the vowel letter -y pro -i in this context is interesting but will be discussed further in this study: 252N:F: *ln knti ħur^h* "If you are a free woman," 2nd pers. sing. f.", cf. A: *ln knty ħr^h*; E: *ln kntiy ħur^h*; however M: *ln knt ħrt*. Further also 338N:F: *ġay|ruki* "Somebody else (than you)", cf. A: *ġyrk*; H: *ġyrk*; E: *ġyrak*; M: *ġyrk*. 328N:A: *w-lnti 'rwsl* "and you are a bride", cf. E: *w-lntiy 'aruws^h*; M: *lnti 'aruws^h*; H: *lnt 'rws^h*.

3.2.2.1.2.3 The proverbial verse 25R:M was very likely written originally in formal Arabic: *w-qll ln dalm ħadl ll-sayr yl mas'wdi lalm nqatan tbqy w-lal qa'wdi* "If this journey lasts any longer, my (dear) *Mas'ūd*, there will be neither a camel left nor can I sit (any longer) [my sitting left]", where -i in the proper name stands for 1st pers. sing. suff. -y.¹ Cf. further 182R:E: *kul šay'in lal yšbh qlniy|hi ħraim* "Everything that does not suit its owner is a shame."

3.2.2.1.2.4 F uses -i as a support vowel as in CA in the first microsegment of the proverbs [5/Men 10 and 4/Women 14]; 114R:F: *s-lli ll-mġrb* "Isk the man of experience"; 157R:F: *ġabati ll-sbf* "the lions are away"; 140R:F: *ťátrat'i ll-ťywr* "The birds flew" but also as a vernacular anaptyctic vowel twice in 40R:F: *bá'dall-đi lhmk* "Instead of your meat"; 41R:F: *bađ-dalli ll-lhm* "Instead of meat", pro CA -a /badāla/.

3.2.2.1.2.5 Final -i is used either as a vernacular anaptyctic vowel or pseudo-inflection for poetical reasons in 309N:F: *ħdy krkrk w-lngry ġalky ll-ħri* "Take your storeroom and trade, (and) a free man will come to you.", pro CA *al-ħurr(u)*; M: *ħdy krkrky w-lngry ġalky ll-ħari*; A: *ġlk ll-ħry*; E: *ġlky ll-ħur*. The use of the vowel letter -y in A indicates an explicit spoken value.

3.2.2.2 **Conclusion:** The analysis indicates that the use of final -i is stylistically ambiguous as it serves both CA and vernacular purposes. The number of explicit uses of CA genitive is very limited, suggesting that final -i is used primarily for poetic reasons as an anaptyctic vowel rather than for other grammatical purposes.

3.2.3 Occurrences of Final -a (fatħa)

As indicated in table (12:37), final -a is used as follows²: H (2.8/3.1), F (23.8/18.5), E (18.0/2.9), M (49.3/19.3).³

3.2.3.1 The detailed study of individual occurrences of final -a indicated that its scribal use is basically very similar to what has been mentioned earlier regarding final -u and -i. For this reason a detailed presentation of all contextual uses has

¹ See Wright, i, p. 101, Rem. c.; further , p. 253, Rem. b.

² MS. A has been omitted due to signs of secondary origin but it is included in the table.

³ Although the conjunction *w-/wa-* has been counted as an independent lexeme in the total number of microsegments for practical reasons, the occurrences of *wa(-)* have been excluded here.

been omitted.

3.2.3.1.1 It seems, however, justified to present a couple of examples of subjunctive -a in order to avoid the impression that the use of word-final -a was an entirely mechanical operation for the sake of producing as decoratively impressive manuscripts as possible or that the copyists paid less attention to the grammatical relevance of vocalization.

3.2.3.1.1.1 22R:A: lq'd yl ħmlr ynbṭ lk ll-š'yr "Sit down, you donkey, until there grows barley for you."; E: lq'ud yl ħmlr ḥty ynbṭ lk ll-š'iy; M: lq'ud yal ħmlr ḥty yanbṭ lk ll-š'yr; but with subjunctive in F: lq'ud yl ħmlr ḥty yan|buta lk ll-š'yr. An interesting question is why M considered it more important to use *fatha* with the interjection *yā* and with the preformative *ya-* but did not indicate the subjunctive. My interpretation is that M did not want to use the subjunctive in vernacular proverbs.

3.2.3.1.1.2 57R:A: ql ḥty yṭl' šy yršwh 'lyh [wağh 'face' scrawled over] "Somebody said: "Let it draw up some (water), so we can sprinkle it on him."; H: ṭwr 'lqwh lğmy 'lyh ql ḥty yṭl'a šy yršwh 'layh; F: qlwl ḥty yṭl' šy'; M: qla ḥty yṭl' šy; MS. E uses another construction E: ql ṭl' b-šay'i nršh 'ly wağhkh [with imperative]"...Somebody said: "Bring up something (so) we [I?] will sprinkle it on your face." The subjunctive -a is used only by H. E neglects the subjunctive but gives a full treatment to *شيء* adding the preposition *bi-*.

3.2.3.1.1.3 239R:E: laṭ taškurn ll-fatay [with a fussy *fatha* on *alif maqṣūra*] ḥaty tağribahu "Do not thank a young man until you have tried him."; A: ḥty tğrbh; F: ḥty tğrbh; M: ḥaty tğrbh. E uses subjunctive -a, but for some reason, probably due to sheer scribal error, vocalises the preformative *ta-* pro CA *tu-*.

3.2.3.1.1.4 In some cases the indication of the subjunctive with -a has been neglected by all copyists but lexical variation takes place: 240R:A: ll tfrḥ l-mn yrwh ḥty tnzar mn yğy "Do not rejoice for somebody leaving until you have seen who will come."; 240R:E: ḥaty ṭb|sar; F: ḥty ṭbš; M: ḥty ṭbšar. 22R:A: ll-'dw ml ybqy ḥbyb ḥty yšyra ll-ħmlr ṭbyb "An enemy doesn't become a beloved one until a donkey becomes a doctor [i.e. never]." H: ll-'dw ml b-ybqy [y/] ḥbyb ḥty yšyr ll-ħmlr ṭbyb. However, F: ll-'adw ml ybqy ḥbyb ḥty ybql ll-ħmlr ṭbyb; E: ll-'aduw ml ybqy ḥbyb ḥatay yabqal ll-ħmlr ṭbyb; M: ll-'dw ml yab|qy ḥbyb ḥty yb|qy ll-ħmlr ṭbyb. The MSS. A and H use vernacular *بقي* — H with b-imperfect (!) — next to the CA *لصار* which, however, refers to a noun without accusative *alif*. In contrast, F, E and M only use vernacular *بقي*² which could potentially represent explicit *vernacularization* but, in any case, full acceptance of vernacular vocabulary³.

¹ The *fatha* in A: *yšyra* is of secondary origin.

² In MEA *ba'a*, *yib'a*, see Hinds&Badawi, p. 91b.

³ The vocalization of the imperfect preformative with *fatha* by E and M could present classicization but its potential effect remains so marginal in the context that it is difficult to take it as an indication of an underlying stylistic aim.

3.2.3.1.1.5 The microsegments with -a—the conjunction wa- is included separately for comparison—have been studied in detail but are listed below without reference to give a sufficient overview of the situation.

3.2.3.1.1.5.1 A Cl.: wa (5); al'lama (1); ald|bara (1); ll-^lna (1); ll-liša (1); ll-mḥsnyna (1); ll-nlsa (1); ll-qlwba (1); ll-šlba (1); llḍyna (1); llha (1); llha (1); bya (1); 'lima (1); ḍnba (1); f-b'yysa (1); hwa (1); hya (1); itabi'i/a (1); itqya (1); li-ma (1); lsta (1); lyta (1); muqtadwna (1); ni'ma (1); quḍiya (1); sabka (1); t'lmwna (1); tubda (1); ytyka (1); ynbiyuka (1); yuzakwna (1); zalaqa (1).

3.2.3.1.1.5.2 A Mw: wa (11); llḍyna (1); d^lqa (1); mina (1); mlyḥa (1); yšyra (1)

3.2.3.1.1.5.3 H Cl.: wa (6); lysa (4); lra (1); qlla (1); ywṭy'a (1); f-hya (1); ḍla (1); alšrfa (1).

3.2.3.1.1.5.4 H Mw: qlla (2); tḍlra (1); wa (1); ytl'a (1).

3.2.3.1.1.5.5 F Cl.: wa (19); ll-^dlwtā (1); ll-^dyba (1); ll-ḥylata (1); lnta (2); blta (2); kna (2); la-^{am}r-ruk-^ā (1); mina (2); nama (2); ḥsnata (1); lšt'ta (1); lstrlḥa (1); ltyta (1); llḥlqa (1); lyka (1); alkala (1); ara (1); balāga (1); 'alima (1); 'lya (1); 'zyza (1); daba (1); f'lta (1); fwqa (1); ḥamida (1); huwa (1); ḡrbta (1); klna (1); ldyka (1); mlta (1); malaka (1); naṭaqa (1); šfra (1); sabaqa (1); sqāta (1); tara (1); tuḡara (1); w-a (1); wḡha (1); ḥalylya (1); hyra (1); ydrba (1); yur'qa (1); lftḥar|ta (1); llḥbab|ta (1); ll-day|na (1); ll-ms|ka (1); ll-lmwra (1); ald|bara (1); bar|ya (1); bay|na (1); 'ib|ta (1); ḍalal|ta (1); fa-^{ly}na (1); fa-^{hly}a (1); ḥaš|ḥaša (1); iḥ|lāka (1); kay|fa (1); la-^{am}r|ruk-a (1); la-^{am}r|ruka (1); li-yan|fa-^{aka} (1); qaḍay|ta (1); tan|ha (1); ll-muwalidiyna (1); ll-^{lmwra} (1); ll-^{lmwlla} (1); ll-^{ljl}a (1); ll-^{gzl}a (1); ll-^{gwld}a (1); ll-^{mr}'a (1); ll-^{mzlḥa} (1); ll-^{qwla} (1); b-^{tlka} (1); ka-^{lnaka} (1); la-^{ruba} (1); ḍlika (1); ḍnba (1); ḥay-^āka (1); ḡ-^ā (1); y-^{ādā}ka (1); y-^{ḥudaka} (1); yur-^{yk-ā} (1); lšy-^ā (1).

3.2.3.1.1.5.6 F Mw: wa (12); kālna (3); lnta (2); b'da (2); kna (2); waq|ta (2); an|ta (1); lḍbrta (1); ll-mnlsifa (1); ll-mṭlwbā (1); ll-^lwlba (1); lnsrfa (1); lqblta (1); ltlaf-^{ta} (1); llḥlaf-^{ta} (1); ly|na (1); blba (1); ba-^{da} (1); ba-^{da} (1); bay|na (1); daḥāla (1); faw|qa (1); ḥab|bay|tuka (1); ḥaḍara (1); huw-a (1); ḡlruka (1); k-^{ālna} (1); ma-^a (1); ma-^{aka} (1); nbya (1); nšfa (1); qdyma (1) [in y| qdyma ll-ḥsni "May the deliverance (from suffering) be old! (also in E; Cf. the vernacular form only in 224R:A y| qryb ll-frḡ "May the deliverance be close"; q|ta (1); š-^{ālma} (1); š-^{abā}ḥuka (1); šalla (1); s'yda (1); ṭlra (1) 245R:F in y| ṭlra ll-bāb; tazah|zaḥa (1); tḡnnta (1); ṭrfka (1); wq'ta (1); wšla (1); ḥfka (1); yan|buta (1); zah|ruka (1); zaw|ḡa (1);

3.2.3.1.1.5.7 E Cl.: wa (113); mina (13); mna (4); lna (2); lnta (2); lra (2); 'inda (2); kalna (2); l-kḍibuwna (1); ruba (2); 'ilna (1); lrida (1); bika (1); byna (1); 'alima (1); ḍl'a (1); ḥiyina (1); ḡal-^a (1); ḡaraba (1); klna (1); kalda (1); kunta (1); lahuna (1); raḥima (1); tqbluwna (1); trlna (1); ya'tiyka (1); yabriyka (1); ya'lauwna (1); yada|ka (1); l-ly|sa (2); f-^{ly}na (1); f-^{ly}na (1); f-biy-^{sa} (1); f-h|wa (1); f-ly|sa (1); fit|natika (1); ḥaš|ḥaša (1); la-ta-^{lamuna} (1); muqtaduwna (1); mušlimiyna (1); tn|ha (1); yud|rka (1); 'al-^{tmuruwna} (1); ll-^lna (1); f-lnta (1); f-nalla (1); la-ruba (1); llḍyna (1); ll-^{ḍiyna} (1); llḍiyna (1); ḍlqa (1); ḍikrka (1); ḍlika (1); ḍnba (1); quḍiya (1); ḥlylya (1).

3.2.3.1.1.5.8 E Mw: wa (83); kalna (2); halna (1); kna (1); mina (1); mna (1); qlma (1); ṭlra (1); ll-s-^{lsila} (1); šy-a (1).

3.2.3.1.1.5.9 M Cl.: wa (97); mina (13); mna (5); lnta (4); lysa (3); huwa (2); hya (2); klna (2); k-ḍlika (1); l-ḍlka (1); laysa (2); malta (2); mnka (2); raḥma (2); ruba (2); yurybuka (2); 'lwyka (1); 'alra (1); 'adma (1); lftaqrta (1); lftqrta (1); llḥbabta (1); lminta (1); lnka (1); lsa-^a (1); lw-^{ayta} (1); llḥlka (1); lyka (1); lyka (1); blba (1); b'da (1); b'da (1); blgka (1); bu'da (1); byna (1); 'alya (1); 'bta (1); 'lyka (1); 'nda (1); 'tba

(1); dī'a (1); dīqa (1); dīta (1); farḥuwna (1); fya (1); ḥaylka (1); ḥiyla (1); ḥmlta (1); ḥylka (1); harbta (1); hwa (1); ḡa'pa (1); ḡrbta (1); kla (1); knta (1); kunta (1); kyfa (1); lka (1); lya (1); ldyka (1); ma'a (1); makīna (1); malka (1); mašyra (1); maqtdwna (1); nšhtka (1); qalla (1); qī'ka (1); quḍiya (1); raḥīma (1); ruba (1); šalra (1); sra (1); sabaqa (1); ṭlla (1); ṭra (1); ta'lmuwna (1); tf'aluwna (1); tmīma (1); tnha (1); tqbluwna (1); tušalba (1); ḥuliqa (1); ḥyllka (1); ylyka (1); yaltyka (1); ya'lmwna (1); yakwna (1); ynbyka (1); yryka (1); ys'wka (1); yzkwna (1); l-ly|sa (1); ||-ḡzlla (1); ||-ḡluwsa (1); ||y|ka (1); |s|tr|ḥa (1); |sta|ta (1); by|na (1); f-ly|sa (1); fa-'a|f|ṭalka (1); ḡay|ra (1); li-yan|f'ka (1); ly|sa (1); ly|ta (1); ya|bsa (1); ya|lmuwna (1); ya|mluwna (1); ||-'l'na (1); ||-lkrmyna (1); ||-'almiluwna (1); ||-ḡwlda (1); ||-nalsa (1); ||-nlsa (1); ||-tam'a (1); ||-ultmuwra (1); b-nfsika (1); bi-tlka (1); ; f-'lnta (1); f-lnta (1); f-by'sa (1); f-hya (1); f-nfska (1); fa-duwnka (1); k-lnka (1); l-'amrka (1); l-'mrka (1); la-'amrka (1); li-ma (1); l-lysa (2); ||ḍiyana (1); ||ḍyna (1); ||ḍiyana (1); dī'ka (1); ḍatqa (1); ḍnba (1); f-lysa (2); mqlytiya (1); ||-nlsa (3); maṭalka (1); š'l'a (1); ṭuma (1); xšyta (1).

3.2.3.1.1.5.10 M Mw: wa (112); kīna (8); qlla (8); ba'ḍa (4); qalla (3); knta (2); mina (2); ||-blḍa (1); ||ḍiyana (1); lnta (1); lqblta (1); bgḍka (1); bika (1); 'abra (1); 'iša (1); 'inda (1); dīqa (1); ḡlba (1); ḥalna (1); ḥka (1); ka'lna (1); kunta (1); lka (1); laka (1); lyta (1); mna (1); nḗara (1); ra'l'ka (1); rakba (1); šlḥta (1); ta'iba (1); ṭra (1); ṭhta (1); wšlta (1).

3.2.3.2 Conclusion: The general conclusion is that final -a has been pasted over the text by the copyists in positions where its use corresponds to CA without any particular preference for related grammatical functions. As such the overall communicative value of its use in most positions could be interpreted as even being redundant, which is supported by the fact that the highest frequencies of -a occur with common lexemes such as the preposition *min*, the personal pronouns *huwa* and *hiya* and the verbs *kāna* and *qāla*, but most of all with the conjunction *wa-*. Yet the underlying stylistic function of -a based on the eventual contrast between CA vs. vernacular must be seriously considered due to the significantly *lower* number of occurrences in the Proverbs of Men and Women. Based on weighted totals of *fatha* (Table 10:30) in E, M and F, the ratio of occurrences of *a* in any position is in E (56.2%/43.5), M (48.5%/51.5%) and F (39.4%/60.6%), but for final -a in E (85.5%/14.5%), M (72.3%/27.7%) F (56.7%/43.3%), i.e. substantially much lower frequencies of -a in the Proverbs of Men and Women than the overall use of *a* would suggest. The conclusion is that the speech-based nature of these proverbs is most probably the extralinguistic variant which restricts the use of -a in this particular context. Against this background the extensive use of -a by F—which is still clearly below its use in the Classical Proverbs—very likely represents a *classicizing* tendency in order to enhance the value of the text.

3.3 Use of Tanwīn

3.3.1 Introductory note

3.3.1.1 Although *tanwīn*, short vowel signs especially in word final position, and *sukūn* serve a grammatical function which would justify their presentation under morphology, it seems more relevant from the point of view of the present study to approach first the use of these signs from the angle of scribal usage and to focus then, when necessary, on the specific linguistic issues involved. As copyists such as A and H rarely use the above signs and, in contrast, F, E and M very frequently, it seems justified to focus on the use of the above signs as a whole which is more related to individual scribal styles and undoubtedly also involves a purely decorative aspect.

3.3.1.2 In the general context of the use of the above signs, it seems justified to focus especially on their use in final position. As Middle Arabic developed its characteristics as far back as the beginning of the eighth century¹, the explicit use of tanwin and final short vowels as in CA may serve both to impose CA reading of an underlying CA consonantal or 'classicization' of a speech-based text containing more or less explicitly colloquial elements. In the present context the relevant question is whether or not *tanwīn*, final vowels and eventual contextual pausal *sukūn* are used differently in the Classical vs. Proverbs of Men and Women.²

3.3.1.3 Occurrences of *tanwīn*: The occurrences of *tanwīn* are set out in table (11). For practical reasons, the non-occurrences, i.e. zero use, of tanwin were not calculated as it may be assumed that the quantitative differences of actual occurrences in both proverbial sections provide a sufficient indication for the purpose of this study. As can be seen from table (11), *tanwīn* is most frequently used by E and to a lesser extent by M and F in the Classical Proverbs³.

3.3.2 Use of *tanwīn* -un

As indicated in Table (5.2), MSS. E and M use *tanwīn* -un 10-20 times more frequently in the Classical Proverbs⁴ than in the Proverbs of Men and Women. The relatively high number of occurrences of *tanwīn* -un in the Proverbs of Men and

¹ Cf. Blau, Middle Arabic, p. 75 in Studies; for the situation in Egypt, Birkeland, Growth, p. 13ff.

² Cf. Harrell, A Linguistic Analysis, pp. 31-36, Blanc, Style, p. 101. Interestingly, Blanc found no trace of *'irāb* in his data "except [...] in the one proverb quoted entirely in Classical Arabic." To avoid misinterpretation, it is justified to add here that I am not claiming that the Classical Proverbs vs. Proverbs of Men and Women represent CA vs. spoken Arabic although these proverbs represent *grosso modo* literary vs. spoken *origin*. Obviously, the actual linguistic status of their language is defined by the findings of this study.

³ The occurrences of A are, at least partly, of secondary origin.

⁴ The analysis of the subsections (Proverbs of al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīṭ etc.) of the Classical Proverbs shows differences between subsections in the five MSS. However, on the basis of the relatively limited data it is difficult to see clear linguistic differences between these subsections.

Women of F — the frequency is, in fact, the same for both sections—must, therefore, indicate explicit *classicization*. All occurrences in MSS. AEFHM are grammatically correct single occurrences (yawmun ‘day’ occurs twice in M) which indicates that the use of -un is not lexically dependent.

3.3.2.1 Use of *tanwīn* -un in the Proverbs of Men and Women: A significant number of the nouns written with *tanwīn* by F are in *initial position*: 130R:F: ṣ-ááḥ-áib-un ‘friend’; 138R:F: ḍar|batun ‘blow’; 150R:F: ‘-išiqun ‘love’; 193R:F: luqay|matun ‘a bite’; 225R:F: w-áḥidun ‘somebody’; 233R:F: wǧhun ṣryfun ‘lovely face’; 58R:F: ṭaw|run ‘ox’; 60R:F: ṭaw|b-áun ‘garment’; 67R:F: ḡálrun ‘neighbour’; 71R:F: ḥ-ááḡatun ‘thing’; 60R:F: ḥay|run ‘better’; 27R:F: im|nun ‘safety’; 278N:F: b’yduun ‘far away’; 358N:F: waǧ|hun ‘face’. It is worth noticing that F uses *tanwīn* -un twice also in the Proverbs of Women which indicates that F used this feature fairly consistently. Similarly, except in the case of 27R:F and 60R:F, the initial words with -un are written in a *larger handwriting*. F’s scribal devotion is further demonstrated by the extensive use of his orthographic register with no less than twelve (12) signs to write *ṣāhibun*, eight (8) for *ṭawbun* and *ḥāǧatun*. Only one of these words which are in this way ‘highlighted’ by F occurs also in E with *tanwīn* -un but without other vocalization. The words with -un in M do not belong to the same group: 138R:E: ḍrbtun ‘blow’; 226R:M: ḡlyizun ‘passing by’; 169R:M: muḥibun ‘(I) like (as it is).

3.3.3 Use of *tanwīn* -in

Table (5.2) indicates that *tanwīn* -in is used in a very similar way to -un and far more frequently in the Classical Proverbs than in the Proverbs of Men and Women. F and E exhibit a similar, relatively low tendency of *classicization* in the Proverbs of Men and Women. M has no occurrences of -in in this section.

3.3.3.1 All occurrences in the Classical Proverbs are mainly single occurrences with the exception of some words such as امرىء ; E: lmr’y’in (2); lmr’y’in (1); ‘aǧabin (2); qwmin (2); ywmin (2) and F: lmr’in (4). The occurrence of the same forms in the MSS. very likely reflects copying: 60W:A: l-kli lmr’y’in “(for) every man”; E: l-kul lmr’in; F: l-kl lmr’; M: l-kl lmr’; 188’A:A: kl lmr’; E: kl lmr’y’in; F: kl lmr’in; M: kl lmr’y’in; H: kl lmr’; 327P:E: fy wud lmr’y’in “(for the) love of man”; 327P:F: fy wd lmr’in; M: fy [y/] wd lmr’y; H: fy wd lmr’in.

3.3.3.2 All occurrences in the Proverbs of Men and Women in F and E are single occurrences in different proverbs suggesting that their copying may have taken place independently probably involving an as yet unknown MS. One occurrence of genitive -in pro correct -un in 71R:E: ḥalǧatin may represent a hypercorrection. *Tanwīn* -in mainly occurs in proverbs which could be described as partly poetical and partly *ḥikam* sentences involving abstract concepts. As such they seem to belong to a different proverbial category than typical spoken proverbs which deal with matters of everyday life. This indicates that the classification of the Proverbs of Men and Women also includes proverbs of possible literary origin. In such contexts the use of *tanwīn* -in seems to serve the poetical structure rather than, say, stylistic levelling for immediate prestige motives. That *tanwīn* -in is also used for *classicization* which is supported, e.g., by 23R:E in which *tanwīn* -in is used

concurrently with colloquial verb *lrh* pro CA *rḥ* and in 138R:F where *tanwīn* -in co-occurs with vernacular *knhl* pro CA *كحك*. In these cases forms without *tanwīn* -in seem equally well to fit the context but, obviously, serve 'classicization', which for the proper understanding of the proverbs seems redundant. As such it seems to serve primarily prestige motives. *Tanwīn* -in is used occasionally in pausal position: 172R:F: b-wǧh bas'ytin; the occurrence 138R:F: fy 'dl tbnin may be motivated for poetical reasons: Mw: 118R:E: s-yǧny lh 'n bqrṭ zydin w-yṭiy lh b-l-lban ll-ḥaliybu "God will allow us to dispense with Zaid's cows and He will bring sour milk." 182R:E: kull šay'in la' yšbh q'niy/hi ḥraṭm "Everything that does not suit (resemble) its owner is a shame." 23R:E: ly mwq'in lrh ll-ḥzyn lqy ḡanalzḥ "An unlucky person will find a funeral procession wherever he goes." 29R:E: ldl lqbalt kalnatl tuqald b-ša'ratin w-ln lḍbrat klnat taqud ll-s-lsila [a almost like ḡamma] "If it comes close, it can be guided with a hair, and if it turns its back (flees), it will cut the chains." 71R:E: ḥalḡatin ll thmk wašiy 'lyḥal zawlḡ ulmk "If something is not important to you, ask your stepfather to do it." 172R:F: qlwl l-l-qrd ṭlb ln! mn rbk ql w-lh ln! 'ndh b-wǧh bas'ytin "They said to the monkey: 'Ask for us from your lord.' He said: 'Am I the one with the pretty face with him?' 138R:F: ḍarbatun fy kys ḡyry [r with a dot of z] knhl fy 'dl tbnin "A blow in the sack of somebody else than me is like in a bag of straw." 28R:F: iḡal kálna fy ll-ḥlḡalt [very faint a] mhl lly ḡdin f-ḥdyk hy ṭrd "If things can be postponed until tomorrow, it's a banishment for every knowledgeable person." 317N:F: r'twl ḡlmwsaḥ mnqbḥ b-ḥšyrin qlwl ml ḥdl ll-škl ll-wdy' ll ḡl ll-qmš ll-rfy' "They saw a buffalo veiled with a straw mat. They said: Nothing suits better for this lowly figure than this fine cloth."

3.3.4 Use of *tanwīn* -an

Table (5.2) indicates the same basic distribution of *tanwīn* -an as for -un and -in. The decorative nature of its use is evident as it co-occurs with accusative alif *ʿ* (Table 11:22).

3.3.4.1 The only multiple occurrences of the identical orthographic form are E and F: *ḥyrlan* (3) and F: *ywmlan* (2); *ḥyrlan* (2). Curiously enough, E and F have the same orthographic form for *ḥyrlan* 'good' (adv.) only once in the same proverb, namely in 111H [but with a different lexical item: in 111H:E and M *f-ḡnim/f-ḡanm* 'he (will) prosper' in F: *f-fhm* 'he (will) understand'; this proverb (of al-Ḥadīṭ) does not occur in A and printed edition(s).

3.3.4.2 All occurrences are single occurrences with the exception of F: *krhlan* (3), all in the same proverb: 180R:F: *kl krhlan w-lšrb krhlan w-lál t'šr krhlan* "Eat what you dislike and drink what you dislike but don't become intimate with something you dislike." In some popular proverbs *tanwīn* -an seems primarily to serve *classicization*, e.g., 41R:F: *baš-dalli ll-lḥm w-ll-báḡnḡtn ḥḡ lk qmyšlan yl 'ryln* "Instead of meat and eggplant, get yourself a shirt, you naked one (i.e. dirt poor)."; 116R:F: *samwk ḥablḡan ql w-twlṭ* "They named you Rope. He said: 'And I became (indeed) a long one.'"; 291N:E: *ḡal liy 'aduwya wa-raṭl liy w-ml hiy mḥbaḥ ll šmltatan liy* "A rebuker came to me and (pretended that she) felt pity for me, it was not love but malicious joy."; however, *šmltatan liy* could also be a petrified construction borrowed from CA. Cf. *يومًا ولية* in 279N:F: *tábatl ll-qaḥbḥ ywmlan w-lyltan f-qlt ml bqy fy ll-bld ḥklm* "The whore repented for one day, she [A: he] said: 'There are no

judges left in the village! Cf. further 264N:E: lq'diy fy 'šk ma' lhdlan ynšik "Sit in your nest until somebody comes and drives you off" in which ل احدأ is surrounded by vernacular suffixes supported by the rhyme. The actual colloquial version is more convincingly original, cf. A: lq'dy fy 'šk hty ygy hd ynšk; M: lq'udiy fy 'šk ml had ynšk; F: ulq'udiy-á fy 'šbk ml lhd ynšk, as A: hd and M: had. The above examples indicate lexical borrowing from CA rather than entirely independent use of *tanwīn* -an.

3.3.4.3 In some examples *tanwīn* -an is used concurrently with other CA features which indicate literary origin, e.g., 239R:E: la' taškurn ll-fatayan haty tgarbahu "Do not thank a young man until you have tried him.", cf. 239R:A: ll tškrn; F: ll tškrn; M: ll tškrn, NB. the use of the subjunctive after *hattā* in E. An originally Classical Arabic form is very likely also 180R:F: kl krhlan w-šrb krhlan w-lál t'šr krhlan "Eat what you dislike and drink what you dislike but don't become intimate with something you don't like", which is clearly a *muwallad*-type proverb reflecting a more or less literary origin. Accordingly, the use of *tanwīn* -an seems to be motivated in the above examples by *original literary* reasons. Cf. further the following verses 25R:M: w-ql ln da'lm hađl ll-sayr y' mas'wdi la' n'qatan tbqy w-lal qa'wdi "If this journey lasts any longer, my (dear) Mas'ūd, there will be no camel left [neither a (grown-up) camel nor a young camel (fit for riding)]"¹. 28R:M: 'qd' kl'na fy ll-ħlğalt mah'lan illy ġd f-hađiyk tar'dalt li-man' kln 'alrf "If things can be postponed until tomorrow, it's a banishment for every knowledgeable person."

3.3.4.4 Conclusion: *Tanwīn* is primarily used in the Classical Proverbs but for explicitly stylistic classicization purposes in the Proverbs of Men and Women. In MS. F *tanwīn* is combined frequently with the extensive use of other orthographic signs and the words in question are written in a larger size than normal which suggests an extralinguistic, even a primarily decorative aim. However, some occurrences indicate that some of the proverbs in this section were originally written in an Arabic which demonstrates CA features. The use of *tanwīn* is perhaps most clearly lexically related—without being entirely lexically dependent on them—to frequently occurring words, or perhaps more exactly, in more or less established CA constructions with the genitive and accusative. As nouns with nominative -un do not belong in this category for obvious reasons, the present relatively limited data offers only some indications but not entirely conclusive evidence on possible lexically dependent variation.

¹ For dropping of the -y of the suffix 1st pers. sing. in <mas'ūdi>, see Wright, i, p. 101, Rem. c.

Nr	MS. Section	A		H		F		E		M	
		cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
1	'm-segm.'	1199	1321	1124	569	1716	1505	1858	1476	1967	1501
2	occur.	2084	1478	2135	961	3009	2409	2920	2355	3078	2391
3	weight	1	1.41	1	2.22	1	1.25	1	1.24	1	1.29
4	weight/"F"	1.44	1.63	1.41	2.51	1	1	1.03	1.02	0.98	1.01
5	coeff./1000	0.48	0.68	0.47	1.04	0.33	0.42	0.34	0.42	0.32	0.42
6	m-s/occ.	1.74	1.12	1.90	1.69	1.75	1.60	1.57	1.60	1.56	1.59
7	-un	11	0	0	0	18	15	59	1	25	2
8	weight	11	0	0	0	18	19	59	1	25	3
9	w./"F"	16	0	0	0	18	15	61	1	25	2
10	per 1000	5.3	0	0	0	5.9	6.3	20.1	0.4	8.0	0.8
11	%-un/occ.2	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.6%	2.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.1%
12	-in	7	0	0	0	25	4	65	5	15	0
13	weight	7	0	0	0	25	5	65	6	15	0
14	w./"F"	10	0	0	0	25	4	67	5	15	0
15	per 1000	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	1.7	22.1	2.1	4.8	0.0
16	%-in/occ.2)	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	0.2%	2.2%	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%
17	-an	4	0	1	0	34	9	62	6	28	2
18	weight	4	0	1	0	34	11	62	7	28	3
19	w./"F"	6	0	1	0	34	9	64	6	27	2
20	per 1000	1.9	0.0	0.5	0.0	11.2	3.8	21.1	2.5	9.0	0.8
21	%-an/occ.2	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.4%	2.1%	0.3%	0.9%	0.1%
22	- an	4	0	1	0	30	7	51	2	17	1
23	%- an/-an	100%	0	100%	0	88%	78%	82%	33%	61%	50%

3.4 Occurrences of final *sukūn*

Sukūn is used in written Arabic to indicate a closed syllable¹. The potential use of final *sukūn* in contextual position to indicate vernacular pronunciation by explicit omission of vocalization as in CA deserves a closer look in order complement what has been previously said on *tanwīn* final vowelings. Table (13) indicates that final *sukūn* is indeed used relatively frequently, reflecting individual scribal styles perhaps more than anything else. Compared with the use of final vowels, the striking difference is that final *sukūn* is used more in the Proverbs of Men and Women by F, E and M² than in the Classical Proverbs.

Table 5.3 Occurrences of *sukūn*

	A		H		F		E		M	
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
̣	79	67	103	44	241	309	573	337	431	366
w.	79	94	103	98	241	386	573	418	431	472
final -	11	0	(1)	0	45	54	81	51	98	64
w.	-	-	-	-	45	68	81	63	98	83
- /tot.	-	-	-	-	39.8%	60.2%	56.2%	43.8%	54.1%	45.9%
noun	-	-	-	-	0	3	17	17	10	17
w.	-	-	-	-	0	4	17	21	10	22
- /tot.	-	-	-	-	0	100.0%	44.7%	55.3%	31.2%	68.8%
imperf.	-	-	-	-	(2)	(3)	4	8	1	3

3.4.1 Use of final *sukūn*

The overview of the occurrences in the MSS. indicates that final *sukūn* is used in most cases with indeclinable lexemes and suffixes ending in a closed syllable as in CA. Another large group consists of various verbal uses such as the imperative and jussive. Other verbal contexts include, e.g., 3rd pers. fem. sing. perfect which seems justified to avoid possible confusion with 2nd pers. fem. and masc. In addition, final *sukūn* is used to indicate *pause* as in CA. As such the *prima facie* impression is that the use of *sukūn* primarily serves CA spelling. In this context the number of occurrences that could be interpreted as reflecting vernacular pronunciation is indeed very small.

3.4.1.1 A Cl.: a|n| (1), f|ʕam| (1), ll-allsun| (1), b-qryb| (1), farāḥuwn| (1), kasabat| (1), kul| (1), la-ismʕahum| (1), law| (1), man| (1), twkal| (1).

3.4.1.2 A Mw: no occurrences.

¹ Wright, i, p. 13:A.

² I have excluded MSS. A and H from this comparison.

3.4.1.3 F Cl: man| (5), qad| (4), aln| (3), ln| (3), mn| (3), m'an| (2), q'áad| (2), b-dá'rihim| (1), 'i'lām| (1), alq|lil| (1), lǧ|s| (1), lnfǧrat| (1), badat| (1), d'arqat| (1), dalat| (1), darafat| (1), kay| (1), min| (1), qd| (1), š'aḥih| (1), thzan| (1), trkat| (1), ḥaf| (1), yuh|mad| (1), zin| (1), zur| (1), dḥbat| (1), t'rat| (1), lam'á| (1) [pro ǧ], ta'is| (1).

3.4.1.4 F Mw: man| (7), law| (3), ln| (2), iln| (2), klnat| (2), f'war| (1), lnqat'at| (1), bltat| (1), bi'q| (1), bqyat| (1), 'ds| (1), fiy| (1), ḥadan'dan| (1), ḥarakat| (1), ḥaṭab| (1), ḥawil| (1), ḥbt2| (1), ḡt| (1), k'ul| (1), kanasat| (1), lhum| (1), l-kay| (1), l-man| (1), law' (1), m'an| (1), mn| (1), naṣṭaliḥ| (1), nuṭ| (1), nzra'q| (1), rálḥ'at| (1), rálḥat'á| (1), ralḥat'á| (1), rakabat| (1), šriḥ| (1), tá'bat| (1), tab'at| (1), ṭala'at| (1), tata'amam| (1), wálḥ'id| (1), ḥlt| (1), ḥud| (1), yaṣ|ma'q| (1), zamar| (1).

3.4.1.5 E Cl: man| (5), qad| (4), lam| (3), ln| (2), hal| (2), min| (2), ll-mḥd|b| (1), 'alǧi'q| (1), 'aln| (1), 'itn| (1), 'i'lām| (1), 'in| (1), ll-'alǧil| (1), ll-'arb| (1), ll-ḥas'ab| (1), ll-ḥwalyǧ| (1), ll-mašalyib| (1), ll-nadam| (1), ll-qalam| (1), lm| (1), lw| (1), ll-'arb| (1), ll-'atwal| (1), b-dalrihim| (1), badat| (1), bdan| (1), 'alqhum| (1), dml'yrihm| (1), f-qad| (1), fa-lan| (1), fa-min| (1), fa-nalṭih| (1), ḥaraǧ| (1), ḥarmk| (1), hum| (1), in| (1), ḡama'ah| (1), k-ll-'alǧalnib| (1), la-dlmat| (1), lw| (1), min| (1), munalṭih| (1), nabal| (1), namṭ| (1), qllat| (1), qawaf'id| (1), qfaṣ| (1), qul| (1), ra'at| (1), šana'at| (1), šil| (1), tahuḥ| (1), tbf'adat| (1), t'dhum| (1), tdiq| (1), thzan| (1), tǧid| (1), walfir| (1), waqa'q| (1), waṭan| (1), ḥaf| (1), yaṭirḥ| (1), yuṭ'adṛ| (1), yull'da'q| (1), zur| (1), ydḥbiḥ| (1), ḥšab| (1), lḡ| (1), mund'q| (1).

3.4.1.6 E Mw: wlḥid| (2), ll-'alqmtr| (1), ll-balad| (1), ll-'arb| (1), ll-muǧrib| (1), ll-rafiy'q| (1), ll-watad| (1), lqra'q| (1), lšrab| (1), blǧnǧniḥ| (1), 'alǧiz| (1), 'atrif| (1), ḍarb| (1), dtyim| (1), falaq| (1), fariḥat| (1), frtqum| (1), ḡit| (1), kalnat| (1), klnat| (1), kul| (1), lak| (1), law| (1), lqtn| (1), ma'k| (1), naṣṭaliḥ| (1), n'lniy'q| (1), nkfnukum| (1), nqtabih| (1), nrǧa'q| (1), qlmat| (1), ralḥat| (1), razaq| (1), s'aw|daḥ| (1), šbib| (1), šalḥib| (1), ṭalbat| (1), ṭarfak| (1), tatnaqaš| (1), tḡhaka| (1), tfraḥ| (1), thfif| (1), ttfraǧ| (1), ttrḥam| (1), ttwaham| (1), walǧis| (1), ḥud| (1), yaḥ|lif| (1), yftših| (1), zamir| (1).

3.4.1.7 M Cl: mn| (12), man| (11), min| (7), 'an| (4), ln| (2), lkn| (1), lkin| (2), lm| (2), lw| (2), qd| (2), 'alǧi'q| (1), 'ln| (1), 'lw| (1), 'itn| (1), 'i'lām| (1), ll-'tbi| (1), ll-ḥr| (1), ll-ǧntzaḥ| (1), ll-m'wmin| (1), ll-baḥr| (1), lnhm| (1), ll-'arb| (1), bhim| (1), ba'ǧduhum| (1), badt| (1), blt| (1), 'lbhm| (1), 'aman| (1), dḥibaḥ| (1), dlrhm| (1), ḍur| (1), f-kun| (1), f-min| (1), fa-ǧkir| (1), fa-lan| (1), ḡlbt| (1), hal| (1), ḥr| (1), ḥrmak| (1), iln| (1), ḡama'ah| (1), kay| (1), l-l-nuwraḥ| (1), l-mn| (1), l-qad| (1), lam| (1), law| (1), mnkum| (1), qad| (1), rabhim| (1), saqaṭ| (1), ṭalrat| (1), taḥsud| (1), tazdad| (1), tkun| (1), tstrd| (1), ṭuǧynhim| (1), ḥaf| (1), ḥyr| (1), yakn| (1), yakun| (1), zin| (1), zur| (1).

3.4.1.8 M Mw: mn| (7), man| (6), min| (5), ln| (4), lw| (2), f'malny| (1), lkrt| (1), ll-balad| (1), ll-'arb| (1), ll-ḥlšiyaḥ| (1), ll-rfy'q| (1), ll-watad| (1), 'indahum| (1), ḍaqn| (1), dabuwqḥ| (1), ḍarb| (1), fiy| (1), fy| (1), ḥarkat| (1), ḥusibt| (1), ḡlbt| (1), ly| (1), lam| (1), law| (1), li-man| (1), ma'k| (1), m'šamiy| (1), n'iyš| (1), nrǧ'q| (1), nuruḥ| (1), qilḥ| (1), ralkb| (1), rḥat| (1), salqilyaḥ| (1), sanaḥ| (1), ṭalbt| (1), ṭabiyb| (1), ttfraǧ| (1), ṭwylaḥ| (1), walymaḥ| (1), wrdaḥnaḥ| (1), ḥud| (1), yaḥ|lif| (1), yanzr| (1), yǧslhm| (1).

3.4.2 Use of pausal *sukūn*

Pausal forms with *sukūn* are occasionally indicated by E, F and M at the end of the first or second foot in *rhymed* proverbs but also in non-poetical contexts in which pause seems to support the balanced proverbial formula. As such pausal forms seem primarily to be motivated by metric reasons.

3.4.2.1 Examples of Classical Proverbs: At the end of verse: 303P:M: *ḡhibaḥ* 'going, passing away (f.)'; 390P:M: *l-ḡntzaḥ* 'funeral procession'. Further examples: 23Q:A: *kl ḥizb b-m ldyhm faraḥuwn* 35Q:M: *wa-law raḥmnlhm wa-kšaf[n]l maḥ bhim* min| *ḡur* |la-la-ḡuwfy [for la-l-ḡa/uwfy] *ṭuḡylnhim* |ya'mahwn. 187'A:M: *k-m l tZR' taḥsud* "What (As) you sow, you will harvest."; E: *k-m l tZR' tḥsd* F: *k-m l tZR' tḥsud*; cf. the proverb has been understood by A as referring directly to agriculture: *klml tazra'u taḥsud*; H: *kl-m l tZR' tḥsdh* [sic!] "Whenever you sow...". 197'A:E: *lis'ln min rṭb yada mn ḥšab* [pro yada ln mn] "A tongue moist (of talking) and hands of wood (for being idle)."; A: *mn l-kl* [sic!] *lsln mn rṭb w-ydln mn xšb*; F: *lsln mn rṭb wa-yadun mn ḥšb*; M: *lsln min ruṭab wa-yad mn ḥšb*. In the following example the first foot actually ends with *fa-lan* but *yulḡa'* [*ḡayn* is written without a dot] the pausal form seems justified by the internal balance: 285P:E: *ln mn ḡaraba l-'uṭmuwr fa-lan* |*yulḡa'* [sic!] *mn ḥaḡarin martay[ni]* "will not be bitten twice from the same snakehole ('rock')."; cf. M: *fa-lan* |*yldḡ*. The following pausal form seems justified for similar reasons: 379P:E: *kul l-mašalyib* |*qad tamur 'alay l-fatay f-tahuwn ḡayr šamatati l-'aḡḡa'* "All misfortunes may meet the young man, and they are easy except the malignant delight of enemies." (K); A: *kl l-mšlyb qd tmr 'ly l-fty f-thwn ḡyr šmtt l-'f'd'*; F: *kl l-mšlyb qd| tmr 'ly l-fty f-thwn ḡyr šmtt l-'f'd'*; M: *kl l-mšalyb qad tmr 'ly l-faty f-tahuwnu ḡayr šmtt l-'f'd'*; H: *kl l-mšlyb qd tmr 'ly l-fty w-thwn ḡyr šmtt l-'f'd'*.

3.4.2.1.1 Pausal *sukūn* is used in non-poetical context in the short introductory text of Chapter 6, where the copyist of E writes in contextual position *l-fašli l-'atwal* (E:37b:7), further *wa-h|wal l-fšh l-'arab* (E:37b:11) and *b'd ḡlk nubḡatan mn lmtl l-'arb* |*wa-l-'alm* (E:37b:12). The eventual counter-argument that the pausal *sukūn* could reflect *pause* is not convincing as E uses a distinct large black 'full stop' for that purpose. In all the above examples *sukūn* is the very clear, small round circle which is also used elsewhere in the MS. Also, classical proverbs offer examples of pausal forms in contextual position: 54Q:H: *l-f-šhr* |*ḡḡl* "Is this magic?" [first sequence of the proverb]; 76H:M: *ḡḡt 'n l-baḥr* |*w-lal ḥarḡ* "Talk about the sea (as much as you want), there is no embarrassment."; 82H:E: *lylk wa-mal yu'taḡr* |*min|hu* "Be aware of what has to be excused."; cf. A: *lyalk [a=šadda?]* |*w-m l yu'taḡaru mn*; F: *y'tḡr* ; M: *yu'taḡr*; H: *y'tḡr*; E: *l-t'ynuwl 'ly l-ḡwalyḡ* |*b-l-ktmln* "Ask help for your needs in secret."; in A, F, M and H without final vowelling.; 129'A:E: *lḡl knt munaṭiḡ* |*fa-naṭiḡ* |*bi-ḡawalt l-quruwn* "If you feel like thrusting, thrust with those who have horns."; A: *lḡl knt muntḡ*; 129'A:F: *lḡl knt mntḡ*; but M: *lḡl knt muntḡl*. This example is particularly interesting because the use of the accusative involves the use of *kursi alif*, as in M: the fact that *alif* is not used by E and is also dropped by A and F suggests a wide acceptability of a basically oral vernacular feature and may represent classicization by M. 85H:E: *l-nadam* |*twbaḥ* "Remorse is repentance."; cf. A: *l-nad|m twbḡ*; F: *l-ndm twbḡ*; M: *l-nadam taw|bḡ*; H: *l-ndm twbḡ*; 96H:M: *l yulḡḡ l-m'wmin* |*min ḡuḡrin mrtyn* "A believer is not bitten twice from the same snakehole."; F: *l-m'wmn*; E: *lmlr* (mn) (sic!). Although the last two proverbs are very short, it could be argued that the proverb is actually divided into two balanced parts ending in pause and that the use of pausal *sukūn* takes place accordingly.

The above contextual examples indicate that the use of final *sukūn* may

occasionally reflect informal language in the Classical Proverbs, although its use as a stylistic device for explicit *vernacularization* is not very likely. As the unintentional use of final *sukūn* must be excluded in the above cases, it is obvious that the explicit non-use of case-endings and other final vowelings reflects a written language in which spoken features are to some extent acceptable for specific stylistic reasons, e.g. when proverbs of literary origin are concurrently used in speech¹. This indicates that the possible underlying linguistic contrast dividing classical proverbs of literary origin and speech-based popular proverbs does not follow a dichotomic division CA vs. spoken Arabic.

3.4.2.2 Use of pausal *sukūn* in the Proverbs of Men and Women: Pausal *sukūn* is used *prima facie* in a very similar way than in the Classical Proverbs at the end of the 1st or 2nd foot or both. However, the existence of a 'foot' is not entirely clear, e.g. in : 6R:M: 'llf ḍaḡn| w-la| ḍḡniy, 13R:E: razaq| w-ln kunt raqy' dam falaq|, 20R:F: lqr' yqwl l-'lqr' lmsy bnl nzra' | [or reading naṣṭaliḥ|], also E: ta'alluw| bnal nqtabiḥ| wa-nrḡa' ḡadal naṣṭaliḥ|, 28R:E: hy ṭarḍih l-mn kln 'atrif|, 44R:M: b'd ḡw' wa-qilḥ| [sic; not -^t] bcy b-'b|dyn wa-baḡ|lḥ; E: qilḥ ... bḡ|ḥ; F: qlḥ ... baḡ|lḥ; H: ql^t ... bḡ|ḥ, 46R:F: t'lw| bnl nqtbiḥ wa-narḡ' [-=possible -u?] ḡḍlan naṣṭaliḥ|, E: ta'alluw| bnal nqtabiḥ| wa-nrḡa' ḡadal naṣṭaliḥ|, 58R:E: ṭwr 'alḡiz| ma| yaduwr fiy saḡqiyḥ, 60R:E: ṭwb 'ly| w-ṭwb 'ly ll-watad| wa-lna| ḥyr mn ku| mn fy ll-balad|, cf. F: fy ll-baladi, 60R:M: ṭwb 'lyA wa-ṭwb| 'alay ll-watad| wa-'alnl ḥyr mn ku| man| fy ll-balad|, 95R:M: rḥwl ldy knl n'iyš| b-faḍ|lihm wa-bcy, 114R:E: s'ali ll-muḡrib| w-ll ts'all ṭabiy|b, 144R:M: ṭ'mak ma| ḡalny wa-duḥ|nk l'malny|, 152R:F: 'šq ml yas|ma' bkl ḡḡyr, 179R:E: kškr dlyim| w-ll 'lmḥ maq|ṭuw'aḥ, 198R:M: lw| 'aml liy [y/] mina ll-ḡahab walymaḥ| hw [...], 187R:F: kml ḥabyby lkml lqra' w-qay|lyṭ w-l'war| w-fyh, 229R:F: šyl ll-tr|b ḥtlw| ḥadan'dan|, 243R:E: [...] ṭarfak|, 244R:E: qalbuh mna 'all-faqr waḡis| [ḡim without a dot], 287N:F: tata'amam| b-l-ḥrḡ w-ll ṭḥly ll-ḡunḡ, 295N:E: w-ll-ḥltmḥ yṭlb lqtn| lfw qḥ|b w-fwl 'šqln, 317N:E: [...] rafiy'|, 317N:M: šak| ll-wḍy' 'ill ḥaḍ| ll-qm|š ll-rfy'|, 332N:E: ṭl^t ttrḥam| nzlt ttwaḥam|, 361N:E: ya| ḡazl^t ll-'alqm|r| lyn kuntiy bi-ll-nḥar|,

3.4.2.2.1 Pausal *sukūn* is used contextually at the beginning of the proverb but also in other positions, in: 78R:F: ḥb^t| qrḍ ṭḥrb lrḍ|, A: ḥb^t qrḍ ṭḥrb lrḍ [without accusative *alif*]; E: ḥab^t qrḍ ṭḥrb lrḍ; M: ḥab^t qrḍ ṭḥrb 'lrḍ, 119R:F: šriḥ| w-wḍy', cf. E: šrh wḍiy'| [*sukūn* refers to *i*]; 130R:E: ṣalḥib|, A: ṣḥb, H: ṣḥb, F: ṣ-ḍalḥ-ḍib-un, M: ṣalḥib; 224R:E: wḥid|, A: wḥid, F: wālḥid, M: waḥid; 225R:E: wḥid|, A: wḥd, F: w-ḍḥidun, M: waḥid; 227R:F: wālḥ-id| smwh 'nbl [with acc. *alif*], 361N:E: ya| ḡazl^t ll-'alqm|r|, cf. F: ya| ḡazalltu ll-lqm|r; 98R:M: raḥwal ḡuḥa| ralkb| "They saw Ḡuḥa riding (on the wall)..." [contextual], 295N:E: yṭlb lqtn| [contextual].

3.4.2.2.2 Pausal *sukūn* is also occasionally used with feminine -ḥ, which in E and F is usually sufficient to indicate a pausal position. MS. H has used -^t in contextual position but -ḥ in pause.. : 198R:M: mina ll-ḡahab walymaḥ| [end of 1st foot, 325N:E: s'aw|ḍaḥ| "black (fem)" [first lexeme of the proverb]. cf. F: saw|ḍa^t; A: swd|; M: swd|. 349N:M: ṭwylaḥ| "tall" [contextual, part of a list]; 101R:M: rḥwl wrḍalnaḥ| [contextual].

¹ I cannot, obviously, prove this but it seems the most logical explanation.

3.4.3 Conclusion: The analysis indicates that although much of the vowelings and use of diacritics possibly serves purely decorative aims, the copyists-cum-scribes of the MSS. occasionally make deliberate efforts to avoid the ambiguity involved in the interpretation of the orthographic by the eventual readers. As such the explicit non-use of case-endings and CA word-final vowelings of any other nature is indicated in non-pausal contexts, which deliberately approximates both Classical Proverbs and Proverbs of Men and Women to formal written Arabic, which is different from CA, as well as to supposed oral of the written vernacular. In this context CA word-final forms are in most cases used as in CA grammar, but their stylistico-linguistic impact is rarely capable of 'classicizing' entirely proverbs of either clearly literary origin or of spoken origin. However, there is no conclusive evidence that the said 'variation' should be considered a direct reflection of possible linguistic incompetence of the copyists-cum-scribes. As the variation is not consistent in all or some MSS., it seems *prima facie* to reflect more the individual scribal styles than the cumulative effect of the copying process.

Based on the above evidence, there is reason to believe that the use of final short vowel signs and the explicit use of *sukūn* in non-pausal position may potentially serve stylistic, possibly diglossic motives because the use of these features seems to benefit ultimately from the linguistic contrast between CA or non-CA literary and vernacular language.

3.5 Orthographic treatment of CA diphthongs

As CA diphthongs have been replaced, in general, by monophthongized reflexes [ē] and [ō] especially in urban MEA,¹ their indication in the MSS. could potentially serve stylistic purposes. Although the interpretation of potential occurrences seems *prima facie* unproblematic, various interpretational problems seem to arise.

3.5.1 Note on the orthography of the diphthongs as in CA

A basic problem is that the vocalization of diphthongs as in CA refers, in my opinion, more to the existence of the diphthongs rather than their pronunciation. In other words, the indication of a diphthong helps primarily to recognize a lexeme from the multitude of other homographic consonantal structures. As such it does not in all cases necessarily imply CA pronunciation. This can be deduced from the fact that, basically, the mere presence of *sukūn* with *yā'*/*wāw* would be sufficient to make a difference in pronunciation between, e.g. *أَيْش* ['ayš] vs. *اَيْش* ['ayš] or ['ēš], if the specific indication of such a difference would be stylistically required in writing. However, this potential graphemic opposition is to some extent neutralised

¹ Cf. Woidich, *Das Ägyptisch-Arabisches*, p. 207. Davies concludes that [ay] and [ē] co-existed in the 17th century and to some extent refutes Blanc's formulation of the retention of /ay/ in urban Lower Egypt in the 17th and 18th centuries based on evidence drawn from 17th-century texts in Hebrew characters, p. 87. However, Davies also sets out evidence of [ay] > [ā] in Hazz al-Qūḥūf, which is attested for certain Arabic dialects but not for Egyptian. As the available evidence depends primarily on manuscripts, it seems justified to investigate here the problem from the angle of scribal treatment.

in the MSS. where <-y/> is used for both in diphthongs, e.g. E Mw: ʔ-bly|tiya^h (1), ʔrs-y|nal (1), bi-ʔl-ly|l (1), by|nmʔ (1) and long ī, e.g., in E: yhny|kum (1), fiy|hi (3). Obviously, it is possible to speculate that the examples of diphthongs indicate, in fact, monophthongs [ē] supported by the examples of long ī, which would somehow represent the same phonetic category, but this argument is undermined by the frequent examples of fully vocalised diphthongs in E, e.g., lay|ʔtik (1), luqay|m^h (1), msay|nal (1). My point is that the overall treatment of diphthongs suggests either a CA reading or, albeit interpretationally ambiguous on the surface, *allows* a CA reading. The main problem arises, however, from the fact that as explicitly vernacular pronunciation—within the limits of the graphemic register which was available for the copyists—is *also* indicated, the actual pronunciation of the graphemic "CA diphthongs" becomes more or less questionable, especially when they occur in the Proverbs of Men and Women and in vernacular lexemes.

3.5.2 Suspected occurrences of *[ē]

Davies sets out examples of [ay/ē] > [ā] related to the interrogative *أيش*¹. The orthography of the present MSS. is in most cases ambiguous, allowing readings [-ayš] and [-ēš], e.g. /'ayš/'ēš/ — /li'ayš/layš/lēš/, 110R:A: zʔwy^h b-ll 'yš llyš bnyt llyš "A *zāwīya* without bread, why was it built?" H: zʔwy^t b-ll 'yš llyš bnyt lyš; F: zʔwy^h b-ll 'yš bnyt llyš; E: zʔwy^h bi-lal 'yš bunt lyš; M: zʔwy^t b-ll 'ay|š buniyt l-'ayš. A similar case is the following proverb which remains ambiguous despite the rhyme, 266N:A: b'd sn^h w-šhryn ġʔbt bnt w-šfryn "After a year and two months, she gave birth to a girl with two (vaginal) lips." F: b'd sn^t w-šhryn ġʔbt bnt b-šfray|n; E: ba|d sn^h wa-šah|rayn ġʔbt bnt b-šfryn; M: b'd sn^t wa-šahryn ġʔbt bnt bi-šufry|n. Cf. further 338N:A: 'lyš, H: f-'ly lyš, F: 'alyšu [scribal error ġ pro ']; E: 'lyš, M: 'alayš. Cf. further 8R:E: b-ʔšmʔ "by whatever", possibly for */bašma/ or /bišma/. The Proverbs of Men and Women exhibit only a few examples in which vernacular pronunciation is suggested for *شي* 'thing', <-iy-> pro CA <-ay->, by indicating it with *kasra*, 40R:E šiy, M: šiy, A: šy, H: šy', F: š'yʔ [<شأ > *yā'* with dots]; 120R:E šiy, A: šy, H: šy, F: šy, M: šy; 125R:E šiy'a [this case is dubious as the *kasra* possibly has a stroke on it while the *fatha* *ى* is clear]; A: šy, F: šy', M: šy; 328N:E: šiy, AHFM: šy. The orthography may very well stand for [ši] and not *[šē].² Cf. 145R:AEM lyd 'hand', F: lydwʔ "his hand".

3.5.3 Frequencies of the orthographic variants of <ay> and <aw>

The occurrence of various orthographic variants to indicate the diphthongs <ay> and <aw> and their frequencies are set out below³. As some of these forms may be used to indicate long vowels ī and ū, the related occurrences have been listed for comparison. A study of the individual cases indicates⁴ that except for the

¹ See, Davies, p. 86: FY:AŠ [1. sg. obj. suff. plus /āš/, LAŠ as a variant of /layš/ or /lēš/.

² In MEA /šē/ 'thing', /ši/ "a cart-driver's call urging a horse", see Hinds&Badawi, p. 488.

³ The totally unvocalised cases have been excluded.

⁴ I have excluded their presentation in this context as they add little to what is already obvious from the present data.

occurrences mentioned above, there is no indication that the copyists would have used these variants systematically for any other purpose than to indicate CA spelling. Although some of the partly vocalised forms may potentially represent an ambiguous reading, fully vocalised forms of the same category exist which undermine possible interpretation of underlying stylistic aims, e.g., to indicate vernacular pronunciation vs. CA. As such the occurrences reflect more than anything the conservatism of the CA orthography. If a stylistic aim existed, it would suggest classical pronunciation even for clearly vernacular items as described above. However, this is uncertain as the ultimate reading may depend more on the reader than on the intentions of a copyist.

3.5.3.1 A : -ay|- (2); -ay- (1) A Cl.: b-msay|tir (1), šhday|i (1); ll-ħayr (1).

3.5.3.2 A : -aw|- (2); -aw- (1) A Cl.: ġlaw|tah (1), law| (1); ll-šawk (1).

3.5.3.3 A Mw: no occurrences

3.5.3.4 E : -y|- (22) E Cl.: l-ly|sa (2), lly|hi (1), lly|k (2), ly|n (1), 'aly|hi (1), 'aly|k (1), 'aly|ku (1), 'ly|hal (1), 'ly|hi (1), 'ly|hm (1), 'ly|k (1), 'ly|nal (1), 'y|nalhu (1), f-'ly|na (1), f-ly|na (1), f-ly|sa (1), fa-ly|s-r (1), fa'aly|hal (1), qdy|t (1), ygy|zaniy (1). E : -ay|- (51) E Cl.: 'alf|day|t (1), 'altay|t (1), 'alw|'ay|t (1), l-lays (1), ll-'ay|n (1), ll-'ay|naln (1), ll-'ay|nayn (1), ll-'ay|š (1), ll-ġaniymtay|n (1), ll-ġay|t (1), ll-hay|ġa^h (1), ll-mšriqay|n (1), ll-ħay|r (1), ll-ħay|ri (1), ll-ħiš|may|n (1), llay|h (1), llay|hīm (1), lhtaday|tm (1), ll-'ay|š (1), b-musay|tirin (1), b-ħay|r (1), bay|n (3), bay|ny (1), bay|th (2), bay|tin (1), bkay|t (1), 'alay|h (1), 'alay|hi (1), 'ay|bh| (1), 'ay|nh (1), 'ay|niy (1), 'ay|nin (1), 'lay|k (1), day|f (1), day|min (1), ġay|r (5), ġay|ry (1), ġay|rahu (1), ħay|t (1), lay|t (1), luġay|nlan (1), martay|ni (1), may|šuwri (1), šay|in (1), šay|dih (1), ħay|raha| (1), ħay|run (1), zay|r (1).

3.5.3.5 E : -ay- (12) E Cl.: 'atys-r (1), ll-'ay|nayn (1), ll-ḍayn (1), ll-ġayb (1), ll-ħayr (1), ġayrk (1), ħay|tm| (1), ġaybu (1), ladayk (1), lays- (2), ldayhim (1), šhidayn (1).

3.5.3.6 [E : -iy|- (21) E Cl.: lħ|liyi|hi (1), ll-šfiy|f (1), baħiy|lu (1), f-ġamiy|lu (1), fiy|hi (3), fiy|mal (1), ħabiy|bu (1), ħiy|l (1), ġamiy|lkum (1), ġamiy|lan (1), ġamiy|lun (1), sabiy|l (1), sabiy|lu (1), samiy|nun (1), ṭabiy|bak (1), tġiy|bu (1), ħliyi|l (1), yakfiyi|niy (1), yu'niyi|h (1).]

3.5.3.7 E : -w|- (4) E Cl.: ll-mw|t (1), ll-mw|tay (1), lw| (1), lw| (1).

3.5.3.8 E : -aw|- (29) E Cl.: 'alw (1), 'alw|'ay|t (1), [l-'l-ġawi (1)], ll-maw|t (3), ll-qaw|m (3), ll-taw|ba^h (2), ll-taw|fiyq (1), ll-yaw|m (1), ll-qaw|m (1), 'aw|ltan (1), f-daw|latuhu (1), faw|q (1), ġaw|l^h (1), li-l-maw|ti (1), li-l-qaw|l (1), qaw|mhi (1), qaw|min (1), ra'alw|k (1), šaw|ma'a^t (1), ħaw|ḍ (1), yaw|m (2), yaw|m^hlan (1), yaw|min (1), zaw|ġ (1).

3.5.3.9 E : -aw- (11) ll-'awr^h (1), ll-lawm (1), ll-qawl (2), f-ġfawniy (1), law (2), mawtiy (1), tnsawn (1), yawmin (1), yawmun (1).

3.5.3.10 E : + (9) E Mw: ll-bly|tiya^h (1), lrs-y|nal (1), bi-ll-ly|l (1), by|nml (1), 'aly|hal (1), 'ly|h (1), ly|duhu (1); cf.lyduh (1), lyd (2), lydak (1). [lyhny|kum (1)]

3.5.3.11 E : -ay|- (32) E Mw: ll-ġay|b^h (1), ll-hay|ba^h (1), ll-quway|qa^h (1), ll-bay|t (1), b-ll-zmaymiyr^h (1), b-'ay|t^ah (1), b-šay|i (1), bay|ḍal (1), bay|n (2), bay|naml (1), bay|nama| (1), bay|nml (2), bay|th (1), bay|ti (1), bi-ġay|r (1), 'alay|h (2), 'alay|hal (1), 'ay|naħa| (1), 'ay|nyk (1), ħay|t (1), ħay|t^h (1), lay|ltik (1), luqay|m^h (1), msay|nal (1), naħs-ay|n (1), šay|iⁿ (2), tuḥay|liyi (1), way|l (1).

3.5.3.12 E : -ay- (15) baynml (1), bayt (1), 'alayš (1), ll-'ayn (1), flsayn (1), ġayruhu (1), ħatayt (1), ħunayn (1), ll-ħayb^h (1), qulaybiy (1), r'alaytk (1), šah|rayn (1), šuwaybiy|n^h (1), tḥayliyi (1), ħuṣay|l^h (1).

3.5.3.13 E: f-lyš (1), lyš (10),

- 3.5.3.14 E : -aw|- E Mw: ll-ğaw|q (1), faw|q (2), ھاw|lh (2), ğaw|r (2), law| (1), law|muhal (1), ra'alw| (2), ra'alwl (2), ra'aw| (1), ra'awl (1), ra'awl (1), sa'aw|da^h (1), saw|da^h (1), yaw|mik (1), zaw|ğ (1), zaw|ğiy (1), zaw|ğahal (1)
- 3.5.3.15 E : -aw- (1) qawmah (1).
- 3.5.3.16 E : -uw- pro -aw- (2) Mw: duwq (1), luw (1).
- 3.5.3.17 E : -iy- pro -ay- Mw: šiy (1), šiy (2).
- 3.5.3.18 E : -iy|- (9) E Mw: ll-'abiy|d (1), ll-'šqiy|q (1), ll-wađiy|^f (1), qlniy|hi (1), s'miy|n^h (1), šuwaybiy|n^h (1), řabiy|b (1), wđiy|^f (1), yuħaliy|hal (1).
- 3.5.3.19 F : -y|- F Cl.: f-'ly|h^d (1).
- 3.5.3.20 F : -ay|- (34) F Cl.: altay|tu (1), lfday|t (1), ll-bay|t (1), ll-'ay|nⁿ (1), ll-'ynay|n (1), ll-day|na (1), ll-ğay|b (1), ll-ğay|t (1), ll-hay|ğ (1), ll-ħaş|may|n (1), b-ğandħay|h^d (1), bay|n (1), bay|na (1), bay|t (1), bkay|tu (1), 'alay|h (1), 'alay|hl (1), 'alay|k (1), 'alay|n^d (1), 'ay|n (1), 'ay|nh (1), 'ay|n^y (1), 'ay|nay|h (1), ğay|bu (1), kay| (1), kay|fa (1), llqay|tu (1), lay|tun (1), luğay|nlan (1), mrtay|ni (1), mrtay|n (1), qađay|ta (1), řay|dh (1), řay|f (1), fa-'ly|na (1).
- 3.5.3.21 F : -w|- (1) F Cl.: ll-mw|ti (1).
- 3.5.3.22 F : -aw|- (3) F Cl.: fa-y'aw|m'zun (1), haw|nu (1), yaw|mun (1).
- 3.5.3.23 H Cl.: - H Mw: -
- 3.5.3.24 M : -y|- (25) M Cl.: l-ly|sa (1), lly|ka (1), ly|dy (1) b-ly|rin (1), by|niy (1), by|na (1), by|t (1), 'aly|hi (2), 'aly|kum (1), 'ly|h (3), 'ly|hal (1), 'ly|h^m (1), 'ly|k (1), f-ly|n (1), f-ly|sa (1), fky|h (1), fy|ml (1), ғы|r (1), hy|ğtk (1), ky|f (1), ly|sa (1), ly|ta (1).
- 3.5.3.25 M : -ay|- (19) M Cl.: ll-'ay|š (1), ll-'aynay|n (1), ll-mašriqay|n (1), ll-ħay|r (1), llay|h (1), llay|h^m (1), lw'ayta (1), b-ğnlħay|h (1), b-msay|tr (1), bay|nhm (1), baynk (1), ħay|r (2), ħay|r^{lan} (1), 'ay|bh (1) f-kay|f (1), ğay|ra (1), ğay|bu (1), kay| (1), may|suwr (1).
- 3.5.3.26 M : -ay- M Cl.: lhtadaytm (1), 'ayn (1), ll-'aynⁿ (1), ll-'aynay|n (1), 'ayn|hu (1), 'layk (1), ll-ğayb (1), dayn (1), ll-ğayt (1), ğayr (1), ğayrh (1), ħayt (1), ğayfi (1), laqayt (1), lays (1), laysa (2), layt (1), nayl*? (1), šhidayn (1), sayd (1), saydn (1), ll-sayf (1), ll-ħşmayn (1), ll-ħayr (1) ħayr (3), ħayrun (1), yawm (1).
- 3.5.3.27 M : -iy|- (4) Cl.: ll-zriy|f (1), ğamy|ll (1), kty|r^{lan} (1), ykfy|ny (1).
- 3.5.3.28 M : -w|- (7) Cl.: ll-mw|ti (3), lw| (2), qw|m (1), šlw|y (1).
- 3.5.3.29 M : -aw|- (23) Cl.: ll-maw|ti (1), ll-tawba^t (1), f-daw|lath (1), f-yawmun (1), fawq (1), ğawf (1), ğaw|la^t (1), ğaw|hiru (1), ğaw|nbhi (1), law (2), law| (1), li-ll-qawl (1), mawty (1), qaw|mhi (1), qawm (1), tan|sawn (1), taw|b^t (1), yaw|m (2), yawm (1), yawmun (2).
- 3.5.3.30 [M : -iy- (61) Cl.: 'alⁿiy (1), 'alziyd (1), ll-bħiy|l (1), ll-'iyalli (1), ll-đaliy|l (1), ll-ħadiy|t (1), ll-kaš|iy (1), ll-mwaldiyn (1), ll-na'iy^m (1), ll-nbiyi (1), ll-šriyf (1), ll-řariyq (1), ll-twfiyq (1), ll-zriy|f (1), ll-ħariyq (1), llđiy (2), llđiy^{na} (1), llđiy^{na} (1), lriydh (1), lřta'iyⁿwl (1), lw'iyk (1), ll-lbiybu (1), b-ktiy^r (1), bħiy|lu (1), by|niy (1), 'ažiy^mun (1), 'iyall (1), dmiyry (1), fiy (5), fiyhi (1), fiyn (1), ħabiybu (1), ħadiyd (1), ħiy|la (1), ħiyn (1), ktiyra^t (1), l-lħiyh (1), li-l-ša'iy^r (1), ma'iybu (1), maħsiniy (1), mu'riđiyn (1), qliy|l (1), qmiy|ših (1), rahiyna^t (1), sabiy|l (1), řadiyyq (1), tftdiy (1), tqđiy (1), tubqiy (1), ulmatiy (1), ultiyqu (1), ya'niyh (1), yas|twiy (1), yħtiy (1)]
- 3.5.3.31 M : -y|- (21) Mw: ll-hy|b^t (1), ll-my|šuw^m (1), ll-by|t (1), ly|n (1), ty|š (1), b-ğy|r (1), bi-šufry|n (1), by|nm (1), by|t (1), 'aly|h (3), 'ly|h (1), 'ly|k (1), fy| (1), ky|f (1), ly|lk (1), ly|l^t (1), řy|h (1), řfay|ly (1), řufy|ly (1).
- 3.5.3.32 M : -ay- (41) Mw: 'alyš (1), ll-ħuşayn (1), ll-řay|d (1), ll-say|r (1), ll-ħubayz (1), lm|say|nl (1), lr|say|nl (1), b-ll-ħay|r (1), b-'ayta^t (1), bay|nm (1), bay|t (1), bay|th (1), bayn (1), bi-ll-ħayba^t (1), 'alay|d (1), 'alayš (1), 'ay|š (1), 'aynh (1), 'aynyk (1), 'řayh

(1), 'uway|š^t (1), flsay|n (1), ġay|r (1), ġayrk (1), ħay|t (1), ħay|t^t (1), ħt|ayt (1), l-'ays̄ (1), rlsay|n (1), šay (2), šay|l (1), šu'uay|b (1), šuġayar^h (1), šuwaybyn^h (1), țayrk (1), țfay|ly (1), way|l (1), wayl (1), ħayh (1), zay|d (1).

3.5.3.33 M : -w|- (5) Mw: ġw|z^t (1), lw| (2), țw|b (1), țw|bk (1).

3.5.3.34 M : -aw- (16) Mw: lħ|daw|l (1), ll-mawt (1), ll-zaw|ġ (1), fawq (1), ġaw|r (2), law (1), law| (1), law|mħ| (1), maw|d^t (1), maw|lalnh (1), yaw|m (1), zaw|ġ (1), zaw|ġħ| (2), zawġy (1).

3.5.3.35 [M : -iy- (125) Mw: 'alħiy (1), l'iyš (1), ldiyny (1), ll-bad|riya^t (1), ll-blsitiy^t (1), ll-'aġiyn (1), ll-'iy^rt (1), ll-diywaln (1), ll-fis|qiy^t (1), ll-ħaliyb (1), ll-ħlšiya^h| (1), ll-ħlfiy (1), ll-ġariyd (1), ll-mațiy^t (1), ll-našalfiy (1), ll-niyl (1), ll-šabiy (1), ll-țqiy| (1), ll-yħ|niy (1), ll-ziyn^t (2), ll-zllbiy^t (1), ll-bațiy (1), ll-blțiya^t (1), llħqniy (1), llad̄iyn (1), llad̄iyina (1), lq'udiy (1), lrħaliy (1), lšf'niy (1), lħtiy (1), ll-ħabiyb (1), b-yłsimiyn^h (1), baltiy (1), ba'iyd (1), baqiy (1), bdwiyy (1), bi-'alfiya^h (1), bi-ħašiyr (1), d̄iy (2), d̄qniy (1), dalriy (1), dlriy (1), diyalrth| (1), f-ħađiyk (1), fiy (10), fiy^r (1), fiyh| (1), fiynh (1), fiyh (1), fiy| (1), ġmiy (1), hadiy^t (1), ħaliym^t (1), ħalqiy (1), ħbiyb (1), ħiy (2), ħiyn (1), ħġ'ġiy (1), ħubiy (1), ġiyn| (1), kuntiy (1), li-l-fiyl (1), lqiy (1), madiyn^t (1), mafaltiyħ (1), malhiy (1), m'šamiy| (1), m'šamiy (1), n'niy^r (1), n'iyš (1), n'iyš| (1), nsiynh (1), qalbiy (1), qaliyl (1), qaliy^h (1), rađiy (1), raq'iy (1), raqiyq^h (1), riyfy (1), šariyfa^t (1), šfiyq (1), ši'riy (1), ši (1), šminiyy (1), sa'iyd (1), šaġiyr (1), siysiy (1), swalriy (1), țiy|buh (1), țqiy| (2), țabiyb| (1), ta'fmiy (1), tħiyrh (1), tftħriy (1), thziy (1), țwħiyn (1), țzma'iy (1), ulmiy (1), waħ|diy (1), ħđiyny (1), ħfkiy (1), ħšklidiy (1), ħubiyt (1), ħuđiyh (1), ya'tiy (1), ya'wħđiy (1), yałwiyy (1), yațiyruw| (1), yltqiy (1), yn|tliy (1), zriyf (1).]

3.5.3.36 [M : -iy|- Mw: ll-ġariyd (1), fiy| (1), m'šamiy| (1).]

3.5.4 Based on the above my conclusion is that the orthography used by the copyist either supports CA spelling or is interpretationally ambiguous except in a few occurrences in which clearly non-CA spelling is indicated. In these cases the vernacular spelling is clearly related to vernacular items, which seems to suggest lexical variation rather than the use of a monophthongized reflex [ē] as a stylistic variable *per se*.

4. Orthographic Treatment of Selected Morphological Features

4.1 Treatment of Final -a (˘ / ˘)

The feminine ending -a is indicated in the present MSS. by -^h/^t < ˘ / ˘ >, -l < ˘ > or -y/-y < ˘ / ˘ > with or without *matres lectionis*. The same orthographic devices are used further, selectively, to indicate non-feminine final -a.¹ The occurrences of the feminine morpheme -a are investigated here, especially from the scribal point of view by focusing on the possible variation in the use of related orthographic features.

¹ With obvious grammatical limitations, e.g. *tā marbūta* -^t is used only with nouns treated as feminine. In contrast, final -^h is used in one example with a *tertia infirmæ* verb. Although the vocalisation of such a verbal -^h is different, it seems justified to treat all closely related features here.

4.1.1 Occurrences of feminine $-(v)^h/-(v)^t$

Table 15. Occurrences of feminine $^{-h}$ and $^{-t}$ ¹

	A		H		F		E		M	
	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw	cl	mw
ز $^{-h}$	25	239	6	31	8	159	67	232	5	72
$^{-h}$ /tot.	22.7%	91.9%	9.7%	36.0%	9.8%	63.9%	48.9%	91.3%	4.2%	28.9%
ز $^{-t}$	85	21	56	55	74	90	70	22	115	177
$^{-t}$ /tot.	77.3%	8.1%	90.3%	64.0%	90.2%	36.1%	51.1%	8.7%	95.8%	71.1%
Total	110	260	62	86	82	249	137	254	120	249
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table (15) indicates that the use of $^{-h}$ is more frequent than that of $^{-t}$ in the Proverbs of Men and Women in MSS. AFE, and $^{-t}$ more frequent than $^{-h}$ in the Classical Proverbs of all five MSS. Table (14) elaborates the findings in more detail. The frequent use of $^{-h}$ in the vernacular proverbs seems *prima facie* a conscious stylistic choice in order to impose spoken values but it is in practice explained by the frequency of lexemes ending in $^{-h}$ for the sake of rhyme. These proverbs frequently contain one to four lexemes, usually balanced in one or two pairs, which could in fact, be interpreted as being, in pausal position.² E.g. in A 64 proverbs end with a lexeme with feminine $^{-h}$ but, in addition, 78 lexemes of this kind are used for internal rhyme. Thus the use of $^{-h}$ seems primarily metrically justified.³ Feminine $^{-t}$ is used but to a lesser extent also in pausal position occasionally with *tanwīn* or a case-ending.⁴ In general, it is the only form used in the five MSS. in the status constructus.⁵

4.1.2 Note on the contextual use of feminine $^{-h}$

Both the Classical Proverbs and the Proverbs of Men and Women present one example of the use of feminine $^{-h}$ in contextual (non-constructed) ante-*waṣla* position⁶, e.g., in Cl. 199'A:E: lays' ll-nalyḥa^h ll-ṭkly k-ll-ms'ta^hḡr^h, cf. A: lys ll-nlyḥ^t

¹ All occurrences are counted as one irrespective of *matres lectionis*.

² Cf. Harrell, A Linguistic Analysis, p. 38.

³ Many of the proverbs are, in fact, *mawwāl*-verses and some of them are introduced in the ms. H by *qāla š-šā'ir*.

⁴ Cf. Meiseles on the restoration of 'i'rāb vowels as the most important indicator of OLA (=Oral Literary Arabic), p. 129, 7.421.

⁵ E.g. ms. A uses only once $^{-h}$ in st. constr. in the Classical Proverbs, but in the last word at the end of the line. In contrast, *tā marbūṭa* is rarely written as $^{-t}$ in HQ, see Davies, p. 60, probably reflecting, in my view, differences in scribal styles.

⁶ Cf. Meiseles, Hybrid, p. 1081:2.4.1. Meiseles relates the preservation of the literary

ll-ṭukll, H: lys kl nlyh^t ṭkll, F: ll-nlyh^t ll-ṭkly, M: ly|sa ll-nlyḥa^t ll-ṭkly; in Mw: 226R:A: l-hdḥ ll-fłkh^t ll-bdry^h ll dy ll-ṣwr^h ll-qmry^h; in contrast, F: l-hdḥ ll-falkh^t ll-bdrya^t ll hādḥ ll-ṣwr^t ll-qmry^t; E: l-haḍḥ ll-fłkih^t ll-bad|riya^h llal hđih ll-ṣuwra^t ll-qab|riya^h; M: l-haḍḥ ll-falkih^t ll-bad|riya^t 'll <y> > haḍḥ ll-ṣuwra^t ll-qamry^h. As the occurrences are in two different MSS., they probably reflect a widespread spoken feature. The fact that -^t is used in a segment preceded by CA *هـ* but not with vernacular *هـي* may reflect that *lexical* variation was here conscious but entailed *unconscious*, lexically-dependent sociolinguistic variation of -^h/^t. The variation in the case of the above well-known classical proverb probably simply reflects that it is also used in the living speech.

4.1.3 Vocalisation of -v^h/^t

4.1.3.1 In MEA the phonetic quality of the feminine desinence -a depends on its consonantal environment.¹ In terms of CA script the said variation is described by an Egyptian scholar as occurring between *fatha* and *kasra*. In the contemporary dialects which represent strong final *imāla* the replacement of the dialectal fronted allomorph /e/ by a classicizing /a/ of the feminine morpheme seems an important stylistic device in educated conversations.²

4.1.3.2 In the present five manuscripts the feminine desinence /-a/, which may be the reflex of old [-a(h)], [-ā'] or [-ā], is written with -^h < > / -^t < >, -l < > or -y < > / -y < >, which *prima facie* suggests interchangeability, as Davies concluded regarding HQ, "without any one-to-one correspondence to any of the old forms"³. It seems, however, that -y < > / -y < > is mainly used in words with the reflex of old [-a(h)], [-ā'], which are part of an older scribal tradition but is not used as a current variant for the old [-a(h)], which in most cases is maintained as -^h < > / -^t < >⁴ and -l < >. It seems that the latter was the obvious choice for new lexical items, cf. *تا* for CA *تالي*: 249R:F: t^l, E: ta'al 'come'; A: t^{ll}, M: t'allay; *لسعا* for CA *للساعة*: 353N:A: ls^l 'still', F: lsa'adl, E: ls^l, M: lisa'al.

The apparent orthographic confusion arises, obviously, from the overlapping of the orthographic variation of a purely scribal nature due to the 'cumulative' effect of

Arabic pausal allomorph {-T} with an over-concerned style of speech.

¹ See, Mitchell, *Colloquial Arabic*, pp. 22-25, Woidich, *Das Ägyptisch-Arabisch*, p. 208. Although it is possible to say as a general rule that -a is pronounced fronted, as [e]/[ä] in a non-emphatic consonantal context and as a back vowel [a] with emphatic consonants, it is not, as pointed out by Mitchell, an infallible guide, see Mitchell, p. 23. The "classical" pronunciation requires back [a] with ḥ, ġ and r and the use of [a] vs. [ä] is sociolinguistically conditioned, cf. Mitchell, p. 23-24. Final -a changes into -(i)t in construct state, cf. Mitchell, p. 49.

² This conclusion is mine although Blanc wonders why his informant J, from Jerusalem, who classicizes much less than the other speakers, alters /e/ so often. Cf. Blanc, *Style*, p. 101. Based on my own experience, a strong *imāla* is conceived as being both rural and comic in interdialectal conversations by participants who do not have this feature in their own dialect. One reason for this is the extensive comic use of this feature in Arabic films.

³ See, Davies, pp. 59 and 82.

⁴ It seems that -h may be

various scribal traditions, which are never entirely consistent for historical reasons and the eventual scribal and phonetic aims of the last copyist of a given text. For this reason alone I shall focus on the question of *imāla* as it seems to be the most relevant one in the present context from the stylistical point of view.

4.1.4 Orthography of -a and *imāla*

4.1.4.1 Lebedev presents multiple examples of a strong 'imāla for -ā#, indicated in the Hebrew script with šērê plus 'ālef for -ē and sēgōl plus 'ālef for -ā-*l*, from various Egyptian sources dating from the 17th century: 'abūhē אביוה 'her father'², further: 'anē 'azūz "I am an old woman", nuḥnē 'alaynē nī'me min ir-rahmān "may the blessing of the Merciful (Allah) be on us"³; further, e.g., qāl אָל "he said"⁴. Blanc, in his study on Darxe No'am, takes note of Lebedev's findings but contends that it deserves a separate study⁵. Based on the evidence of the statements made in Arabic by Egyptian Jews and recorded by rabbinical court officials in Hebrew characters⁶, final [a] is represented *indifferently* [the italics are mine] by he or 'alef, which are used, as are yod and vav, like the matres lectionis of Hebrew 'full spelling', though very inconsistently⁷. As such Blanc finds no indication of 'imāla in the Judaeo-Arabic passages of Darxe No'am⁸. However, Blanc has indicated in an earlier study that a number of modern rural Egyptian dialects have alternation after [certain] consonants, between an [-a]-type vowel in context and an [-i]-type vowel in pause and argues that the same alternation existed in Cairene until the late 19th century.⁹

Davies' evidence concerning 'imāla in Hazz il-Quḥūf refers to Širbīnī's comments on phonology: the "feminine" desinence represented in conventional orthography as

¹ Lebedev, Pozdnij, p. 28.

² Lebedev, *ibid.*, p. 76, 3rd line from the bottom.

³ Lebedev, *ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴ Lebedev, *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵ Blanc, Darxe, pp. 188-189.

⁶ In the latter half of the 17th century.

⁷ Blanc, Darxe, p. 189. In Darze No'am /i/ /ī/ /e/ and /ē/ can all be represented by yod, /u/ /ū/ /o/ /ō/ by vav, /a/ is sometimes, /ā/ almost always, represented by 'alef, in final position. Blanc also mentions one single instance of the multipurpose diacritic (geršayim) where final yod, imitating the Arabic script, is to be read [a].

⁸ Cf. Hary, a > e and i > e, Hary, pp. 249-250.

⁹ Apud Davies, p. 82, referring to Haim Blanc: La Perte d'une forme Pausale dans le Parler Arabe du Caire. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 48 (1973-4) pp. 376-390. Blanc presents as his evidence, according to Davies, the phonologized forms of the names of the letters /bi(h)/, /ti(h)/, /si(h)/ (for CA tā'), /ri(h)/, /fi(h)/, /hi(h)/, /yi(h)/. Unfortunately, I have not seen this study. It seems, however, that the alternation [-a]/[-i] for the 19th-century Cairo has been established by El-Tantavy in his *Traité*: "le . final se change en i, s'il se lie à un autre mot qui n'est pas au génétif" and "la lettre qui précède le . prend toujours kesra, si le mot est suivi d'un génétif", if not, "le . prend alors fatha". "Si le mot n'est suivi d'aucun autre, la lettre précédant le . prend le fatha avec les lettres ا, ح, خ, د, ر, ص, ض, ط, ظ, ع, غ, ق, ه, [...] et avec les lettres ب, ت, ج, د, ذ, ر, س, ز, د, ج, ت, ب, la lettre précédant le . prend le kesra". Si le . est pronom, il se change en و, quand il est suivi d'un autre mot, p. ex. لو بيت il a une maison. Mouhammad Ayyad El-Tantavy was Professor of Arabic language at the Institute of Oriental Languages and at the University of St. Petersburg in the middle of the 19th century. See, Tantavy, *Traité*, p. X-XI.

-h [Davies' -H] and realized in CA as [-a] is pronounced "with fatḥ [a] after qāf, doubling of the rā', kasr [i] after the fā' and quiescent final hā." Davies suggests that the phenomenon of 'imāla should not be limited to the words mentioned by Širbīnī and refers to the evidence found in the work of Yūsuf al-Mağribī [1575/1567-1610], which suggests that final 'imāla is also attested after [f], [b] and [k]. In modern Cairene 'imāla occurs after these consonants in reflexes of [-a], whatever the historical origin of the ending.¹ Referring to the textual evidence of HQ, Davies says that the alternation between *hā'* and *alif* is very similar to the alternation found by Blanc but concludes, due to exceptions and ambiguous cases, that "a clear alternation of final *imāla* in pause with [-a] in context, is suggestive but not absolutely conclusive."²

4.1.4.2 Feminine -^h which is vocalised with *fatḥa* occurs in 29 classical and 71 vernacular proverbs. The frequencies of -a^h are listed in Table (16). The occurrences of -a^t and -l have been included when they have been used as variants in the same proverbs in some of the five MSS. In addition, the occurrences of -i^h [there are no occurrences of -i^t] were counted from the whole data. Based on these findings, it seems that the vocalization of -^h with *fatḥa* in pausal position basically reflects CA, supported further by the occurrences of the Classical Proverbs, as it is used also after consonants which would imply *kasra* as in Tantavy's list. The analysis of the few occurrences of -l is equally disappointing. Curiously enough, however, the vocalization *kasra* is consistent with Tantavy's list except that -ni^h occurs in internal pause, i.e., in a position which might suggest pause inside the proverb in question but also in a contextual position where -ni^h might not be expected. The same copyist, F uses -na^h both in contextual and proverb-final positions. The only occurrence of -i^h (after s-) is used by E in contextual position. Even as such the data gives conclusive evidence of the existence of -a^h / -i^h alternation but gives a clear indication of its consistency. My interpretation is that the data indicates the same contradictory aims by the scribes, which are also present in Chapter 6, namely, that the scribes make attempts at classicization by imposing values of written Arabic on their writing but occasionally also accept explicitly vernacular features in order to safeguard intentionally the would-be spoken nature of the Proverbs of Men and Women. Although there is no reason to undermine the effect of -a^h on the eventual reading, it is evident that its possible classicizing effect is undermined by the vast number of unvocalized occurrences of -^h.

4.1.4.3 Davies draws attention to Blanc's conclusion that the spelling of /-h/ in place of *alif*, in words subject to final *imāla*, is of an essentially pausal nature.³ Based on his detailed study of individual words with /-h/, Davies concludes that -h, e.g., in šayh ḥḍrḥ 'a green robe' merely reflects *tā' marbūṭa*, which in this case cannot indicate 'imāla since the preceding consonant is emphatic. Davies sets out further evidence in examples which are all line-final in verse and thus necessarily

¹ See Davies, p. 81.

² See, Davies, p. 85.

³ See Davies, p. 83.

pausal¹ and which increase, according to Davies, "the list of consonants after which final *imāla* is indicated to include [m], [d], [s], perhaps [n] in addition to [f], [b] and [k].²"

4.1.4.4 The present data contains a few interesting occurrences in which pausal ^{-h} alternates with conventional ^{-l} <ل> and ^{-y} <ي> / <ي>, which may indicate *imāla*.

4.1.4.4.1 1st. pers. sing. poss. suff. <ي> pro <ل> 60R:A: ṭwb 'lyl wa-ṭwb 'ly ll-wtd w-lnl ḥyr mn kl mn fy ll-bld "A cloak on myself and one on the pin, and I am better than anyone in the village."; H: ṭwb 'lyal w-ṭwb 'lay ll-wtd w-lnl ḥsn mn kl mn fy ll-bld; F: ṭaw|b'áun 'aliyh [in MEA with suff. 'alē-, 1. sg. 'alayya, but in Syrian Arabic 'alīyi ('alayyi)³] w ṭwb 'lyh ll-watadu w-lnl ḥay|run mn kul ml fy ll-baladi; E: ṭwb 'lyl w-ṭwb 'ly ll-watad| wa-lnal ḥyr mn kul mn fy ll-balad|; M: ṭwb 'lyl wa-ṭwb| 'alay ll-watad| wa-'alnl ḥyr mn kul man| fy ll-balad|. 79R:A: ḥḍyny w-lrgny [sic!] fyh lnl ḥṣḍ mlwḥy^h w-'nd ll-ḥbz lkl my^h w-'nd ll-ṣḡl [ḡ's dot is missing in the MS.] ml fyh "Take me and desire me, I am a harvester of mallow, and at the bread, I eat a hundred and at the work, [propably:] I have no will (to work)."; H: ḥḍyny w-lrgby fyi lnl ḥṣḍ mlwḥy^h w-'nd ll-ḥbz lkl my^h w-'nd ll-ṣḡl ml fyh; F: ḥ-ud'yn'iy w-lrgby fyi lnl ḥṣḍ mlwḥy^h w-'nd ll-ḥbz lkl my^h w-'nd ll-ṣḡl ml fyh; E: ḥḍyny w-lrgbiy fyi lnl ḥṣḍ mlwḥy^h w-'nd ll-ḥbz lkl my^h w-'nd ll-ṣḡl ml fyi; M: ḥḍyny w-lrgby fyi lnl ḥṣḍ mlwḥy^h w-'nd ll-ḥbz lkl my^h wa-'inda ll-ṣḡl ml fyi. The spelling with -ih of fyi <ي> in 79R:H may indicate that <ي> was meant to be pronounced with *imāla*. However, H uses <ي> in 60R:H. Although -h is definitely more visual than CA <ي>, it could be speculated that <ي> replaced <ل> because it did not correspond well enough to the vernacular pronunciation as both forms clearly refer visually to *spoken* values vs. CA orthography. This argument is further supported by the fact that <ل> does not rhyme equally well with <ي>, if the reader associates *alif* with *fatha* and ^{-h} with *imāla*. This is particularly evident in the following examples.

4.1.4.4.2 1st pers. pl. poss. and verbal obj. suff.⁴ <ل> pro CA <ل> in line-final position: 38R:A: byn ḥln^h w-bl^h ḥlqt ḥln^h "Between *Hānah* and *Bānah* our beards were cut."; F: ḥln^h; E: ḥln^h; M: ḥln^t. 356N:A: mn lftqdnl b-yásmyn^h ml nsynh "A person whom we have visited with a jasmin, we will not forget." E: mn lftqdnl s'myna^h ml ns'ynh; F: mani lftqdn| b-yálsam'yn^h ml nsynh; M: mn lftaqadnl b-yálsimiyn^h mal nsiynh. The replacement of the 1st pers. pl. suff. <ل> by <ل> can only indicate different pronunciations [-na] vs. *[-ni/-ne] as the resulting orthography is probably less visual but definitely more ambiguous except for the explicit indication of the rhyme with a clear *imāla*, which is the crux here. Cf. vocalised examples, 24R:E and M: ḥadlni^h, 292N:E: bḍnḡni^h, 337N:E: ḥar|fni^h and 272N:E: naḥmuws-i^h, which are further supported by the unvocalised occurrences: 24R:M: ḡsilw| k|šalskm w-nlmuw| ḥadlni^h wa-lgnḡw| w-lrfa'w| wa-ḥlwl ll-lmnl^h w-lnl

¹ See, Davies, pp. 83-84.

² See, Davies, p. 84.

³ See, Hinds&Badawi, p. 597a; cf. Grotzfeld, Syrisch-Arabische, p. 73, d.

⁴ Based on HQ, Davies claims that -NH pro -NA never occurs, see Davies, p. 60.

gdb|tm ma| 'indant lhas minkum w-ln rdytm jynl safqnl kamln^h. "Wash your vulvas, and sleep alone, and flirt and raise, and let honesty (prevail), and if you get angry, we don't have anybody better than you, and if you are content, we will slam shut (the door?)" ; A: ... ḥdln^h ... ll-lmln^h ... kmtn^h; H: ḥdln^h ... ll-lmln^t ... kmtn^h; F: ... ḥdln^h ... ll-lmálna^h ... kumálna^h; E: ... ḥdln^h ... ll-almln^h ... kmtn^h. 292N:A: ḡtry^h w-zbdy^h 'ly bld^hngln^h mqly^h "A servant girl and a bowl for a fried egg-plant."; F: ḡalriya^{hh} w-zbdy^t 'ly blznḡln^h mqly^h; E: ḡalrya^h wa-zib|diya^h 'alay bldnḡlni^h mqly^h; M: ḡalrya^t wa-zibdy^t 'ly bldnḡln^t maqly^t. 340N:A: ḡwz^h w-ḥrfln^h d²y dlhy^h kmtn^h "An old woman and a tattle-monger, that is one misfortune more."; 337N:F: 'aḡuwa^{hh} w-ḥrfln^h dy dlhy^h kmtn^h; E: ḡwz^h wa-ḥar|fni^h d²iy dalhiy^h kma^hln^h; 337N:M: ḡwz^t wa-ḥrfln^h dy dlhiya^t kmtn^h. Further 272N:A: btt nlmws^h 'ly ḡmyz^h qlat šbhk llh b-l-hyr qlt mn dry bk qblh "The mosquito spent the night on a sycomore. It said: 'May God give you a good morning!' It replied: 'Who would have known (about you) before this?'" ; F: bttat| nlmws^h 'ly ḡmyz^h f-qlt šbhk llh b-l-hay|r qlt man| dary bk qblh; 272N:M: btt nlmws^t 'ly ḡmyz^t f-qlat šabhk llh b-l-hay|r qallat mn dry bk [fem.?] qab|lh; E: btt nalmuwsⁱh 'ly ḡmyz^h qlt šbhk llh b-l-hyr qallt mn dariy bik qab|lah.

4.1.4.4.3 Conclusion: Based on the above my conclusion is that 'imāla definitely existed and was explicitly indicated in verses, which suggests *vernacularization*. It is probable that all proverbs rhymed with ^h suggest 'imāla, when it was required by the consonantal environment. A stylistic use is further supported by the fact that *kasra* for 'imāla is not indicated in the classical proverbs despite a number of ^h in verse-final position. The occasional indication of *fatha* corresponds partly to the vernacular pronunciation but very likely also reflects CA values and is, as such, stylistically ambiguous. The apparent contradiction involving explicit *classicization* concurrently with explicit *vernacularization* seems to be explained by the copyists' attempts to combine the best of the "two worlds" in the most elegant *scribal* way possible without excluding either one of them at the expense of the other.

Table 6.2.1 Vocalization of $-Cv^h/-Cv^t$

	A cl A mw	H cl H mw	F cl F mw	E cl	E mw	M cl M mw
-ba ^h pausal1				4	1	1
pausal1 -ba ^t			1			
pausal2			2		1	
context.			3	1	2	
stat. constr. -ba ^t						1
-ta ^h pausal1			1			
-ža ^h context.			2		2	
-ḥa ^h pausal2				1		
context.					1	
stat. constr. -ḥa ^t						1
-da ^h pausal1				1		1
pausal2					1	
pausal2 -da ^t			1			
pausal2 -dl *)	2		1			2
context.				1	1	1
-ra ^h pausal1				2		2
pausal2	1				3	3
pausal2 -ra ^t					1	
pausal2 -rl *)	2		1			
context.			1			1
-za ^h pausal1						1
pausal2			2			
-sa ^h pausal2			2			
pausal2 -sa ^t						1
context.			1			
-si ^h context.					1	
-ša ^h pausal1				1		
-ṣa ^h pausal2			1		1	1

Table 6.2.2 **Vocalization of -Cv^h/-Cv^t**

	A cl A mw	H cl H mw	F cl F mw	E cl	E mw	M cl M mw
-ʈa ^h pausal1 pausal1 -ʈa ^t context.			1	1		1
-ʈa ^h pausal1 pausal1 -ʈa ^t pausal2 pausal2 -ʈa ^t context. stat. constr. -ʈa ^t			2 1	1 1	4 2	1 2 1 2
-fa ^h pausal1 pausal1 -fa ^t context.			1 1		1 1	1
-qa ^h pausal1 pausal2 context.			1		1 1 1	
-ka ^h pausal1					1	
-la ^h pausal1 pausal2 pausal2 -la ^t context.			1 1	1	1	1 1 1
-ma ^h pausal1 pausal2				4	1	1
-na ^h pausal1 pausal2 pausal2 -na ^t context.			1 1 2		3 1	1
-ni ^h pausal2 context.					2 1	1
pausal -nh pausal1	1		1		1	1
-wa ^h pausal2				1		

Table 6.2.3 **Vocalization of -Cv^h/-Cv^t**

	A cl A mw	H cl H mw	F cl F mw	E cl E mw	M cl M mw
-ya ^h					
-ya ^h pausal1	1		4	6	2
pausal2				5	
pausal2 -ya ^t			1		1
context.			2	3	
stat. constr. -ya ^t					1
-yi ^h					
pausal2		1			

Symbols:

pausal1 =final lexeme in the proverb

pausal2 =rhythmic pause

context. =in contextual position

stat. constr. =in status constructus

*) forms with final alif corresponding to ^{-h/-t} in other MSS.

4.2 Notes on the use of Vowel Letters

The letters *alif*, *wāw* and *yā'* are used in word-final position in the Proverbs of Men and Women¹ to indicate, *grosso modo*, CA long vowels which are pronounced short in the vernacular but which have maintained their respective colour as -a, -u, -i. The use of vowel-letters—which is quite common in popular poetry—helps to avoid possible ambiguity in unvocalised texts.² However, their use is difficult to predict in individual cases as also CA consonantal ductus is equally used. The fact that they impose vernacular pronunciation or non-CA orthography implies a corresponding stylistic impact the recognition of which depends, obviously, on the linguistic competence of the reader.

4.2.1 Treatment of pronominal suffixes

The numbers between brackets refer to the total number of occurrences.

4.2.1.1 1st person singular

4.2.1.1.1 MS. A.

4.2.1.1.1.1 Cl: -y (19); after long vowel in 301P:A: mqltly, cf. old poetic form -ya (1) in A: bya ; verbal accus. -ny (7).

4.2.1.1.1.2 Mw: -y (47); after long vowel -yh (2) and -yl in 210R:A: lbwyh "my father"; 104R:A: wrtyh "behind me", (Cf. CA poetic form, Wright, i, p. 101, Rem. d.); 60R:A: 'lyl "on me"; verbal accus. -ny (18)

4.2.1.1.2 MS. H

4.2.1.1.2.1Cl: -y (26); y (2); verbal accus. -ny (10), -ny (1).

4.2.1.1.2.2 Mw: -y (13); after yā' 60R:H: 'lyat; verbal accus. -ny (3).

4.2.1.1.3 MS. F

4.2.1.1.3.1 Cl: -y (27), -iy (1); iy (4); after long vowel 301P:F: mqltly (1); -y (1) in 347P:F: surwry; cf. E: s'uruwry; -ya in 332P:F: ḥalylya; verbal accus. -ny (12), -n'fy (2).

¹ In contrast, the orthography of the Classical Proverbs is basically conventional with the rare exceptions of poetic licences.

² Davies relates the use of word-final vowel letters to the orthographic freedom which allows, e.g., the use of -W <ـ> for 3rd p. masc. object and possessive suffix [alongside the conventional <ـ>] to indicate a form identical to MEA /-u/. Based on his evidence on Hazz al-Quḥūf, he concludes that "this spelling is almost entirely restricted to verse, however, where it presumably was adopted as a visual reminder that the meter assumes colloquial values. The conventional spelling -H <ـ> is of course ambiguous, allowing both a colloquial and a classical reading." Although Davies may be entirely correct, the fact that vowel letters are used in contexts where such ambiguity does not exist might suggest that vowel letters were adopted as visual reminders in *unvocalised* texts where the occasional use of CA vowel signs would have been far less visual than vowel letters. It seems justified to add that the use of vowel letters is not a later 'vernacular' development and, strictly speaking, cannot be separated from the history of Arabic orthography which was developed under Aramaic influence, see Diem, Untersuchungen. The use of vowel letters refers in the context of this study, obviously, to the late mediaeval scribal use of earlier orthographic devices.

4.2.1.1.3.2 Mw: -y (47), -y (1) in kmy "my sleeve", -īy (1); after semi-vowel yā': -yh (3) in 60R:F: 'aliyh (NB voc. -li-, pro /'aleyah/ ?) [...] 'lyh ll-watadu [sic!]; 79R:F: fyh /fyh/ i.e. /fiya/; possible dropping of -y in 25R:F: iln| dlm hđl ll-šyr [sic! š pro s] y| ms'wd lál n|q^t tbq| w-ll q'wd, [See Wright, i, p. 101, Rem. c], cf. 25R:M below; verbal accus. -ny (15), -nīy (1).

4.2.1.1.4 MS. E.

4.2.1.1.4.1 Cl: -y (7), -iy (1), -y (11), -iy (15); after long vowel in 301P:E: muq|lataly, cf. old poetic form -ya (1) in 410P:E: 'n hlylya "(sorrow) because my bosom friend"; verbal accus. -ny (2), -niy (1), -niy (10), -ny (1).

4.2.1.1.4.2 Mw: -y (10); -y* without dots y (20), iy/yi* (19), after long vowel -yl (3) and -yh (2) in 60R:E: 'lyt; 104R:E: warlyt; cf. [104R:F: hlfy; M: hālfy]; possible dropping of -y but without indicating it by kasra in 25R:E: ln da|lm hađl ll-syr y| ms'uwd lál n|q^h tbqy w-lal q'wd, See Wright, i, p. 101, Rem. c, cf. 25R:M below; verbal accus. -ny -ny (5), -niy (4), -niy (6).

4.2.1.1.5 MS. M

4.2.1.1.5.1 Cl: -y (36), -iy (3); after long vowel -ya (1); verbal accus. -ny (13), -niy (2).

4.2.1.1.5.2 Mw: -y (41), -iy (11), -y (1), -iy (1), after yā': 242R:M: fyal (1), 79R:M: fiyh (1); Dropping of -y, [See Wright, i, p. 101, Rem. c] in 25R:M: w-ql| ln da|lm hađl ll-sayr| y| mas'wdi lál n|qatan tbqy w-lal qa'wdi, cf. 25R:E and 25R:F above but without kasra, in with -y: 25R:A: lđl dlm hđl ll-syr y| mas'wdy ll ġml ybq| w-ll q'wdy; verbal accus. -ny (11), -niy (1), -ny (2), -niy (1).

4.2.1.2 2nd person singular¹

4.2.1.2.1 MS. A

4.2.1.2.1.1 Cl: -k (34), -ka (3); -ak (3) in 179'A:A: lqlil [two dots twice on q] t'mak yħmd mnłmk suggests 'vernacular' spelling but could be explained by accusative and pause; cf. 159'A:A: sabka mn balagak ll-sb; cf. further 38Q:A: y| lyta byny w-bynak bu'd ll-mšrqyn f-b'yasa ll-qaryn; cf. nomin. voc. uk in 131'A:A: tyk aln| yđrb lštnuk 'unuqak; 87H:A: d' ml yriybuk lly ml ll yrybk; 21Q:A: w-ll ynbiyuka m|l hbyr [NB. replacement of hamza by yā' but maintaining CA vocalization]. -k used twice after long vowel in tyk and tyak. The Classical Proverbs only have examples of 2nd pers. masculine.

4.2.1.2.1.2 Mw: -k (75), used for both masculine and feminine, e.g., in 252N:A: ln knty ħr^h ll tmdgy nqlbk; 255N:A: ll-klłm lk y| ġlr^h ll lnty ħmlr^h; -ky (3) and ky (1) both after consonant and long vowel: 259N:A: lrm|^h w-'ds w-mzwġ^h w-'ds lq'dy b-'dsky; 309N:A: ħdy krlky w-lngry ġlk ll-ħry, -y in ll-ħry supporting the rhyme, but could interpreted as being equivalent to -, cf. ħfk in 274N:A: bdll ml tmšy w-thzy ktfky rq'y frd^t ħfk.

4.2.1.2.2 MS. H.

4.2.1.2.2.1 Cl: -k (57). Classical Proverbs only have examples of 2nd pers. masculine.

¹ The vowelting immediately before the suffix has been included in all cases as it is virtually impossible to say whether it belongs, e.g., to the preceding verb or noun.

4.2.1.2.2.2 Mw: -k (35), used for both genders.

4.2.1.2.3 MS. F.

4.2.1.2.3.1 Cl: -k (58), nom. -uk (1), acc. -ak (3); -ka (5), -k^a (2), -k^á (1), -k^á (1) mainly after long vowels and diphthongs but in ka-^lnaka (1), la-^aam^rruk^a and la-^aam^rruk^á (1). The Classical Proverbs only have examples of 2nd pers. masculine.

4.2.1.2.3.2 Mw: -k (61) used, in general, for both genders, -ka (9) after nominative and 2nd pers. perf. masculine -u where related words are superfluously vocalized, once after double consonant in hfka. Feminine is rarely indicated: -ik (1) in 40R:F: b^adall^ái lhmk w-qullq^ásik huđl lk š^yl 'ly r^sk; -ky (1) after long vowel in 309N:F: hdy kr^rk w-lngry galky ll-hri; -ki (1) used after nominative -u in gayruki.

4.2.1.2.4 MS. E.

4.2.1.2.4.1 Cl: -k (62), -ka (4), accus. -ak (3), gen. -ika (3), cf. bika below. Classical Proverbs only have examples of 2nd pers. masculine.

4.2.1.2.4.2 Mw: -k (56) for both genders; bik (1) cf. above; -ak (9), used occasionally for masculine in all cases, cf. 13R:E: ln knt maliyh rbak halaq w-ln knt s^áyd rabak razaq w-ln kunt raqy^á dam falaq; 40R:E: bdall lhmk w-qlq^sk huđl lak šiy 'ly r^sk; 104R:E: rakbt^k waryl^á hařayt lydak fy ll-hurğ; 338N:E: gy^rak yaquwm b-mqlmak 'lyš qulaybiy 'ađbuh; but once for feminine but possibly due to scribal error in 268N:E: b^d mšiyak fy ll-hlf^h bql lik salallm w-ğrf^h w-ls^mmik styt. -ik (7) occasionally for feminine after consonant and -ky ky (1) after long vowel in 309N:E: hdy kr^rk w-ltğriy g^lky ll-hur.

4.2.1.2.5 MS. M.

4.2.1.2.5.1 Cl: -k (38); nom. -uk (5), gen. -ik (1), -ak (2), -akl (1) after 3rd pers. perf. -a in mn hr^makl (pausal), ka (29), nom. uka (1), gen. ika (1). Classical Proverbs have examples only of 2nd pers. masculine.

4.2.1.2.5.2 Mw: -k (62), -ak (3): 89R:M: dr^hham lk w-dir^hm 'lyk ll lak w-lal 'lyk; 40R:M: bdll lh^mk wa-qulq^ssak huđl lk šiy 'ly ralsak pro CA gen. -ka (5) in 2R:M: lđl bğđka ġrk hawl blb d^rk; 174R:M: qlwl l-l-ğrlb mal lka tsrq ll-řalbwn qlla ll dy řab^l; 178R:M: kl man^l 'awadth b-klk kulml ra^lka ġ^l; 247R:M: yl lytnal lnksrnl w-lal bika lnřaşrnl; 80R:M: ħubiyt laka řlhta ly. Feminine is indicated by -ky (7); NB. gen. in 259N:M: lrmql^t w-^aads wa-mzwğ^t 'djs lq^dy bi-^ađsiky, -kiy (1) in 274N:M: bdll mal tmšy w-thziy ktfky raqⁱy frd^t hfkiy. -ki (1) only in 254N:M: 'll-klm laki yl ġir^t ll lnty ħimalr^h.

4.2.1.3 3rd person singular masculine

4.2.1.3.1 MS. A.

4.2.1.3.1.1 Cl: -h (90), -hu (5).

4.2.1.3.1.2 Mw: -h (91); -w (5) in 295N:A: w-ll-ħltm^h ytlb lqtn fth qħb w-lfw [possible hamza on l] řsqn; 224R:A: wħid nfw w-wħd lqfw w-ħr yqwl yl qryb ll-frğ; 82R:A: ħazynw fy ġr^h [the dot of ġim is missing] w-mlh^h fy; 83R:A: ħbwz b-ll lyđtm w-y^azm 'ly ll-ğyrln; -wl (1) 146R:A: řlr tyrk w-lħđwl ġyrk.

4.2.1.3.2 MS. H.

4.2.1.3.2.1 Cl: -h (88); -hi (1) in ykfyhi.

4.2.1.3.2.2 Mw: -h (21); -wl (1) in 105R:H: rħ ll-ğndy w-ħll ħlqwl 'ndy.

4.2.1.3.3 MS. F.

4.2.1.3.3.1 Cl: -h (130), after 2nd pers. *subjunctive* -ah (1), 2nd pers. perf. , acc. -ah (1), 3rd pers. masc. imperf. and 1st pers. pl. imperf. -uh (1); after gen. -ih (1); -hí (3) after indicated or non-indicated *kasra*, once -hi (1).

4.2.1.3.3.2 Mw: -h (77), -uh (2) 51R:F: tğtr^t ll-'lhmq 'ly lh|| bay|tuh, however, this case is uncertain due to the -u- which is written unclearly; 205R:F: mn 'šar ll-zbdlny flht 'lyh rwtyhuh. hí (6), only if preceded by *kasra*. -wl (7): 146R:F: tlr tyrk w-'hđw| gyrk, 165R:F: flrs hrl w-lsmwl 'an|tar; 145R:F: řab'aluwl ġlkm 'tm|n lyđw| wral' w-lydwl qđlm; 167R:F: fař'aduwl qrd řarař qll bwl [prep b- + suff. -wl pro -h] zyld^t dm; 280N:F: tqłrbt ll-mğnwn^t m' ll-hmq^h řsbtwl ll-r'n^h mn řqh; 83R:F: řbzwl b-ll lyđlm w-y'zm 'ly ll-ğyraln; 227R:F: wálh'yid| smwh 'nbrl w-řn'th řrlbty qll llđy ksbn fy ll-lsm řsrwl fy ll-řn'^t.

4.2.1.3.4 MS. E.

4.2.1.3.4.1 Cl: -h (36), nom. -uh (13), -hu (54) in general only if preceded by a short or long vowel.

4.2.1.3.4.2 Mw: -h (36), -uh (29), -hu (6) preceded by short vowel, once after 3rd pers. fem. -at; -hi (3) after short or long -i; -w (1) in 191R:E: knw 'ařfuwr nyk blš wa-yalwy fy ll-'šš; -wl (1) in 227R:E: walhid samwh 'anbr wa-řan'twl řrlbty qll llđy ks'buwl fy ll-'ism řsrwl fy ll-řan'^ah.

4.2.1.3.5 MS. M.

4.2.1.3.5.1 Cl: -h (104); after imperf. or nominative -uh (3); after verbal -a or acc. -ah (6); gen. -ih (13); -hi (8), after non-indicated genitive *kasra*, once after preposition in *fiyhi*, after indicated *kasra* -ihi (3).

4.2.1.3.5.2 Mw: -h (65); -uh (8), the latter is used even for oblique cases e.g., in 202R:M: mn 'ařr ġay|r ġnsuh daq ll-hm řad|rh; 72R:E: řw| řabyby ma'uwnuh w-qđrtahu m' kałnuwnuh; however, after imperf. -u, -uh (2); -w (2) in 204R:M: man lał yař lw yqwl řalmđ w-lał řstawy; 263N:M: dłrtw; -wl (6), once -uw^t 263N:M: řt'rat ll-r'n^t řy řsbtwl lh| řđt ll-mqř w-dłrtw lh|; 191R:E: knwl 'ařfwr nyk blš wa-yalwy fy ll-'šš; 94R:M: đl ll-wald ll-řrl mn řřfwl řll riğ|wl w-řka bh| lnfw|; 82R:M: řazynwl fy ġar^h w-mlřuw| fy řur^t; 83R:M: řub|zwl b-ll 'ilydaln wa-y'zm 'ly ll-ğyraln; 146R:E: řra tyrk w-řđw| gyrk "Your bird flew and was taken by somebody else (than you)"; A: w-řđw|; F: w-'řđw|; M: w-'ařđw|; That -wl stands here, indeed, for 3rd pers. m. suffix, see al-Ĥanafi, p. 238, Nr 1131 wa-'ařađahu ġayrak|.

4.2.1.4 3rd person singular feminine

The conventional -hl is used by all MSS.

4.2.1.5 1st person plural

4.2.1.5.1 MS. A.

4.2.1.5.1.1 Cl: -nl (13).

4.2.1.5.1.2 Mw: -nl (11); -nh (2) in 38R:A: byn řln^h w-bln^h řlqt řlnh, as verbal suffix -nh in 355N:A: mn řtqđnl b-yłsmyn^h ml nsynh.

4.2.1.5.2 MS. H.

4.2.1.5.2.1 Cl: -n! (10).

4.2.1.5.2.2 Mw: -n! (2).

4.2.1.5.3 MS. F.

4.2.1.5.3.1 Cl: -n!, -nal and -nāl (21).

4.2.1.5.3.2 Mw: -n! (16); -nh (2) in 38R:F: bay|na ḥln^h w-bln^h ḥlqt [sic! ḥ pro ḥ] lḥlnḥ;
356N:F: mani lftqdn! [faint point beside l- for waṣla (l)?] b-yálsamíyn^h m! nsynh.

4.2.1.5.4 MS. E.

4.2.1.5.4.1 Cl: -n! and -nal (19).

4.2.1.5.4.2 Mw: -n! and -nal (12); -nh (2) in 38R:E: bay|n ḥaln^h wa-maln^h ḥlqt lḥlnḥ;
356N:E: mn lftqdn! s'myna^h m! ns'ynh.

4.2.1.5.5 MS. M.

4.2.1.5.5.1 Cl: -n! (24).

4.2.1.5.5.2 Mw: -n! (12); -nh (1) in 261N:M: ll-'lqil^t fiynh tzmr b-yqtyn^h.

4.2.1.6 2nd person plural masculine

4.2.1.6.1 The conventional -km is used by all MSS. (6-18 occurrences per MS.).

4.2.1.6.2 Only E exhibits one occurrence of rzqkmw! in the Classical Proverbs; F han^k-áumu (1).

4.2.1.6.3 MS. A exhibits one occurrence of an awkward kmw! in the Proverbs of Men and Women which is not used by other MSS.; 246R:A: yhnykmw! qdwmh qd ḡlkm b-šwmh.

4.2.1.7 2nd person plural feminine

The suffix -kn with minor variations occurs (total 1-2 per MS.) only in the Classical Proverbs of all five MSS.

4.2.1.8 3rd person plural masculine

Conventional -hm is used by all MSS. Occasional vocalization occurs as -hum(), with or without preceding short vowel. Only E, F and M exhibit -him(), (E:7), (F:2), (M:6) after *kasra* or *yā'*, only in the Classical Proverbs.

4.2.1.9 3rd person plural feminine

Only in Classical Proverbs: E: lahuna (1); F: lhn (1); M: lhn (1).

4.2.1.10 2nd person dual

The conventional -hml is used by all MSS., in Classical Proverbs only (3 occurrences).

4.2.2 Note on 2nd person feminine verbal suffix

4.2.2.1 *ت* pro *تي* for 2nd pers. *feminine* verbal suffix: 252N:A: ln knty ḥr^h ll tmdgy nqlbk; E: kntiy, but F: knti, M: knt; 277N:A: b'd mšyk fy ll-ḥllfy lbsty ll-tšlfy; F:

lbsty; E: lbsty; but M: lbs;t; 315N:H: r̄q̄sty m̄l ḥsnty k̄ln q̄'ldk l̄ḡml "You danced, you didn't do it well, it was nicer to sit down."; F: raq̄ṣat̄iy m̄l ḥsanti k̄ln q̄'ldk l̄ḡmal; E: raq̄ṣat̄iy m̄l ḥsan̄ṭiy k̄ln q̄'ldk l̄ḡmal; M: raq̄ṣat̄iy m̄l ḥsan̄ṭiy k̄lna q̄'ldk l̄ḡmal; but A: raq̄ṣt̄ m̄l ḥsnt̄ k̄ln q̄'ldk l̄ḡml; 328N:A: ṣdy q̄r̄ṭ̄sk mn̄ ḥnd m̄wsy q̄l ḍl̄ ṣy m̄l fr̄ḥty bh w-lnti ḥrws; H: fr̄ḥty; F: fr̄ḥty; E: fr̄ḥty; M: fr̄ḥty.

Conclusion: Based on the above, the scribes use the non-conventional forms of the 1st person singular -yh/-yl, 2nd person singular feminine -ky, 3rd person masculine -w/-wl and 1st person plural -nh only in the Proverbs of Men and Women. The fact that they concurrently use *matres lectionis* in both proverbial sections makes the use of vowel letters definitely characteristic of written vernacular language only and thus represents an important stylistic feature which excludes any possibility of scribal "linguistic incompetence". Another important finding is that the use of the above morphemes seems not to be clearly lexically dependent.

4.2.3 Independent Pronouns

4.2.3.1 2nd person singular feminine

انتي pro انتي : 254N:A: ll-kllm lk yl ḡlr̄ḥ ll lnty ḥm̄lr̄ḥ; E: lntiy, M: lnty; F: lnti; 359N:H: lnty; E: lntiy; M: lnty, but F: lnt, [missing in A];

4.2.3.2 2nd person singular masculine

اننا : 313N:A: dq mn̄ ṣfl w-ll t̄ṭl' m̄l lnt' ḥy ll-q̄lb "Knock from below and don't stare, you are not in (my) heart"; MSS. E, F and M represent a longer version of the proverbs with verbs and the personal pronoun explicitly feminine in E: lntiy; F: lnti; the pronoun is left unvocalised in M: lnt. The 2nd pers. independent personal pronoun with final alif in MS. A—a unique form in the MSS.—seems most logically explained as an analogical development for feminine انتي, which implies that the object in A is masculine and if the proverb is understood to be a jibe in the domain of female-male contact. The use of final alif by A to indicate masculine gender would be entirely justified because A does not use in this proverb any other vowelling. The proverb in E, F and M should be considered an entirely different variant where both parties of the proverb are feminine. The possible ambiguity of the unvocalised pronoun in M is avoided by the explicitly feminine verbal ending -y and their use even in the perfect (as in E). The case of MS. F is interesting because the orthography is basically as per CA and feminine endings are indicated by kasra, lnti; ṭlq̄ti; q̄'ad̄ṭi which suggests that the vowel letters in E, alongside its frequent short vowel marks, indeed stylistically loaded towards vernacular language. In contrast, the use of final -l in MS. A seems to be primarily motivated by practical reasons, as the context, i.e. Proverbs of Women might entail an interpretational problem due to the orthographic ambiguity of unvocalised انت. This claim seems supported by the fact that MS. A uses انت for masculine in other, unambiguous contexts: e.g., 16R:A: ṭyṣ lnt fy ll-ṣḥlr̄ḥ yl mn̄ḥl b-ll ṭlr̄ḥ; E: lnt; H: lnt; cf. F: lnta; M: lnta. 47R:A: lnt; F: aln̄ta; E: lnt; M: lnt. 133R:A: lnt; H: lnt; F: lnt; E: lnt; M: lnt (NB. vern. voc. i-).

4.2.3.3 3rd person singular masculine

هُوَ : 225R:A: w-hw! 'and he'; F: w-hw; E: wa-h|w; M: wa-hw. The orthography used by A suggests an intentional stylistic choice to use a vernacular word suggesting variation of a *lexical* nature. The *šadda* used by A is definitely original.

4.2.3.4 1st person plural

أَحْنَا : 363N:A: ḥn! 'we'; as the whole word is explicitly vernacular, the potential stylistic 'vernacular' value of final *alif* as an independent variant seems more or less secondary. That final *alif* is used at all, could be explained fairly convincingly by the fact that an unvocalised *أَحْن* might be ambiguous for many readers. The use of final *alif* seems primarily intended, therefore, to maintain mutual intelligibility of an unvocalised text but also suggests intentional lexical choice in favour of vernacular language. The word 'us' does not occur in this proverb in the other MSS.

Based on the above the use of vowel-letters with independent personal pronouns seems primarily lexically dependent and is comparable to the conscious use of vernacular vocabulary.

4.3 Treatment of the sound plural

4.3.1 Classical Proverbs

The Classical Proverbs contain only a few occurrences of the sound plural, which are all treated regularly as in CA including irregular vocalization with final -a:

4.3.1.1.1 Nominative cases: 51Q:A: ḥl-ḥmilwn 'labourers' nom.; H: ḥl-ḥmlwn; F: ḥl-ḥmlwn; E: ḥl-ḥmilwn; M: ḥl-ḥmiluwna. 33Q:A: l-kḏbwn "indeed (they are) liars" nom.; H: l-kḏbwn; F: l-kḏbwn; E: l-kḏibuwna; M: l-kḏbuwn. 37Q:A: muqtadwna 'following' nom.; E: muqtaduwna; F: mqtawn; M: mqtadwna; H: mqtawn.

4.3.1.1.2 Oblique cases. Prep.+gen: 18Qa:A: 'ly ḥl-mḥsnyna "(to reprove) well-doers"; H: 'ly ḥl-mḥsnyn; F: 'ly ḥl-mḥsnyn; E: 'ly ḥl-muḥḥsniyn; M: 'ly ḥl-muḥḥsinyn. 39Q:A: mn muslmyn "of Muslims"; H: mn ḥl-mslmyn; F: mn ḥl-mslmyn; E: mn musḥlimiyn; M: mina musḥlimyn. Acc.: 338P:H: ḥl-krmyn 'noble people'; F: ḥl-krmīyn; E: ḥl-ḥkḥrmiyn; M: ḥl-krmyna; . [In the title of *muwallad*-proverbs: A: ḥl-mwldyn gen.; E: ḥl-mwldiyn; F: ḥl-muwallidiyn; H: ḥl-mwldyn; M: ḥl-mwldiyn.

4.3.2 Proverbs of Men and Women

The occurrences of the sound plural are even fewer in this section, so that they do not offer a proper basis for analysis. However, it is interesting to notice that the sound plural ending attached to the active participle *الحاضرين* in the accusative is replaced in the *later* mss. by a more literary broken plural but without end-voweling.

4.3.2.1 12R:A: ḥl-ḥḏryn "people present" acc.; H: ḥl-ḥḏryn; F: ḥl-ḥḏr; E: ḥl-ḥḏar; M: ḥl-

ħdtr

4.4 Treatment of dual

4.4.1 Classical Proverbs

4.4.1.1 Nominative: 440P:A: ll-‘ynln ‘(the) two eyes’ nom.; E: ll-‘ay|naln; F: ll-‘ay|nlñ; M: ll-‘aynlñ; H: ll-‘ynln. 388P:A: ħllln ‘two states’ nom.; E: ħallaln; F: ħllln; M: ħllln; H: ħllln. With pron. suffix: 135‘A:M: fa-l‘alh qd fqyt ‘ynlh “because maybe both of his eyes have been put out” nom. (with passive verb); A: f-l‘lh fqyt ‘ynh [the use of the singular form by A destroys the punch of this proverb]; E: ‘ynalh nom.; F: f-l‘lh qd fq‘lt ‘ay|nay|h [with passive verb but with oblique case reflecting vernacular]; [in H the final part of the proverb is missing]. 301P:A: mqltly ‘my [two] eyes’ nom.; F: mqltly; E: muqllataly; M: mqltlya. 161‘A:A: tagsalu rġllh ‘its feet are washed’ nom. [with passive verb with second hand incorrect vowel] of the preformative pro CA tu-]; H: tġsl rġllh; F: tġsl rġllh, E: tuġs-al rġllh; M: tġtsl rġllh [use vern. refl. pro literary pass.].

4.4.1.2 Oblique cases: Genitive: 135‘A:A: ħd ll-ħšmyn “one of the (two) adversaries” gen.; E: ‘alħad ll-ħi|š|may|n [pro CA -ħa-]; F: ħd ll-ħa|š|may|n; M: ħad ll-ħšmayn; H: ħd ll-ħšmyn. 231W:A: mlzwm¹ [sic!] ll-‘ynyn “with almond-shaped eyes” gen.; F: mlwz¹ ll-‘ynay|n; E: mlwz¹ ll-‘ay|nayn gen.; M: mlwz¹ ll-‘aynay|n. 222W:A: ħdy ll-ġnymtyn “one of the two preys” gen.; H: ħdl l-ġnymtyn; F: ħdy ll-ġnymtalyn; E: ħ|day ll-ġaniymtay|n; M: ħ|dy ll-ġnymtyn. 38Q:A: bu‘d ll-mšrqyn “distance between East and West” gen.; E: bu‘d ll-mšriqay|n; F: bu‘d ll-mšrqyn; M: bu‘da ll-mašriqay|n; H: b‘d ll-mšrqyn. 96H:E: mrtyn ‘twice’ acc.; F: mrtyn; M: mrtyn. 203‘A:A: mrtyn ‘twice’ acc.; F: mrtay|n; E: mrtyn; M: mrtyn. 285P:E: martay|ni ‘twice’ acc.; F: mrtay|ni; M: mrtyn. 248W:A: ħyr mn šħday|i ‘dlin “than two honest witnesses”; E: ħyr mn šħidayn “better than two witnesses” gen.; F: ħyr mn šħdyn; M: ħyr mn šħidayn. With pron. suffix: 206‘A:A: byn fkyh “between his jaws” gen.; E: byn fkyh; F: byn fkyh; M: byna fky|h. 309P:E: b-ġanalħyhl “by its wings” gen.; F: b-ġanálħay|hát; M: b-ġnlħayht; H: b-ġnlħayhl.

4.4.2 Proverbs of Men and Women

4.4.2.1 Use of the oblique case pro CA nominative: 107R:A: rlsyn “two heads” nom.; H: rlsyn; F: rlsýn [possibly suggesting vernacular pronunciation [-ēn]]; E: ralsyn; M: rlsay|n. 136a:A: drbtyñ “two blows” nom.; H: drbtyñ; F: drbtyñ; 135R:E: drbtyñ; M: drbtyñ. 159R:A: nħsyn “two disasters” nom.; H: nħsyn; F: nħsyn; E: naħs-ay|n; M: nħsyn. 154R:A: bhliq ‘ynyk “let your eyes stare” nom.; F: bhliq [scribal error: ħ pro h, pro /baħla/¹] ‘ynyk; E: bhliq ‘ay|nyk. 94R:A: ħl [sic! pro šāl] rġlyh “(he) raised his legs”; F: šl [š’s dots is blurred] rġlh [sing.]; E: šal rġluh [sing. pro dual as in F but also nom. pro acc.]; M: šl riġ|lw| [sing. pro dual and vern. pron. suff. ى pro CA ى].

4.4.2.2 Oblique cases: Genitive: 310N:A: ltb‘t ħk rġlyhl “(she) followed the itch of

¹ For the verb بحلق /baħla/ ‘to stare’, see Hinds&Badawi, p. 55a.

her legs" gen.; F: *ltb't ħk rġlyh!* gen.; E: *qa'dat tħk rġlyh!* "(she) started to scratch her legs" acc. [E has, obviously, not understood this proverb]; M: *ltb'at ħak rġlyh!* With preposition: 44R:H: *b-'bdyn* "with two slaves" gen.; F: *b-'bday|n*; E: *b-'ab|dyn*; M: *b-'b|dyn*; . 266N:A: *ġibt bnt w-šfryn* "she gave birth to a girl with two (vaginal) lips" acc.; F: *ġibt bnt b-šfryn|n*; E: *ġibt bnt b-šfryn* gen.; M: *lbt bnt bi-šufryn|n* [pro CA -ša-]. Accusative¹: 17R:A: *flsxn* 'fils', E: *flsayn*, M: *flsay|n*.

4.5 Treatment of **أب** and **أخ**

4.5.1 **أب**

4.5.1.1 Classical Proverbs. Nominative: 346P:E: *znmun lys' yu'raf man| 'albuwhu* "A bastard doesn't know his father" [The father of a bastard is not known] nom.; F: *lbwh*; M: *'albuwhu*; H: *lbwh*. Accusative: 37Q:A: *lbn!* 'our fathers' acc.; H: *lbn!*; F: *lbn!*, E: *l'ba'n!*, M: *lba'n!* < *أب* > 264W:A: *'ly šrf 'bħ* "on his forefathers' honour"; H: *'ly šrf lbyh* "on his father's [sic] honour", F: *'ly šrf 'lba'lyh* < *أب* >; E: *'ly šr [sic] lbyhi*, M: *'ly šarf l'ba'lyh*.

4.5.1.2 Proverbs of Men and Women. Nominative pro oblique case: 77R:A: *lbwk* [nom. pro acc.], F: *lbk* [acc.], E: *lbk* [acc.], M: *albuwk* [nom. pro acc.], 210R:A: *ml kftnl hm* [أبونت missing] *qlm lbwyh ġlb lbwh* "[As if] The trouble for our father was not enough for us, my father went and brought his father" [nom pro acc.]; F: *mal kafátnál hm lbwn! qlm lbwn! ġlb lbwh* [nom. pro acc.], E: *mal kafalkum lbwn! ġalb lbwh*, [nom. pro acc.], M: *mal kftnl lbwn! qlm lbwn! ġlb lbwh* [nom. pro acc.]. 283N:A: *tħdwl lbwn!* "You take our father" nom. pro acc.; E: *tħdwl lbwn!* nom. pro acc.], F: *t'ħdwl lbwn!* [nom. pro acc.], M: *tħdwl lbwn!* [nom. pro acc.]. With preposition: 327N:E: *sa'alluwhl mn 'albuwhal* "They asked her about her father" [nom. pro acc. combined with vernacular prep. *min* with the verb *sa'ala*]; cf. as per CA: A: *slwhl 'n lbyhl* [acc.], F: *s'lwħál 'n lbyh!*; M: *sluwhl 'n lbyhl*.

4.5.2 **أخ**

4.5.2.1 Classical Proverbs. Accusative: 88H:A: *lnšur lħk* "Help your brother" acc.; H: *lnšur lħk*; E: *lnšur lħalk*; M: *lnšur lħka*. 175'A:A: *lħk*; F: *lħk*; E: *'alħalk*; M: *lħalk*. 274P:A: *lħk* acc.; H: *lħk*; F: *lħk*; E: *lħk*; M: *lħk*. Genitive: 94H:E: *'n 'rd lħiyh* "his brother's reputation" gen.; F: *'n 'rd lħyh*; M: *'an| 'ird lħyh*. 99H:E: *l-'alħiyhi* "for his brother" gen.; F: *l-ħyh*; M: *l-ħiyh**.

4.5.2.2 Proverbs of Men and Women. Nominative: 234R:A: *ll lħwk* "He is not your brother" nom.; F: *ll lħwk*; E: *lal lħwk*; M: *ll lħwk*. [Genitive: 248R:A: *yl wyl mn kln 'šyh mn byt ħyh* "Woe to anybody whose supper is in the house of his little brother"; E: *yl wyl mn kln 'šyh min bayt ħiyh*; F: *yál wyl mn kln 'y|šh mn bayt ħyh* [The lexeme < *عيشه* > "his livelihood", not in diminutive, introduced by F no longer

¹ Cf. Spezifizierender Akkusativ, Fischer, p. 175, § 384. However, it is plausible that the copyists used *فلسين* in "my price is two fils" simply because *-ayn/-ēn* was the prevalent dual ending in the spoken language.

rhymes very well <عَيْه>]; M: ya| way|l man klna 'šayh mn bay|t ḥayh, for /'ušayyuh/ — /ḥayyuh/.¹

4.6 Conclusion: Based on the above, the correct use of CA endings is definitely more frequent in the Classical Proverbs than in the Proverbs of Men and Women. As the inflexion affects the consonantal ductus, the copyists seem more reluctant to change the underlying forms in any way except regarding the use of *matres lectionis*. However, it is interesting to note that the copyist of M used vernacular vowel letter construction -w|, which excludes the possibility of reading the accusative as in CA. This seems to suggest that certain morphological elements may function *visually* as stylistic variables representing *spoken* values, which supports Davies' conclusion on the use of vowel-letters.

5. Conclusion

The findings of the present study indicate that the scribes of MSS. A, H, F, E and M were very conscious of the linguistic difference between the Classical Proverbs and the Proverbs of Men and Women, which has partly resulted in a different scribal and linguistic treatment of these texts. While the overall stylistic tendency could be described as *classicization* towards formal literary Arabic due to the conservatism of the Arabic script, which is pushed even further by the use of *matres lectionis* as in Classical Arabic in both groups of proverbs, the basic vernacular nature of the Proverbs of Men and Women is carefully maintained by a conscious stylistic use of vernacular variants. Although a certain number of scribal errors and linguistic misinterpretations exist, in the majority of the vernacular occurrences the possibility of scribal linguistic incompetence must be firmly refuted because of the frequent use of vernacular key-words which the copyists use also in 'classicised' form. However, the scribal and linguistic differences which characterize both texts do not result in a clear-cut diglossic division between, say, literary vs. spoken proverbs. The differences between the two texts are with regard to most features *relative* rather than *absolute*. One of the reasons why e.g. CA graphemes ج, ط, ض, ذ, ث are used in clearly vernacular context is obviously that the copyists had no special interest to write in colloquial. However, the fact that for all these graphemes also their vernacular variants were used indicates that the copyists were aware of the linguistic nature of their material. The fact that these graphemes had non-CA 'high' and 'low' variants (ṭ: t and ṣ: d and z; ḍ: z and ṭ: z; ḡ: y and š/č) indicates that the writing process might have involved what should be called a sociolinguistic aspect. Many occurrences suggest that the copyists were not necessarily aware of them, just as it happens in free conversation. The number of the occurrences of *ḍā'* and *zā'* is far too limited to suggest conscious use of their non-CA variants, 'high' or 'low', for conscious vernacularization or classicization albeit they definitely reflect the underlying

¹ The diminutive occurs fairly frequently in the Proverbs of Men and Women and its use here probably emphasizes more the truly spoken nature of these proverbs than the vernacular reading of the case-endings. For the frequent use of the diminutive in Hazz al-Quḥūf, see Davies, pp. 131-138.

spoken variants. However, it is justified to claim that the more frequent variants especially of *dāl* and possibly also of *ṭā'* were consciously used for stylistic purposes. The use of *d* pro *ḍ* occurs both in the Classical Proverbs and the Proverbs of Men and Women but is overwhelmingly more frequent in the latter group, where vernacular *d* is used concurrently in the same *classicized* words. Explicit *vernacularization* by using *d* seems further supported by the fact that *z* pro *ḍ* may have represented the 'high' variant in the speech of some of the scribes. The use of vernacular *d* pro *ḍ* seems, therefore, to serve clearly stylistic aims and was used mainly with selected lexical items. Similar variation is attested for *ṭ*, although its stylistic value is more limited due to the low number of occurrences of *ṭ* in general. The case of *ḡ* is particularly interesting due to the use of the grapheme *ġ* (and *ḡ*) in well-known Arabic words in the Proverbs of Men and Women, which indicates conscious focusing on the pronunciation and underlines further the *speech-based* nature of this section. However, in many cases the reason to use vernacular lexemes is necessary for poetical reasons: *ykš* — *wš(š)* in which A and M but *كش*, in F and E which serves *classicization* but destroys the rhyme. *Hamza* is used in the MSS. most frequently in the Classical Proverbs and to a lesser extent in the Proverbs of Men and Women where it primarily serves *classicization* while explicitly vernacular vocabulary such as the construction /kann+/ is also used.

Matres lectionis are stylistically interesting as it may be assumed that the copyists are more or less independent regarding their use. The study indicates that basically the use of *matres lectionis* is definitely more consistent than inconsistent as the variation takes place, so to speak, within the orthographic register defined by the scribal style. Provided that a scribe uses *matres lectionis*, the relative frequencies of the resulting orthographic forms for given words allow the identification of his scribal profile. It seems possible to say that despite the options of vocalization available, a given scribe rarely uses forms which do not belong to his orthographic register, his 'Schreiberschule'. As such it is difficult to accept the claim of orthographic arbitrariness if the variation takes place as with well-defined individual stylistic principles. Final short vowels are used more frequently in the Classical Proverbs than in the Proverbs of Men and Women, which seems to serve *classicization*. It should be remembered, however, that the use of *matres lectionis* for decorative purposes may be equally important. The actual stylistic impact of this feature remains uncertain due to the ambiguity of unvocalized script. It could be argued that the occasional use of, say, *tanwīn* in the Proverbs of Men and Women is more effective in that particular context irrespective of quantitative differences between the two texts.

The treatment of the feminine morpheme ^{-h} gives support to previous studies on *'imāla* and suggests that it was consciously used for *vernacularization* in proverbs rhymed with ^{-h}. The occasional indication of *fathā* corresponds partly to the vernacular pronunciation but also very likely reflects CA values and is, as such, stylistically ambiguous. The apparent contradiction involving explicit *classicization* concurrently with explicit *vernacularization* seems to be explained by the copyists' attempts to combine both literary and spoken linguistic aims in the most elegant *scribal* way possible.

A different scribal treatment of the Classical Proverbs vs. the Proverbs of Men and Women is most clearly demonstrated by the use of vowel-letters which represent *visually* spoken values, as noted earlier by Davies. This is particularly evident regarding the use of personal suffixes, i.e., the 1st person singular -yh/-yl, 2nd person singular feminine -ky, 3rd person masculine -w/-wl and 1st person plural -nh, which are used concurrently with CA forms but only in the Proverbs of Men and Women. This is particularly interesting because vowel- letters are also used by the scribes, who make frequent use of *matres lectionis*. As such the basic motive seems to be to indicate the *speech-based* nature of these proverbs. Although the first introduction of vowel-letters could be explained by the different textual origin of this part of al-Mustaṭraf, it seems irrelevant from the point of view of their stylistic use because they could have been easily replaced by more conventional, possibly more elegant orthography if their use had been stylistically irrelevant. The simultaneous use of CA graphemic forms indicates beyond any doubt that the use of vowel-letters was a conscious choice which also refutes the possibility of eventual scribal linguistic incompetence.

