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India

From the 8th century onward India has had a close association with Arabic. In its classical form, with some regional linguistic features, the language has played a significant liturgical and religio-scholarly role in the subcontinent. It has generally not been utilized for routine communication or other secular functions. Viewed as the sacred language of Islam and the *Qur'ān*, its primary use is by Muslims, who equate Arabic scholarship with Islamic learning and regard both the language and its scholars with veneration. Indian Muslims currently number approximately 133.54 million (Shahabuddin 2003, from *Census of India* 1991, 2001). The vast majority of Indian Muslims have, at the very least, a basic liturgical association with Arabic, and some study the language in *maktabs* or madrasas. Accordingly, India has one of the largest numbers of Arabic users – albeit as a subsidiary language – in the world. Indeed, through the centuries Indian scholars and poets have proffered a weighty, though largely unrecognized, contribution to the Arabic library.

1. Historical development

Indians made their first, rudimentary acquaintance with Arabic sometime in the 3rd century C.E., close to the beginning of the time it appeared as a distinct language in the Arabian Peninsula. This linguistic contact transpired through Arab sailors who, from antiquity, had been docking at ports on the southwestern coast of India to acquire spices. From the 8th century onward, the history of Arabic in India (Yusuf 1967) became closely linked with the development of Islam in the subcontinent (Wink 1990–2004; Schimmel 1980; overview in Burton-Page 1971).

In 711 C.E., the Arab-Muslim Umayyad commander Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim aṯ-Ṯaqafī conquered and colonized the western Indian province of Sind. Over the next four centuries of Arab rule, Arabic was probably the language of administration, and the cities of Multan, Mansura, and Daibul became key centers of Arabic-Islamic scholarship. According to the medieval geographers Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī, the people of these towns were bilingual, speaking both Sindhi and Arabic (Yusuf 1967:56). Southward, maritime trade continued. Early on, several small trader settlements of Muslim Arabs from coastal Yemeni and Iraqi backgrounds sprang up on the Malabar coast (Wink 1990:I, 67–86; Koya 1988; Bouchon 1986). These settlers came to form distinct ethnic groups, including the Navāyat or Naitias (from the Arabic *nūṭī*, pl. *nawā'iṭ* 'mariner') of Maharashtra and Karnataka (Bahadur 1902; Poonawala 1993), the Mappilas of Kerala (Miller 1991), and the Ilappais or Labbais of Tamil Nadu (Mines 1986). Arabic was initially their mother tongue, but they gradually phased it out, switching to the local languages.

In 1193, the Turkish sultan Muḥammad Ghuri conquered Delhi and established definitive Muslim dominion in India. From the 13th through the mid-19th centuries, Muslim rulers controlled almost the entire subcontinent. Over time, large numbers of the local populace converted to Islam and gained an interest in learning the language of its scriptures, Arabic. Following the initial Umayyad conquest, the majority of the incoming monarchs, including the Great Mughals, were Central Asian Turks, whose mother tongue was not Arabic. As such, they neither cultivated Arabic as a language of daily use in India nor used it as an official court language (the latter role was filled by Persian; for the parallel development of Persian in India, see Alam 2003). Thus, contrary to the case in lands conquered by Arab Muslims, such as Egypt, Arabic did not displace the local Indian languages. However, the Mughals and other Muslim sovereigns fostered Arabic as a language of religion and scholarship by patronizing Arabic-Islamic scholars and establishing a large number of Arabic madrasas and *maktabs*.

By the 10th century, the first ad hoc *maktabs* – associated with local mosques – had already been established in Sind, particularly in the towns of Mansura and Multan. In the last

decade of the 12th century, Muḥammad Ghuri instituted formal madrasas in the town of Ajmer, and early in the 13th century, Iltutmish founded the first madrasa in Delhi and one in Badaun. In the following decades, madrasas sprang up all over the north. There were fewer elsewhere, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla* IV, 66 = *Travels* 218), who visited the city of Ḥinawr on the Malabar coast in the 14th century, does mention that he saw there something he had not seen in other parts – 23 *maktabs* for boys and 13 for girls; he marvels that women memorized the (entire?) *Qur'ān*. Over the next five centuries of partial or full Muslim rule, madrasas, many of them independent of mosques, proliferated in all parts of India into the hundreds.

In 1612, the East India Company was formed, and the British gradually took over Mughal power until, in 1857, they deposed the last emperor and declared India a colony. They promoted Western-style secular education, particularly English, and the Arabic language (and Persian) diminished in importance. Many madrasas were adversely affected, but Islamic revivalists instituted several new ones deliberately to counter the colonial approach and bolster the traditional education of Indian Muslims. In these institutions, "Arabic, being the language of the original sources of Islam, was to be the major focus of study. It was, so to speak, not only a language, but the major linguistic symbol of Islamic identity and Muslim resistance to modernity" (Rahman 2000:411). Most of the important (Salafi and other) madrasas existing today were established during British rule in the 19th century: Dār al-ʿUlūm in Deobandh (Metcalf 1982; al-Fārūqī 1990); Jāmiʿa Sayfiyya in Surat; and, in Lucknow (Farooqi 1999), Dār al-ʿUlūm Nadwat al-ʿUlamā' (Zaman 2001), Madrasat al-Wāʿiḍīn, and Jāmiʿa Nāḍimiyya. (For details of all Indian madrasas and Muslim universities, see Kaur 1990; Desai 1978; Rahman 2000; Isḥāq 1996.)

While deemphasizing religious madrasa education, the British – indirectly, through modernist Muslim reformers – created three institutions of secular learning, largely for Muslims, although not restricted to them: Aligarh Muslim University (founded 1875; see T. Wright 1966), Jamia Millia Islamiyya (founded 1920), and Jamia Osmania University (founded 1917). The Arabic curriculum in these institutions was to some extent detached from Islam; nevertheless, students of Arabic were mostly Muslims who were interested in the language for religious reasons.

In 1947, after independence and partition into India and → Pakistan (and later → Bangladesh), Arabic usage in all three nations developed in somewhat different directions. For example, in the 1950s and 1970s, various political groups in Pakistan voiced the proposal that Arabic be adopted as the national language (H. Nadvi 1975; Rahman 2000:416). In India, the central government has, in the main, not promoted Arabic scholarship (it does patronize the study of Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hinduism, through scholarships, literary prizes, and organizations such as the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan). Being an intrinsic part of Muslim religiosity, however, Arabic usage continues to be important. Institutions of Arabic-Islamic learning flourish – the number of full-time Arabic madrasas in 1996 is listed by a modern scholar as 757 (Qamar ad-Dīn 1996:70). Under the auspices of the madrasas and the various Indian Muslim communities, Arabic scholarship, too, thrives.

2. Distinctive features of Indian Arabic

Because of its association with religious tradition, Indian Arabic has preserved classical features and archaic forms. It has almost totally resisted the penetration of dialectal elements and modifications discernible in Modern Standard Arabic. Adherence to Classical Arabic is manifest in three major areas:

i. Orthography and pronunciation. Rather than being changed to *'alif*, the archaic *wāw* is preserved in the orthography of certain Aramaic-origin words (صلوة, not صلاة; زكوة, not زكاة). The *'alif* is usually not written in certain words (قيمة, not قيامة; سموت, not سماوت). Long vowels are generally preferred to the *hamza* in the *tafʿīl* form of verbal nouns (*tāwīl* vs. *ta'wīl*, *tārīx* vs. *ta'rīx*); and (usually in pronunciation only), in the *mufʿil* form of the active participle (*mūmin* vs. *mu'min*).
ii. Reading and speech (uttering of short phrases). Except in rhyming prose and

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expressions ending in *Allāh*, the pausal form is rare. The *hamzat al-waṣl* is carefully maintained. And instead of being changed to a long *ā*, the *tanwīn fatḥa* at the end of a sentence is often sustained.

iii. Grammar. Rather than being substituted by the masculine plural, the *nūn an-niswa* and the dual are regularly used. The *lām al-ʾamr* and *nūn at-tawkīd* can be found in most texts.

Contrary to standard Middle Eastern pronunciation, Indians use the Persianate pronunciation of Arabic. They pronounce all emphatic consonants nonemphatically (*ṣ* > *s*, *ḍ* > *z*, *ḍ* > *d*, *ṭ* > *t*, *ḷ* > *l* in the word *Aḷḷāh*). They have difficulty with the velars and pharyngeals (*ḥurūf ḥalqiyya*), some always (ʿ > ʾ, *ḥ* > *h*, ʾ dropped from *ʾalif mamdūda*), and others occasionally (*x* > *kh*, *ġ* > *g*). They substitute some nonemphatic apicals with other, similar-sounding consonants (*ṯ* > *s*, *ḏ* > *z*). From time to time they mispronounce three other consonants (*q* > *k*, *w* > *v*, *z* > *j*). They treat the *tāʾ marbūṭa* as a *tāʾ maftūḥa*, pronouncing it as *t* rather than *h*, even outside an *ʾiḍāfa* construct (*daʿwat*, *jannat*). Their articulation of vowels is also unusual: *u* and *i* at the end of words become *ō* and *ē* (*kuntu* > *kuntō*, *kunti* > *kuntē*); and *a* at the beginning or middle of a word often becomes *e* (ʾAḥmad > Ehmad, Zahrāʾ > Zehra, *ṣaḥrāʾ* > *sehra*).

Textual composition is dominated by the enormously difficult and often artificial ornate Ḥarīrian *badīʿ* style. Authors regularly employ what appear to be pure verbal acrobatics, such as restricting the text to undotted letters of the alphabet (see the *Qurʾān* commentary *Sawāṭiʿ al-ʾilhām* by Akbar's court poet Fayḍī, d. 1595), or avoiding the use of letters like the *ʾalif* or *fāʾ*. There is often, however, a philosophical rationale – such as a *tawḥīd*-based cosmological underpinning – behind this manner of writing (some long opening *taḥmīd* sections of the *Rasāʾil Ramaḍāniyya* of the Ṭayyibī *dāʿī* Ṭāhir Sayf ad-Dīn, d. 1965, are good examples).

3. Curricula and teaching methodology

Arabic is taught in India for the most part in religious schools called *maktabs* and madrasas, occasionally at home, *maktab*-style, by *mullas* or *moulvis*, and, to a small extent, in secular universities. *Maktabs* impart primary learning, including *Qurʾān* recitation and memorization, *Šarīʿa* precepts relating to the ritual prayer, and basic reading knowledge of the Arabic script. In madrasas, which are generally for more advanced religious learning, Arabic is an important component of the syllabus, and many of the schools have 'Arabic madrasa' as part of their name (Persian madrasas exist as well).

The curriculum followed currently in most madrasas is the Dars-i Niẓāmī, the revised version proposed in the 18th century by Mulla Niẓām ad-Dīn of Sihali (near Lucknow) of an earlier, more ad hoc program. It includes texts from the Middle Eastern Arabic canon in the religious sciences of *Qurʾān* exegesis, *ḥadīṯ*, jurisprudence, Sufism, theology, and history; the related subjects of grammar, rhetoric, and prosody; the rational sciences of logic and philosophy; medieval science (added in the 15th century); and *belles lettres* (with a view to understanding better the literary features of the *Qurʾān*). Niẓām ad-Dīn incorporated a large number of books authored by early-18th-century Indian savants such as Mulla Jīwan of Amethi, Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid al-Harawī, and Mullā Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī. Later, secular fields such as mathematics and English were included as peripheral subjects. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Salafī madrasas expurgated Sufi material. Shīʿite madrasas follow different curricula with regard to religious texts, but they usually use the same works for the study of Arabic grammar, rhetoric, and literature.

The method of teaching Arabic in these madrasas is text based, where Islam is the subject and Arabic the tool. Madrasa students pay particular attention to the study of philology, as this is vital in learning to decipher the Islamic scriptures and theological texts. Speaking skills are not emphasized, although writing skills (termed *ʾinšāʾ*) are given some attention. Generally, modern proficiency-based techniques are not used, although there is a gradual move toward them. Rote memorization is favored over analysis, and large selections are learned by heart.

4. Scholarship

Through the centuries, a large number of Arabic books on various subjects have been composed in India (listed in several bibliographical, anthological, and descriptive studies:

Table 1. Selected texts from the Dars-i Niẓāmī (full list in Qamar ad-Dīn 1996:345–352)

Qur'ān exegesis	*Tafsīrs* of al-Jalālayn, al-Bayḍāwī, az-Zamaxšarī, and Ibn Kaṯīr	*Ḥadīṯ*	Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā* Buxārī and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥayn*; al-Xaṭīb at-Tibrīzī, *Miškāt al-Maṣābīḥ*
Jurisprudence	al-Marġīnānī, *Hidāya fī l-furū'* Mullā Jīwan, *Nūr al-'anwār*	Sufism	'Abū Najīb Suhrāwardī, *'Awārif al-ma'ārif* Ibn al-'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*
Logic	Quṭb ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Quṭbī* Qazwīnī, *Šarḥ Šamsiyya* Taftāzānī, *Tahḏīb*	Philosophy	Jawnpūrī, *Šams al-bāziġa* Mullā Ṣadra, *Ṣadra*
History	Suyūṭī, *Tārīx al-xulafā'* Ibn al-Xayyāṭ, *Tārīx*	*Belles lettres*	*al-Mu'allaqāt as-sab'* al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān* 'Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*
Rhetoric	Taftāzānī, *Muxtaṣar al-ma'ānī* and *Muṭawwal* Qazwīnī, *Talxīṣ al-miftāḥ*	Grammar	Ibn al-Ḥājib, *Kāfiya* and *Šāfiya* Ḥusayn ibn Ṭawqānī, *Hidāyat an-naḥw* and *Šarḥ mi'a 'āmil*
Mathematics	Nāṣir ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, *Taḥrīr 'Uqlīdus* Bahā' ad-Dīn al-'Āmilī, *Xulāṣat al-ḥisāb*	Theology	Dawwānī, *Šarḥ 'aqā'id Jalālī* Ibn aš-Šarīf, *Musāmara*

Brockelmann 1938:309–312, 598–628, 849–864; Ahmad 1946; 'Aḥmad 1977; 'Idrīs 1998; Schimmel 1973:1–8, 48–52; Poonawala 1977; Haroon 1996; Ishaq 1955; Kokan 1974). The majority of these works are on topics of an Islamic nature: *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīṯ* studies, jurisprudence, Sufism, theology, and the lives of saints. They include original religious books; commentaries, glosses, and superglosses on classical religious texts; translations into Arabic from Persian Sufi works; and religious praise poetry. Several works have been composed on Islamic philosophy and history, Graeco-Arabic medicine, Arabic grammar and rhetoric, and classical-style *belles lettres*. Also numerous are Indian-language commentaries on, and translations of, Classical Arabic religious texts. Some Arabic works are by Arab immigrants, but the bulk are by scholars of Indian ethnicity, a few of them trained in Mecca or Baghdad. A large number of authors are Sufi, many of whom composed their *Xilāfat Nāmah*s in Arabic.

The best known Indian *Qur'ān* commentary is the two-volume *Tafsīr ar-raḥmān wa taysīr al-mannān* by the Navāyat scholar 'Alā' ad-Dīn Mahā'imī (d. 1431). Eminent compilations of *ḥadīṯ* include the *Mašāriq al-'anwār* by Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaġānī of Lahore and the *Kanz al-'ummāl fī sunan al-'aqwāl wa-l-'af'āl* by 'Alī al-Muttaqī of Burhanpur (d. 1568). A sizable *fiqh* work is the multiauthored Ḥanafī law book commissioned by Aurangzeb (r. 1754–1760), titled *al-Fatāwā al-hindiyya* (or *Fatāwā-yi 'ālamgīrī*). In theology, an important work is the *Hujjat allāh al-bāliġa* of Šāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (d. 1760). *Belles lettres* in prose includes 'Abū Bakr ibn Muḥsin's (d. 1715) *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya* (study and translation, Ebeid and Young 1978).

Of the Arabic poetry composed in India, a large proportion is in praise of the prophet Muḥammad and his family. The prolific poet and author Ġulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (d. 1785) of Aurangabad in the South was given the honorific *Ḥassān-i Hind* 'the Ḥassān of India', after the Prophet's chief panegyrist. Several poets of the Twelver Shī'ite Deccan kingdom of Golconda in southern India – such as the Ḥijāzī poet Sayyid 'Alī ibn Ma'ṣūm (d. 1705) – spent a large proportion of their literary energies in praising 'Alī ibn 'Abī Ṭālib and the Shī'a imams (Khan 1963). In western India, several of the religious leaders of the Dā'ūdī Bohra (Ṭayyibī Musta'lawī 'Isma'īlī Shī'ite) community, especially the *dā'ī*s 'Abd 'Alī Sayf ad-Dīn (d. 1817) and Ṭāhir Sayf ad-Dīn (d. 1965), were notable poets who composed poetry in praise of the Prophet, the imams,

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and the *dā'īs*, elegies for Ḥusayn, and poetry in communion with God, called *munājāt*.

Numerous libraries in India house extensive collections of Arabic works by Indian and Middle Eastern scholars, including tens of thousands of manuscripts, some quite valuable (S. Nadvi 1945, 1946; Desai 1978:95–125). Several of the libraries are affiliated with madrasas and universities or with shrines of saints (*dargāh*), and others are independent, either public or private. In northern India, the most important are the Rampur Raza Library in Rampur; Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh; and Kutubkhana-i Nāṣiriyya (Twelver Shi'ite), Lucknow. In western India, significant libraries are Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Tonk; Jāmi'a Sayfiyya Library (Dā'ūdī Bohra), Surat; and Hazrat Pir Muhammad Shah Dargah Library, Ahmedabad. Mumbai has the Jami Masjid Library, the library of Bombay University, and the Ṭayyibī Da'wat (Dā'ūdī Bohra) Library. In eastern India, sizable libraries include the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna; the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; and the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore. In southern India, libraries with large collections include three in Hyderabad: the Salar Jang Museum Library (Twelver Shi'ite), the State Central Library, and the Kutubkhana-i-Saidiyya.

A number of publishing houses take a special interest in publishing editions of Arabic texts. The foremost is the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uṯmāniyya, Hyderabad-Deccan (founded 1888). Other publishers include university-affiliated and government-sponsored houses such as the Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh; Osmania University, Hyderabad; Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras; and Government of Bihar Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian, Patna. The University of Lucknow, the University of Delhi, and Madras University also publish studies on Arabic works. A few publishers are associated with madrasas, such as the Dār al-Muṣannifīn (also called Shibli Academy), Azamgarh (founded 1915).

5. Usages

In addition to scholarship, there are numerous other usages of Arabic in India, mostly connected with religion: liturgy, inscriptions, nomenclature, borrowing of vocabulary and phraseology (→ Urdu/Hindi; → Bengali), and the use of the Arabic script to write Indian languages (→ alphabet, Arabic for other languages).

The foremost usage of Arabic is liturgical, primarily in the form of Qur'ānic recitation. Since most Indians do not understand the language, their recitation is, more often than not, without an understanding of the literal meaning of the verses. They nevertheless consider it a source of divine grace (*baraka*). Arabic litanies (*tasbīḥ*) are common, as is the recitation in Arabic of prayers (*du'ā'*), Sufi ritual chants (*ḏikr*), and religious poetry (called *qaṣīda* or *na't*).

Arabic is utilized for inscriptions on mosques, mausoleums, graves, madrasas, palaces, forts, and other monuments, as well as on coins (overview by Burton-Page 1986; extensive catalogs, e.g. Desai 1989, 1999; Abdur Rahim 2000; Abdul Karim 1992; N. Wright 1972a, 1972b; Whitehead 1914). The inscriptions are of an essentially religious nature, with Qur'ānic verses taking pride of place. They are used for dedications, ornamentations, and epitaphs. The earliest Arabic inscription found in India is from a 2nd/8th-century mosque in Kovalam, South India (Chaghatai 1978 from *Majalla Ṭilsānīn* I, 51).

Indian Muslims frequently adopt names of Arabic derivation, and these names often have a religious association. Names from the family of the Prophet and of the early Companions are common. Many males use Muḥammad as the first component of a compound name. Mixed Arabic and Persian or Indian language names are also found, such as Ġulām 'Alī 'servant of 'Alī'. Pseudo-Arabic names that are semantically difficult to fathom sometimes crop up, such as Samīyullāh 'God's namesake [?]', 'Islām ad-Dīn 'the Islam of Religion [?]', and Qiyām ad-Dīn 'arrival of Judgment Day [?]'.

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Indicative → Mood

Indirect Speech

The function of reporting speech in any language consists of a speaker conveying or reflecting what another speaker said, wrote, or thought, either in the original speaker's terms or in the reporter's words. Direct speech corresponds to the former case, by which the exact terms of the speaker are quoted, whereas indirect speech (also called 'reported speech') corresponds to the latter case. As noted by Coulmas (1986:1), the notion of 'verbatim rendition' of direct-speech utterances varies from one culture to another. Also subject to variation from one language to another are the grammatical modifications involved by the indirect-speech utterance. The main grammatical modifications involved by indirect speech generally concern the pronoun, the verbal tense, and mood, as well as the form of the question and command (Jespersen 1965:290–300). Yet, not all languages require the same rules of modification.

The question of reported speech is generally discussed by the Arab grammarians under the title of *maqāl al-qawl* 'the utterance of saying' or *al-jumla al-marwiyya* 'the reported sentence'. Two types of storytelling are identified: *ar-riwāya bi-l-lafḏ* 'the story told in its literal words', which corresponds to direct speech, and *ar-riwāya bi-l-maʿnā* 'the story told according to its meaning', which corresponds to indirect speech (Abdul Aziz 2003:268). The direct-speech utterance is usually introduced by a verb of saying, such as *qāla*, followed by the quotation. The quotation marks, part of a punctuation system introduced in Arabic only in the 20th century, are not thoroughly used in marking direct-speech quotations. The indirect-speech phrase is also introduced by a verb of saying, such as *qāla, ṣarraḥa, ʾakkada, zaʿama*. It can be introduced by a complementizer, such as *ʾanna*, followed by a pronoun, but it can also be asyndetic. No modifications are required in the verbal tense or mood, but only in the form of the pronoun, which shifts from 1st to 3rd person.

In texts from the Classical Arabic tradition, direct-speech utterances seem to be more frequent in comparison to indirect-speech ones. Since research on reported speech in Arabic is very scarce (Doss 2000:32), the following remarks on the ratio of direct to indirect speech in Classical Arabic texts are based on direct perusal of the sources. Concerning the *Qurʾān*, the findings concur with those of Hatim, who observes that the Qurʾānic text "abounds with examples of direct speech" (1997:124). In fact, very few occurrences of 'indirect speech' are to be found in the *Qurʾān*. When found, indirect-speech utterances are generally represented by short forms, such as the ones appearing in the examples below, and are by far outnumbered by direct quotes or direct-speech utterances. An example of indirect speech from the *Qurʾān* appears in sura *ʾIbrāhīm* (Q. 14/31), where the construction is asyndetic: *qul li-ʿibādī llaḏīna ʾāmanū yuqīmū ṣ-ṣalāta wa-yunfiqū mimma razaqnāhum* 'Tell My bondmen who believe to establish worship and spend of that which We have given them' (Pickthall 1956:189). Direct-speech phrases, however, are abundant in the *Qurʾān*, as in the following verse from sura *al-Baqara*: *wa-ʾiḏā qīla lahum lā tufsidū fī l-ʾarḍ qālū ʾinnamā naḥnu muṣliḥūna* (Q. 2/11) 'And when it is said unto them: Make not mischief in the earth, they say: We are peacemakers only' (Pickthall 1956:34).

This observation equally applies to texts from the Classical Arabic period, such as Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's (d. 760) *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, where, in a random sampling of two stories, "Bāb al-qirdi wa-l-ġaylami" (The story of the monkey and the tortoise) and "Bāb al-jurḏi wa-s-sinnawri" (The story of the rat and the cat), 63 occurrences of direct speech were found, versus 5 of indirect ones, the latter all being introduced by the verb of saying *zaʿama*, as can be seen in the following example, where both forms appear: *qāla l-faylasūfu: zaʿamū ʾanna nāsikan min an-nussāki kāna bi-ʾarḍi Jurjāna wa-kānat lahu mraʾatun jamīlatun* 'The philosopher said: They claimed that a pious man lived in the land of Jurjan, and that he had a pretty wife' (Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla* 240).

In Modern Standard Arabic, the two forms of reported speech (direct and indirect) are used in addition to 'free indirect speech', a

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