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THE D-FORM OF THE VERB
IN THE SPOKEN ARABIC OF BAGHDAD

One of the interesting characteristics of the Arabic dialect spoken in Baghdad is the d-Form of the Verb. It is composed of the proclitic d + v and of the Imperfect of verb. Its more important paradigms run, according to McCarthy and Raffouli* as follows:

I. THE SOUND VERB

Stems with *i* after the second root-consonant

Sg		Pl	
3. P. m.	de yiktib	3. P. m.	daykitbūn or de yikitbūn
f.	de tiktib	f.	daykitben or de yikitben
2. P. m.	de tiktib	2. P. m.	detkitbūn or de tikitbūn
f.	de tikitbīn or detkitbīn	f.	detkitben or de tikitben
1. P. m. f.	da aktib	1. P. m. f.	de niktib

Stems with *a* after the second root-consonant

Sg		Pl	
3. P. m.	de yišrab	3. P. m.	dayšurbūn or de yišurbūn
f.	de tišrab	f.	dayšurben or de yišurben

* R. J. McCarthy S. J. and F. Raffouli, *Spoken Arabic of Baghdad*, I, Beirut 1964, pp. 495—497.

2. P. m. de tišrab	2. P. m. detšurbūn, deššurbūn or de tišurbūn
f. detšurbīn, deššurbīn or de tišurbīn	f. detšurben, deššurben or de tišurben
1. P. m. f. da ašrab	1. P. m. f. de nišrab

Stems with *u* after the second root-consonant

Sg	Pl
3. P. m. de yukmuš	3. P. m. daykumšūn or de yukumšūn
f. de tukmuš	f. daykumšen or de yukumšen
2. P. m. de tukmuš	2. P. m. detkumšūn or de tukumšūn
f. detkumšīn or de tu- kumšīn	f. detkumšen or de tu- kumšen
1. P. m. f. da akmuš	1. P. m. f. de nukmuš

This pattern is also followed by the sound verbs beginning with a hemze, or a wāw, or a yā.

II. THE DOUBLED VERB

Stems with *i* after the second root-consonant

Sg	Pl
3. P. m. daysidd	3. P. m. daysiddūn
f. detsidd	f. daysidden
2. P. m. detsidd	2. P. m. detsiddūn
f. detsiddīn	f. detsidden
1. P. m. f. dāsidd or da asidd	1. P. m. f. densidd

Stems with *u* or *a* after the second root-consonant

They follow the same pattern, e.g.: dayfukk, detfukk etc., and day'add, det'add, etc.

III. THE HOLLOW VERB

Stems with *ū* after the second root-consonant

Sg	Pl
3. P. m. dayšūf	3 P. m. dayšūfūn
f. detšūf, deššūf	f. dayšūfen

2. P. m. detšūf, deššūf	2. P. m. detšūfūn, deššūfūn
f. detšūfin, deššūfin	f. detšūfen, deššūfen
1. P. m. f. dāšūf or da ašūf	1. P. m. f. denšūf

Stems with *i* and *ā* after the second root-consonant

They follow the same pattern, e.g.: dayğib, detğib or değğib, etc., and daynām, detnām, etc. Some of the verbs belonging to this category may also have shortened forms, e.g.: de yiglūn instead of daygūlūn.

IV. THE WEAK VERB

Stems with *i* in auslaut

Sg	Pl
3. P. m. de yimši	3. P. m. de yimšūn
f. de timši	f. de yimšen
2. P. m. de timši	2. P. m. de timšūn
f. de timšīn	f. de timšen
1. P. m. f. da amši or demši	1. P. m. f. de nimši

Stems with *ā* and *ū* in auslaut follow the same pattern, e.g.: de yinse, de tinse, etc., and de yirğū, de tirğū, etc.

V. THE AUGMENTED FORMS

1. The second form of the verbs of all types (I, II, III, IV) follows the pattern of the types II and III, e.g.: daykemmil, dayğeddid, dayfawwir, dayzayyid, dayhellī, etc. 1. P. m. f. Sg.: dākemmil or da akemmil, dāğeddid or da ağeddid, etc.

2. The third form of the verbs of all types (I, II, III, IV) follows the pattern of the types II and III, e.g.: dayḥālīf, day-ḵāṣīš, dayḵāwum, daydāyin, dayrāwī, etc. 1. P. m. f. Sg.: dāḥālīf or da aḥālīf, etc.

3. The fifth form of the verbs of all types (I, II, III, IV) follows the pattern of the types I and IV, e.g.: de yitkellem, de yiradded, de yithawwel, de yitrayyeg, de yitmešše, etc.

4. The sixth form of the verbs of all types (I, II, III, IV) follows the pattern of the types I and IV, e.g.: de yitfāhem, de yitḵāṣaš, de yitgāwed, de yitmāyel, de yithāče, etc.

5. The seventh form of the verbs of all types (I, II, III, IV) follows the pattern of the types I and IV, e.g.: *de yindurub*, *de yindezz*, *de yindān*, *de yinšūwī*, etc.

6. The eighth form of the verbs of all types (I, II, III, IV) follows the pattern of the types I and IV, e.g.: *de yištuḡul*, *de yihtemm*, *de yihtāḡ*, *de yištiri*, etc.

7. The ninth form of the verbs of the types I and IV follows the pattern of the types I and IV, e.g.: *de yiḥmarr*, *deyiswedd*, etc.

8. The tenth form of the verbs of all types (I, II, III, IV) follows the pattern of the types I and IV, e.g.: *de yista'mil*, *de yistimirr*, *de yistriḥ*, *de yistengī*, etc.

VI. THE QUADRILITERAL VERBS

1. The first form follows the pattern of the types II and IV, e.g.: *daybartil*, *daykašmur*, *daylemlim*, *daywenwin*, *daymar-mur*, etc.

2. The second form follows the pattern of the types I and IV, e.g.: *de yitkašmar*, *de yiddehdar*, *de yitfelfel*, *de yitmar-mar*, etc. This form can also be conjugated with the addition of *čān* — to be: *čān de yiktib*, *čānet de tiktib*, *činne de niktib*, *čānaw daykitbūn*, etc.

Here are samples of occurrences of the above-presented form: *iḡēnī'lhābīr dayrīd...* — 'there came to me the specialist and he is wanting...', or, *čānaw de yaklīn lemme iḡē abūhum* — 'they were eating when their father came'. In certain cases the *čān + de*-form of the meaning of to be about to..., e.g.: *činit da atla' lemme iḡē Ḥalid* — 'I was going out', or rather: 'I was about to go out when Ḥalid came'.

From the above-given examples, it can easily be seen that the discussed grammatical phenomenon represents Present and Past continuous Tenses, or strictly speaking, two aspects, inflexional in the first case and periphrastic in the second one. However it is not so much the appearance of this form, foreign to the classical Arabic, that has drawn our attention. This appearance is a natural consequence of the evolution route, on which the contemporary Arabic dialects have been developing. One of its characteristics is the decrease of synthetism and the increase of the grammatical instruments, the disappearance of some of the

old forms and the appearance of the new ones. Besides, we can find parallel forms of the verb in other Arabic dialects, of. e.g.: the *ḡā*, or *ḡā'id* forms in the dialects of Irak, 'am'- form in the Egyptian-Arabic or *kā-*, *rā-*, etc. — forms in the dialects of Ma-ghrib. The subject of our study is then the morphology of the form, strictly speaking the proclitic *de* itself. Since we could not find in the Arabic language any reasonable explanation for it, we had to look for its origin in the neighbour-languages. Our investigations in this regard seem to point to two possible solutions. It might be that the form in question has developed from a relative sentence of the type: „*at-talāmidatu'l-ladīna jakra'ūna* — 'the pupils who read or are reading'“ common to all Semitic languages. It is commonly known that the basic element of the Arabic relative pronoun is the demonstrative *dā||dī* which corresponds with *zē* in Hebrew, *dī* and *dē* or even reduced to proclitic *d* in Aramaic, Ugaritic *d* etc. Cf. e.g. Ugaritic: „*w'st. šr. ḥrs. d. tb'ln b. Ugri* — 'and 11 artists who will work Ugarit.'“ (s. B. H. Gordon, U. M., vol. II, p. 253 (b) or Syriac: „*ōdē dāhūt dānetmālūn* — 'ce qui arriva (le fut) pour que soient accomplies'“ (s. L. Costaz, *Grammaire Syriac*, § 784). In the light of the above-said, the process might have occurred in the following way. According to the presented pattern, from the form consisting of proclitic relative pronoun + verb in Imperfect resulted the Present Tense form of the verb. Next step was the further semantic development of the form from the temporal character to the aspectual one. Hence the actual function of the *d*-form of the verb in the spoken Arabic of Baghdad.

Should this reasoning appear erroneous so we might admit then another explanation, viz. with the Kurdish language as a source of empruntment of the form.

According to Socin*, similar role plays in Kurdish *da* which occurs in different forms: *da*, *dē*, *de*, *dī* and without vowel, or as *t*, also with *u*, e.g. *duχvē* — 'er isst'. This proclitic occurs more often than *bē* and in many cases is separated from the verbum finitum, e.g.: *dē bēχabrē-takim* — 'I want to act according

* S. Albert Socin in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I, 2, Strassburg 1901, pp. 279—280.

to your orders'. The meaning of *da* is secondarily a weak 'now'. It is not totally excluded that it is an abbreviated form of *dvēt*, *dvē* from *vain*, new-Persian *χvāsten* — 'to want', and so *dēčim* means literally — 'I want to go'. According to Chodzko, *dekem* represents Present and Future Tenses. The Present Tense supplied with *da* may also serve as a narrative tense, e.g.: *tistīnit* — 'er nahm'. This form is also used to express a frequentative action, e.g.: *dēčē* — 'he used to go', as well as in the oblique sentences, e.g.: *āz tersim dē min kužin* — 'I am afraid, they might kill me'.

All this seems to prove that our proclitic *de* might be identical with the Kurdish praefix. Both the coincidence in sound and what is more important, the role they play lead evidently to this conclusion. Certain doubts may be evoked by the fact that we have here to do with the borrowing of a single morphem what generally belongs to the not too often occurring phenomena. But it seems to be a somewhat different case with the Arabic dialects. Let us take e.g. the dialects of Maghrib. We find in them a form parallel to the discussed one, composed of proclitic *tā* + Imperfect of the verb, e.g.: *tā-nekteb* — 'we are writing, we are about to write'. This *tā*-morphem is most likely to be identified with the Berberie morphem *t*- which together with verb forms the habitative, e.g.: *əzdəγ* — 'to inhabit, to live', *təzdəγ* — 'to be living, inhabiting, to use to live'.

Thus, in the light of what has been said, our suppositions appear if not right, then at least possible and acceptable.

* See André Basset, *Le verbe berbère*, Paris 1929, pp. I a. ff., 153 a. ff.

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REMARKS ON THE UNIDENTIFIED COSMOGRAPHY *TUHĤAT AL-ĠARĀ'IB*

The present article contains some remarks concerning the treatise by an unknown author entitled *Tuhfat al-ġarā'ib* which was quoted by Zakariyā' ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (1203—1283) in his *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*¹ and *Kitāb Āthār al-bilād*² and by ad-Dimashqī (1256—1327) in *Nukhbat ad-dahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*³. A work of the same title, i.e. *Tuhfat al-ġarā'ib* was already mentioned, as far as the European scientific literature is concerned, in *Fundgruben des Orients*⁴. The problem of the origin of the quotations found in al-Qazwīnī's work was discussed by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld⁵ who thought that they might be derived from a treatise *Tuhfat al-'ajā'ib wa ṭurfat al-ġarā'ib* composed, according to Hājji Khalifa⁶, by a certain Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī. At the same time Wüstenfeld considered the identification of the latter with the famous historian Ibn al-Athīr (1160—1234) as possible but to be verified in the future. The analysis of the existing manuscripts of *Tuhfat al-'ajā'ib wa ṭurfat*

¹ Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb 'ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849.

² Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'abād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen 1849.

³ Chems-ed-din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui, *Cosmographie*, Texte Arabe ed. par. M. A.-F. Mehren, Leipzig 1923.

⁴ *Fundgruben des Orients*, Wien 1814, t. IV, p. 294.

⁵ F. Wüstenfeld, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Göttingen 1848, t. I, p. 345.

⁶ *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Jelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalifa celebrato compositum*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig—London 1835—1858. No 2621.