

mad è l'Inviato di Dio", il significato è: „Credete in lui, ritenetelo degno di fede e seguitelo“. Quando dice: „Venite alla preghiera!“, il significato delle sue parole è: „Orsù, affrettatevi alla preghiera, eseguitela nel tempo suo, in comune, e non differitela oltre il suo tempo“. Quando dice: „Venite alla salvezza“, il significato è: „Orsù affrettatevi alla felicità che Dio ha reso motivo primo della vostra permanenza nel Paradiso“. Il significato delle parole: „Dio è il più grande!“ l'abbiamo già detto. Quando dice: „Non v'ha dio se non Iddio“, il significato è: „Offrite le vostre azioni e la vostra preghiera a Dio, l'Unico, Colui che non ha soci“.

L'*iqāma* è uno dei precetti di tradizione (*sunna*) della preghiera. Non deve farla se non colui che ha fatto l'*adān*. E' tuttavia lecito (*ğā'iz*) che altri faccia l'*iqāma*, in vece sua. Presso di noi l'*iqāma* si fa ripetendo due volte ciascuna proposizione, così come nell'*adān*, senza differenza, e non è lecito farla se non dopo che sia entrato il tempo della preghiera. E' necessario che si faccia la preghiera tra ogni due *adān* e *iqāma*, tramandandosi che il Profeta disse: „Tra ogni due *adān* una preghiera“²⁵, eccetto quella del tramonto, essendo detto nella tradizione che non può anticiparsi la preghiera del tramonto.

²⁵ Buḥārī, *adān*, 14, 16.

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THE VERBAL PARTICLE m/mi IN BUKHARA ARABIC

One of the distinguishing features of modern Arabic dialects compared with Classical Arabic is, as is wellknown, the use in imperfective forms of the verb of particles with various functions. To their number belong particles *b*, *m* with their allomorphs which are used in Egyptian, Palestinian and Syrian colloquial Arabic¹.

A similar particle in the form *m/mi* is met with in the Bukhara dialect of the Central-Asiatic Arabic². It is used parallel to the usual forms of the imperfective. So that on the one hand we have imperfective forms of the verb without this prefix: *ana fat yalad akūn* „I am the only son (of yours)“, *parizāta kālet: ana ilēk akūl* „Pari said: I tell you“, *rīt, kāl, eš midrīt? -ši arīt, kāl* „Wish, he says, what do you want? — I want one thing, he says“.

In these cases the form of the imperfective is used in the meaning of the present. This same form is also used for the future:

¹ Cf. G. Kampffmeier, *Beiträge zur Dialektologie des Arabischen II*, Die arabische Verbalpartikel *b(m)*. MOSOS, II, 1900; M. Cohen, *Le système verbal sémitique et l'expression du temps*. Paris 1924, p. 64 sq.; J. Cantineau, *Dialecte arabe de Palmyre*, Beirouth 1924, pp. 134—135; J. Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du Horān*, Paris 1946, 216; W. Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten*, Leipzig 1880, p. 346; T. F. Mitchell, *Colloquial Arabic, The Living Language of Egypt*. London 1967, p. 82; H. Fleisch, *EF*², I, p. 577.

² Cf. G. V. Tsereteli, *Materialy po izučeniyu arabskix dialektov Sredney Azii*. „Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR“, Moskva—Leningrad 1939, p. 275; G. V. Tsereteli, *K xarakteristike yazyka sredneaziyatskix arabof*. Trudy vtoroy sessii Assocyacii arabistov. M—L. 1941, str. 141 sq.

agal mü akül, lahem intni, agal lahem akül, mü inni (sic!), *agal tamâm iøkün, makah* „If I say water, give me meat, if I say meat, give me water, if it finishes, I shall fall“, *yaladi miği, kâlet, ana ana ilêk azummik* „My son will come, she says, I shall hide thee“.

Forms with the particle *m/mi* are used more frequently: *mihrip, mihrip, mi'âiin-ki, hamân* „He runs, runs, he looks and he is here (again)“, *min yarâ bâiaglî-samançî miği, farasin zin hîdru* „Behind goes B., under him is a good horse“, *eş midridîn* „What dost thou (f.) want?“, *mâra kâlet i zûğa: hat kul(l) iüm mähıbbir, məkül, kul(l) iüm hamât şuglât mähıbbirin* „The wife said to her husband: this one every day informs, (and) says, every day informs of these things“, *zagîr kâl: ana mahâf* „The young man said: I am afraid“, *hat kâm-ki, bint mâ-hi, dabtu rakabu-iu madauuar* „This one got up (and saw) that the girl was not there, he got on a horse (and began) to search“, *hilaf miğğdi* „Then he goes away“, *hint han eş missu?* „What art thou doing here?“.

These forms are often met with in the meaning of the future: *pâşâ kâl: ana mantâh, kalît mantâh, hama daray ta-işşûf, ta-işşlah* „Pasha said: I shall give it to him, I shall give him the key, but he must look and go out quickly“, *dük kâl-ki hadîsi missâh-mi?* — *masâh, kâl* „That one asked: Wilt thou fulfil my word?; I shall do it, he says“, *deu kâl: salâs iümât da'ni-la', la mada'ik, maktilak* „The deu said: leave me three days. — no, I shan't leave thee, I shall kill thee“. *la', kâlet, iğğd, 'auiz-bâi miği, mit'arak, ilai miktilni* „No, she said, go, A. will come, he will quarrel, he will kill me“, *kasir la tibki, kâl, ana ilêk la maktilak* „Don't cry a lot, he says, I shan't kill thee“, *mara kâlet: fûk darb yaladi nirişşah, yaladi mişûfu miğğhed, miğğib* „The woman said: we shall leave him on the road of my son, my son will see him, he will take him, will bring him“. *nahna i pâşâ eş nənkül* „What shall we tell the pasha?“, *kâlin-ki şa'ar răsâdna al-ba'az ninşiddihin, nəzrub, rasna nəfturu, giddam pâşâ nâğdi, nənkül* — *fas-sabi zarabna, răsâdna fatarin* „They said: we shall tie the hair of our heads together, we shall beat, break one another's heads, (then) we shall go to the pasha and say that a youth beat us, broke our heads“.

Cases occur when one and the same form is used with the

meaning of both the present and the future in one and the same sentence: *kâl-ki, hinti eş mitkülün, mazrubki* „He said, what dost thou say, I shall beat thee“, *ana marifin, ana ilêk makûlin* „I know them (those circumstances), I shall tell them to thee“.

On the other hand there are cases where forms with the particle and without it are used in one sentence: *yaladi miği, kâlet, ana ilêk azummik* „My son will come, she said, I shall hide thee“, *dabti aşidda, maği* „I shall tie my horse (and) I shall come“.

The distribution of the particle *m/mi* in paradigms of the verb is of considerable interest. Thus, the verbs *kâl* „to say“ and *şâl* „to lift“ have the following forms in the imperfective:

A. Without the particle

ikül, itkül, itkül, itkulin, akül, ikülün (iøkülün), ikülinⁿ, itkülün, itküli'nⁿ, nikül (nəkül); işil, işil (< işşil < itşil), işil (< işşil < itşil), işilin (< işşilin < itşilin) aşil; işilün, işilinⁿ, işilün (< işşilün < itşilün), işili'nⁿ (< işşili'nⁿ < itşilinⁿ), nəşil.

B. With the particle:

mikül (məkül), mitkül, mitkül, mitkülün, makül; mikülün (məkülün), miküli'nⁿ, mitkülün, mitküli'nⁿ, nənkül; mişil, mişil (< mişşil < mitşil), mişil (< mişşil < mitşil), mişilin (< mişşilin < mitşilin), maşil; mişilün, mişili'nⁿ (< mişşilinⁿ < mitşilinⁿ), mişilün (< mişşilün < mitşilün), mişili'nⁿ (mişşilin < mitşili'nⁿ), nənşil.

In the trilateral Verbum Firmum we shall have correspondingly the following paradigm:

A.

ilbis, tilbis, tilbis, tilbisin, albis; ilbisün, ilbisi'nⁿ, tilbisün, tilbisinⁿ, nilbis.

B.

milbis, tilbis, tilbis, tilbisin, malbis; milbisün, milbisi'nⁿ, tilbisün, tilbisi'nⁿ, nilbis.

As can be seen from this paradigm, the particle *m/mi* is absent in the forms III pers. fem. sing., II pers. sing. of both genders and also I and II pers. plural of a sound trilateral verbs, and also in verbs with sound first and second radicals. In these forms the prefixal consonant is followed by a vowel, after which we have two radical consonants *tilbis, nilbis* etc.

This circumstance hinders the loss of the prefixal vocal, since in such cases we get quite unusual concourse of consonants in the beginning of a syllable. The appearance of a prosthetic vocal could not facilitate triconsonantal Anlaut of a word since even in this case the following syllable would begin with two consonants. Therefore in the forms shown the particle *m/mi* is absent, while in *verba mediae rad.* *u* et *i*, because of the absence of the obstacle mentioned, the prefixal vocal is lost and a prosthetic vowel appears instead. Thus instead of *talbas*, *tašil* we have on the one hand *tilbis* and on the other — *išil* < *iššil* *išil*¹.

From this it is obvious that the particle *m/mi* is absent in those cases in which the following syllable begins with two consonants. An addition to this form of the particle *m* would be impossible, as that would cause the confluence of two or three consonants at the beginning of the syllable which is absolutely inadmissible for our dialect. But if its allomorph *mi* were used instead then we should get a different number of syllables, distinct from the original syllabic model.

Therefore in order to avoid a change in the original structure of the verbal form (with respect to quantity of syllables) in trilateral sound verbs, forms with the particle *mi* have not arisen in certain cases. And in those cases where the appearance of *m/mi* did not cause a change in the syllabic structure of a word, a prefix appears, irrespective of whether we have a trilateral sound verb or not.

In this respect it is interesting to compare the distribution of the particle with corresponding forms in Egyptian, Syrian or Palestinian dialects. In the Egyptian dialect, where the syllabic factor does not play such a part, from the original *tiḍrab*, *tiḍraby*, *tiḍrabū* and so on are received the new forms: *bētiḍrab*, *bētiḍraby*, *bētiḍrabū*².

¹ In verbs beginning with *š*, as a result of the confluence of *t* and *š* because of assimilation we get *šš* and afterwards *š*, so that the form of the II person sing. n., masc. *išil* becomes identical with the form of the III pers. sing. n. masc.

² The paradigm of these forms of the Egyptian verb, according to W. Spitta, p. 208, is as follows: *bējiḍrab* (*biḍrab*), *bētiḍrab*, *betiḍrab*,

We have a different state of affairs in Syrian and Palestinian Arabic. The tendency to preserve the syllabic model of a word was stronger here, but the difficulties caused by the appearance of a new prefix were overcome in a different way. In as far as a two consonantal Anlaut is not alien to them, they do not need an additional vowel which would increase the number of syllables. So, in the Hōrân dialect we have: *bōktob*, *ptōktob*, *ptokōtbi*, *baktob*. In some dialects the tendency to establish a single quantitative model has proved to be so strong, that even in the II pers. sing. fem. forms have been obtained with the same number of syllables as in other persons (e.g. *btōktbi*).

In contrast to this Central-Asiatic Arabic (the Bukhara dialect), to which two consonantal Anlaut is alien, did not admit the appearance of the particle where it might cause a change in the quantity of syllables.

The distribution of the particle in question in Arabic dialects, and in particular, in Central Asiatic Arabic, makes it possible to conclude that the syllabic model of a word in a purely quantitative respect may influence its morphological structure in certain cases and not allow innovations, if these cause changes in the number of syllables, provided that no other factors are present operating more intensively and influencing the development of the language in another direction.

betiḍraby, *baḍrab*; *bēyiḍrabū* (*biḍrabū*, *biḍrabum*), *bētiḍrabū* (*bētiḍrabum*), *mēniḍrab*; Cf. also T. F. Mitchell, *Colloquial Arabic* (*biyūhrug*, *biyik-kallim* and so on), p. 82.