

POLSKA AKADEMIA NAUK — ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE
KOMISJA ORIENTALISTYCZNA

FOLIA ORIENTALIA

VOL. 62

2025

Editor-in-Chief

Arkadiusz Płonka (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Deputy Editor-in-Chief

Maciej Klimiuk (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)

Secretary

Tomasz Babnis (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Editorial Board

Sergio Baldi (University of Naples 'L'Orientale', Italy)

Livnat Holtzman (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

Anna Krasnowolska (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Bettina Leitner (University of Vienna, Austria)

Ewa Siemienieć-Golaś (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Lidia Sudyka (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Joachim Śliwa (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

International Advisory Board

Arshin Adib-Moghaddam (SOAS University of London, United Kingdom)

Werner Arnold (Heidelberg University, Center for Jewish Studies Heidelberg, Germany)

Fida Bizri (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, France)

Emanuela de Blasio (Tuscia University, Viterbo, Italy)

Michael Knüppel (Liaocheng University, China)

Mena B. Lafkioui (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales,

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France)

Karin Preisendanz (University of Vienna, Austria)

Stephan Procházka (University of Vienna, Austria)

Franck Salameh (Boston College, United States)

Ori Shachmon (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

Juan-Pablo Vita (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Spain)

© Copyright for texts: the Authors

© Copyright for the edition: Polish Academy of Sciences – Kraków Branch



This is an Open Access journal distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Licence (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

*

Folia Orientalia

Polish Academy of Sciences

św. Jana 28, 31-018 Kraków, Poland

folia.orientalia@uj.edu.pl

ISSN 0015-5675

Prepress

Logoscript Sp. z o.o.

ul. Dembowskiego 4/54, 02-784 Warszawa

tel. + 48 693 699 709

www.logoscript.pl

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 62 (2025)

Contents

Articles

Ophir Carmel Fofliger, Ohad Cohen, and Tamar Zewi The Predicative Infinitive Construct in Phoenician and Punic.	5
Nick Posegay The Arabo-Tiberian Vocalisation System: An Undocumented Set of Medieval Vowel Signs for the Hebrew Script	31
Kierán Meinhardt ' <i>Je' est une autre</i> : Gendered First-Person Singular Pronouns in Tocharian A and Yemeni Arabic Dialects	51
Letizia Cerqueglini The Golden Bough of Kōkab: Traditional Rural Muslim Arabic Agricultural Narrative from Western Lower Galilee	67
Pierre Larcher <i>Lākin(na)</i> et <i>bal</i> : portrait de deux particules « rectificatives » de l'arabe classique	91
Manuel Sartori Le permutatif d'autocorrection en arabe : évolution terminologique et réorganisation typologique.	133
Sylwia Filipowska The Discourse of 'New Turkey' in Contemporary Polish Reportage Books (2009–2024)	187
Anita Borghero Killer and Guest: A Brief Analysis of the Semantic Horizon of <i>goghna-</i> through <i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i> and <i>Ṛgveda</i>	211
Václav Blažek Beja Kinship and Social Terminology	225

Review

Jastrow, Otto, Shabo Talay, and Nikita Kuzin. 2024. <i>Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Midyat (Miḍyoyo)</i> . Band II: <i>Glossar</i> (by Simon Hopkins)	271
--	-----

In Memoriam

Professor Leszek Bednarczuk (1936–2025) (by Kinga Paraskiewicz)	289
---	-----

Articles

Ophir Carmel Fofliger 

University of Haifa, Israel | ophir.fofli@gmail.com

Ohad Cohen 

University of Haifa, Israel | ohadcohen@univ.haifa.ac.il

Tamar Zewi 

University of Haifa, Israel | tzewi@univ.haifa.ac.il

The Predicative Infinitive Construct in Phoenician and Punic

Abstract This study examines the prevalent predicative utilization of the infinitive construct following the preposition *l-* (= *l* + IC) in Phoenician, Punic and Neo-Punic. It compiles predicative *l* + IC constructions through the different historical phases of Phoenician, providing a comprehensive insight into its use. Two distinct grammaticalization pathways of the *l* + IC construction are suggested: obligatory attachment of the preposition *l-* to the IC, and its transition from adverbial to predicative usage. The varied modal functions of the independent predicative *l* + IC construction are traced to these two primary processes. Widespread predicative use of the *l* + IC in Late Biblical Hebrew and Qumran Hebrew is believed to echo Phoenician constructions—an outcome of the historically intensive language contact situation—underscoring its central role within the Phoenician linguistic structure.

Keywords Phoenician, Punic, infinitive construct, predicative constructions, grammaticalization, modality, language contact



1 Introduction

This article addresses independent predicative uses of the infinitive construct preceded by the preposition *l-* ('to') in Phoenician and Punic (*l-* + IC). Use of this predicative *l-* + IC construction is consistently seen across the different epochs of the Phoenician and Punic civilizations, encompassing diverse geographical regions where evidence of Phoenician or Punic language persists. These *l-* + IC constructions have been addressed in the scholarly literature, with particular focus on their function as predicates. It is, however, notable that because of their prevalence and typicality in dependent roles, instances that should rightfully be construed as independent are often understood to depend on a finite verb, albeit not always convincingly.¹ The most extensive review of predicative *l-* + IC constructions in Phoenician and Punic is by Krahmalkov (1987), which focuses on predicative *l-* + IC constructions serving a future function. This present article aims to classify all instances of predicative *l-* + IC constructions in a defined corpus, categorizing them according to their modal functions and suggesting a grammaticalization process that leads to those different functions.

Exploring Phoenician's predicative use of *l-* + IC within its broader context, this article begins by describing the process by which the preposition *l-* became attached to the IC, suggesting that it is a grammaticalization process (section 1.1). It then demonstrates how the subordinated *l-* + IC becomes detached from the main verb—a process in which the construction becomes an independent predicative form (section 1.2). This phenomenon is then comprehensively reviewed from two perspectives: diachronic (from Phoenician to Neo-Punic) and geographic (from the homeland to settlements across the Mediterranean, see section 1.3). The article's second and central part categorizes all predicative *l-* + IC constructions according to their modal functions (section 2). Its reflection in Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) and Qumran Hebrew (QH) is then examined, suggesting profound Phoenician influence (section 3).²

1.1 Grammaticalization of the *l-* + IC construction

To understand more clearly the predicative use of the *l-* + IC construction, the process it underwent in becoming a distinct construction must be addressed. This section first addresses the preposition *l-*, and relying on typological evidence, suggests that the allative and purposive functions of the preposition lead to its inclusion within the *l-* + IC construction (section 1.1.1). This process is

¹ See Krahmalkov (1987: 76–79) for examples.

² All biblical verses are from <https://www.tanach.us/Tanach.xml>. All biblical translations are from the New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition (NRSVue).

explained by using parameters of grammaticality (section 1.1.2), which support the suggestion that it is a grammaticalization process. Then, the grammaticalization process and mechanism are described (section 1.1.3).

1.1.1 The preposition *l-* as a part of the *l-* + IC construction

This construction consists of the preposition *l-*, followed by an IC. The preposition *l-* is prevalent in West Semitic languages, and among its functions, it serves as a prepositional complement, governed by a verb. Among the different prepositional complements that are introduced by *l-*, in many West Semitic languages, it introduces allative³ or purposive complements. As these functions of the preposition *l-* are common in many West Semitic languages, they should be seen as originating in Proto-West Semitic (Koehler and Baumgartner 1994–2000; Huehnergard 2019: 67).⁴

Considering the preposition's functions, a connection between *l-* and ICs is predictable: in many languages from many different language families, the form of the infinitive includes allative or purposive linguistic elements or remnants of such elements.⁵ This grammaticalization path is evident in many genetically different languages (Kuteva et al. 2019: 49–50, 351–352). Such typological evidence is significant, as it leads to an assumption that the allative and purposive functions of the preposition *l-* were the source of the *l-* + IC construction and not the preposition's other functions.

1.1.2 The *l-* + IC as a grammaticalized construction

The juxtaposition of the two formerly distinct elements was reanalyzed as a new construction, in which the preposition *l-* was reanalyzed as an integral part of the infinitive construction. The preposition *l-* becomes more dependent on obligatory conventions laid down in grammar, and is therefore more grammatical.⁶ Hence, the preposition *l-* is considered to have undergone a grammaticalization process. The grammaticality parameters suggested by Lehmann (2015: ch. 4) support this

³ The term allative refers in linguistics to a 'type of inflection which expresses meaning of motion "to" or "towards" a place' (Crystal 2003: 19).

⁴ East Semitic probably does not possess a genetically related preposition with these functions (von Soden 1995: 204–207).

⁵ Haspelmath (1989) provides numerous examples from different language families. Prominent examples are English and German infinitives, which include the purposive *to* and *zu*, respectively. For claims regarding a parallel construction in BH, see Fox (1984: 7–14); Driver (1892: 275–276); Kautzsch (1910: 348); Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 405). For the use of purposive prepositions with infinitives in Semitic, see Huehnergard (2019: 64).

⁶ According to the definition given by Lehmann (2015: 130). A similar claim has been made by Haspelmath (1989: 295–297) regarding the German infinitive.

view, and two of them are presented: decrease in paradigmatic variability and semantic bleaching.

First, the very frequent use of the preposition *l-* with the IC gradually made it virtually obligatory, reducing the freedom of language users to choose other prepositions from the paradigm.⁷ With this new status, the *l-* preposition sometimes lost its original functions and merely served to mark the IC.⁸ Such de-semanticization is a prominent feature of grammaticalized forms. This is seen in adjacent Semitic languages and dialects such as Mishnaic Hebrew, in which the other prepositions are attached to the *l-* + IC construction rather than the IC form that contains no other prepositions—for example *?swr mlrhws* ‘is forbidden to wash’ (Berakhot 2, 6) rather than *mrhws* (Kutscher 1982: 126).⁹

This view of *l-* + IC as a unified grammaticalized construction suggests that it is a distinct form whose function is not deducible from the morphemes of which it consists. The construction’s uniqueness justifies limiting the scope of this article to the *l-* + IC construction and excluding ICs without this preposition.

1.1.3 The grammaticalization mechanism

The grammaticalization process described in this section has already occurred, as the grammaticalized form is evident in the earliest recorded Phoenician dialect. Hence, the linguistic situation at the onset of the grammaticalization process can only be assumed, and no example can be shown from that time. However, the preposition *l-* in its allative and purposive function before an IC is evident alongside its grammaticalized form.¹⁰ Therefore, the description of the grammaticalization process in this section, builds on analysing the outcome of this process.

The onset of grammaticalization processes lies in the high frequency of an element in a specific environment, in this case, the allative or purposive preposition *l-* followed by an IC. Following the high frequency, language users begin to

⁷ The high frequency of *l-* with IC is witnessed in the recorded phases of Phoenician, and it is assumed to reflect the situation in the unrecorded stage in which the grammaticalization process took off. For the high frequency of *l-* with IC in Phoenician, see Friedrich and Röllig (1999: 193), where it is claimed that the IC is always preceded by the *l-* preposition. In Krahmalkov (2001: 202–203), 38 IC occurrences are presented, 33 of them containing the *l-* preposition. For the decrease in paradigmatic variability as a grammaticalization parameter, see Lehmann (2015: 146–152).

⁸ This can also be seen in BH, e.g. Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 406). For de-semanticization as a parameter of grammaticalization, see Lehmann (2015: 134–141).

⁹ This tendency is widespread in QH as well, for example confer the quote from BH in which the verbal form was adapted to the late usage, with the use of the *l-* + IC construction, *whšlty šmry wpyšty mlkswt* ‘and I shall withdrawing my wool and flax in order not to cover her nakedness’ (4Q166 ii 9) rather than *mlkswt*. See Muraoka (2020: 118).

¹⁰ See Friedrich and Röllig (1999: 193–194). According to the principle of divergence, a grammaticized form could coexist with the original form. See Hopper (1991: 24–25).

reanalyze the construction, in this case, to see the preposition *l-* as marking the IC and not as a functional preposition governed by the main verb. At this stage, the interpretation of the preposition *l-* alternates between these two possibilities. During the reanalysis stage, the construction appears in the same syntactic and pragmatic environments as before, and hence, this stage inevitably involves ambiguity.¹¹ The following example from the fourth century BCE in Kition (present-day Cyprus) demonstrates this stage, in which the preposition *l-* could be interpreted in its allative meaning followed by an IC, or as an almost obligatory element, simply marking the IC:

*bmš?nm ?bn wšzrnm hppym l?gd ln mlhmt... wyš? šln[m mh]nt ?š kty l?gd lm mlhmt
bmqm ?z* (KAI 288:1–3):

When our enemies and their Paphian allies **came** (*b-* + IC) **to do** (*l-* + IC) battle with us... the army of the people of Kition **came** (*qatal*) forth against them **to do** (*l-* + IC) battle with them at this place. (Krahmalkov 2001: 208)

Here, according to the original use of *l-*, the inflected IC *mš?nm* and the finite verb *wyš?* ('to come')¹² are followed by *l-*, which is itself followed by an IC *?gd* ('to wage'), showing the direction or purpose of the main verb. According to the emerging interpretation of the preposition *l-*, it merely marks the IC and is devoid of its allative function in this context. Determining which interpretation was intended is impossible, as ambiguity is a crucial part of the grammaticalization process.

The reanalysis is evident only when the construction is expanded to other environments by analogy, environments in which the former interpretation is impossible. This stage is evident, for example, in instances where the *l-* + IC does not follow a verb, and therefore, the preposition *l-* could not be interpreted as complementing a verb.

1.2 Grammaticalization of the predicative *l-* + IC construction

Following the reanalysis of the *l-* + IC as a unified construction, it went through a grammaticalization process and began to assume predicative functions. Ambiguous use of the form is the onset of the grammaticalization process. Ambiguous instances can theoretically be interpreted in two ways—the original adverbial interpretation and the emerging predicative construal—an ambiguity resulting

¹¹ On the role of ambiguous uses in initiating grammaticalization processes, see Hopper and Traugott (2003: 49–52).

¹² *mš?nm* is an IC followed by a pronominal suffix, which functions as a subject. For such use of pronominal suffixes, see, e.g. Krahmalkov (2001: 206). This use of pronominal suffixes following ICs in Phoenician and Punic deserves a separate treatment and is not discussed here.

from the dwindling bond between the main verb and the *l* + IC construction.¹³ The following example shows one way in which the bond between a main verb and a *l* + IC construction can be diminished. It is from an inscription found in the Carthage Tophet, most likely written in 406–405 BCE.

qr? lmlqrt ysp ʕlty lšlm wlyrhy bmqm [z] (KAI 302:6–7):

As for him who calls to Milqart, they **shall continue** (*yqtol*) **to greet** (*l* + IC) him and **make him comfortable** (*l* + IC) in this city [Carthage]. (Krahmalkov 2000: 308)

Here, two *l* + IC constructions follow the finite verb *ysp*. The first, *lšlm*, should be understood as dependent on the finite verb, meaning ‘continue to greet’. The second *l* + IC construction, *wlyrhy* ‘and make him comfortable’,¹⁴ however, can be interpreted in two different ways: either dependent on or independent of the finite verb. In the former, the *waw* connects the two *l* + IC constructions as they are on the same syntactic level. In contrast, in the latter, the second *l* + IC and the finite verb are on the same syntactic level, and it is these that the *waw* connects. The ambiguous stage exemplified here allows reanalysis of the *l* + IC construction as predicative. The end of this process is evident in the unambiguously predicative use of the *l* + IC construction, presented in the following section.

1.3 Phoenician and Punic evidence of predicative *l* + IC

The earliest recorded Phoenician stage, dated to the eleventh or tenth century BCE, is from the ancient Phoenician city Byblos, on the western shores of present-day Lebanon (Wilson-Wright 2019: 509–510). The Byblos vernacular had several distinct linguistic features, which set it apart from other early Phoenician dialects in the region (Krahmalkov 2001: 8–9). Following the Phoenician expansion from coastal Lebanon to present-day Israel, Palestine and Egypt, Standard Phoenician became the coastal language of the Levant (Krahmalkov 2001: 2). It also found its way to present-day Greece, Cyprus, Italy and Turkey, where local Phoenician dialects evolved (Röllig 2011: 473). With the continued spread of the Phoenician empire, there is evidence of the language spanning the entire Mediterranean Basin, including North Africa, with inscriptions from the city of Carthage found in present-day Tunisia. These dialects continued to be used in this area in later periods and were influenced by indigenous languages. They are referred to as Punic until the fall of Carthage in 146 BCE, and thereafter, until their

¹³ See Cohen (2005) and Mor (2019) on similar claims regarding the weakening of the bond between the finite verb and the *l* + IC construction in LBH and QH.

¹⁴ This *l* + IC construction is followed by a pronominal suffix, which functions as an object. This phenomenon in Phoenician and Punic deserves a separate treatment and is not discussed here.

latest attestations around the fourth century AD, they are known as Late-Punic or Neo-Punic (Röllig 2011: 473; Krahmalkov 2001: 10–15).

The examples that follow demonstrate predicative uses of *l* + IC constructions in various stages of Phoenician and Punic. The first shows a predicative *l* + IC in the Byblos dialect. The occurrence of predicative *l* + IC constructions in the language's earliest recorded stage suggests that the process had already occurred before Phoenician was recorded in writing. Alongside the new use of the construction for predicative functions, it continued to serve in its earlier function as a verb complementizer throughout all recorded stages of Phoenician and Punic.¹⁵ The following example consists of a graffiti written on the shaft of King Aḥiram's tomb in Byblos (present-day Lebanon) in the tenth century BCE, probably as a routine warning against violating it.

ldšt hn ypd lk tḥt zn (KAI 2:1–3):

Know (*l* + IC) that you will pay for this.¹⁶

The predicative *l* + IC construction is also evident in this next example, in Standard Phoenician, probably written in the first century BCE and found in Greece. Identifying the following *l* + IC construction as predicative is relatively simple since the main sentence has no other possible verbal form.

ʔyt ršt z lktb hʔdmm ʔš nšʔm ln šl bt ʔlm šlt mšbt ḥrš (KAI 60:4–5):

The persons who were elected by us in charge of the temple **shall inscribe** (*l* + IC) this resolution on a gold stele. (Krahmalkov 2000: 131)

In the next example, found on a stele in the Carthage Tophet and probably written between the third and second century BCE, the predicative *l* + IC can be discerned in Punic, spoken outside the motherland:

wkl ʔš lsr t ʔbn z by py ʔnk wby py ʔdm bšmy wšpṭ tnt pn bšl brḥ ʔdm hʔ (KAI 79:6–11):

As for anyone who **shall remove** (*l* + IC) this stone without my permission or without the permission of someone authorized by me, Tinnit-Phanebal shall condemn that person. (Krahmalkov 2000: 348)

¹⁵ For the principle of divergence, see comment 10. When the two forms coexist, the frequency of the emerging form does not necessarily increase with time compared to the original form, and the frequency of the original form does not necessarily decrease over time.

¹⁶ Own translation. This example was read and translated differently by Krahmalkov and KAI. See below section 2.1.3, comment 28.

The *l* + IC construction is most likely predicative since there is no other verb in the relative clause opening with the relativizer *ʔš*.

Predicative *l* + IC constructions are also seen in Neo-Punic, the latest recorded stage of the language. The following example was found in Tripolitania, and was written between the first and fourth century AD.

pšl mšqr... lqnʔm wlʔhyʔ... ʔš lkn ʔhr bbryʔt (TRIP 10:1–4):

Macer built <this tomb> for his parents and for his brother. **May** <their> after-life **be** (*l* + IC) safe. (Krahmalkov 2000: 80; TRIP 10)

The abundance of predicative *l* + IC constructions in Phoenician and Punic is clear when considering the proportion of their independent as opposed to their dependent uses. Fifty *l* + IC constructions in Phoenician and Punic are found in the corpus examined.¹⁷ In nineteen, they have their original function as a verb complement. In ten, they are ambiguous, and can be interpreted as either dependent on or independent of a finite verb. In twenty-one occurrences, the construction should be understood as predicative and independent of a finite verb. Independent use of the *l* + IC construction thus comprises 42%–62%, depending on how the ambiguities are construed. All examples are exhibited in the appendix to this article and categorized, among other factors, by their interpretation as dependent or independent.

As shown above, the predicative *l* + IC construction is found in all geographical and chronological stages of Phoenician and Punic. Its abundance is shown both by its span across the Mediterranean Basin over approximately 1,400 years and by the higher percentage of predicative function compared with any other function. This suggests that its predicative use was integral to the Phoenician language, rooted in all its stages.

2 Modal uses of the predicative *l* + IC construction

It is suggested above that the *l* + IC construction resulted from a grammaticalization process in which the preposition *l*- and the IC became a single construction. The *l*- bore functions of purpose, showing desire, and was therefore considered modal. According to the principle of persistence,¹⁸ this function is expected to imprint on the modal functions of the *l* + IC construction. As this section shows, all occurrences of the predicative *l* + IC construction serve an array of modal

¹⁷ The corpus consists of KAI, NSI and TRIP. Poen and CIS were not systematically searched, but their occurrences were collected from Krahmalkov (2000; 2001).

¹⁸ According to the principle of persistence, the meaning of a grammatical form reflects an earlier meaning. See Hopper (1991: 28–30).

functions, which are probably influenced by the modal meaning of the allative or purposive *l*-.

The section is divided into two. The first (2.1) shows *l* + IC constructions that express deontic modality—attitude towards a potential future event (Palmer 2001: 8);¹⁹ the second (2.2) is of *l* + IC constructions that express epistemic modality—judgment of the factual status of the proposition in the realm of the future (Palmer 2001: 8).²⁰

These two types of modality are not mutually exclusive, as some categories demonstrate both. An example is the wish category, which is primarily concerned with desiring an event to occur, while simultaneously expressing uncertainty as it is yet to take place.²¹ Occurrences of predicative *l* + IC constructions are classified below, according to their primary modal function.

2.1 Deontic modality

As indicated, the preposition *l*- primarily expresses direction and purpose, absorbed in the common use of the *l* + IC construction. This usage expresses deontic modality, as it concerns self-desire. It is from this initial function that the four deontic modal uses of *l* + IC constructions in Phoenician and Punic probably emerged: wish, command, imperative and prohibitive. Use of *l* + IC constructions in these four functions likely results from their original allative and purposive functions. The *l* + IC construction's wish function can be explained through its looser bond with a governing verb (section 2.1.1); the command explained as a specific kind of a wish (section 2.1.2); the imperative through expansion from general use of commands to situation-specific scenarios (section 2.1.3); and the prohibitive as negation of a command or an imperative (section 2.1.4).

2.1.1 Wish

Several clear examples show the *l* + IC construction serving as a predicate expressing a wish (Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 194; Solá-Solé 1961: §97). In others, it can be seen as a purposive *l*- followed by an IC with an alternative interpretation of the *l* + IC construction as a predicate.²² In the following example, found in Sidon (present-day Lebanon) and written in the fifth century BCE, both interpretations are possible:

¹⁹ See also Jespersen (1924: 319–321).

²⁰ The terms 'deontic' and 'epistemic' follow von Wright (1951: 1–2).

²¹ See Palmer (2001: 13).

²² Another demonstration of the *l* + IC construction as ambiguously dependent or independent on a governing verb is given in section 1.2.

wšd ytn ln ʔdn mlkm ʔyt dʔr wpy... **wyspnnm** šlt gbl ʔrš **lknnm** lšdnm lšlm (KAI 14:18–20):

In addition, the Lord of Kings ceded to us Dor and Joppa, and **we annexed them** to the territory of <our> land **that they might belong** (*l*-+IC; complement/wish) to the Sidonians forever. (Krahmalkov 2000: 233)

In this translation, as well as in that of KAIii (p. 20), the *l*-+IC construction is dependent on the finite verb **wyspnnm** and functions as an adverb, with a purposive meaning. This example can, however, be theoretically understood as having two predicates: the first is the finite verb **wyspnnm**, and the second is the *l*-+IC construction. If so, it can be better translated as, ‘In addition, the Lord of Kings ceded to us Dor and Joppa, and **we annexed them** to the territory of land, **let them belong** to the Sidonians forever’.²³ Translated this way, the *l*-+IC construction is a predicate expressing a wish.

As for the ambiguous interpretations of *l*-+IC constructions, reanalysis may give them a predicative force of their own—leading by analogy to a clear-cut predicative use of the *l*-+IC construction.²⁴ The following example was found in Karatepe (present-day Turkey) and written around 720 BCE. It comprises two sentences, each conveying a wish. The first sentence does so with a verbal form at sentence-initial position, whereas the second employs the *l*-+IC construction, also at sentence-initial position, to convey the wish’s meaning.

wbrk bšl kr[n]tryš ʔyt ʔztwd hym wšlm wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk **lty** bšl krntryš wkl ʔln qrt lʔztwd ʔrk ymm wrb šnt wršʔt nšmt wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk (KAI 26A III:2–7):

May Baal-KRNTRYŠ **bless** Azatiwada with long life and prosperity and power greater than that of any king. **May** Baal-KRNTRYŠ and all the gods of the city **give** (*l*-+IC; wish) to Azatiwada many days and many years and a good old age and power greater than that of any king. (Krahmalkov 2000: 362)²⁵

The interpretation of the *l*-+IC construction in this example is most probably unambiguous. From a semantic point of view, interpreting the *l*-+IC as dependent on the finite verb seems unlikely. Viewing the *l*-+IC as subordinated to the finite verb would lead to an interpretation such as ‘may Baal-KRNTRYŠ bless to give’, an interpretation that seems less plausible. The suggested interpretation leaves

²³ Own translation.

²⁴ On analogy in grammaticalization processes, see Hopper and Traugott (2003: 63–69).

²⁵ The *l*-+IC **lty** is suffixed by a pronominal suffix which functions as a subject and is not represented in the translation. The name Azatiwada is transliterated according to Hawkins (2012: 58). For an interpretation of this *l*-+IC as a precative construction, see Barré (1983).

the *l* + IC as the sole verbal form in the second sentence, strongly supporting the interpretation of its function as predicative.

2.1.2 Command

The wish modality shows desire that an event will happen, which can show desire for other people to act, and can thus be seen as a command or a general obligation. The following example, written in the first century BCE in Greece, has no finite verb, and the *l* + IC construction should, therefore, be interpreted as predicative.

ʔyt rʕt z lktb hʔdmm ʔš nšʔm ln ʕl bt ʔlm ʕlt mšbt hrš wytnʔy bʕrpt bt ʔlm ʕn ʔš (KAI 60:4–5):

The persons who were elected by us in charge of the temple **shall inscribe** (*l* + IC; command) this resolution on a gold stele and shall erect it in the temple portico. (Krahmalkov 2000: 131)²⁶

Laws often contain commands, and these examples belong in this section. The situation to which the laws and regulations apply expresses epistemic modality, and is discussed below in the relevant section (2.2).

2.1.3 Imperative

The preceding section shows the use of predicative *l* + IC constructions with the meaning of commands or general obligations. When the construction is addressed to a second person and is more situation-specific, however, its function is considered imperative. Commands are generally less situation-specific and inflected in the third person, whereas imperatives are more specific and inflected in the second person. Since the IC is uninflected for person, it is often unclear whether a specific *l* + IC construction is a command or an imperative. Perhaps, therefore, the imperative meaning of *l* + IC constructions is considered rare in Phoenician and Punic. In the next example, written in Byblos in the tenth century BCE, the *l* + IC construction is used as an imperative in the second person.

ldʕt hn ypd lk tʕt zn (KAI 2:1–3):

Know (*l* + IC; imperative) that you will pay for this.²⁷

²⁶ Krahmalkov (1987) views this example, among others, as a periphrastic future. See section 2.2.

²⁷ Own translation.

This warns against opening a grave, a standard admonition on tombstones (compare with similar examples classified as prohibition in section 2.1.4, below). While this phrase was read and translated differently in the literature,²⁸ its exact interpretation is not the main issue here, since the *l*-+IC construction is considered imperative in all translations. The imperative function of the *l*-+IC construction in this example is clear because it contains a preposition inflected in the second person *lk*, setting it apart from the function of the command described in the previous section.

2.1.4 Prohibition

Commands and imperatives demand for action to be taken, whereas prohibition is the reverse, demanding that a specific action is not taken.²⁹ The negative particle *(?)bl*³⁰ followed by the *l*-+IC construction in a negative command or imperative conveys prohibition.³¹ The prohibitive *l*-+IC construction is used several times in Phoenician and Punic, mainly on sarcophagi, warning against opening the coffin or disturbing the dead.³² The following example was found in France, but was perhaps written in Carthage in the third century BCE.

qbr zybqt hkhn[t...] ?bl lpth (KAI 70:3–4):

<this is> the tomb of ZYBQT the Priestess. **Do not open** (*l*-+IC; prohibition)
<it>! (Krahmalkov 2000: 28)

²⁸ E.g. Krahmalkov (2000: 206) reads this sentence as *ldst hny bslk tht zn*.

²⁹ Friedrich and Röllig (1999: 194) and Solá-Solé (1961: §100) address these two opposing functions in relation to one another. Prohibition is often described as a ‘negative imperative’, e.g. Zanuttini (1997: 105–154). The difference between the two concepts also lies in the recipient: while imperatives are directed towards a second person, prohibition can be directed towards both second or third person, therefore functioning as the negative equivalent of both an imperative addressed to a second person, and a command addressed to a third party.

³⁰ *?bl* is analyzed as a juxtaposition of two negative particles: *?y-bl*, see Friedrich and Röllig (1999: 178). The common negative particle that serves in modal contexts is *?l*, for example *?l ?l tpth slty w?l trgzn* ‘do not open my sarcophagus and do not upset me’ (KAI 13: 3–4), see Pat-El (2013: 48–49). Perhaps the infinitive is negated by *(?)bl* in those contexts due to its nominal features.

³¹ In such clauses, the *l*-+IC forms are analyzed in the literature differently. In some, the *l*-+IC construction is not considered a predicate. Due to the close relation between prohibitions, commands and imperatives, those occurrences are within the scope of this article.

³² A similar use of the IC is also found in Jewish Aramaic *wl? lmpth* ‘No one may open’. See Mor (2015: 443).

2.2 Epistemic modality—the category of future

This section demonstrates *l* + IC constructions whose primary role is expressing epistemic modality related to the future. The future tense often expresses an attitude towards the sentence, and thus also conveys deontic meaning. Since it can never be strictly factual, carrying notions of intention, prediction or belief, futurity and modality are often difficult to distinguish (Lyons 1968: 310; 1977: 677). This is shown by future markers deriving from modals, which can be discerned, for example, in the English-language *will* and *shall* (Lyons 1968: 310). The epistemic quality of the future tense, however, probably characterizes its function better than the deontic, as the future always carries at least a certain level of irrealis and uncertainty in referring to events that have not yet taken place. This expansion of *l* + IC construction's function from deontic to epistemic is not surprising, as the use of the same forms for both functions appears typologically in many languages.³³

Punic and Neo-Punic employ the *l* + IC construction to signify the future. In some cases, this use clearly conveys deontic meanings, and in others, it does not convey an easily defined deontic meaning and is hence seen as a periphrastic future. This section provides two examples of the *l* + IC construction, one showing and the other lacking a clear deontic expression. It will be shown that while Krahmalkov (1987) emphasizes the use of this construction as a periphrastic future, this use should be viewed as an extension of the deontic uses into more epistemic functions of this construction. Here is an example in Punic, in which the future is involved with both deontic and epistemic modalities. It is from an inscription found in the Carthage Tophet, written around 406–405 BCE.

wkl ?dm] ?š lkp ?yt ?mtnt z wlskr wlsbt y?ml yd[? (KAI 302:3–4):

As for any person who **shall lay hands** (*l* + IC; Future) on this stele or **shall disturb** (*l* + IC; Future) or **shall remove/destroy** (*l* + IC; future) it, his hand shall wither (*yiqtol*)! (Krahmalkov 2000: 239)³⁴

The first part of the sentence is a relative clause comprising three *l* + IC constructions anticipating possible interference to the stele. The contrasting second part is a finite verb form, denoting the grave consequence of such action. Syntactically, this sentence and others similarly structured are simple verbal sentences.³⁵ The relative clause describes possible transgression, with the main clause a threat, conveying the potential outcome of this wrongdoing. Such sentences semantical-

³³ This has happened, for example, in English usage of *must* and *may*. See Palmer (2001: 7, 18, 86).

³⁴ The reading follows CIS i 5510.

³⁵ See similar examples in KAI 79:6–11, CIS i 3784 and CIS i 4937.

ly resemble conditional sentences, with the preceding clauses conditioning the clause which contains the warning. The *l* + IC constructions may, therefore, be considered as serving as the protasis of a conditional sentence.³⁶ From a deontic perspective, actions described by *l* + IC constructions are undesirable. From an epistemic perspective, the first part of the sentence with the *l* + IC constructions is irrealis and will not necessarily happen.³⁷

In other examples, pinpointing the exact deontic or epistemic quality expressed by the *l* + IC construction is less straightforward. This next example comes from the Marseille Tariff, a Punic inscription from the third century BCE that regulates the distribution of sacrifices between those who bring them and the priests. The action of sacrifice is conveyed by a *l* + IC construction. It is in the future, and hence shows some epistemic modality as its taking place is not definite, but it shows less deontic modality than the examples demonstrated above.³⁸

[š]l bll wšl ḥlb wšl ḥlb wšl kl zbh ʔš ʔdm **lzbḥ** bmnḥ[t--] y[kn lkḥnm] (KAI 69:14):

For mash or for fat or for milk or for any sacrifice that one **shall make** (*l* + IC; future) as a *mnḥt*-sacrifice, the priests shall receive [...]. (Krahmalkov 2000: 95)

It is possibly this example and others with fewer deontic qualities, that led Krahmalkov (1987) to consider some *l* + IC constructions as predicates that strictly signify the future tense.³⁹ He defined this *l* + IC construction's function as either an indicative or a periphrastic future,⁴⁰ and to show the *l* + IC construction's future function, he used parallel examples in which it corresponds to an imperfect finite verb. This comparison of parallel examples does not rule out the modal overtones of the future function since the imperfect finite verb also serves a spectrum of modal functions. The modal overtones of the future function are, in fact, evident in Krahmalkov's article, with his translations of the *l* + IC constructions containing the word *shall*, in which the deontic nuance is present.

Krahmalkov's claim that signifying the future is among the functions of the *l* + IC construction is indeed correct, although it should be refined in light of the modal origin and overtones of these constructions. Viewing the future function of the *l* + IC construction as part of its modal scope is only possible when considering it alongside its other functions.

³⁶ The future tense often carries conditioned features; see, e.g. Palmer (2001: 104).

³⁷ This is referred to as *l'éventualité* in Solá-Solé (1961: §99).

³⁸ In this example, the *l* + IC construction describes the situation in which a law applies.

³⁹ Krahmalkov (1987) sees all examples of the *l* + IC construction mentioned in this section, among others, as indicatives or periphrastic futures.

⁴⁰ See Krahmalkov (2001: 205–206) for the former term and Krahmalkov (1987) for the latter.

3 *l-* + IC constructions in BH and QH in light of contact with Phoenician

As predicative *l-* + IC constructions are common not only in Phoenician and Punic but also in LBH and QH, a possible connection between these languages deserves attention. It is suggested here that predicative usage in these Hebrew stages is influenced by language contact with Phoenician.

In CBH, *l-* + IC constructions are mainly used as verb complements, and are especially common with modal verbs of roots such as *ḥ-p-š* ‘to will, to desire’, *q-w-y* ‘to want, expect’, *b-q-š* ‘to seek’ and *ʔ-b-y* ‘to be willing’ (Kautzsch 1910: 350). CBH also shows a grammaticalization process that combines the preposition *l-* with the IC, resulting in a construction that primarily expresses modal functions, like that suggested in Phoenician and Punic, above.⁴¹ This process is further validated by the very frequent appearance of the preposition *l-* with the IC, compared with the IC introduced by other prepositions or by none.⁴² The second stage of this process, however, in which the *l-* + IC construction gains predicative function, does not occur in CBH, and any predicative role of the *l-* + IC construction in CBH is restricted and marginal.⁴³ On the contrary, Predicative *l-* + IC are widespread in LBH and QH and are found in all modal functions used in Phoenician.⁴⁴

The predicative *l-* + IC construction in LBH and QH can theoretically be explained in one of three ways: (1) it is an inherited Canaanite feature; (2) it is associated with unrelated inner development within each language;⁴⁵ or (3) it is an outcome of language contact.⁴⁶ The first explanation, a shared Canaanite feature, should account for the phenomenon’s absence in CBH and must assume that it was represented in spoken language but not in writing. The second of these, inner Hebrew development, cannot be ruled out, as CBH consolidated the

⁴¹ See section 1.1 above.

⁴² For the frequency of *l-* with IC in BH, see Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 405), Waltke and O’Connor (1990: 604); in QH, see Qimron (2018: 180–181).

⁴³ For example, אָשַׁר לְתַתִּי־לּוֹ בְשָׁרָה *ʔšer latitti-lō bašōrā* (2 Sam. 4:10): ‘This was the reward I gave him for his news’ (Driver 1892: 276).

⁴⁴ See, e.g. Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 408); Waltke and O’Connor (1990: 611). See Cohen (2005; 2013: 211–221) on the widespread use of *l-* + IC constructions to convey the deontic function of wish, imperatives, commands, prohibitions and in the epistemic realm of the future tense.

⁴⁵ Ariel (2014) views the predicative use of the infinitive as stemming from the inclination of LBH and QH to complex sentences and containing more subordinate clauses. When subordinate *l-* + IC constructions are used more widely in more complex sentences, their reanalysis as predicative is likelier.

⁴⁶ As suggested in Cohen (2020: 3–8; 2023: 112–113). Mor (2019) compares the LBH construction to that of Phoenician but does not claim Phoenician to be the source of this phenomenon in Hebrew.

purposive *l-* with an IC, and infinitives generally tend to take predicative roles. However, as will be shown, language contact with Phoenician should be considered as a main factor in the development of this phenomenon in LBH and QH.

Hebrew has little motivation for utilizing a new predicative modal construction, as there are already two forms filling similar functions: the *yiqtol* and the *wəqatal*.⁴⁷ As the deontic and epistemic modal functions could be manifested with both these forms, the emergence of a third competitive construction for the same functions is redundant. Assuming an inner Hebrew development seems less plausible, as it is difficult to find any motivation for the emergence of a competitive form with such a functional correlation in modal meaning.

The language contact hypothesis seems likely, as (1) Hebrew did not possess predicative *l-* + IC in earlier stages and Phoenician possessed this function in all its recorded stages, (2) the modal domain is generally more susceptible to change due to language contact,⁴⁸ and (3) traces of Phoenician influence on LBH are evident in several language phenomena.⁴⁹

In addition to the modal functions shared with Phoenician, LBH and QH show a further development, using this construction to indicate the habitual present and past.⁵⁰ These habitual aspects should be seen as connected to the epistemic modal realm, with the event's occurrence at a specific time uncertain. If the LBH and QH predicative *l-* + IC construction should indeed be attributed to Phoenician influence, its use expanded in these Hebrew stages beyond that in Phoenician. In this case, the habitual function in LBH and QH should be considered a later secondary function. However, due to the scarcity of evidence and the heterogeneity of the corpus, it is impossible to follow the expansion of the phenomenon in its different stages.

It may seem as if such an expansion supports the explanation of the predicative *l-* + IC as an inner Hebrew development, showing the independence of the phenomenon from its Phoenician counterpart. However, it is also reasonable to assume that only following the 'borrowing'⁵¹ of the predicative use of the *l-* + IC,

⁴⁷ See Cohen (2013: 173–192) for *yiqtol* modal functions and Cohen (2013: 198–210) for *wəqatal* modal functions in LBH.

⁴⁸ See, e.g. Matras (2007: 45–46; 2020: 202–203).

⁴⁹ Other language phenomena that may be considered as resulting from contact with Phoenician in these Hebrew language phases are, e.g. the use of the infinitive absolute and the introduction of the relative pronoun *š-* alongside the CBH *šr*, as suggested in Cohen (2020: 8–13).

⁵⁰ See Cohen (2005: 85–88; 2013: 221–227). For QH, see Qimron (2018: 383–384). Conversely, Muraoka (2020: 122–123) rejects the predicative interpretation of Qimron and reinterprets some of these instances as dependent on a finite verb or complementing a substantive. Mor (2015: 445–446) suggests that the habitual meanings of the *l-* + IC stem from the appearance of the construction in a sequence of verbal forms with a habitual meaning.

⁵¹ Following Matras (2020: 158), this term is used metaphorically to refer to the replication of a linguistic structure.

it was incorporated into the language and not considered foreign to it. When the *l* + IC constructions began to assume modal functions in Hebrew, they coalesced with two already existing forms assuming the same modal functions – the *yiqtol* and the *wəqatal*. The key to understanding the habitual functions of the predicative *l* + IC constructions lies in the overlapping functions of these three forms. As the *l* + IC construction assumed some of the functions of *yiqtol* and *wəqatal* due to Phoenician influence, the three forms were interchangeable in some contexts, namely, they were in paradigmatic relation. This interchangeability is suggested to later expand to new environments, further extending the paradigmatic relation of the three forms. This resulted in the expansion of the *l* + IC construction to another function of the *yiqtol* and *wəqatal*, i.e. the habitual function.

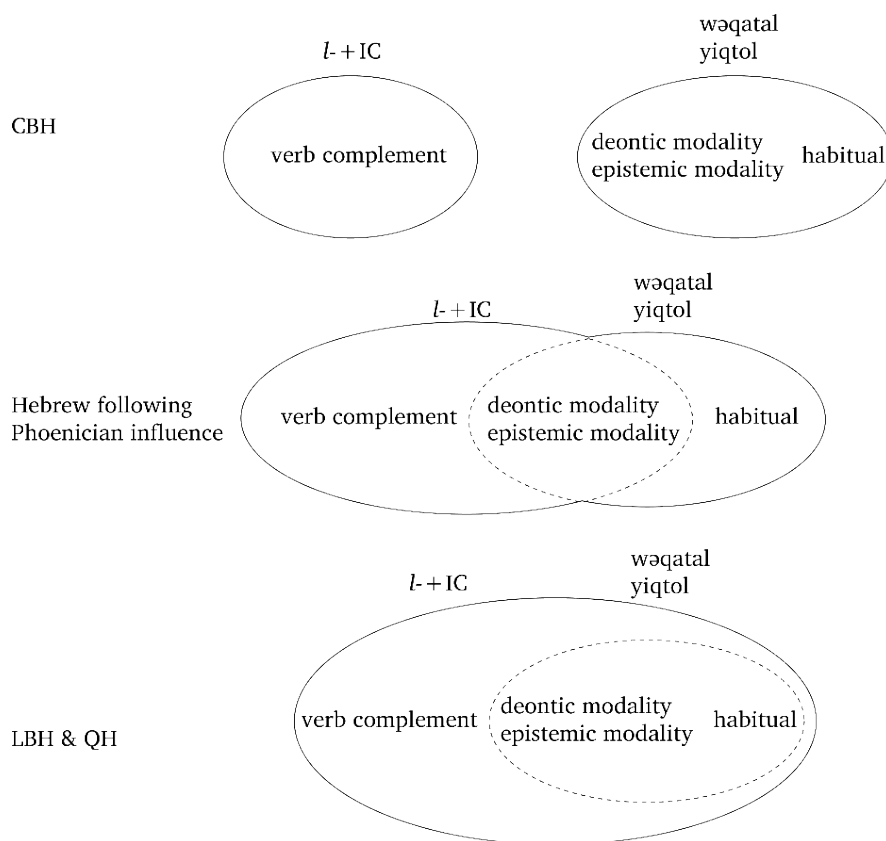


Figure 1. The expansion of *l* + IC's functions in Hebrew

Understanding that predicative use of *l* + IC constructions in LBH and QH is influenced by language contact is significant not only for the nature of LBH and QH

but also for the linguistics of Phoenician itself. If this Phoenician usage left its marks on the verbal systems of LBH and QH to such a degree, it was likely deeply rooted in that language and integral to it.

Language contact, brought about by sociolinguistic interaction and historical processes, catalyzes the evolution of linguistic forms and structures. In this context, the emergence of alternate linguistic forms, particularly in response to external influences, reflects a dynamic interplay between linguistic systems. The historical backdrop of language contact between Phoenicians and Hebrew speakers during the Persian period in the southern regions of present-day Israel has significant implications for our understanding of both languages, with its echoes illuminating linguistic aspects of both Phoenician and Hebrew. Examination of this historical resonance will surely provide insight into the dynamics of linguistic borrowing, adaptation and influence between these two languages, enriching our understanding of the linguistic dynamics of the Persian-era Levant.⁵²

4 Conclusion

The focus of this article is the examination of a possible grammaticalization process observed in the predicative *l*- + IC construction within Phoenician and Punic dialects. It additionally aimed at systematically categorizing all instances of its use in these dialects according to modal function. It posits that the modal functions exhibited by the *l*- + IC construction—both deontic (wish, command, imperative and prohibition) and epistemic (future tense expressions) originated with the purposive and allative functions inherent in the preposition *l*.

Within the general framework of grammaticalization, where infinitive forms begin to function as independent predicative forms, Phoenician is conspicuous in both the depth and ubiquitousness of this process. Diachronically, this structure abounds in Phoenician from its earliest dialectal stage (Byblos) through to its most recent form (Neo-Punic), and is found throughout the vast geographic area where Phoenician was spoken. As we have seen, its appearance in LBH syntax is yet further evidence of the centrality of the predicative *l*- + IC construction in Phoenician.

Acknowledgements

This article is part of Ophir Carmel Fofliger's doctoral thesis under the supervision of Professor Tamar Zewi and Dr Ohad Cohen, Department of Hebrew Language at the University of Haifa. We would like to thank the anonymous readers for their helpful comments.

⁵² See Cohen (2020).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

ORCID

Ophir Carmel Fofliger  <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-6677-0761>

Ohad Cohen  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4918-6403>

Tamar Zewi  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1985-217X>

Abbreviations

BH	Biblical Hebrew
Byb.	the dialect of Byblos
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
IC	the infinitive construct
KAI	Donner and Röllig (2002)
KAIii	Donner and Röllig (1968)
<i>l</i> + IC	the preposition <i>l</i> - followed by the infinitive construct
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
NPu.	Neo-Punic
NSI	Cooke (1903)
Ph.	Standard Phoenician
Poen	Plautus and Ernout (1938)
Pu.	Punic
QH	Qumran Hebrew
TRIP	Levi Della Vida and Amadasi (1987)

References

- Ariel, Chanan. 2014. 'Ha-maqor ha-naṭuy ha-mešameš ke-poʿal *ḫivuy* bi-mgilot Qumran [The Predicative Usage of the Infinitive as Indicative Verb in the Dead Sea Scrolls]'. In *Niṭṣe Ilan: Studies in Hebrew and Related Fields Presented to Ilan Eldar*, edited by Moshe Bar-Asher and Irit Meir, 29–49. Jerusalem: Carmel.
- Barré, Michael L. 1983. 'An Unrecognized Precative Construction in Phoenician and Hebrew'. *Biblica* 64 (3): 411–422.
- Cohen, Ohad. 2005. 'Šimušim predicativiyim be-šurot ha-maqor ha-naṭuy לִקְטַל ba-sivrit šel bayit šeni: bi-lšona šel megilat Ester u-vi-lšon megilot midbar Yehuda [Predicative Uses of the Infinitive Construct לִקְטַל in the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period: The Language of Esther and the Dead Sea Scrolls]'. *Meṣkarim be-lašon [Language Studies]* 10: 75–99.
- Cohen, Ohad. 2013. *The Verbal Tense System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose*. Harvard Semitic Studies 63. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Cohen, Ohad. 2020. 'The Impact of Spoken Varieties on Literary Texts in Southern and Central Palestine during the Persian Period'. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 46 (2): 1–20.

- Cohen, Ohad. 2023. 'Ha-rav lešoniyut ve-xur ha-hitux ke-xoḥot mešašvim ba-sivrit ha-miqra'it ha-meʔuxret [The Significance of Multi-Lingualism and of the Canaanite Melting Pot on Shaping Late Biblical Hebrew]'. *Balšanut Sivrit [Hebrew Linguistics]* 76: 105–134.
- Cooke, George Albert. 1903. *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions: Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cross, Frank Moore. 1979. 'A Recently Published Phoenician Inscription of the Persian Period from Byblos'. *Israel Exploration Journal* 29 (1): 40–44.
- Crystal, David. 2003. *A Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics*. 5th ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Davis, Nathan. 1863. *Phoenician Inscriptions from Carthage*. London: Printed by order of the Trustees.
- Dillmann, August. 1881. *Hr. Dillmann las: Über eine neuentdeckte punische Inschrift*. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
- Donner, Herbert, and Wolfgang Röllig. 2002. *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften: Band I*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Donner, Herbert, and Wolfgang Röllig. 1968. *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften: Band II Kommentar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Driver, S.R. 1892. *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Février, J.G. 1952. 'L'inscription néopunique Charchell I'. *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 141 (1): 19–25.
- Fox, Andrew Jordon. 1984. *The Evolution of the Hebrew Infinitive, Form and Function: a Diachronic Study with Cross-Linguistic Implications*. Los Angeles: University of California, University Microfilms International.
- Friedrich, Johannes, and Wolfgang Röllig. 1999. *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*. Edited by Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo with the collaboration of Werner R. Mayer. 3rd ed. *Analecta Orientalia* 55. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1989. 'From Purposive to Infinitive, a Universal Path of Grammaticalization'. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 23: 287–310.
- Hawkins, John David. 2012. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions: Volume 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. 'On some Principles of Grammaticalization'. In *Approaches to Grammaticalization: Volume 1. Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, edited by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine, 17–35. *Typological Studies in Language* 19,1. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huehnergard, John. 2019. 'Proto-Semitic'. In *The Semitic Languages: Second Edition*, edited by John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El. 49–79. London and New York: Routledge.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1924. *The Philosophy of Grammar*. London: George Allen & Unwin LTD.
- Joüon, Paul, and Takamitsu Muraoka. 2006. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Kautzsch, Emil, ed. 1910. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Translated by A.E. Cowley. 2nd English ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner. 1994–2000. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden: Brill.

- Krahmalkov, Charles R. 1974. 'A Carthaginian Report of the Battle of Agrigentum 406 BC (CIS i, 5510. 9–11)'. *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 2: 171–177.
- Krahmalkov, Charles R. 1987. 'The Periphrastic Future Tense in Hebrew and Phoenician'. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 61: 73–80.
- Krahmalkov, Charles R. 2000. *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters.
- Krahmalkov, Charles R. 2001. *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kuteva, Tania et al. 2019. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kutscher, Edward Yechezkel. 1982. *A History of the Hebrew Language*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Lehmann, Christian. 2015. *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*. 3rd ed. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Levi Della Vida, Giorgio, and Maria Giulia Amadasi. 1987. *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927–1967)*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Lyons, John. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics. Vol. II*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Matras, Yaron. 2007. 'The Borrowability of Structural Categories'. In *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, edited by Yaron Matras and Jeanette Sakel, 31–73. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Matras, Yaron. 2020. *Language Contact*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mor, Uri. 2015. 'One More Look at the Negation of the Infinitive Construct in Second Temple Hebrew'. *Vetus Testamentum* 65: 437–456.
- Mor, Uri. 2019. 'Ha-maḳor ha-naṭuy ha-predicativi ba-šivrit šel ha-bayit ha-šeni [The Predicative Infinitive Construct in Second Temple Hebrew]'. In *Šinuy ve-šonut balašon [Language Change and Variation]*, edited by Ruth Berman, 65–77. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. 2020. *A Syntax of Qumran Hebrew*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Palmer, Frank R. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pat-El, Na'ama. 2013. 'On Negation in Phoenician'. In *Linguistic Studies in Phoenician*, edited by Robert D. Holmstedt and Aaron Schade, 47–67. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Plautus, Titus Maccius, and Alfred Ernout. 1938. *Plaute Comédies Tome V: Mostellaria, Persa, Poenulus*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Qimron, Elisha. 2018. *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben-Zvi.
- Röllig, Wolfgang. 2011. 'Phoenician and Punic'. In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by Stefan Weninger, 473–479. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Roschinski, Hans Peter. 1988. 'Punische Inschriften zum MLK-Opfer und seinem Ersatz'. In *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Volume II.4: Grab-, Sarg-, Votiv- und Bauinschriften*, edited by Christel Butterweck, 606–620. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Solá-Solé, Josep. M. 1961. *L'infinitif sémitique: contribution à l'étude des formes et des fonctions des noms d'action et des infinitifs sémitiques*. Paris: H. Champion.
- Szzyrmer, Maurice. 1972. 'Quelques observations sur la grande inscription dédicatoire de Mactar'. *Semitica* 22: 25–43.

- von Soden, Wolfram. 1995. *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, 3rd ed. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- von Wright, Georg Henrik. 1951. *An Essay in Modal Logic*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co.
- Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael Patrick O'Connor. 1990. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Wilson-Wright, Aren M. 2019. 'The Canaanite Languages'. In *The Semitic Languages: Second Edition*, edited by John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El, 509–532. London and New York: Routledge.
- Yon, Marguerite, and Maurice Sznycer. 1991. 'Une inscription phenicienne royale de Kition (Chypre)'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 135 (4): 791–823.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1997. *Negation and Clausal Structure: A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Appendix

All examples are categorized according to their primary function. Within each category, the examples are organized chronologically by the language stages: Byb., Ph., Pu. and NPu. For each example, the place of origin, assumed dating and reference details are provided in brackets. Within each language stage, the examples are presented according to their source in the following order: KAI, CIS, Poen, TRIP and NSI.

1 *l*- + IC constructions as verb complements

KAI 10:12–13 – *kl mmlkt wkl ?dm ?š ysp lpsl ml?kt ?lt mzbh zn [w?lt pt]h hrš zn w?lt ?rpt zt šm ?nk yhwmlk mlk gbl [tšt ?t] ?l <t> ml?kt h?* (Byb., 5th–4th century BCE, KAIii: 11)

KAI 280:4–6 – *wysp[t...] khwn ym l?gd lm mlhm[t]* (Byb., 5th century BCE, Cross 1979: 40)

KAI 14:2 – *dbr mlk ?šmnšzr mlk šdnm l?mr* (Ph., Sidon, 5th century BCE, KAIii: 19)

KAI 24:5–7 – *kn bt ?by bmtkt mlkm ?drm wkl šlh yd l <h> lhm wkt byd mlkm km?š ?klt zqn w[km]?š ?klt yd* (Ph., Zincirli, 825 BCE, KAIii: 30)

KAI 26A II:3–6 – *wbmqmum ?š kn lpm nšt?m ?š yšt? ?dm lkt drk whymty ?nk ?št t <l> k lhd y dl plkm* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 26A II:10–12 – *k b?l wršp sprm šlh? lbnt wbn y ?nk b?br b?l wb?br ršp sprm* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 26C IV:14–16 – *?m ?dm ?š ?dm šm ?š y?m[r] lmht šm ?ztwd bsml ?[l]m z wšt šm* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 60:1–2 – *tm bd šdnym bn?sp? lštr ?yt šm?b?l bn mgn ?š nš? hnw ?l bt ?lm w?l mbnt hšr bt ?lm* (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

KAI 60:6–7 – *lmht lkn ydš hšdnym k ydš hgw lšlm hlpt ?yt ?dmum ?š p?l mšrt ?t pn gw* (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

KAI 288:1–3 – *bmš?nm ?bn wšzrnm hppym l?gd ln mlhmt... wys? ?ln[m mh]nt ?š kty l?gd lm mlhmt bmqm ?z* (Ph., Kition, 4th century BCE, Yon and Sznycer 1991: 803)

KAI 288:1–3 – *bmš?nm ?bn wšzrnm hppym l?gd ln mlhmt... wys? ?ln[m mh]nt ?š kty l?gd lm mlhmt bmqm ?z* (Ph., Kition, 4th century BCE, Yon and Sznycer 1991: 803)

KAI 302:6–7 – *qr? lmlqrt ysp ?lty lšlm wlyrh y bmqm [z]* (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 124:2–4 – *bšlytn qmd? ?š ?l? bbn m?t mšqr bn gšy bktbt dbr? hbt šgšy bn hn? kšs lpsl whtm* (NPu., Tripolitania, 53 CE, KAIii: 130)

KAI 126:2–4 – *lmy lpny ?dr? ?lpqy wšm ?lpqy lpy m?s? ?btm wm?sm bn/tm ytn? lšbd bšp?t kl hštm mzbh wp?dy pšl lmbmlktm btm* (NPu., Tripolitania, 92 CE, KAIii: 131)

KAI 163:1 – *ʔtm ʔškʔ knṯm ltt lʔyʔ bʕl ʔbmṣbt bnʔ ʔlm* (NPu., Constantine, 2nd century BCE, KAIii: 152–153)

CIS i 151:5–6 – *k ʕbdʔ hmt lʔ tḥ[n]t kmt bʕṣṣ lbntm lm* (NPu., Sulci)⁵³

Poen 935 – *ys sidobrim chy fel yth chyl ys chon chen liful* (NPu., theater play from Rome, 200 BCE, Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 2)

Poen 945 – *et cu/el comu con liful* (NPu., theater play from Rome, 200 BCE, Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 2)

Poen 948 – *Alem us duber limur* (NPu., theater play from Rome, 200 BCE, Friedrich and Röllig 1999: 2)

2 Ambiguous cases of *l-* + IC constructions (verb complements or predicates)

KAI 14:9–11 – *wysgrum hʔlnm hqdšm ʔt mmlkt ʔdr ʔš mšl bnm lqṣṭnm ʔyt mmlkt ʔm ʔdm hʔ ʔš ypth ʕlt mškb z ʔm ʔš yšʔ ʔyt ḥlt z* (Ph., Sidon, 5th century BCE, KAIii: 19)

KAI 14:18–20 – *wʕd ytn ln ʔdn mlkm ʔyt dʔr wypy ʔrṣt dgn hʔdrt ʔš bšd šrn lmdt ʕšmt ʔš pʕlt wyspnm ʕlt gbl ʔrṣ lknnm lšdnm lʕlm* (Ph., Sidon, 5th century BCE, KAIii: 19)

KAI 18:3–6 – *ʔt hšʕr z whdlht ʔš l pʕlt btklty bnt bšt 180 lʔdn mlkm 143 št lʕm šʕ lkny ly lskr wšm nʕm* (Ph., Umm el-Awamid, 132 BCE, KAIii: 26)

KAI 19:9–11 – *km ʔš bn ʔyt kl ʔhry [hmqdš]m ʔš bʔrṣ lkn lm l[skr wšm nʕm ʕd] ʕlm* (Ph., Maʕṣūb, 222 BCE, KAIii: 27)

KAI 26A I:17–18 – *wbn ʔnk ḥmyt bmqmm hmt lšbtm dnnym bnḥt lbnm* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 26A II:11–15 – *wbny ʔnk bʕbr bʕl wbʕbr ršp šprm bšbʕ wbmnm wšbt nʕmt wb-nḥt lb lkny mšmr lʕmq ʔdn wlbṯ mpš* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 302:6–7 – *qrʔ lmlqrt ysp ʕlty lšlm wlyrhym bmqm [z]* (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 147:1–3 – *hmzrh ʔš[p... wn]gd hšmm ndʕr ndr?... [ʔ]š lʔtt hʔl ʔbbrktm l[n]* (NPu., Maktar, 1st century AD, KAIii: 144 and Sznycer 1972: 30)⁵⁴

KAI 172:1–4 – *[lʔ]ḥmlkt bn ʔdnbʕl bn ḥmlkt ḥprṯ ʕl myṯb ʔršʔ hslky lbnʔt t hmqdš st lhrbt lʔlt ʔʕnʔ* (NPu., Sulci, 1st century BCE, KAIii: 156 and Dillmann 1881)

CIS i 151:1–4 – *lpkš khrhšy pʕl t hmqrʔ ʔst phlyʔ ʔgbr ʔtmʔ bn mqrʔ lkn lʔ wlʔmm bʕnʔ* (NPu., Sulci)

⁵³ Based on the literature at hand, we were unable to date this inscription.

⁵⁴ According to the reading in Krahmalkov (2000: 127). When relying on the reading of KAI, it is hard to determine whether it is a *l-* + IC construction.

3 *l*- + IC constructions as predicates

3.1 Wish

KAI 26A III:2–7 – *wbrk bšl kr[n]tryš ʔyt ʔztwd ḥym wšlm wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk lttṯ bšl krntryš wkl ʔln qrt lʔztwd ʔrk ymm wrb šnt wršʔt nšmt wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

KAI 26C III:16–IV:1 – *wbrk bšl krntryš ʔyt ʔztwd ḥym wbšlm wbšz ʔdr šl kl mlk lttṯ bšl krntryš lʔztwd ʔrk ymm wrb šnt wršʔt n[š]mt wšz ʔdr šl kl mlk* (Ph., Karatepe, 720 BCE, KAIii: 35)

3.2 Command

KAI 60:3–5 – *ʔyt ršt z lktb hʔdmm ʔš nšʔm ln šl bt ʔlm šlt mšbt ḥrš wyṯnʔy bšrpt bt ʔlm šn ʔš* (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

KAI 60:3–6 – *ʔyt ršt z lktb hʔdmm ʔš nšʔm ln šl bt ʔlm šlt mšbt ḥrš wyṯnʔy bšrpt bt ʔlm šn ʔš lknt gw šrb šlt mšbt z yšʔn bksp ʔlm bšlšdn drkmnm 20* (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

CIS i 3917:2–3 – *ṯnʔ šlšm hʔš ʔš šl hmšʔ[...] rt lbšl hzbḥ ʔm ltt lkhn ʔyt [...] rt lbšl hzbḥ ʔm ltt [...]* (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE, Davis 1863: 3)

CIS i 3917:2–3 – *ṯnʔ šlšm hʔš ʔš šl hmšʔ[...] rt lbšl hzbḥ ʔm ltt lkhn ʔyt [...] rt lbšl hzbḥ ʔm ltt [...]* (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE, Davis 1863: 3)

3.3 Imperative

KAI 2:1–3 – *ldšt hn ypd lk ṯt zn* (Byb., 10th century BCE, KAIii: 2–4)

KAI 76B:8 – *lšt šlt ḥḥdrt npt* (Pu., Carthage, 4th–3rd century BCE, NSI: 44)

KAI 145 I:3–4 – *wšlmʔ yšb ʔdmt lʔlm ḥqyḏš lšʔt ʔḥt šmm bṯwb* (NPu., Maktar, 1st century AD, KAIii: 144 and Sznycer 1972: 30)

3.4 Prohibition

KAI 9A:5 – *[ʔl ṯpṯḥ] š[lt hmškb] zn lrgz šmy* (Byb., 5th–4th century BCE, KAIii: 10)

KAI 280:2 – *bl lpṯḥ šlt ʔrn zn wlrgez šmy* (Byb., 5th century BCE, Cross 1979: 40)

KAI 280:2 – *bl lpṯḥ šlt ʔrn zn wlrgez šmy* (Byb., 5th century BCE, Cross 1979: 40)

KAI 70:3–4 – *qbr zyḇqt hkhn[t l] rbt [...]ʔ bt šbdʔšmn bn bšlytn bn šbdʔšmn ʔšt bšlḥnʔ mq[m] ʔl[m] bn šbdmlqrt bn ḥmlkt bn šbdʔšmn ʔbl lpṯḥ* (Pu., Avignon or Carthage, 3rd century BCE, KAIii: 83, 87)

3.5 Future

KAI 69:14 – [ʕ]l bl wʕl ḥlb wʕl ḥlb wʕl kl zbḥ ʔš ʔdm **lzbḥ** bmnḥ[t--] y[kn lkḥnm] (Pu., Marseille or Carthage, 3rd century BCE, KAIii: 83)

KAI 79:6–11 – wkl ʔš **lsr** t ʔbn z by py ʔnk wby py ʔdm bšmy wšpt tnt pn bʕl brḥ ʔdm hʔ (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE, Roschinski 1988: 606)

KAI 302:3–4 – wkl ʔdm] ʔš **lkp** ʔyt ʔmtnt z wʕskr wšbt yʔml yd[ʔ (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 302:3–4 – wkl ʔdm] ʔš lkp ʔyt ʔmtnt z **wʕskr** wšbt yʔml yd[ʔ (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 302:3–4 – wkl ʔdm] ʔš lkp ʔyt ʔmtnt z wʕskr **wšbt** yʔml yd[ʔ (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

CIS i 3784:1–3 – kl ʔš **lgnb** t ʔbn z bʕlḥmn yqsyʔ (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE)⁵⁵

CIS i 4937:1–5 – w[kl] ʔdm ʔš **lsr** t mtnt z wšpt tnt pnbʕl brḥ ʔdm hʔ (Pu., Carthage, 3rd–2nd century BCE)⁵⁶

TRIP 10:1–4 – pʕl mʕqr hrds lqnʔm wlʔḥyʔ ʕygʔ wkl ʔš **lkn** ʔḥr bbryʔt (NPu., Tripolitania)⁵⁷

4 Doubtful examples of *l*- + IC constructions

KAI 9A:2 – bl tqm **lšt** ʔrn ʕlt ʔrn (Byb., 5th–4th century BCE, KAIii: 10)

KAI 60:6–8 – lmḥt **lkn** ydʕ ḥʕdnym k ydʕ ḥgw lšlm ḥlpt ʔyt ʔdmm ʔš pʕl mšrt ʔt pn gw (Ph., Athens, 96 BCE, KAIii: 73)

KAI 302:7 – [m]šrt **lqnʔ** wkn lʔ ḥl wšlm (Pu., Carthage, 406–405 BCE, Krahmalkov 1974: 171)

KAI 162:6 – **lkn** lʔ tʕmt ʔdrt (NPu., Constantine, 2nd century BCE, KAIii: 152)

NSI 56:4 – ʔmʔ **lšrt** šnt ḥmšm (NPu., Cherchell)⁵⁸

⁵⁵ We dated this inscription as KAI 79 due to their similarity.

⁵⁶ We dated this inscription as KAI 79 due to their similarity.

⁵⁷ Based on the literature at hand, we were unable to date this inscription.

⁵⁸ This inscription is hard to date but might cautiously be attributed to the first century CE, see Février (1952: 23).

Nick Posegay 

Ruhr University Bochum, Germany | nposegay@yahoo.com

The Arabo-Tiberian Vocalisation System: An Undocumented Set of Medieval Vowel Signs for the Hebrew Script

Abstract The three main Hebrew vocalisation systems—Tiberian, Palestinian, and Babylonian—are well-known in the history of Semitic languages. This article describes another previously undocumented Hebrew vocalisation system, the ‘Arabo-Tiberian system’, a sub-variant of the Tiberian system that appears only in Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts around the tenth and eleventh centuries. In addition to the typical Tiberian vowel marks, the Arabo-Tiberian system includes two loaned Babylonian signs, one for the vowel /u/ and another for /a/ (primarily in the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/). This system never achieved the widespread adoption or standardisation of other Hebrew and Arabic vowel systems, so it survives now only in fragmentary evidence from the Cairo Genizah. This article describes the common Arabo-Tiberian features in ten vocalised manuscripts and offers hypotheses for the system’s origin and extinction.

Keywords Hebrew, Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic, Vocalisation, Masoretic Studies, Comparative Semitics, Cairo Genizah, Judaism, Manuscripts

1 Introduction

The medieval history of Semitic languages is a history of scribes and scholars who grappled with the ideal methods for recording vowels in their writing systems. Traditionally, writers of Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac left most vowels unwritten, leaving the interpretation and pronunciation of their words partly up to their readers. However, with the spread of Arabic as the medieval *lingua franca* of the Middle East and North Africa, Jewish, Muslim, and Christian scribes sought new ways to record the exact details of their liturgical recitation traditions, balancing desires for oral precision against the sacred authority of earlier, less-precise written sources. They accomplished this task by an innovative policy of minimal



© 2025 The Author(s). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

intervention: the insertion of small graphemes that could indicate vowel phonemes at a writer's discretion without modifying the consonantal text of a Bible or Qur'an. Scholars now refer to the sets of graphemes invented for this purpose as 'vocalisation systems'.

Several medieval Semitic vocalisation systems survived and still see regular use today. By far the most widespread is the Arabic *tashkil* ('marking') system, which emerged in the ninth century and has persisted relatively unchanged for Arabic-script writing in multiple languages over the last millennium. The next best known among scholars of Semitic languages is the Tiberian Hebrew *niqqud* ('pointing') system, also invented around the ninth century for use in the Hebrew Bible, but now standard for practically all Hebrew writing in the modern day. Modern Syriac Christians still use two different medieval vocalisation systems, mainly for Bibles and liturgical texts: the 'Eastern' dot system and the 'Western' letter-form system, which crystallised in the eighth and tenth centuries, respectively (Segal 1953: 29–30; Coakley 2011: 307–325).

But for every vocalisation system that survived to the present day, there are others that were abandoned, outcompeted, or simply forgotten as scribal practices changed over time. For example, the first Arabic vocalisation system was the set of colour-coded (usually red) dots found in Qur'ans produced between the eighth and tenth centuries CE. This system saw little adoption outside of Qur'anic manuscripts, likely because the need for multiple ink colours made it too expensive and inefficient for less prestigious texts (Abbott 1972: 7–8; George 2015: 13–14). Arabic traditionists also report a defunct system known as *shakl al-shi'r* ('the marking of poetry') which may have been a precursor to the modern Arabic *tashkil* signs during the ninth century (Posegay 2021b: 82–84). Similarly, two other Hebrew *niqqud* systems—the Palestinian system and the Babylonian system—fell out of use during a process known as 'Tiberianisation' between the tenth and twelfth centuries.¹

This article describes another defunct vocalisation system, one I have designated the 'Arabo-Tiberian' system, because it shares most of the graphemes of the Tiberian vowel system and medieval Jewish scribes deployed it exclusively for recording vowels in Judaeo-Arabic. This system appears to be a parallel development with the standard Tiberian Hebrew system, first appearing in Classical Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts of the tenth or eleventh century. In addition to the typical Tiberian graphemes, it also includes two loaned signs, one for the vowel /u/ and another variously for /a/ or the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/. The Arabo-Tiberian system never achieved the widespread adoption or standardisation of other Hebrew and Arabic vowel systems, so it survives now only in fragmentary

¹ Except in Yemen, where Hebrew vocalisers continued to employ the Babylonian *niqqud*.

evidence, mostly manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah.² The following discussion describes the common Arabo-Tiberian features in these manuscripts and offers hypotheses for the system's origin and extinction.

2 Features of the Arabo-Tiberian system

The following ten Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts are the focus of this study:

1. Cambridge, University Library, T-S Ar.29.185 (Proverbs, paper)³
2. Cambridge, University Library, T-S Ar.54.4 (commentary on Kings, paper)⁴
3. Cambridge, University Library, T-S D1.93 (glossary to Samuel, parchment)
4. Cambridge, University Library, T-S NS 301.14 (unknown commentary quoting biblical sources, parchment) (Shivtiel and Niessen 2006: no. 6309)
5. Cambridge, University Library, T-S NS 188.9 (Job, parchment)
6. Cambridge, University Library, T-S NS 285.155 (Ecclesiastes with commentary, parchment)
7. London, British Library, OR 5562A.19 (Proverbs, parchment)
8. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, ENA 2779.39 (Ecclesiastes, parchment)
9. St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, EVR ARAB I 1151 (calendrical text, paper)
10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Heb. d.42.28–31 (rhyming commentary on *piyyut*, parchment)

Most of these manuscripts are fragments of Biblical texts or texts otherwise relevant to Jewish law. In other words, they are the work of professional scribes and scholars, rather than popular or documentary material. All of them are written in 'Classical' Judaeo-Arabic, typified by a transliteration system that mimics Classical Arabic orthography with Hebrew characters on a one-to-one basis.⁵ They can be dated on the basis of their orthography and palaeography between the tenth and twelfth centuries CE, with Bodleian Heb. d.42.28–31 likely being the oldest.

² On the history of the Cairo Genizah as a source of manuscripts, see Reif (2000); Jefferson (2022). For an overview of vocalised Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts, see Khan (2010).

³ Belongs with CUL T-S AS 168.2 and T-S AS 168.3.

⁴ Note that CUL T-S Ar.54.4 is two separate manuscripts. P1 and P2 are Hebrew liturgical poetry with full standard Tiberian vocalisation. P3 and P4 are an unrelated Judaeo-Arabic commentary on Second Kings 16–18 with isolated Arabo-Tiberian vocalisation. See Baker and Polliack (2001: no. 7793).

⁵ On the differences between Classical Judaeo-Arabic and earlier 'phonetic' Judaeo-Arabic, see Blau and Hopkins (1984: 9–27); Khan (2018); Lieberman (2022: 145–182).

None contain an explicit date, so more precise dating is infeasible within the scope of this study.

All Arabo-Tiberian vocalised manuscripts discovered thus far show familiarity with the standard Tiberian vocalisation system, applying other Tiberian signs sporadically to Judaeo-Arabic or Hebrew words. Additionally, all known Arabo-Tiberian manuscripts employ a sign that does not appear in the standard Tiberian system for the vowel /u/ *in Arabic words only*. This sign is a supralinear stroke that usually leans rightward. MS British Library OR 5562A.19, which is an Arabic translation of Proverbs, is instructive here (Figure 1):

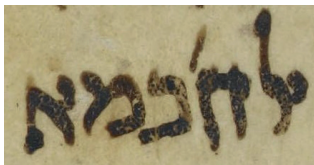


Figure 1. BL OR 5562A.19 r, line 12; *al-hukamā* ‘the wise ones’

In the first syllable of this Arabic word, the oblique supralinear stroke indicates the short vowel /u/. If this vocaliser were using the standard Tiberian vocalisation system—as is typical for most vocalised Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts—then we would expect them to mark this syllable with the sublinear three-dot sign *qibbuṣ*, but they obviously do not. Nevertheless, the vocaliser clearly knows the standard Tiberian system as well, as they apply it accurately in other Arabic words. For instance, *pataḥ*, *hiriq*, and *shewa* signs mark /a/, /i/, and Ø in *mustasliman* (Figure 2), alongside the oblique stroke for /u/.

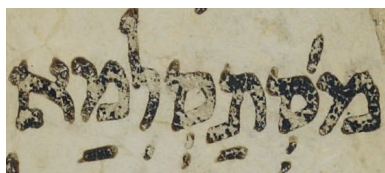


Figure 2. BL OR 5562A.19 v, line 14; *mustasliman* ‘yielding’

All ten manuscripts in our corpus include this sign for /u/. It sometimes appears more vertical than oblique, and it sometimes curves in a way that resembles the Arabic *ḍamma* sign (/u/) or the Hebrew letter *vav*, but these variations amount to stylistic allographs of the same grapheme. They all represent the vowel /u/ (Figures 3–11).⁶

⁶ In its vertical form, this sign can resemble to the Palestinian Hebrew sign for /a/ and, in some cases, /o/ or /o/ (Dotan 2007: 625). Despite this resemblance, it is much more likely

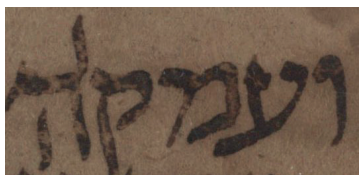


Figure 3. CUL T-S Ar.29.185 2v, line 4; *wa-'amquh* 'and its depth'

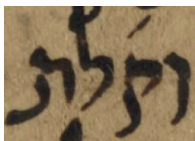


Figure 4. CUL T-S Ar.54.4 P3 r, line 12; *wa-qult* 'and you said'

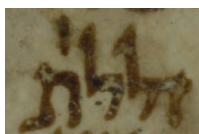


Figure 5. CUL T-S D1.93 2r, line 7; *zalaltu* 'I slipped'

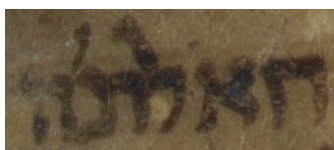


Figure 6. CUL T-S NS 301.14 1r, line 8; *ḥālatuh* 'his/its status'

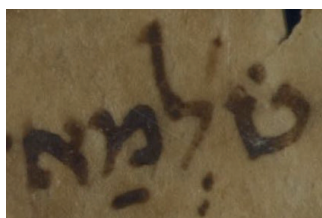


Figure 7. CUL T-S NS 188.9 r, line 3; *zulman* 'unjustly'

that the loaned signs in the Arabo-Tiberian system come from further east, given the one-to-one correspondence with the Babylonian letter-form sign for /u/ and parallels found in vocalised Judaeo-Persian manuscripts (see below).

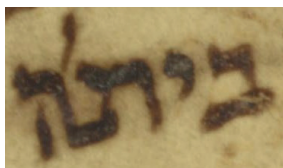


Figure 8. CUL T-S NS 285.155 r, line 8; *baytuh* ‘his house’

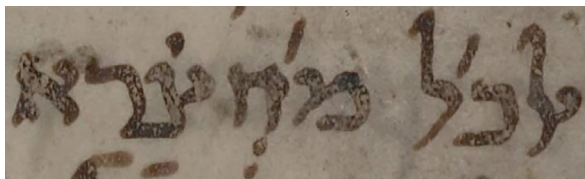


Figure 9. JTS ENA 2779.39 r, line 16; *al-kull muḥḍaran* ‘everything is settled’



Figure 10. RNL EVR ARAB I 1151 1v, line 14; *uḵar* ‘others’⁷

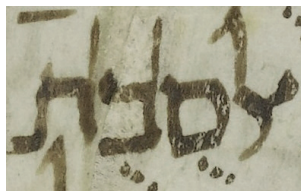


Figure 11. Bodleian Heb. d.42.29 v, line 13; *al-subūt* ‘the Sabbaths’

The supralinear stroke for /u/ is most common in two contexts. The first is in the initial syllable of nouns, especially participles that begin with a prefixed *mīm*, suggesting that such syllables were otherwise open to ambiguity for medieval readers. The second context is in word-final syllables that contain the pronom-

⁷ This fragment is somewhat distinct in the corpus. The script style appears to be later (ca. late eleventh/twelfth century) than the others. The vocaliser also included the Arabic *shadda* sign to mark gemination and the dots of *tā’ marbūṭa* to mark the feminine nominal ending in Judaeo-Arabic. It may represent a case where a vocaliser freely mixed signs from the Tiberian *niqqud* and Arabic *tashkil* systems, rather than being an instance of the Arabo-Tiberian system. For more on this manuscript, see Vidro (2021: 286).

inal suffixes *-hu/uh* and *-hum*. In such cases, the marking of the vowel seems to help indicate to the reader that the suffix is a distinct grammatical element from the preceding word. In fact, for some vocalisers—particularly that of CUL T-S Ar.29.185—the supralinear stroke appears to be the preferred sign for pronominal suffixes even while the Tiberian *qibbuṣ* marks /u/ elsewhere in the manuscript. These use cases suggest that, similar to the Palestinian and Babylonian vowel systems, Arabo-Tiberian vocalisers tended to apply vowel signs only sporadically to disambiguate vowels with grammatical import.

The second non-standard Arabo-Tiberian sign is an oblique pair of supralinear dots that lean to the right. This sign is less common than the supralinear stroke for /u/, appearing in only three of our ten manuscripts, and its function is less consistent. In CUL T-S D1.93, it appears only before the letter *yod*, designating the *a*-vowel in the diphthong /ay/. In Bodleian Heb. d.42.28–31, it appears only before the letters *yod* and *vav*, designating the *a*-vowels in the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/, respectively. In CUL T-S NS 285.155, it appears in multiple contexts to represent /a/.

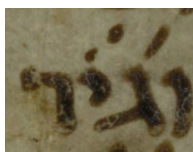


Figure 12. CUL T-S D1.93 1v, line 16; *wa-gayr* ‘and besides’⁸

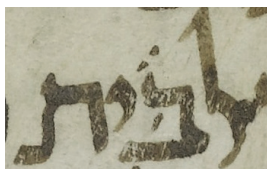


Figure 13. Bodleian Heb. d.42.29 v, line 9; *al-bayt* ‘the house’

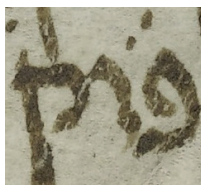


Figure 14. Bodleian Heb. d.42.28 v, line 16; *fawq/fawqa* ‘over’

⁸ Note that the supralinear stroke on the *gimel* of this word is *not* a vowel sign, but rather a diacritic marking that the *gimel* represents an Arabic *gayn* (as opposed to *jīm*).



Figure 15. CUL T-S NS 285.155 v, line 4; *aw* ‘or’

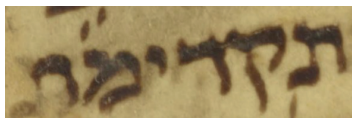


Figure 16. CUL T-S NS 285.155 r, line 6; *taqdīmat* ‘presentation of’

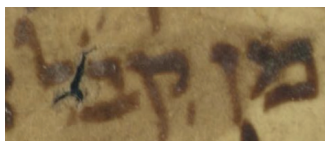


Figure 17. CUL T-S NS 285.155 r, line 3; *min qibal* ‘by means of, through’

The common through-line is that this sign indicates a short *a*-vowel, phonetically equivalent to the Tiberian *pataḥ* and Arabic *faṭḥa*. This fact is noteworthy because its physical appearance—a supralinear pair of oblique rightward dots—is identical to the sign for /a/ in the Babylonian Hebrew ‘dot system’ of vowels (Khan 2013: 954). We will now take a closer look at the idiosyncrasies of these last two manuscripts’ vocalisation. They suggest that the origin of the Arabo-Tiberian system lies in the mixing of Tiberian and Babylonian vowel signs during the tenth- and eleventh-century process of Masoretic ‘Tiberianisation’.⁹

Bodleian Heb. d.42.28–31 is four leaves of an Arabic commentary on a Hebrew *piyyuṭ* poem, specifically the *azharah* known as *Attah Hinḥalta*. The text of this *piyyuṭ* appears in the preceding two folios (Bodleian Heb. d.42.26–27), where it is unvocalised.¹⁰ Written vowel signs only appear when the Arabic commentary begins in Bodleian Heb. d.42.28, although from the first line, it is clear that the vocalisation is irregular. At least two separate vocalisers applied vowel signs to this manuscript. The first added only a handful of isolated Babylonian letter-form signs (‘*ayin* for /a/, *vav* for /u/; Figures 18–19),¹¹ and likely, the nu-

⁹ See Dotan (2007: 646).

¹⁰ A partial identification appears in Neubauer and Cowley (1906), Heb. d.42.26–31. The full identification cited here comes from Nissim Sabato of the Friedberg Genizah Project’s Judeo-Arabic Halakhic Literature team.

¹¹ On the designation ‘letter-form’ for the various Semitic vocalisation systems that employ miniaturised letters to mark vowels, see Posegay (2021a: 13, n. 4). On the letter-form Babylonian signs, see Khan (2013: 954).

merous oblique supralinear strokes in the manuscript that mark fricative forms of Arabic letters (Figure 20). As an aside, this is the only Babylonian-vocalised Judaeo-Arabic manuscript that I have ever encountered.¹²

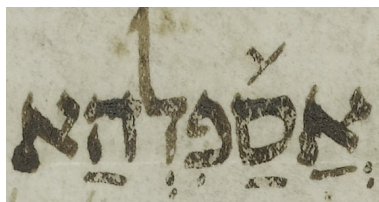


Figure 18. Bodleian Heb. d.42.29 v, line 1; *ʿasāfilhā* ‘its lowest points’

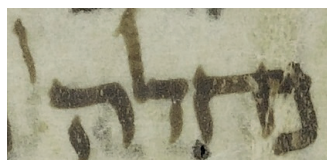


Figure 19. Bodleian Heb. d.42.29 r, line 12; *niḥlatū* ‘gift, faith’

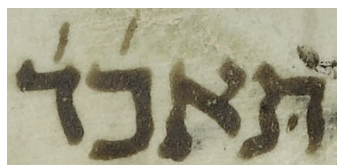


Figure 20: Bodleian Heb. d.42.29 r, line 1; *tākud* ‘you take’¹³

The second, later vocaliser applied a form of the Arabo-Tiberian system, using the oblique pair of supralinear dots that marks the /ay/ and /aw/ diphthongs (Figures 13–14) in addition to the standard Tiberian *pataḥ* (/a/), *ḥiriq* (/i/), *qibbuṣ* (/u/), and *shewa* (usually /a/ or Ø).¹⁴ These signs are sufficient to transliterate any vocalised Classical Arabic text into Hebrew script on a one-to-one graphemic basis, with *pataḥ*, *ḥiriq*, *qibbuṣ*, and *shewa* filling the roles of *fatḥa*, *kasra*, *ḍamma*, and *sukūn*, respectively. Consequently, this vocaliser did not often need the other Tiberian vowel points, although the sign *qameṣ* appears rarely (e.g. Bodleian Heb. d.42.29 v, line 2) for what is presumably a rounded backed *a*-vowel (approxi-

¹² Thank you to Amir Ashur and Nadia Vidro for discussing this topic with me.

¹³ The supralinear strokes here are not vowel signs, but rather diacritics marking fricative allophones of consonants (see also Figure 12).

¹⁴ On the quality of the Tiberian *shewa* in vocalised Judaeo-Arabic, see Khan (1992; 2010: 208–210); Posegay (2020: 38).

mately /ɔ/) that the Classical Arabic writing system has no explicit sign for (Khan 2020: 244; Al-Nassir 1993: 97, 103–104; Posegay 2021a: 187). This vocaliser was also more consistent than the earlier Babylonian one, marking many more words. The *qibbuṣ* sign occurs by far the most frequently.

For our study, the most significant feature of this manuscript is a single word that has been vocalised twice: *al-subūt* ‘Sabbaths’ (Figure 11). The original scribe spelled this word defectively, so if left unvocalised, the most natural reading is the much more common singular form *al-sabt* ‘Sabbath, Saturday’. The initial Babylonian vocaliser clarified the two *u*-vowels by adding miniature supralinear *vav* signs. This mark is the standard sign for /u/ in the Babylonian letter-form system and is the most likely original source for the supralinear sign for /u/ in the Arabo-Tiberian system, especially in its more vertical form (e.g. Figure 3). At a later time, the Arabo-Tiberian vocaliser came across this word and—evidently aware that their reader might not know the Babylonian signs—reinforced the vowels of *al-subūt* with the standard Tiberian *qibbuṣ* points. The final result is a mixed form of the Arabo-Tiberian system, with the standard Tiberian signs (including *qibbuṣ*) and oblique supralinear diphthong dots of one vocaliser complementing the Babylonian letter-form signs of another. This visual mixing of different vowel systems in re-vocalised manuscripts was likely a key contextual component in the creation of the Arabo-Tiberian system.

CUL T-S NS 285.155 is a small parchment fragment from a Judaeo-Arabic translation and commentary on Ecclesiastes. Only about fifteen partial lines of text survive, and while there are enough signs to tentatively reconstruct the manuscript’s vocalisation system, it is not certain that every sign the vocaliser would have used has survived in the extant section. Only three discrete vowel signs are present: the oblique supralinear stroke for /u/, the oblique pair of supralinear dots for /a/, and Tiberian *hiriq* (/i/). Like every known Arabo-Tiberian manuscript, the vocalisation is sporadic, but in theory, these three signs are the minimum that a vocaliser would require to fully point a Judaeo-Arabic text. This manuscript is unique because it is the only member of our corpus in which the two-dot supralinear sign represents /a/ in non-diphthong contexts (Figures 16 and 17). It is thus plausible that this sign is a direct loan of the identical sign for /a/ in the Babylonian dot system.

3 Relics of Tiberianisation

The process of ‘Tiberianisation’, by which the Tiberian vocalisation system gradually replaced the Palestinian and Babylonian systems between the tenth and twelfth centuries, is well known in Masoretic studies. The actual pronunciation tradition of the Tiberian Masoretes never achieved widespread distribution, but its perceived prestige conveyed a greater level of authority to their written vowel signs than those of other vocalisation systems (Khan 2020: 85, 108). The Tiberian

signs thus became the standard for nearly all written Hebrew (outside of Yemen) by the end of the twelfth century, and we find numerous medieval Bibles with ‘non-standard Tiberian’ vocalisation (Dotan 2007: 642; Blapp 2017; Khan 2020: 129–132; Arrant 2020; Outhwaite 2020); that is, local Hebrew pronunciation traditions that differed from the pronunciation tradition of the Tiberian Masoretes, but were nevertheless recorded using Tiberian vowel points. Such was the authority of the Tiberian system that even Babylonian scribes began to transcribe their local reading traditions with Tiberian signs. Manuscripts like Bodleian Heb. d.42.28–31, originally given Babylonian vowels but re-vocalised with Tiberian signs, are material evidence of this transitional period.¹⁵

At the same time that Tiberianisation was taking place, Arabic was replacing Aramaic as the vernacular language of Middle Eastern Jewish communities. Arabic thus became a key language of Masoretic scholarship (Khan 2020: 107, 117–121). Transcribing the new scientific vernacular into Hebrew script presented problems that Jewish scribes mitigated with innovations in diacritics and vocalisation. Yet scribal customs for writing Judaeo-Arabic were also much less standardised than those for writing Biblical Hebrew, resulting in multiple simultaneous methods for solving these transcription problems. The best known case of diacritic pluriformity in Judaeo-Arabic is how scribes differentiated the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, which are insufficient to represent all 28 Arabic letters on a one-to-one basis. Some solved this issue with the Biblical Hebrew *dagesh* dot, which distinguishes between fricative and plosive allophones of Hebrew letters, allowing them to approximate the sounds of additional Arabic consonants (Posegay 2020: 47–50; Posegay and Arrant 2021: 270–271).¹⁶ More commonly, however, Judaeo-Arabic scribes added new supralinear or sublinear diacritic dots to Hebrew letters to indicate the Arabic consonants that did not have unique characters in Biblical Hebrew (including fricatives like *khāʾ*, *dhāl*, *ḡayn*, etc., as well as *qād* and *zāʾ*). As we have seen from some of the Arabo-Tiberian manuscripts, another strategy was to mark fricative consonants with an oblique supralinear stroke (e.g. Figures 12 and 20).

It is in this context of Babylonian Tiberianisation and Judaeo-Arabic diacritic innovation that the Arabo-Tiberian system likely took shape. Judaeo-Arabic texts may not have been subject to the same perceived Tiberian authoritativeness as Hebrew texts, so it may not have been inevitable that scribes would adopt the standard Tiberian system to vocalise Judaeo-Arabic. Moreover, despite adopting Tiberian signs to vocalise their Bibles, Tiberianising scribes of the late tenth and eleventh centuries still knew the old Babylonian vowel systems and had ample opportunity to adapt them to improve their Judaeo-Arabic transcriptions. I thus hypothesise that the Arabo-Tiberian signs for /u/ and (especially in diphthongs)

¹⁵ See Khan (2020: 109, esp. n. 134). The same phenomenon is attested in Palestinian-vocalised manuscripts (Blapp 2013).

¹⁶ See also Blau (2002).

/a/ were both originally Babylonian vowel signs that saw continued use after Tiberianisation for a specific reason: signs which disambiguate the *language* of a word, not just its vowels, provide additional utility to a writer.

It is likely that Jewish scribes quickly—perhaps immediately—identified the Babylonian letter-form *vav* sign for /u/ as equivalent to the standard Arabic letter-form *wāw* sign (i.e. *ḍamma*) for the same vowel.¹⁷ As a result, it was a logical choice to include in a new vowel system contrived specifically for writing their (Judaean-)Arabic vernacular. The particular utility of this new system was that its use would unambiguously mark a Hebrew-script word as Arabic. The *vav/ḍamma* sign (/u/) could thus be preferable to the standard Tiberian *qibbuṣ* sign for /u/, as *qibbuṣ* failed to make explicit the language of an ambiguous vocalised word. The oblique pair of supralinear dots (i.e. /a/) from the defunct Babylonian dot system likewise became the first sign for /a/ in the Arabo-Tiberian system. It was phonologically identical to the Tiberian *pataḥ*, but it disambiguated the language of a marked word. It also (perhaps just coincidentally) shared the same supralinear position and oblique orientation as the Arabic *tashkīl* sign for /a/ (i.e. *fatha*). Finally, the sublinear Tiberian *hireq* dot became the sign for /i/ in the new vowel system, again (perhaps just coincidentally) sharing the same position as the Arabic *tashkīl* sign for /i/ (i.e. *kasra*), as well as the Arabic red dot sign for /i/. These three signs (for /u/, /a/, and /i/) are the form of the Arabo-Tiberian system apparently attested in CUL T-S NS 285.155 (Figures 8, 15–17 above). Since these three signs are the minimum needed to transcribe the three cardinal vowels of Classical Arabic,¹⁸ I suspect that this is also the *original* form of the Arabo-Tiberian system.

However, this basic system clearly did not achieve widespread use, as evidenced by the multiple variants in our corpus that include the rest of the Tiberian vowel points while restricting or not containing the oblique dots for /a/. As discussed above, most of our manuscripts only use the Tiberian *pataḥ* and *shewa* to mark /a/ in Judaeo-Arabic, and two of the three that use the oblique dots for /a/ (T-S D1.93 and Bodl. Heb. d.42.28–31) restrict them to marking diphthongs (/aw/, /ay/).¹⁹ This restricted usage suggests the sign may have had some alternative utility that allowed it to exist alongside standard Tiberian *pataḥ*, at

¹⁷ The Arabic *tashkīl* signs (*fatha*, *kasra*, *ḍamma*) are first attested in the ninth century (George 2015: 13–14; Posegay 2021b: 82–85).

¹⁸ Recall that all the manuscripts in our corpus follow the ‘Classical’ system of Judaeo-Arabic transcription.

¹⁹ After reading an earlier draft of this paper, Nadia Vidro began sending me classmarks of more manuscripts in which she observed Arabo-Tiberian signs (e.g. T-S Ar.24.29, T-S Ar.28.138, and MS Alliance Israélite Universelle, VIII.E.35). I received T-S Ar.28.138 late in the production of this article, but it is worth highlighting here. It is a biblical commentary that employs only three vowel signs in Judaeo-Arabic: a supralinear stroke for /u/, a sublinear dot (i.e. Tiberian *hireq*) for /i/, and an oblique pair of supralinear dots for /a/ before *yod* and *vav* in the /ay/ and /aw/ diphthongs.

least for a short time. For instance, it may have been valuable to have a vowel sign that marked the letters *yā*⁷ or *wāw* as consonants, signalling to the reader that they should not be read as *matres lectionis*.²⁰ It might also be that the use of the Babylonian sign for /a/ meant to approximate the sounds of monophthongised vowels pronounced in place of historical diphthongs, such as /e/ instead of /ay/, or /ɔ/ instead of /aw/. Regardless, we need data from more Arabo-Tiberian vocalised manuscripts before we can draw any definitive conclusions about the development and fate of these dots.

While this reconstruction of the Arabo-Tiberian system is speculative, the re-adaptation of Babylonian vowel signs to vocalise a non-Hebrew language transcribed in Hebrew characters is actually not unprecedented.²¹ Shaul Shaked has identified a similar phenomenon in MS CUL T-S K24.16, a hybrid Judaeo-Persian/Arabic letter from the pre-Mongol period. In this letter, the Arabic text is written in Arabic characters while the Persian text is written in Hebrew characters. The (Judaeo-)Persian is vocalised with what Shaked posits are a system of signs inspired by the Babylonian vowels. He documents two familiar marks in this adapted system:

Two dots placed next to each other in a nearly horizontal fashion, with a slight slant downwards towards the left, indicate a simple vowel (or sometimes diphthong?) *ē(y)* in words and particles such as *nē* (line 3 and several other occurrences), *hēm* (line 5), *mē* (the durative verbal particle, line 8), *-ē* (the indicator of the indefinite, *yā-ye vaḥdat*) in *tis-ē* (line 4), *dāng-ē* (line 6), also *kunēd* (line 9, impv. 2nd person pl.) Two dots placed vertically one on top of the other indicate the vowel *a*, e.g. *š(a)vad* (lines 3, 4). The same sign occurs also on top of the *vav* in *ṭwry* (line 5), a word of uncertain derivation and meaning; it may have been meant to be a **short vertical stroke**, as the sign occurring over the *vav* in *rōyaš* (line 10), *ōbast* (although it looks like an elongated dot; line 8) [**emphasis mine**]. (Shaked 2010: 327–328)

The first sign, which Shaked hypothesises represents either /ē/ or a diphthong, is nearly identical to the pair of dots that we have shown to represent /a/, especially in diphthongs, in some Arabo-Tiberian manuscripts. Both versions of the sign are likely inspired by the signs for /a/ and /e/ in the Babylonian dot system of vowels (Khan 2013: 954). Meanwhile the second sign, a short vertical stroke

²⁰ Another Genizah biblical manuscript, consisting of the fragments T-S Ar.28.170 and T-S Ar.27.60, has several instances of the oblique two-dot sign fulfilling this function to mark consonantal *yod*; see Kantor (2025: 753 nn. 7–8, 756 n. 11). I suspect this usage is a further restriction of the Arabo-Tiberian/Babylonian vowel sign as pure Tiberian vocalisation became ever more dominant among Arabic-speaking Jewish writers.

²¹ I know, I couldn't believe it either.

above *vav* which Shaked interprets as /ō/, is the same as the Arabo-Tiberian stroke for /u/, a direct loan from the Babylonian letter-form system.

One might wonder why the Judaeo-Persian vocaliser did not simply use the standard Babylonian or Tiberian system to vocalise Persian, but I would suggest the same hypothesis as for the Arabo-Tiberian system: signs which disambiguate the *language* of a word, not just its vowels, can provide additional utility to a writer. In this case, the unique vowel system indicates to the reader that the Judaeo-Persian words should not be interpreted as Hebrew. Shaked even mentions a similar phenomenon later in his study. In one notable twelfth-century letter (CUL T-S 8J19.28), the scribe writes primarily in Judaeo-Arabic, but intersperses it with Judaeo-Persian phrases. Because both languages are transliterated in the same (Hebrew) script, the scribe adds supralinear dots to differentiate Persian words from the surrounding Arabic text (Shaked 2010: 325). These dots do not represent vowels at all, but they demonstrate that the disambiguation of languages via diacritics was a potentially desirable feature for a medieval Hebrew-script writing system. Analogous diacritic dots are also attested in mixed Hebrew/Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts. For example, CUL T-S 8K12 is a fragment from the conclusion of Sa'adya Gaon's poetic dictionary, *Egron*.²² In this manuscript, pairs of supralinear diacritic dots mark individual Hebrew words within the running Judaeo-Arabic text (e.g. T-S 8K12 r, lines 6–7).

Because Judaeo-Arabic scribes readily interpreted the Babylonian/Arabo-Tiberian sign for /u/ as equivalent—functionally and graphically—to Arabic *ḍamma*, it was the most logical sign available to disambiguate the language of a vocalised Judaeo-Arabic word. This property is the most likely explanation for why that sign seems to have seen more widespread and prolonged use than the Arabo-Tiberian dots for /a/. We must also consider that while the oblique dots for /a/ were in direct competition with the Tiberian *pataḥ*,²³ the Arabo-Tiberian sign for /u/ only competed with Tiberian *qibbuṣ*. Despite its frequent utility in marking Judaeo-Arabic passive forms, *qibbuṣ* is, objectively, the worst Tiberian vowel sign.²⁴ To vocalise a letter with *qibbuṣ*, a Hebrew writer must stop moving right-to-left, fully reverse their direction of motion, and place *three*²⁵ sublinear dots leaning downward to the right.²⁶ This reversal was less of an issue when producing fully vocalised manuscripts, such as formal Bible codices, where the

²² On the *Egron*, see Brody (2016: 79–84).

²³ One of the greatest vowel signs of all time.

²⁴ Some people may say that this is 'just an opinion'. Those people would be wrong.

²⁵ Nobody has time for three dots. The Tiberian *qibbuṣ* (/u/), Tiberian *segol* (/ε/), and Palestinian *holem* (/o/) are the only vowel signs in any medieval Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, or Samaritan vocalisation system that consist of three dots. All other signs are one dot, two dots, or combinations of strokes.

²⁶ *Qibbuṣ* also makes little sense with the internal phonetic logic of the Tiberian vowel scale (Posegay 2021c: 70–71).

work of the scribe (the *sofer*) and the vocaliser (i.e. the *naqdan*) often occurred in successive stages. By contrast, the sporadic vocalisation common in Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts is more likely to have been added continuously by the person producing the consonants as they noticed ambiguous words. For such scribes, a single supralinear stroke, either fully vertical or leaning slightly downwards in the direction of writing, would have been more efficient than *qibbuṣ*.

Unfortunately for Arabo-Tiberian vocalisers, there were two more influential systems on the rise. By the end of the twelfth century, when practically all Jewish communities had adopted the standard Tiberian vowel signs, anyone using an obscure Tiberian sub-variant likely only caused confusion. In a sense, Judaeo-Arabic *itself* became Tiberianised.²⁷ At the same time, the standard Arabic *tashkil* system had superseded the cumbersome system of Qur'anic red dots, resulting in a single, standardised vocalisation system as Arabic became the majority language of Jewish communities in Iraq, Palestine, and Egypt. As memory of the Babylonian vocalisation system faded and its miniature *vav* sign was reinterpreted as the Arabic *ḍamma* (compare *ḍamma* with the signs in Figures 6, 8, and 10 above), it became natural for some vocalisers to deploy the full Arabic *tashkil* system when pointing Judaeo-Arabic. Manuscripts attesting this combination of Hebrew letters with Arabic vowel signs are likewise extant from the Cairo Genizah, for instance:²⁸



Figure 21. CUL Lewis-Gibson Arabic 2.85 3v, line 8; *rabbakum* ‘your (pl.) Lord’

4 Conclusion: Tiberian variants

The ten Genizah manuscripts in our corpus reveal a novel variant of the Tiberian vowel system that is exclusive to Judaeo-Arabic (and perhaps Judaeo-Persian) texts. We thus designate it the ‘Arabo-Tiberian’ system. This system is typified by the use of a supralinear stroke that indicates the vowel /u/ and, less often, an oblique pair of dots that represent /a/, especially in diphthongs. It is likely that both of these signs are loaned graphemes from Babylonian Hebrew vowel

²⁷ To some degree, I suspect this happened because diligent vocalisers realised the expansive Tiberian graphemic inventory (sufficient for seven vowel phonemes) provided a more effective system for recording Arabic vowel sounds that Jewish Arabic-speakers pronounced, but which had no distinct graphemes in the Classical Arabic script (only three vowel signs). See Posegay (2020; 2025).

²⁸ See also Vidro (2018).

systems that medieval vocalisers repurposed between the tenth and twelfth centuries, during the process of ‘Tiberianisation’. The Arabo-Tiberian system was never widely adopted, but it was not without utility, signalling to readers that they should interpret (Judaean-)Arabic text as explicitly not Hebrew. Its lack of a distinct identity, however, led to its disappearance in approximately the twelfth century as the standard Tiberian system gained near-universal authority in Jewish communities. At the same time, the Arabic *tashkil* system achieved widespread acceptance for Arabic-script writing and was even sometimes deployed to vocalise Judaean-Arabic, further diluting the Arabo-Tiberian system’s utility in marking languages. This development was likely the final nail in the coffin for the system. Interestingly, it may be that Jewish vocalisers also found that leaving Judaean-Arabic text *unvocalised* was sufficient to mark its language. It is typical, for instance, for manuscripts of bilingual (Hebrew/Judaean-Arabic) and trilingual (Hebrew/Aramaic/Judaean-Arabic) Bibles to include fully vocalised Hebrew and Aramaic passages alongside an unvocalised Judaean-Arabic translation.²⁹ In general, fully-vocalised Judaean-Arabic manuscripts in any genre are exceedingly rare.

While the standard Tiberian vowel points eventually supplanted other written Hebrew vocalisation systems, pluriformity was still the rule during the period when the Arabo-Tiberian system was in use. Tiberianisation also affected Palestinian and Babylonian vocalisers as they adjusted to the rising authority of the new system. Rather than simply switching to Tiberian signs, some Palestinian vocalisers adopted a new vowel sign equivalent to Tiberian *qameṣ* /ɔ/, allowing them to better imitate the more prestigious system (Dotan 2007: 625; Sáenz-Badillos 1996: 88–89; Kantor 2023: 34–35).³⁰ Conversely, some vocalisers adopted the Tiberian system but retained the Palestinian sign for /o/, rather than using the Tiberian *holem* (Dotan 2007: 633). For Judaean-Arabic specifically, it is likely that the standard Tiberian, Arabo-Tiberian, and Arabic *tashkil* systems saw parallel use between different regions based on sociocultural and linguistic factors, most of which we still do not have sufficient evidence to determine. It is plausible, for instance, that the Arabo-Tiberian system was more popular among Jews in Iraq, Iran, and Yemen who had previously used Babylonian vowel systems before switching to Tiberian (Khan 2013: 953–954). Overall, it seems that there may have been more contact between Hebrew vocalisers and Arabic vocalisation during the Tiberianisation process than is apparent from Hebrew and Aramaic Masoretic sources. We note that besides the Arabo-Tiberian system, Samaritan vocalisers also adopted the Arabic *ḍamma* sign to represent /u/ in their vowel system (Dotan 2007: 647), and numerous Judaean-Arabic masoretic treatises demonstrate knowledge of Arabic grammatical and phonological theories in their analysis of Tiberian vowels (Posegay 2021a: 285–304). More examples

²⁹ E.g. MSS CUL T-S B1.3, CUL T-S B1.17, CUL T-S B1.25, etc.

³⁰ See Phillips (2022: 61–98).

of the Arabo-Tiberian system and better localisation (through palaeography and codicology) of known Arabo-Tiberian manuscripts will further illuminate these phenomena.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Nadia Vidro and Ben Outhwaite for their comments on an earlier version of this article. Further thanks to Nadia Vidro for bringing several of these manuscripts to my attention and for speculating about them with me over the last five years.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Nick Posegay  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1336-9520>

References

- Abbott, Nabia. 1972. *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri III*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Al-Nassir, A.A. 1993. *Sibawayh the Phonologist*. Library of Arabic Linguistics 10. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Arrant, Estara. 2020. 'An Exploratory Typology of Near-Model and Non-Standard Tiberian Torah Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah'. In *Studies in Semitic Vocalisation and Reading Traditions*, edited by Aaron D. Hornkohl and Geoffrey Khan, 467–547. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 3. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.
- Baker, Colin F., and Meira R.P. Polliack. 2001. *Arabic and Judeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections: Taylor-Schechter Arabic Old Series (T-S Ar.1a-54)*. Cambridge Genizah Series 12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blapp, Samuel. 2013. 'The Palestinian and Tiberian Vocalisation Traditions of Biblical Hebrew: A Study of Three Manuscripts with Double Vocalisation from the Cairo Genizah'. Master's Thesis, Bern: University of Bern.
- Blapp, Samuel. 2017. 'The Non-Standard Tiberian Hebrew Language Tradition According to Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah'. PhD Thesis, Cambridge: University of Cambridge.
- Blau, Joshua. 2002. *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*. The Max Schloessinger Memorial Series 6. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.
- Blau, Joshua, and Simon Hopkins. 1984. 'On Early Judaeo-Arabic Orthography'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 12: 9–27.
- Brody, Robert. 2016. *Sa'adyah Gaon*. Translated by Betsy Rozenberg. Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization & Liverpool University Press.
- Coakley, J.F. 2011. 'When Were the Five Greek Vowel-Signs Introduced into Syriac Writing?'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 56 (2): 307–325.

- Dotan, Aron. 2007. 'Masorah'. In *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., 13: 603–656. Detroit et al.: Macmillan Reference USA.
- George, Alain. 2015. 'Coloured Dots and the Question of Regional Origins in Early Qur'ans (Part I)'. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 17 (1): 1–44.
- Jefferson, Rebecca J.W. 2022. *The Cairo Genizah and the Age of Discovery in Egypt: The History and Provenance of a Jewish Archive*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Kantor, Benjamin P. 2023. *The Linguistic Classification of the Reading Traditions of Biblical Hebrew: A Phyla-and-Waves Model*. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 19. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0210>.
- Kantor, Benjamin. 2025. 'A Partially Vocalized Hybrid Judaeo-Arabic Glossary-Translation Fragment of Exodus 14.25–15.25; 21.7–30 from the Cairo Genizah'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 70 (2): 749–807. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jss/fgaf023>.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 1992. 'The Function of the Shewa Sign in Vocalized Judaeo-Arabic Texts from the Genizah'. In *Genizah Research after Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic*, edited by Joshua Blau and Stefan C. Reif, 105–111. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 2010. 'Vocalized Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah'. In *'From a Sacred Source': Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*, edited by Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro, 201–218. Cambridge Genizah Studies 42. Leiden: Brill.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 2013. 'Vocalization, Babylonian'. In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Accessed 25 October 2025. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-4241_ehll_EHLL_COM_00000449.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 2018. 'Judaeo-Arabic'. In *Arabic Historical Dialectology: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Approaches*, edited by Clive Holes, 148–169. Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 30. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 2020. *The Tiberian Pronunciation Tradition of Biblical Hebrew*. Vol. 1. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 1. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.
- Lieberman, Phillip. 2022. *The Fate of the Jews in the Early Islamic Near East: Tracing the Demographic Shift from East to West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Library. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009058018>.
- Neubauer, Adolf, and A.E. Cowley. 1906. *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Vol 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Outhwaite, Benjamin. 2020. 'The Tiberian Tradition in Common Bibles from the Cairo Genizah'. In *Studies in Semitic Vocalisation and Reading Traditions*, edited by Aaron D. Hornkohl and Geoffrey Khan, 405–466. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 3. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.
- Phillips, Kim. 2022. 'T-S A43.1+ and the Imitation of the Tiberian Reading Tradition'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 67 (q): 61–98. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jss/fgab025>.
- Posegay, Nick. 2020. 'A Judaeo-Arabic Biblical Glossary as a Source for Arabic Historical Dialectology'. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 20: 33–52. <https://doi.org/10.5617/jais.7863>.
- Posegay, Nick. 2021a. *Points of Contact: The Shared Intellectual History of Vocalisation in Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew*. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 10. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0271>.
- Posegay, Nick. 2021b. 'The Marking of Poetry: A Rare Vocalization System from an Early Qur'an Manuscript in Chicago, Paris, and Doha'. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 80 (1): 73–89. <https://doi.org/10.1086/712876>.

- Posegay, Nick. 2021c. 'To Belabour the Points: Encoding Vowel Phonology in Syriac and Hebrew Vocalization'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 66 (1): 53–76. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jss/fgaa045>.
- Posegay, Nick. 2025. 'A Jewish Translation of Genesis in 10th-Century Egyptian Arabic'. In *The Intertwined World of the Oral and Written Transmission of Sacred Traditions in the Middle East*, edited by Alba Fedeli, Geoffrey Khan, and Johan Lundberg. Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 40, 275–305. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.11647/obp.0498.07>.
- Posegay, Nick, and Estara J Arrant. 2021. 'Three Fragments of a Judaeo-Arabic Translation of Ecclesiastes with Full Tiberian Vocalisation'. *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 9 (3): 259–96. <https://doi.org/10.1163/2212943X-bja10001>.
- Reif, Stefan C. 2000. *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection*. Richmond: Curzon.
- Sáenz-Badillos, Angel. 1996. *A History of the Hebrew Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Segal, J.B. 1953. *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shaked, Shaul. 2010. 'Persian-Arabic Bilingualism in the Cairo Genizah Documents'. In 'From a Sacred Source': *Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan C. Reif*, edited by Ben Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro, 319–330. Cambridge Genizah Studies 42. Leiden: Brill.
- Shivtiel, Avihai, and Friedrich Niessen. 2006. *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections: Taylor-Schechter New Series*. Cambridge Genizah Series 14. Cambridge University Press.
- Vidro, Nadia. 2018. 'Arabic Vocalisation in Judaeo-Arabic Grammars of Classical Arabic'. In *Semitic Linguistics and Manuscripts: A Liber Discipulorum in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Khan*, edited by Nadia Vidro, Ronny Vollandt, Esther-Miriam Wagner, and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 341–351. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library.
- Vidro, Nadia. 2021. 'Aviv Barley and Calendar Diversity among Jews in Eleventh-Century Palestine'. *Journal of Jewish Studies* 62 (2): 283–312. <https://doi.org/10.18647/3504/jjs-2021>.

Kierán Meinhardt 

Freie Universität Berlin Germany | kieran.meinhardt@fu-berlin.de

‘*Je*’ *est une autre*: Gendered First-Person Singular Pronouns in Tocharian A and Yemeni Arabic Dialects

Abstract This paper examines the typologically rare phenomenon of grammatical gender distinction in first-person singular pronouns, focusing on Tocharian A and Yemeni Arabic dialects. Neither language inherited this feature—it is absent from common Indo-European and common Semitic. Instead, sociolinguistic factors likely drove its emergence. In Tocharian A, it may stem from hypercorrection, while in Yemeni Arabic dialects, it reflects competition between local and supralocal forms. Some evidence suggests a contact influence, possibly from a Himyaritic substrate. Ultimately, both cases highlight how common sociolinguistic tendencies can lead to the emergence of unusual grammatical structures.

Keywords typology of pronouns, historical Arabic dialectology, Yemen, Indo-European, Tocharian A, sociolinguistics, grammatical gender, substrate, Himyaritic

Je est un autre.

Arthur Rimbaud, French poet,
spent part of 1880 in Aden

1 Typological prelude

According to data from the typology database *Grambank* (Skirgård et al. 2023, Feature GB197), 30 out of 2186 languages studied—just about 1.37%—express a gender distinction in the first-person pronoun. Even this already small number overstates the phenomenon as studied here, since it includes languages in which gender is marked only in non-singular forms. Slovenian, for instance, distinguishes between plural *mī* vs. *mê* for mixed-gender or all-male groups versus all-female groups (Corbett 1991: 129; Cysouw 2003: 319; Plank and Schellinger 1997: 72).



© 2025 The Author(s). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Functionally, this asymmetry makes perfect sense:

Assuming that the speaker is visible to his or her addressees, why should he or she bother to tell them his or her own gender? In the 1st person non-singular, on the other hand, reference is being made by the speaker to others not necessarily visible rather than to only him- or herself, and maybe someone might be obliged to know of which gender these associates of his or hers are. (Plank and Schellinger 1997: 65)¹

In fact, I was able to verify a gender distinction in the singular pronoun for only 12 of the languages surveyed in *Grambank*—just 0.55%.² Curiously, neither of the two languages at the focus of this study appears on that list: Tocharian A (section 2) and the cluster of Arabic dialects spoken in Yemen’s western coastal regions (section 3). These two languages were selected because, unlike most others, they come from well-researched language families with a great deal of historical depth. The following sections compare how this rare phenomenon emerges in each case from three perspectives:

- 1. From which ancestral forms were the different pronoun forms inherited or newly derived? (2.1 / 3.1)
- 2. What social conditions or general sociolinguistic trends may have encouraged the emergence of this distinction? (2.2 / 3.2)
- 3. Are there indications that contact with adstrate or substrate languages contributed to the development of gender distinction? (2.3 / 3.3)

	Tocharian A	Arabic dialects of the Tihāmeḥ
1s	<i>näṣ</i> m. / <i>ñuk</i> f.	<i>ʾana</i> m. / <i>ʾani</i> f.
2s	<i>tu</i>	<i>ʾanta</i> m. / <i>ʾanti</i> f.
3s	<i>sām</i> m. / <i>sām</i> f. / <i>tām</i> n.	<i>hū</i> m. / <i>hī</i> f.

¹ See also Cysouw (2003: 319): ‘It is fairly uncommon for reference to the speaker to distinguish gender’.

² These are Shabo (m. *tiŋŋ*, f. *taŋa*) (Kibebe Tsehay Taye 2015: 162), Hadza (m. *ʾono*, f. *ʾo-noko*) (Sands 2013: 112) and Laal (m. *já*, f. *jī*) (Lionnet 2010: 9) in Africa, as well as Thai (m. *phǒm*, f. *(di)chán*) (Smyth 2002: 39), Sô (m. *ŋkua?*, f. *ŋko?*) (Lerthirunwong 1980: 139), Tengger Javanese (m. *(r)eyang*, f. *isun*) (Connors 2008: 43), and Japanese (m. *boku*, f. *atashi*, common *wata(ku)shi*) (Hinds 1986: 239) in East Asia, and Rikbaktsa (m. *uta*, f. *ikra*) (de Jesus Silva 2011: 52), Ofayé (m. *a*, f. *agʷ*) (das Dores de Oliveira 2006: 197), Fulniô (m. *owe*, f. *oso*) (da Costa 1999: [161]), Tsafiki (m. *la*, f. *chike/tse*) (Dickinson 2002: 65), and Cocama-Cocamilla (m. *ta*, f. *etse/tsa*) (Vallejos Yopán 2010: 201) in South America.

	Tocharian A	Arabic dialects of the Tihāmeḥ
1p	<i>was</i>	<i>ʾihna</i>
2p	<i>yas</i>	<i>ʾantun</i> m. / <i>ʾantin</i> f.
3p	<i>cem</i> m. / <i>tom</i> f.	<i>hun</i> m. / <i>hin</i> f.

Table 1. The independent personal pronouns in Tocharian A (Krause and Thomas 1960: 162) and the Arabic dialects of the Yemeni coastal plain (Tihāmeḥ) based on informants from around Bāḡil (Diem 1973: 65, 68)

2 Tocharian A

The two Tocharian languages (A and B) form an independent branch of the Indo-European language family. They are attested on written records from the 6th–8th centuries in the northwest of present-day China (Xinjiāng). Tocharian A (also called East Tocharian, henceforth TA) originates from the area around the Turfan and Qarašahr oases on the edge of the Taklamakan desert (Krause and Thomas 1960: 37).³

The majority of texts in Tocharian are of Buddhist content, often translated from Sanskrit or Middle Indic originals. The following excerpt, taken from a fragment of the *Ṣaḍḍanta-Jātaka* (Carling, Pinault, and Malzahn 2014), offers a compelling illustration of grammatical gender distinctions in the first-person singular pronoun. In this passage, King Mahendrasena addresses his daughter Bhadrā, whom he intends to marry off—unsure whom to choose as a suitable husband for her.

(1) *caṣ nāṣ* [...] *tpār štānikaṃ lymā āleyaṃ śanweṃyo* (A 66 a1)

‘[...] I was sitting in the palace above with [my] cheeks in the palm of [my] hand.’

Ultimately, Bhadrā resolves the matter herself, choosing a husband according to her own will:

(2) *(tā)my(o) ñuk p(e)nu* [...] *ṣñi mānwā pats yāmmār* (A 66 b1)

‘(There)fore I, too, will choose a husband for myself [...], according to [my] own will’

The contrast between the forms *nāṣ* and *ñuk*—the former masculine, the latter feminine—reflects a switch in grammatical gender aligned with the speaker’s identity.

³ See Fortson (2010) for a short introduction to the Tocharian languages.

2.1 Historical phonology

The Tocharian system presented in Table 1 distinguishes gender in the first-person singular and third-person pronouns. The language most closely related to TA, Tocharian B, as well as the other ancient Indo-European languages, make this distinction in the third-person pronouns only. A system like that of TA is typologically unique.⁴

It is highly unlikely that such a system was inherited, meaning it existed in the proto-stages—Proto-Tocharian and even Proto-Indo-European—vanished in all other Indo-European languages, and was only preserved in TA (Bross 2022: 86). The gender distinction in TA’s first-person singular is therefore an innovation. But what are the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) antecedents of these two-word forms?

The reconstruction of these forms remains, as summarized by Bross (2022: 80) in reviewing Adams, Winter, and Kim, ‘as thorny a thicket of morphology and phonology as one can find’ and results in ‘no satisfactory analysis’ of the forms, which are ‘scarcely less baffling today than they were a century ago’.

Nonetheless, the most widely accepted view should be presented here.⁵ It suggests that the TA masculine form *näs* (which corresponds to the Tocharian B form for both genders) derives from a combination of the old accusative of the first person PIE **me* (cf. Latin *mē*, Greek *me*) and the particle PIE **ge* (cf. Greek *ge*, Slavic *že*),⁶ while the TA feminine form *ñuk* results from a contamination of the old nominative of the first person PIE **eǵō* with the oblique (i.e., non-nominative) case forms, which in Tocharian begin with *ñ-*.

Schematically (taken from Bross 2022: 83):

PIE Acc. <i>*me-ge</i>	→	PToch. <i>*ñǣśa</i>	→	TB <i>ñās</i> (m./f.), TA <i>näs</i> (m.)
PIE Nom. <i>*eǵō</i>	→	PToch. <i>*ñǣku</i>	→	TA <i>ñuk</i> (f.)

Here, *ñ-* arises from the palatalization of **m* before the front vowel **e*, while *ś* reflects a palatalized **g* in the same environment. By contrast, the *k* in *ñuk* continues **g* in a non-palatalizing context.

⁴ See Bross (2022: 88): ‘Genus in der 1. Person Singular des Personalpronomens ist an sich schon sehr außergewöhnlich, aber für die paradigmatische Struktur des Osttocharischen sind keine typologischen Parallelen bekannt’, because ‘if [gendered pronouns] are found in 1st, which is rare, they will normally also be there in 2nd and 3rd’ (Aikhenvald 2000: 252).

⁵ See Bross (2022: 79–85) for an overview of all reconstructions.

⁶ Cf. also German *mich*, which is derived from the same formation.

2.2 Sociolinguistics

In this reconstruction, the key question remains: how did the case distinction between nominative and accusative develop into a gender distinction between feminine and masculine? Given that TA has been extinct for over a thousand years and the surviving texts provide no direct evidence on the genesis of this gender difference, any explanation must remain speculative.

One possible explanation is that these forms reflect a generalization of tendencies towards different case usage in men's and women's speech. A parallel example is found in English, where speakers differ in their use of nominative and accusative pronouns after the copula, such as *It is I* vs. *It is me*. The former—more traditional—nominative form is considered a 'high-register variant', often characterized as an 'overly careful, priggish [...] way of talking—a style that tends to be stereotyped in the popular mind as a female characteristic' (Jasanoff 1989: 136). This aligns with sociolinguistic findings that women 'allowing for other factors such as social class, ethnic group and age, [...] on average use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety [...] than those used by men' (Trudgill 2000: 70).

Thus, after the case distinction between nominative and accusative collapsed in TA pronouns, both forms may have coexisted in free variation. In men's speech, the innovative form prevailed—eventually becoming the masculine pronoun—while in women's speech, the conservative form was retained (Trudgill 2000: 77–78) and hypercorrectively extended even to accusative contexts.⁷

Additionally, Jasanoff (1989: 139) suggests that this grammaticalization process may have been influenced by contact with neighboring Tibeto-Burman languages, known for their extensive pronominal differentiation by gender and social register.

2.3 Language contact

According to Jasanoff (1989: 139), Tibetan distinguishes first-person singular pronouns by gender, using *k'o-wo* (m.) and *k'o-mo* (f.), while Burmese has politeness-based distinctions such as *cuñto* (m., lit. 'royal slave') and *cuñmá* (f., lit. 'female slave'). These connections with Tibeto-Burman have first been noticed by Hermann (1922: 309).

However, more recent studies indicate that the Tibetan distinction is based on social deixis rather than gender, and the Burmese forms function more as honorifics rather than true personal pronouns. Furthermore, no plausible scenario for sustained contact between Tocharian and Tibeto-Burman languages has been

⁷ The tendency toward hypercorrection aligns with the observation that 'many societies seem to expect a higher level of adherence to social norms—better behaviour—from women than they do from men' (Trudgill 2000: 73).

demonstrated (Bross 2022: 86–87), but see Ivanov (2008: 588–89) for further linguistic parallels between Tocharian and Tibetan.

While it remains possible that areal factors or influence from an unknown language contributed to the emergence of gender distinction in TA, no concrete evidence supports this hypothesis (Bross 2022: 87).

3 Yemeni Arabic dialects

As early as the 19th century, gender distinction in the first-person singular pronoun was documented for Ḥaḍramaut Arabic (van den Berg 1886: 248–249).⁸ However, more recent research has shown that this phenomenon is not limited to Ḥaḍramaut. Behnstedt (1985; 2016) found that the distinction extends across most of Yemen’s western coastal region of Yemen (regions B and C in figure 1), including major cities such as Ibb and Aden.⁹

One illustrative example comes from the Jewish dialect of Giblih, spoken south of Ibb (Shachmon 2022: 184). In this exchange, a girl is speaking to her father. Her use of the feminine-marked form of the first-person singular pronoun (*anī*) stands in contrast to her father’s masculine-marked form (*anā*):

- (3) *anī ša-rwī-be yā-baḥ, mā ša-tiktaser*
 ‘I will fill it [the pot] with water, dad, it will not break’

However, the pot breaks, and her father responds:

- (4) *anā qulk^qlik yā bintī, qulk^qlik ša-tiksirī, mā samma‘tīnīš*
 ‘I had told you, my daughter, I had told you you might break it, but you did not listen to me’

3.1 Historical phonology

When Arabic dialects show deviations from the standard language in the pronominal system, it is usually the elimination of gender distinctions in the 2nd and 3rd person plural (Hachimi 2006: 161). The presence of an additional gender

⁸ Brockelmann (1908 1: 297) attributed this distinction uniquely to Ḥaḍramaut Arabic among all Semitic languages.

⁹ The same gender distinction is said to occur—spatially separated—in individual Shiite dialects in Bahrain (Isaksson 1999: 60). However, further information, evidence, and sources for this are lacking.

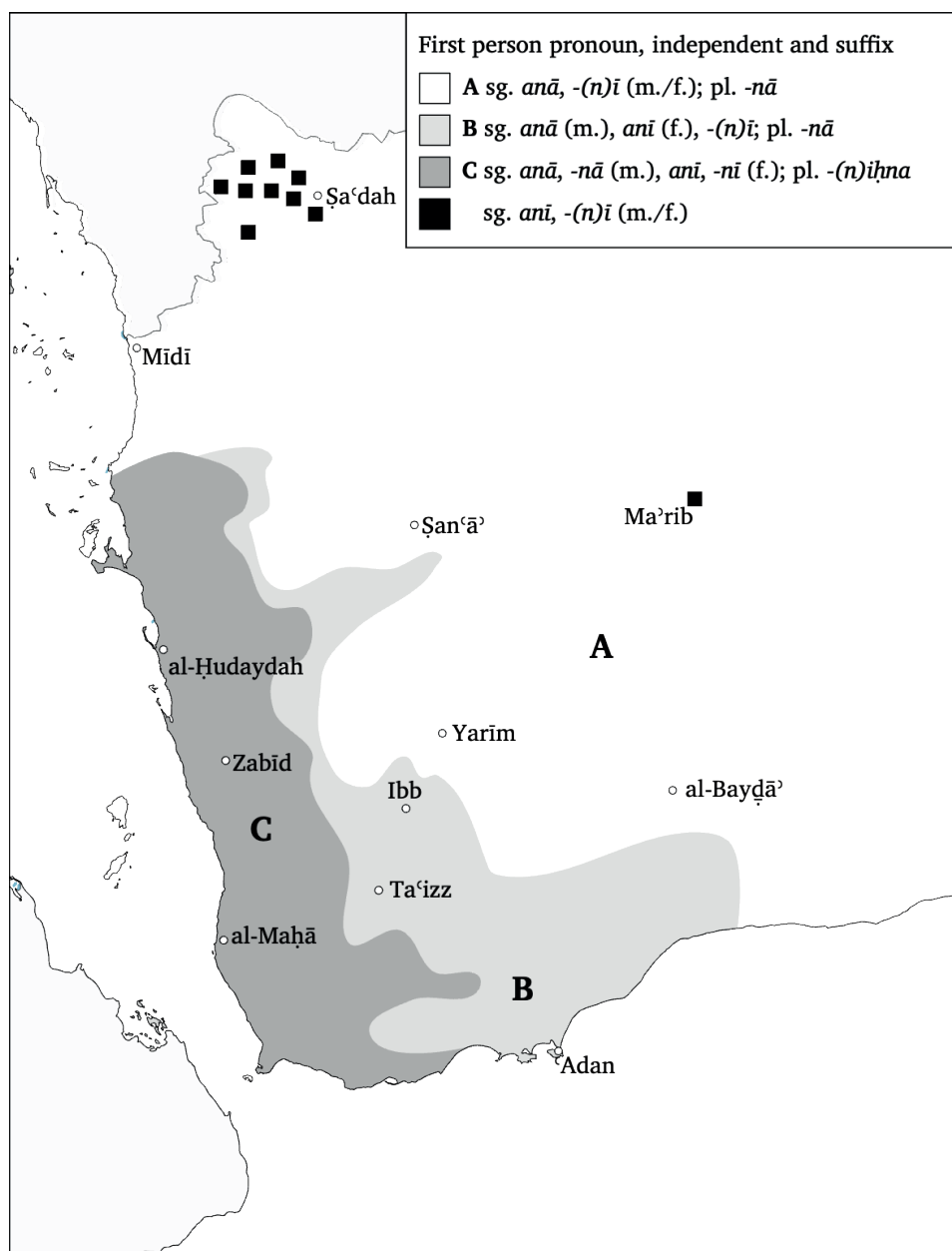


Figure 1. Distribution of gender distinction in the first-person singular pronoun in western Yemen (map based on Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 151). Region A (white) has no gender distinction in the 1st person, region B (light grey) has a gender distinction in the independent pronoun but not in the suffix pronoun, region C (darker) has a gender distinction in both the independent pronoun and the suffix pronoun

distinction in the first-person singular pronoun in Yemeni dialects—considered among the most conservative varieties of Arabic (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 15, 24)—raises the question of whether this feature is inherited from Proto-Semitic or Proto-Afroasiatic, or whether it is a more recent innovation.

As already discussed in relation to Tocharian A (2.1), for such a typologically rare feature, it is more likely to be an innovation within the current area of occurrence. If the formal difference had been inherited from older Arabic, it would have had to have been eliminated in all dialects from Mauritania to Afghanistan before the beginning of written records, without leaving any traces. If it were inherited from Proto-Semitic or Proto-Afroasiatic, the question arises why no other Semitic or Afroasiatic language distinguishes between a masculine and feminine pronoun of the 1st person singular.¹⁰

Brockelmann (1908: 1:297)—followed by Diem (1973: 68) and Werbeck (2001: 64)—therefore proposed that this distinction arose through paradigmatic analogy:

$$ʔana:ʔanta = x:ʔanti$$

The idea is that speakers extended the pattern seen in the second-person singular—*ʔanta* (m.) vs. *ʔanti* (f.)—to the first person. Since *ʔana* resembles *ʔanta*, a new feminine form (*ʔani*) could have arisen by analogy to maintain gender symmetry across the paradigm.

3.2 Sociolinguistics

The ‘Arab-Islamic [...] notion of space dichotomy’, which assigns men to the public sphere and women to the private sphere (Sadiqi 2011), is reflected in differences between men’s and women’s speech (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 60).¹¹ However, these differences run counter to the tendency observed in TA (2.2), where women’s speech generally aligns more closely with the prestige variety. In the Arab world, ‘women who are denied education and/or travel will obviously not use more standard forms than men’ (Trudgill 2000: 73).¹² As a result, women often retain nonstandard forms, making female speech more conservative than

¹⁰ See Takács (2011: 10) and Appleyard (2011: 44) for an overview of the personal pronouns of Afroasiatic languages.

¹¹ See Al-Wer (2014), Bassiouney (2020), and Vicente (2021) for examples.

¹² See also Isaksson (1999: 60): ‘the habit of the women referring to themselves with *ʔani* is regarded as an uneducated behaviour’.

male speech (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 60),¹³ while men tend to adopt more standard-like forms.¹⁴

However, Modern Standard Arabic does not function as the prestige variety in this case, 'nor does it have a normative effect on the structure of variation in spoken Arabic in the core domains of phonology, morphology, and syntax' (Al-Wer 2014: 402). Instead, this role is primarily taken by supralocal forms, such as the dialect spoken in the capital city.

Although no dedicated sociolinguistic studies have been conducted on the *'ana* vs. *'ani* distinction, the above-mentioned trends allow for certain predictions: Since the first-person singular pronoun is *'ana* in both Standard Arabic and in the dialect of the capital, *Ṣan'ā'* (cf. Figure 1), the form *'ana* would be expected to become the gendered form used by men. Meanwhile, an older, local form *'ani*, which deviates from the standard, would be expected to stabilize in women's speech.

3.3 Language contact

For a distinction like *'ana* vs. *'ani* to become established through the sociolinguistic processes described above, both forms must have previously existed in free variation. This raises the question of chronology and the origin of the form *'ani*: where was it first present, and where did it come from?

Insights into the historical distribution of a linguistic form can often be derived from the shape of its isogloss (cf. Figure 1). In the case of the first-person singular pronoun, a funnel shape can be observed pointing towards *Ṣan'ā'*, extending from the flat coastal plain (Tihāmah) into the highlands. The extent appears to be primarily determined by valleys, meaning that Tihāmah residents originally settled in these easily accessible areas or migrated there. The key question is whether we are looking at a 'funnel'—that is, *'ana* (m.) and *'ani* (f.) advancing into the *'ana* region—or, conversely, whether two 'wedges' of *'ana* are penetrating into an area that originally featured both *'ana* and *'ani* (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 150). Below, I present three possible explanations.

¹³ See also Isaksson (1999: 60). According to the 'Gender Paradox' noted by Labov (2006 2: 280), innovative forms—when there isn't a top-down prescribed standard—are actually more common among women than men. However, it seems that the form *'ani* aligns well with conservative Bedouin and pre-Arabic forms (see below), which may suggest that this 'Gender Paradox' doesn't fully apply in this particular context.

¹⁴ Cf. Sadiqi (2011): 'one could probably say that the standard form of the language is usually felt to be more associated with men than with women'.

Scenario 1: Bedouin Arabic

The origin of the feminine form *ʾani* could lie in the Bedouin dialects where the first-person singular pronoun appears as *ʾani/ʾane* with final *ʾimāla* (fronting) (Rosenhouse 2006: 263). This form is also found in Yemen in the dialects around Ṣaʿdah and Mārib, where it is used for both genders (cf. Figure 1). The current spread could be explained by the hypothesis that the Bedouin form *ʾani* was once used throughout western Yemen but was gradually displaced by *ʾana*, the form used in dialects of northern Arabian origin.¹⁵ As the form *ʾana* spread and gained prestige, it was reinforced in men's speech, while the older local form *ʾani* increasingly became restricted to women's speech.

Meanwhile, in the coastal dialects (region C), which had less contact with the dialects exclusively using *ʾana* (region A), a further case of analogical leveling took place: Women who used *ʾani* for 'I' also used *ḍarabni* to mean 'he hit me,' while men, using *ʾana* for 'I,' formed the equivalent phrase as *ḍarabna* (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 172). However, in region B, while speakers adopted the innovative form *ʾani* for the first-person singular feminine pronoun, they retained the older suffix pronoun *-ni* for both genders, under the influence of neighboring dialects in region A.

Scenario 2: Cushitic

Looking westward across the Red Sea and southward along the opposite coast of the Gulf of Aden, we find several East Cushitic languages, such as Rendille, Oromo, and Sidaama, where the first-person singular pronoun for both genders is also *ani* (Appleyard 2011: 44). It is conceivable that the older Yemeni form *ʾani* was influenced by an ancient Cushitic substrate.¹⁶ During the Arabization of the region, this older form *ʾani* might have initially coexisted with the newly introduced Arabic prestige form *ʾana* because of phonetic similarity.

Over time, the gender distinction between *ʾana* and *ʾani* may have emerged along the sociolinguistic patterns described above. In region C, the distinction was then analogically extended to suffix pronouns, while in region B, the common suffix pronoun was retained under the influence of adjacent region A.

¹⁵ The areas east of the isogloss are substantially influenced by North Arabian dialects (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 182).

¹⁶ Militarev (1984) identified a Cushitic-like substrate in the Modern South Arabian languages (Blažek 2013: 2–3). The Cushitic-speaking population had later emigrated to Ethiopia or been assimilated by the Semitic-speaking population.

Scenario 3: Ḥimyaritic

While traces of Cushitic influence in Yemeni dialects are difficult to pinpoint, remnants of pre-Arabic Semitic languages are more clearly identifiable (Watson 2018: 332–33). Like older Ḥimyaritic, some Yemeni dialects show perfect endings with *k* instead of the usual *t*: *katabku* instead of *katabtu* (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 156–157; Watson 2018: 321–322), cf. the form *qulk⁹lik* in section 3. A similar case might apply to the form *ʾani*. In fact, the form is attested in Ḥimyaritic (Robin 1991: 107):

(5) *anī Daybaḡaʿ bint Nawf ḡi Šaqr bin ḡi Murāṭid ...*

‘I, Daybaḡa, daughter of Nawf of Šaqr, son of Murāṭid ...’

(6) *anī Samʿaʿ bint ḡi Murāṭid ...*

‘I, Samʿa, daughter of Murāṭid ...’

Since these attestations refer to women using *anī*, Behnstedt and Woidich (2010: 150) suggest that this form had already been grammaticalized as a feminine pronoun in Ḥimyaritic. However, this conclusion is premature, as no corresponding masculine pronoun with a different vocalization has been recorded. It is possible that *anī* was used for both genders (as in Hebrew).¹⁷

If we compare the geographic distribution of the *ʾana* vs. *ʾani* distinction with the remnants of Ḥimyaritic-speaking areas documented in the 10th century by Al-Hamdānī (cf. Figure 2), we find overlaps. He reported that Ḥimyaritic or Arabic mixed with Ḥimyaritic was still spoken in the highlands at that time (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 24).

While these areas lie somewhat further east than present-day dialect regions B and C, this discrepancy could be due to Al-Hamdānī’s focus on general linguistic evaluation rather than specific dialect features. If he primarily interacted with men, he may not have encountered the feminine *ʾani* form at all. Thus, the *ʾana* vs. *ʾani* split may have already existed in regions that he considered speaking ‘good Arabic’.

On the other hand, if Al-Hamdānī’s account is accurate, the gender distinction must have emerged over subsequent centuries—following the processes described for scenarios 1 and 2—spreading westward with further generalizations while being displaced in the east by dialects using *ʾana* (cf. Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 150).

Due to the limited historical documentation of dialect variation in Yemen, it is difficult to determine the exact origins of the form *ʾani*. Among the three proposed hypotheses, Cushitic influence appears the least likely, as it assumes an exceptional degree of longevity and stability for the *ʾani* form. If there was indeed

¹⁷ None of the other studies on Ḥimyaritic (Rabin 1951; Robin 1991; 2006) mention a gender distinction in the first-person singular pronoun.

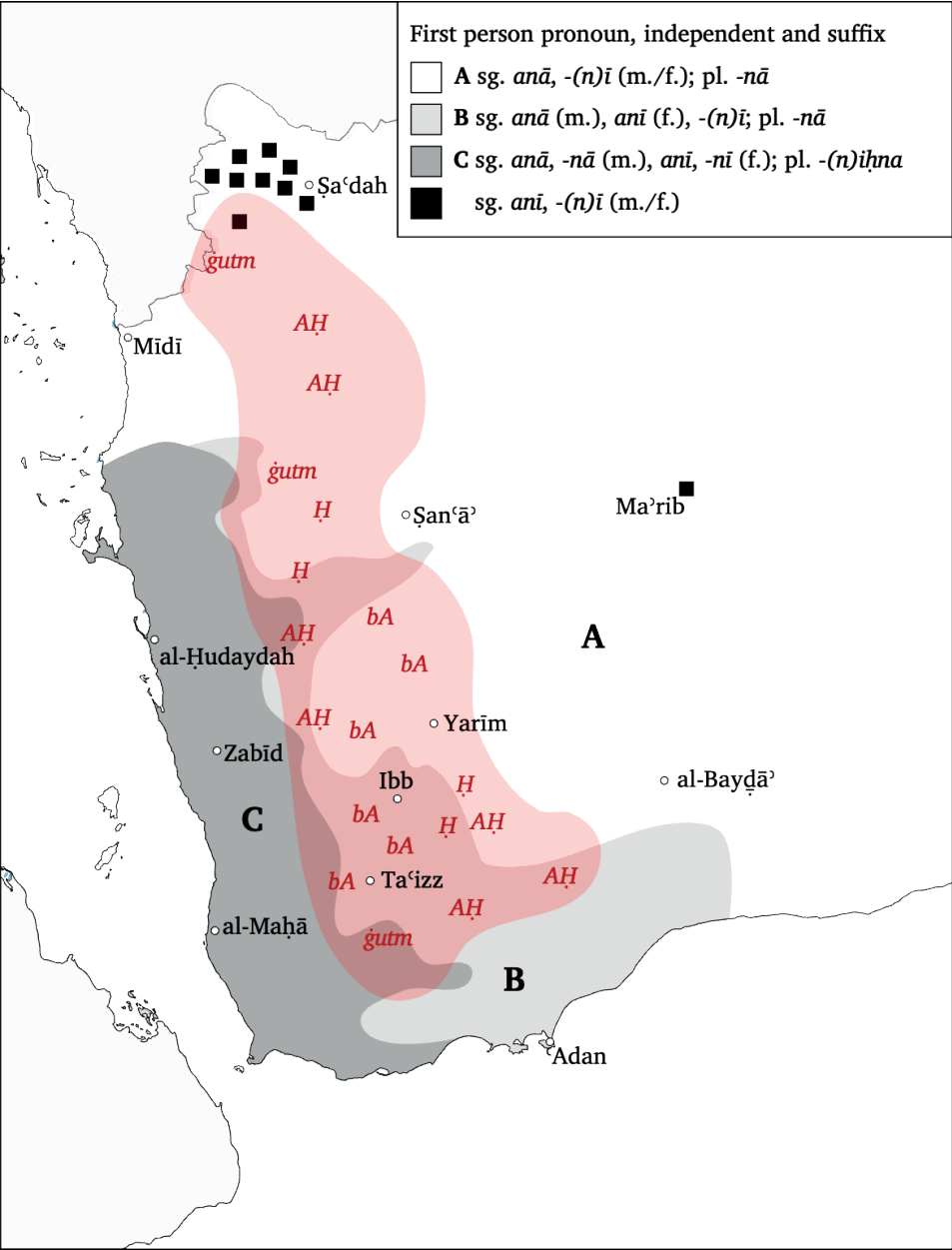


Figure 2. Distribution of ẖimyaritic language remnants (*Ḥ*) and ẖimyaritic-influenced Arabic (*AḤ*), bad Arabic (*bA*) or unintelligible speech (*ḡutm*) in the 10th century according to Al-Hamdānī (10th c.), overlaid over Figure 1 (map based on Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 157; Robin 1991: 83)

a Cushitic substrate, it would likely have left only faint traces in today’s Arabic dialects and would almost certainly not have affected the pronominal system—one of the most resistant parts of a language to borrowing (Tadmor 2009: 67).

It remains unclear whether *ʾani* originated from a Bedouin dialect with *ʾimāla*, from Ḥimyaritic, or from an interaction between both influences. In any case, this raises a broader question: Why have distinctions between older forms and more recent dialectal forms, as well as between the forms of substrate languages (e.g., Aramaic, Coptic, Tamazight) and Arabic, not been similarly grammaticalized into gendered forms in other Arabic dialects?

4 Conclusion

While the phonological history of the two pronominal forms in Tocharian A remains unresolved, certain explanatory approaches align well with established sociolinguistic patterns. The collapse of case distinctions in pronouns led to the generalization of the accusative form in men’s speech, while women’s speech retained the older nominative form—at times even extending it hypercorrectively. Although regional contact influences that might have contributed to this distinction cannot be ruled out, there is no concrete evidence for them.

The gender-specific forms of the first-person singular pronoun in Yemeni Arabic dialects likely emerged from the competition between an older local form *ʾani* and a supralocal *ʾana*, in line with broader sociolinguistic trends observed in the Arab world. The precise origins of *ʾani* remain unclear—whether it stems from a Bedouin Arabic dialect, from pre-Islamic Ḥimyaritic, or from an interaction between the two. Nevertheless, the gender distinction in the first-person pronoun fits neatly into a broader pattern of proportional analogy with the second-person pronouns.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Kierán Meinhardt  <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-1250-807X>

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2000. *Classifiers: A Typology of Noun Categorization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Al-Wer, Enam. 2014. ‘Language and Gender in the Middle East and North Africa’. In *The Handbook of Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, edited by Susan Ehrlich, Miriam Meyer-

- hoff, and Janet Holmes, 1st ed., 396–411. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118584248.ch20>.
- Appleyard, David L. 2011. 'Semitic-Cushitic/Omotic Relations'. In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by Stefan Weninger, 38–53. Handbücher Zur Sprach- Und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Bassiouny, Reem. 2020. *Arabic Sociolinguistics: Topics in Diglossia, Gender, Identity, and Politics*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Behnstedt, Peter. 1985. *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte: Atlas*. Vol. 1. Jemen-Studien 3. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert.
- Behnstedt, Peter. 2016. *Dialect Atlas of North Yemen and Adjacent Areas*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 114. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Behnstedt, Peter, and Manfred Woidich. 2010. *Arabische Dialektgeographie: Eine Einführung*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 78. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Berg, Lodewijk Willem Christiaan van den. 1886. *Le Hadhramout et les colonies Arabes dans l'archipel Indien*. Batavia: Imprimerie du gouvernement.
- Blažek, Václav. 2013. 'Levant and North Africa: Afroasiatic Linguistic History'. In *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration*, edited by Immanuel Ness, 1st ed. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm815>.
- Brockelmann, Carl. 1908. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard.
- Bross, Christoph. 2022. 'Untersuchungen zu den Personalpronomina im Tocharischen'. PhD thesis, München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. https://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/30367/1/Bross_Christoph.pdf.
- Carling, Gerd, Georges-Jean Pinault, and Melanie Malzahn. 2014. 'A 66'. CEToM: A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts. 31 May 2014. <https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?m-a66>.
- Connors, Thomas J. 2008. 'Tengger Javanese'. PhD thesis, New Haven: Yale University.
- Corbett, Greville. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Costa, Januacele Francisca da. 1999. 'Ya:thê, a última língua nativa no nordeste do Brasil. Aspectos morfo-fonológicos e morfo-sintáticos'. PhD thesis, Recife: Universidade federal de Pernambuco.
- Cysouw, Michael. 2003. *The Paradigmatic Structure of Person Marking*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dickinson, Connie. 2002. 'Complex Predicates in Tsafiki'. PhD thesis, Eugene: University of Oregon.
- Diem, Werner. 1973. *Skizzen jemenitischer Dialekte*. Beirut Texts and Studies 13. Beirut: Franz Steiner.
- Dores de Oliveira, Maria das. 2006. 'Ofayé, a língua do povo do mel fonologia E gramática'. PhD thesis, Maceió: Universidade federal de Alagoas. <https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/catalog/ldpd:504833/bytestreams/content/content?filename=+Maria+-das+Dores+de+Oliveira.pdf>.
- Fortson, Benjamin W. 2010. 'Tocharian'. In *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction*, Benjamin W. Fortson, 2nd ed., 400–413. Blackwell Textbooks in Linguistics 19. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hachimi, Atiqa. 2006. 'Gender'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, and Andrzej Zabor-ski, 2:155–164. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

- Hermann, Eduard. 1922. 'Königlich preußische Turfanexpeditionen. Tocharische Sprachreste, I. Band. Die Texte: A. Transkription'. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 50 (3/4): 296–314.
- Hinds, John. 1986. *Japanese: Descriptive Grammar*. Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars. London and New York: Taylor and Francis.
- Isaksson, Bo. 1999. 'The Non-Standard First Person Singular Pronoun in the Modern Arabic Dialects'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 37: 54–83.
- Ivanov, Vjačeslav Vsevolodovič. 2008. 'Tibetskie kal'ki v toxarskix tekstax'. In *Trudy po étimologii indoevropskix i drevneperedneaziatskix jazykov*, 2:588–295. Moskva: Znak.
- Jasanoff, Jay H. 1989. 'Language and Gender in the Tarim Basin: The Tocharian 1 Sg. Pronoun'. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 3: 125–418.
- Jesus Silva, Léia de. 2011. 'Morphosyntaxe du Rikbaktsa (Amazonie brésilienne)'. PhD thesis, Paris: Université Denis Diderot – Paris 7. https://etnolinguistica.wdfiles.com/local--files/tese%3Asilva-2011b/silva_2011_rikbaktsa.pdf.
- Kibebe Tsehay Taye. 2015. 'Documentation and Grammatical Description of Chabu'. PhD thesis, Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University.
- Krause, Wolfgang, and Werner Thomas. 1960. *Tocharisches Elementarbuch: Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Labov, William. 2006. *Principles of Linguistic Change: Social Factors*. Vol. 2. Language in Society 29. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Lerthirunwong, Malai. 1980. 'Syntactic Description of So: An Austroasiatic Language in Thailand'. Master's thesis, Mahidol University. <http://archives.sealang.net/mahidol>.
- Lionnet, Florian. 2010. 'Laal: An Unclassified Language of Southern Chad'. Paper presented at the Workshop on Language Isolates in Africa, Lyon, 3–4 December 2010.
- Militarëv, Aleksandr. 1984. 'Sovremennoe sravnitel'no-istoričeskoe afrazijskoe jazykoznanie: čto ono možet dat' istoričeskoj nauke?'. In *Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejšaja istorija Vostoka. Tezisy i doklady konferencii*, edited by Igor Vardul', 3: 3–26. Moskva: Nauka.
- Plank, Frans, and Wolfgang Schellinger. 1997. 'The Uneven Distribution of Genders over Numbers: Greenberg Nos. 37 and 45'. *Linguistic Typology* 1: 53–101.
- Rabin, Chaim. 1951. *Ancient West Arabian*. London: Taylor's Foreign Press.
- Robin, Christian Julien. 1991. *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet : nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*. Aix-en-Provence: Édisud.
- Robin, Christian Julien. 2006. 'Ĥimyāritic'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, and Andrzej Zaborski, 2:256–261. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Rosenhouse, Judith. 2006. 'Bedouin Arabic'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali, Manfred Woidich, and Andrzej Zaborski, 1:259–269. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Sadiqi, Fatima. 2011. 'Language and Gender'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics Online*, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong. Accessed 20 October 2025. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1570-6699_eall_EALL_COM_vol2_0083.
- Sands, Bonny. 2013. 'Hadza'. In *The Khoesan Languages*, edited by Rainer Vossen, 38–42, 89–90, 107–24, 265–74. Routledge Language Family Series. London and New York: Routledge.
- Shachmon, Ori. 2022. *Temonit: The Jewish Varieties of Yemeni Arabic*. Semitica Viva 62. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Skirgård, Hedvig, Hannah J. Haynie, Harald Hammarström, Damián E. Blasi, Jeremy Collins, Jay Latache, Jakob Lesage, et al. 2023. 'Grambank V1.0'. Zenodo. <https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.7740140>.
- Smyth, David. 2002. *Thai: An Essential Grammar*. Essential Grammars. London: Routledge.
- Tadmor, Uri. 2009. 'Loanwords in the World's Languages: Findings and Results'. In *Loanwords in the World's Languages*, edited by Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor, 55–75. Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110218442.55>.
- Takács, Gábor. 2011. 'Semitic-Egyptian Relations'. In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by Stefan Weninger, 7–18. Handbücher Zur Sprach- Und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2000. *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. 4th ed. London: Penguin Books.
- Vallejos Yopán, Rosa. 2010. 'A Grammar of Kokama-Kokamilla'. PhD thesis, Eugene: University of Oregon. https://etnolinguistica.wdfiles.com/local--files/tese%3Avallejos-2010/vallejos_2010_kokama.pdf.
- Vicente, Ángeles. 2021. 'Statistical Gender Indexicality in the Grammar of Vernacular Arabic Varieties: Types and Locus'. *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 13 (2): 217–238. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18776930-01302001>.
- Watson, Janet. 2018. 'South Arabian and Arabic Dialects'. In *Arabic Historical Dialectology: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Approaches*, edited by Clive Holes, 316–334. Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Werbeck, Wolfgang. 2001. *Laut- und Formenlehre des nordjemenitisch-arabischen Dialekts von Manāḥa*. Arabica Rhema. Münster: Rhema.

Letizia Cerqueglini 

Tel Aviv University, Israel | cerqueglini@tauex.tau.ac.il

The Golden Bough of Kōkab: Traditional Rural Muslim Arabic Agricultural Narrative from Western Lower Galilee

Abstract In 1915, J. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* identified a core motif in ancient Mediterranean religions: the ritual sacrifice of a vegetation deity, often embodied in grain, to ensure the renewal of the agricultural cycle. Traditional Mediterranean threshing methods used by Arab peasants in Palestine until the 1950s–1960s involved trampling the grain and beating it with stones and pitchforks for days to separate it from the straw and chaff, a laborious process that evoked dismemberment. This article presents a text recorded in Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja, an Arab Muslim village in the western Lower Galilee, in 2018, accompanied by transcription, translation, and linguistic notes addressing some salient linguistic aspects. The text represents a specimen of agricultural narrative, that is, a description of traditional farming activities, specifically the reaping and threshing of grain. The text was narrated in a variety of the traditional rural Muslim dialect of Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja by a woman who was seventy-five years old at the time this article was written.

Keywords Palestinian Arabic, rural Muslim Arabic, Western Lower Galilean Arabic, agricultural narratives, Arabic dialectology

1 Introduction

In 1915, anthropologist J. Frazer published *The Golden Bough*, a seminal study of the development of religions from agricultural myths in the Mediterranean world. In it, he identifies a fundamental motif that recurs in ancient Mediterranean religions: the sacrifice of a vegetation deity or spirit, particularly of grain, a fundamental dietary component, to ensure the continuation of the annual agricultural cycle. Knowledge of cultivation and crop-processing methods in the traditional preindustrial world helps us understand the network of symbols and associations underlying the spiritual development of Mediterranean civilizations.



© 2025 The Author(s). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

In this regard, the memories of previous generations, who lived traditional lives, preserving the practices, customs, technologies, and tools of the pre-modern world, are particularly valuable. The conservative traditional peasant society of Palestine offers a unique lens through which to view the deep layers of the past.

The present article focuses on the traditional narrative of agricultural practices in the Galilee. The text under analysis was narrated in the Western Lower Galilean Arabic dialect of Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja¹ and constitutes a case study centered on wheat threshing. Wheat threshing was a pivotal event in the agricultural cycle of Mediterranean societies. In the western Lower Galilean cultural milieu, it appears culturally structured, codified, and transmitted through narrative. In particular, the present study addresses linguistic, stylistic, and thematic aspects of the narration of traditional agricultural life.

The defining feature of this narrative content, namely, the representation of traditional agricultural activities, lies in its continuity over an immemorial period of time (Grant 1907; Howes 2022; Kloppenborg 2006; Palmer et al. 1881–1889) and in its perception, at the moment of narration, as belonging to an irrevocably bygone world, fundamentally distinct from the present. The Arab population of the Galilee born in the 1950s and 1960s constitutes the last generation to have directly experienced the transition from a traditional to a modern way of life (Soffer 1983). This transition coincided with the modernization of agricultural techniques and the industrialization of production processes promoted by the then newly established State of Israel. The narrators thus stand as the last witnesses to a bygone era endowed with profound symbolic, identity-related, and ultimately political significance (Irving 2023). Goal of this paper is to highlight the importance of traditional agricultural narratives for their linguistic, social, and cultural merit in the Arabic-speaking Galilean society.

As described below, in the traditional methods of wheat threshing used by Arab peasants in Palestine until the 1960s, the grain was trampled and shaken for days with stones and pitchforks to separate it from the straw and chaff, a process that evoked the symbolic association with the dismemberment of the ear of grain. In the traditional dialects of central Italy, threshing is referred to as *battitura* ‘beating’, and the act of separating the wheat grains from the ears is called *battere il grano* ‘to beat the grain’.

In recent decades, technological advancement and the resulting lifestyle changes have accelerated significantly, starting with younger generations in industrialized countries and gradually reaching across geographic distances, peripheral communities, social classes, and older age groups. Consequently, the preservation of the linguistic and dialectal heritage of traditional societies has become an increasingly urgent task and an ever more difficult challenge.

¹ The name of the village is transcribed as pronounced in the local dialect.

For the Palestinian rural society, the establishment of the State of Israel marked a sudden and rapid modernization of lifestyle, accompanied in many cases by displacement and transfer of land to kibbutzim for modern intensive agriculture (Jayyusi 2007). As a result, traditional economic activities were largely disrupted, surviving only on a very limited scale.

The text presented in this study was recorded approximately eight years ago. The female speaker was the then sixty-six-year-old matriarch of a large family in Kōkab Abu-l-Ĥēja, an Arab Muslim village located in the western Lower Galilee, along Road 784, approximately twenty kilometers east of Haifa and just north of Kafr Manda. The informant lived separately from her husband, who had taken a second wife, an arrangement that was both religiously and socially permitted, yet commonly stigmatized and generally poorly tolerated by the first wife.

According to the village inhabitants' oral history and traditional genealogies, the Arabic type spoken by this woman is representative of the original local rural variety, in which OA *j is pronounced as the voiced, post-alveolar fricative consonant [ʒ], as attested by Bergsträßer (1915: Tafel XXII), and the final *ʾimāla* of feminine nouns peaks on the [i] vowel in non-emphatic environments (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: 18, 20).

In Section 6, the features of the traditional spoken variety of Kōkab Abu-l-Ĥēja that emerge from the selected text are highlighted. It is important to note, in this regard, that the territory of Kōkab Abu-l-Ĥēja is home to contiguous sub-varieties distinguished by some significant isoglosses, as shown by the data presented in Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger's atlas (2019). For instance, among other features, some residents pronounce OA *j as the voiced affricate [dʒ] (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: 14, 32), the final *ʾimāla* of feminine nouns exhibits various degrees and phonetical patterns of distribution (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: 18, 20, 46, 54), while the internal *ʾimāla* (Abo Mokh and Davis 2018; Levin 1971) is absent from this variety, and the use of helping vowels in nouns between C₂ and C₃ oscillates between zero, [e], and [i] (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: 44, 72, 86, 90). The affricate pronunciation of OA *j is locally attributed to the influence of Bedouin varieties (Dashti et al. 2015).

2 Palestinian agricultural narratives

The text presented in this article belongs to a genre that has gained wide popularity among elderly Palestinians in recent decades: agricultural narrative (Shahin 1995; 1999; Sirhan 2014). Generally intended for a foreign or young audience, the agricultural narrative describes the daily activities of pre-modern times related to farming, animal husbandry, and household tasks in the social and geographical contexts of rural village life. These narratives evoke tools, implements, actions, and practices that are not familiar to foreign and/or young listeners.

This genre developed over the past century across the country, probably initially driven by the ethnographic interest of travelers and researchers, such as ‘Abbūd (1933), Baldenspreger (1980), Bauer (1926), Burckhardt (1822), Dalmann (1939), Haefeli (1939), Rogers (1989), Schmidt and Kahle (1918), Spoer and Haddad (1928), Stephan (1925), Thilo (1937), and von Mülinen (1908).² Agricultural narrative gained significant momentum after 1948 as part of a trend of preserving Palestinian traditions as marks of identity and evidence of the community’s relationship to the territory (‘Abbās 1989; al-Barġūṭī 2001; Farsun 2004; Halloun 1991; Kanaana 1994; Lubānī, 2018; Sarḥān 1989). For the Arabs of Mandatory Palestine, the establishment of the State of Israel marked the beginning of the Nakba, a devastating defeat, for most of them associated with the loss of their lands and original settlements, as well as the rapid modernization of their way of life (Swedenburg 1990).

In the memory of elderly individuals, including those born in the years immediately following 1948, the narration of traditional life is closely linked to the recollection and testimony of everyday experiences as well as the social and political conditions that characterized the period before the Nakba, yet free of explicit political references. The past is generally described without interpretation and indulgence in comparative judgment concerning the present unless explicitly prompted by the audience. These narratives retrace the shared habits and activities that everyone engaged in: they are consistently told in the third person plural: ‘they used to do’, sometimes connected to an explicit, collective subject such as ‘the people’ (*an-nās*), but also interpretable as an impersonal form: ‘everyone used to do’, or ‘one used to do’, which developed in Hebrew as well (Halevy 2020; Notarius 2021).

Especially when narrated by women, as these texts often are, the storytelling acquires a rhythmic, almost chant-like quality reminiscent of a memorized recitation. As Abu-Lughod (1986) notes regarding narratives of traditional life among Bedouin women, the use of the third-person plural and the recurrence of stereotyped actions result in the effacement of the individual ‘I’, evoking a collective identity rooted in a vanished, yet timeless, past. The past seems to be called upon almost ritually as a mythical time, while the rhythm of the recitation signals that both narrator and audience are being transported into another dimension, parallel to and distinct from the present. In general, the onset of the narration and of the journey into an alternate time is marked by a sharply rising intonation at the onset, namely, on the first stressed syllable of the initial word, which is usually short, monosyllabic, or bisyllabic (such as *kan*, in the excerpt below), and by a long pause following the first sentence, which introduces the thematic framework of the narration, as in the text presented here. As the transcription demonstrates, the chant-like rhythm is achieved through prosodic devices such

² On the impact of foreign scholarship on locals’ perceptions and descriptions of customs see Geva-Kleinberger (2025); Geva-Kleinberger and Ben-Artzi (2013).

as frequent and emphasized pauses, vowel lengthening in pausa, and a marked downward intonation contour of the utterances.

Originally emerging from antiquarian and documentary interests, agricultural narrative is a genre common to all rural and semi-nomadic societies of the southern Levant, particularly those within the borders of present-day Israel. Over the past several decades, this genre, based on interviews with elders, has been a subject of interest in Palestinian scholarly and intellectual communities, giving rise to a substantial body of literature on it in Arabic and other languages, ranging from academic to amateur work.³ This literature focuses on the surveying and preservation of customs, practices, and associated linguistic features, and is driven by the desire to safeguard the historical and identity-based connection to traditional territories (Sa'di and Abu-Lughod 2007; Sayigh 1979).

Rural traditions and the bond with the land, as the horizon of pre-modern life, have not remained only the topoi of folkloric records and narrative of resistance; rather, associated with youth and transfigured into a timeless Eden, they have recently inspired literary biographies with reflective and lyrical tones. An example is Ahmad Agbaria's novel *Apricot Season* (2025), known as *Onat ha-Mišmišim* in the Hebrew original. Even the title signals that this is a story set in a place where nature and culture are deeply intertwined. The apricot tree evokes the mythical fruit of Paradise—its short season igniting longing and desire for it. *Apricot Season* belongs to the local literary genre of 'returns', much like Ghassan Kanafani's *'ā'id ʾilā Ḥayfā* [*Returning to Haifa*] (1969). Just as Kanafani imagined a protagonist coming back after years of exile to find Haifa altered and unrecognizable, Agbaria, too, envisions a return: after many years, Tarek comes back to ʾUmm al-Faḥm, only to find that the rural village has grown, yet, like many Palestinian villages reclassified as cities, it has evolved into a fragmented and dystopic space—lacking a true urban center or coherent infrastructure, defined instead by sprawling, unreadable zones.

The traditional Palestinian agricultural narrative genre discussed in this article is linguistically realized in local sub-varieties, shaped by the specific features of regional dialects. Particularly relevant are local differences in the lexicon used to describe objects and activities, as well as in the structure of narrative discourse—such as the use of verbal tense and aspect—as shown in Section 6.

3 Rural Galilean Arabic dialects: Focus on the Western Lower Galilean Muslim facies

The linguistic landscape of Palestine, with special focus on the historical region of the Galilee, has long been a focal point of scholarship on dialectal Arabic (Barthélemy 1935ff; Bergsträsser 1915; Cantineau 1938; Christie 1901; Driver

³ For a survey, see Cerqueglini (2023b).

1925; Elihay 1974; Geva-Kleinberger 2004a; Greenfield 1978; Grotzfeld 1980; Henkin and Abu-Rabiah 2023; Hopkins 2012; Piamenta 1966; Schumacher 1887; Seeger 2009–2022; von Mülinen 1908). In particular, the customs, practices, and speech of Galilean peasants have been the subject of detailed investigation, due to their perceived social and cultural continuity with Aramaic and Canaanite communities up to Late Antiquity and the Islamization of the Levant (Bauer 1926; 1957; Blau 1960; Cerqueglini 2023a; Dalman 1939; Geva-Kleinberg 2018; Halayqa 2014; Hopkins 1995; Levin 1987; Neishtadt 2015).

Moreover, the Galilee, situated at the crossroads between Mediterranean ports and the major markets of Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon and close to the holy sites of various religions and denominations, has long attracted sectarian communities and religious groups, as evidenced by the numerous tombs of saints, prophets, and men of faith scattered throughout the region (Canaan 1924). As a result of these historical dynamics, the area hosts a kaleidoscope of dialects that vary according to sociological type in sedentary urban and rural, Bedouin, and Bedouinized varieties (Palva 2008; Rosenhouse 1969; 1984; 2008; Sonnen 1952; von Oppenheim 1943; Zu'bi 2014; 2022), following traditional sociolinguistic classification (Cadora 1985; Jastrow 2013; Palva 2012; Procházka 2021). According to religious affiliation (Holes 1995), the Galilean Arabic dialects are divided into Muslim, Christian, Jewish, and Druze (Bassal 2008; Blanc 1953; Geva-Kleinberger 2000; 2004a; 2004b; 2009; 2010; 2012; Hanauer 1935).

In addition to these historical and sociological classifications of dialects, the Galilee is further divided into geographical sub-areas (Behnstedt and Woidich 2005; 2011; Talmon 2002). The classification proposed by Blanc (1953) and Rosenhouse (1969) distinguishes between the Upper and Lower Galilee, with the dividing line running at the latitude of the village of Saḥnīn. Recent studies have also identified elements of differentiation between the dialects of the western and eastern Galilee, the latter being contiguous with and closely related to the Arabic varieties spoken in the Muṭallaṭ and Palestinian territories beyond the border (Cerqueglini 2023b; Jastrow 2004; Palva 1984; Procházka 2021; Zu'bi 2021a). The recently published atlas, authored by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019), offers valuable insights into the Galilee's overall dialectal landscape and its principal diagnostic isoglosses.

Certain regional and communal dialectal varieties of Galilee have received considerable attention from specialized scholarship. Examples include dialects of the Jezreel Valley and the Galilean area contiguous to the Muṭallaṭ (Cerqueglini 2023b; Procházka 2021; Zu'bi 2021), dialects of Nazareth and its region (Havelova 2000; Nevo 2006; Zu'bi 2014), local Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 1980; 1982; 1984; Belinkov 2014), Jewish (Geva-Kleinberger 2004b; 2009) and Druze dialects (Geva-Kleinberger 2010; 2012; Marom and Geva-Kleinberger 2006–2010), more or less Bedouinized sedentary dialects (Rosenhouse 1969; Rosenhouse and Abu Dahoud 2017), urban coastal dialects (Geva-Kleinberger

and Tavor 2003; Jastrow 2009), and the rural Christian dialect of the southwestern Galilee (Abuhab 2025; Bassal 2008; Shehade 1995; 2024). In contrast, the rural Muslim dialect spoken in the southwestern Galilee, specifically in the Mediterranean hinterland where Kōkab is located, has remained comparatively underexplored.

4 Tenses, aspects, and rhythms of the agricultural narrative

The text presented below in transcription and translation was audio-recorded by the narrator's daughter in their home in Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja. The narrator, then sixty-six years old, recalled having participated in the agricultural activities described during her early youth, as was customary for women of her generation and those before her. This detail is particularly significant from the perspective of textual analysis: the text is narrated in the third-person masculine, using the plural pronoun 'they'. Such a choice may suggest that the narrator had not personally taken part in the events described. However, we know this is not the case here. The use of the third-person masculine plural in this local variety may function as an impersonal form—akin to the Hebrew construction—through which collective memory of the past is framed and the narrator's 'ego' fades. Alternatively, it may serve as a rhetorical device that functionally distances the narrator from the events being narrated.

In addition to the use of the third-person masculine plural person, other strategies typical of the agricultural narrative style rely on the use of the suffix conjugation (*katab/rikib*) and the plain prefix conjugation (*yuktub, yiġlib, yib'at*). The *b-* prefix conjugation (*byuktub, byiġlib, byib'at*), generally associated with the present tense and certain modal nuances, is not attested in this text. The vocalization of verbal stems for both the suffix and prefix conjugations varies according to root phonological pattern and stem vowel. In the case of the prefix conjugation, the stem vowel influences the vocalization of the personal prefix, similarly to what is described for the Muslim rural dialect of Saḥnīn, which lies only two kilometers northeast of Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja (Rosenhouse 1969). It should be noted that the overwhelmingly dominant form—both in agricultural narrative, which recounts routinely repeated actions situated in a time other than the present, and more generally in past event narration in the dialect of Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja—is the simple prefix conjugation, without the *b-* prefix, not the suffix conjugation.

As Cerqueglini (2023b) notes regarding the dialect of Bāka l-Ġarbiyye, the use of suffix conjugation does not correspond straightforwardly to the expression of past tense. In any case, the use of verbal strategies for tense/aspect/mood marking across discourse styles seems to vary even within sedentary rural Galilean varieties, and their investigation is still in its infancy. For example, 'Umar et al. (2021) note that in the eastern Galilean variety of Kafr Kanna, suffix conjugation

is very common in the narration of past events, especially personal or autobiographical, and is found more frequently than prefix conjugation forms. It should be emphasized that prefix conjugation, also known as imperfective according to the grammatical tradition of Classical Arabic, is similarly used to express habitual or repeated actions. Therefore, in the description of seasonal agricultural tasks and activities, these forms may occur more frequently than in autobiographical narratives, where one would expect to find events that occurred only once, and are punctual or occasional.

From a broader survey and personal observations of the dialect of Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja, it appears that the suffix conjugation form serves aspectual and modal functions similar, but not identical, to those described for Negev Bedouin dialects (Henkin 2021). Deeper speculation on the time/aspect system is deferred to a dedicated discussion, as different discourse and narrative styles and genres should be included. The participle appears here solely in an idiomatic expression in the text. Unfortunately, despite the extensive body of studies and grammatical descriptions of Palestinian Arabic dialects, there is still a lack of reference research on the interface between syntax, semantics, and pragmatics in the tense-mood-aspect systems.

The text opens with the use of the auxiliary *kān* ‘to be’, lexicalized in the third-person masculine singular and shortened to *kan*, preceding the prefix verbal form conjugated in the third person plural. The narrative structure suggests that the use of the auxiliary *kan* signals a temporal stylistic marker that frames the entire narration in the past, as will be discussed in Section 6.

Another stylistic feature that characterizes agricultural narratives and contributes to the creation of a solemn, mythical, and timeless atmosphere is the chant-like cadence, achieved through prosodic devices analyzed in Section 6. This chant-like rhythm is typical of women’s narratives concerning collective activities in traditional life, not only in the Galilee, but also among the Bedouins (Abu-Lughod 1986). Beyond the use of the imperfect, which marks the repetition of actions over time, the chant-like cadence symbolically evokes the unchanging return of the narrated actions—year after year, and from one generation to the next—thus representing the natural cycle of the seasons and the collective tasks that unfolded within them.

5 The text

The text describes the harvesting of wheat, its threshing, and its preparation for storage. The wheat was harvested, loaded onto camels in bundles, and brought to the threshing floor. There, it was stacked into a heap at the center. From the heap, it was gradually scattered around, and a horse would walk in circles, dragging behind it a wooden board embedded with stones, threshing the wheat and separating the grains from the ears and straw. As the horse moved around the

heap, the wheat on the ground was turned over with pitchforks so it would be beaten on all sides. This process lasted up to a week.

In the transcription, the sign || marks a long pause or the end of a prosodic unit, while | marks a shorter, internal pause. The long pause is translated into English as a full stop, while the short pause is translated as a comma. The translation reflects the rhythm of the original language.

For prosodic reasons, some etymologically long vowels are shortened, as in light and auxiliary verbs, which form a single stress unit with the main verb. In some cases, the new forms lose their accent, as the prosodic accent falls on the main verb. In other cases, as in the verbs of the type $C_2 = w/y$, the thematic vowel is shortened, but the accent is retained for phono-syntactic reasons. In these cases, the shortened vowel is written with an accent, e.g., line 2: *yirūhu yuḥṣḍūhin* ‘they went to harvest them’. Such prosodic shortenings occur generally in the spoken language of this region. Other common prosodic shortening phenomena include the reduction of unstressed long vowels in word-final position, as in the third person plural forms of the perfect and imperfect verbs—a feature shared by the sedentary dialects of the area. More specific prosodic phenomena are related to intonational contour and depend on syntactic and pragmatic context and expressive needs.

Unfortunately, at the time of writing, no descriptions are available even of the basic prosodic system of the dialect of Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja (declarative, interrogative, exclamative sentences, etc.), as is the case for the vast majority of dialects in the area. There are, however, some valuable studies on pre-pausal and pausal forms (Shachmon 2011; Zu‘bi 2021b) in Palestinian Arabic varieties and on specific functions of intonation (thematization, focalization, etc.) in Eastern Arabic varieties (El Zarqa et al. 2024; Jaradat 2018), but these are based on data sets that do not specifically pertain to the traditional rural varieties of western Lower Galilee. The pre-pausal lowering mentioned by Shachmon and Faust (2017) does not seem to be realized in the traditional dialect of Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja. The only study to date that offers an analysis of prosodic units, their phonological and morphological effects, and their functions within a genre of traditional narrative (fairy tale) in a Palestinian Arabic variety is Cerqueglini (2023b). However, that study pertains to the dialect of Bāḡa l-Ġarbiyye, located in the north-central Muṭallaṭ region.

In the text presented here, the intonational contour affects words placed at the end of prosodic units or pausa. Pausal forms are realized through an extra lengthening of the last long vowel, e.g., line 4 *bēḍar* || vs. line 5 *bēḍar* ‘threshing floor’. The symbol : represents prosodic lengthening.

Accents are also used when stress is heard in a position different from the expected, as in the case of *h-āl-faras*, in which the definite article is accented rather than the word, according to a rule affecting a restricted set of words in some Bedouin dialects (Henkin 2010; Rosenhouse 1984).

- 1 *kan yizra‘u ha-l-qamḥāt* ||
 2 *w-yirūhu yuḥṣūdūhin hēka b-manājil ‘ala idēhin* ||
 3 *w-yiḥammlūhin ‘aj-jmāl* ||
 4 *w-yijibūhin ‘ala l-bēdar* ||
 5 *ya‘malu hēk bēdar yisahislūh* ||
 6 *w-yijibūhin ‘ala j-jmāl* ||
 7 *w-yiḥuṭṭūhin ‘ala ha-l-bēdar* ||
 8 *yīšīru hēk yīfirdūhin* | *dāyir ma yīndār* ||
 9 *w-ya‘malu ṭa‘tūr b-in-nuṣṣ* ||
 10 *yijibu ha-l-lūḥ bi... min ḥaṣab* | *w-yiḥuṭṭu min tiḥt...*
 11 *yīqaddhū* | *w-yḥuṭṭu ḥṣāwi min tiḥit* | *‘aṣān yina‘im l-qašš* ||
 12 *w-yijibu h-āl-faras* | *w-yurbuṭūha hēk yḥuṭṭū-l-ha ‘ala raqbatha hāy l...*
tab‘at il-lūḥ ||
 13 *w-yīšīru yuburmu yuburmu yuburmu yuburmu ta-tin‘am* ||
 14 *w-yizubbūha ‘a-janib* | *yīšīru yijibu š-ša‘ūb* | *yīqilbūha ta-tin‘am n-nāḥa t-tānyī* ||
 15 *‘issa* | *ba‘d ma tin‘am* | *yīqimūha ‘a-janib* | *w-yiḥuṭṭu mn-l-kūm uḥra dāyir*
ma yīndār ||
 16 *w-yiballšu yomēn ṭlāṭi jim‘a w-hinni yuburmu b-h-āl-faras ‘ala ha-l-lūḥ* ||
 17 *‘ala lūḥ ha-l-ḥaṣab* ||

- 1 They used to sow the wheat grains.
 2 They would go to harvest them like that, with sickles, by hand.
 3 And they would load them onto camels.
 4 And they would bring them to the threshing floor.
 5 They made a threshing floor, and they slid it down over there.
 6 They brought them (the grains) on camelback.
 7 They placed them on the threshing floor.
 8 They distributed them all around.
 9 And they made a pile in the middle.
 10 They would bring a board made of wood and put it on its underside...
 11 they drilled it and placed gravel underneath so that the straw would soften.
 12 Then they would bring the mare, tie her, and place that ... of the board
 around her neck.
 13 Then they would go around and around and around until the other side
 became soft.
 14 They would put it aside and bring the *ša‘ūb* and turn it until the other
 side softened.
 15 So once it softened, they moved it aside and again spread part of the pile
 in all directions.
 16. They initiated a period of two days, three days, a week, of going around
 with the mare at the board...
 17. on the wooden board.

6 Comments

Line 1: The text begins with the auxiliary verb *kān* ‘to be’, whose originally long vowel is shortened for prosodic reasons. This auxiliary verb—lexicalized in the third-person singular—precedes the verbal form of the prefix conjugation *yizra‘u*, conjugated in the third-person masculine plural, which bears the main prosodic stress of the entire verbal construction. The historical *-ū* morpheme of the third person plural is regularly shortened when the verbal form does not carry any suffixes.

The object of the sowing is *ha-l-qamḥāt*. In the word *qamḥāt*, plural of *qamḥ* and *qamḥa/i* (Seeger 2022 2: 1028), the long *ā* in the final syllable is further elongated for prosodic reasons, marking a pause. This phenomenon is common to all pause cases in the text, e.g., line 2: *idēhin* ‘their hands’.

The definite article in *ha-l-qamḥāt* is preceded by the shortened form of the deictic adjective *hāda* ‘this’ (msg), lexicalized as *ha-* and attached to the article. Some words appear with two types of definite article: *il-* and *ha-l-*, the latter including the abbreviated deictic, e.g., line 4 ‘*ala l-bēdar* ‘on the threshing floor’ vs. line 7 ‘*ala ha-l-bēdar* ‘on the threshing floor’; line 10 *ha-l-lūḥ* ‘the wooden board’ vs. line 12 *tab‘at il-lūḥ* ‘of the wooden board’ vs. line 16 ‘*ala ha-l-lūḥ* ‘on the wooden board’. Some words only appear with *ha-l-*, as in line 12 *h-āl-faras* and line 16 *b-h-āl-faras*. The transcription *h-āl-faras* (instead of *hā-l-faras*) preserves the Bedouin stressed definite article *āl-*. The stressed article is attested in Bedouin dialects in a restricted set of words (like *faras* and *walad*) (Shawarbah 2017). In some local rural dialects, the word *faras* ‘mare’ probably entered as a foreign word from the Bedouin cultural sphere. The vocalisation of the definite article *al-* is a clear sign of the Bedouin origin of this word. Indeed, the definite article appears as *il-/l-* in local rural dialects. The function governing the distribution of *ā/ il-* vs. *ha-l-*, if one exists, remains unclear. They seem fully synonymous. *À propos*, in lines 16 and 17 the narrator repeats a word in order to correct herself: in line 16 she says ‘*ala ha-l-lūḥ* ‘on the board’, and in line 17 she says ‘*ala lūḥ ha-l-ḥašab* ‘on the wooden board’. It is interesting to note that the two constructions are perceived as equivalent, and that in line 17, *ha-* has been morphologized as part of the definite article and placed between the two members of the construct state.

Line 2: The long vowel of the phraseological verb ‘to go’ is shortened, but it is still accented *w-yirūḥu* ‘(and) they went’. The word *yuhṣūdūhin* shows the insertion of a help vowel in the verbal stem, similar to the thematic vowel and the vowel of the prefix between *C₁* and *C₂*. The verbal forms conjugated in the 3mpl preserve the final *-ū* before the suffixed object form *-hin* ‘them’ (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: 196). The suffix *-hin* is also used as a possessive pronoun for 3pl ‘their’ (masculine and feminine) as shown in ‘*ala idēhin* ‘by (their) hand(s)’.

The adverb *hēka* ‘like that, in this way’ is characteristic of this dialect, as reported by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: 224). This form alternates in this village variety with *hēk* in line 5.

The word *manājil* ‘sickles’ is the plural of the local form *minjal*, as elicited from the same narrator. The *mi*-vocalization of the nominal prefix in the singular form is in line with the data reported by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: 54).

Line 3: In the word ‘*aj-jmāl*, lit. ‘onto camels’, i.e., ‘on camelback’, the *-l* in the preposition ‘*ala* is assimilated into the following word’s initial *j*-. It is not a residual part of any definite article, as is evident comparing it with the expression ‘*ala j-jmāl* ‘on camelback’ (lit. ‘onto the camels’) at the end of line 6.

Line 4: The word *bēdar*, ‘threshing floor’, appears for the first time in this line.⁴

Line 5: The personal prefixes of the prefix conjugation for verbs $C_1 = \text{‘}$ in the first form are regularly vocalized in *-a-*, as shown in *ya‘malu*. In the verb *yisahislūh*, with extra lengthening of the last long, stressed syllable in pausa, a short final aspiration is audible, represented by the *-h*, stretching back to the original form of the 3msg suffixed pronoun. In this Galilean variety, the final aspiration for the 3msg suffixed object is not audible in regular non-pausal contexts. In regular, non-pausal contexts, the presence of the 3msg suffixed object is signaled only by the stress on the final 3mpl ending *-u* ($< *ū$), as well attested also from other rural varieties in the region. The verb *sahsal/yisahsil* come from the quadrilateral root *shsl*, translated by Seeger (2022: 1 584) as ‘ebnen, eben machen’.

Line 8: In the phraseological verb *yīširu*, the thematic vowel is not prosodically shortened as the main verb is separated from the phraseological verb by the adverb *hēk*. The verb *yifirdūhin* ‘they distributed them (the grains)’ shows that the internal pausa does not cause extra lengthening of the last stressed long vowel. The expression *dāyir ma yindār* means lit. ‘circling (msg) all around as it circles’. The participle *dāyir* is the only active participle found in the text. The vowel *-ā-* is further lengthened to signify the extensive duration of the described action iconically.⁵ The prefix conjugation of the seventh form *yindār*, a middle/intransitive voice, is interesting for morphological and prosodical reasons. Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: 331–333) note certain pronunciation instabilities related to forms VII and VIII of the verb, which yield different outcomes across various Galilee sub-regions. The examples they provide concern sound verbs. In the case presented here, the verb involves $C_2 = w$, yet its behavior is unexpected. According to the expected prosodic pattern, the *-ā-* in *yindār* should be further lengthened to *-ā-*. In practice, however, it is not, and the stress appears instead to be retracted onto the prefix, *yindār* ||. The same idiomatic expression is repeated in the same prosodic context in line 15.⁶

⁴ For a detailed discussion of the etymology and distribution of this word in connection with other terms related to threshing and recorded among farmers in Galilee and related dialects, see Bassal (2007; 2012), Geva-Kleinberger (2018), and al-Ḥurūb (2015).

⁵ See Henkin (2010) for a discussion of iconic lengthening in Bedouin dialects.

⁶ For a comparative overview on pausal forms, see Hoberman (2011), Shachmon and Faust (2017), and Zu‘bi (2017).

Line 9: At this point, we encounter the word *ṭaʿṭūr*, which the informant explained as meaning ‘heap’ or ‘pile’. The informant’s daughter added that the meaning of the word might derive from its similarity to *ṭarṭūr*, a common Arabic word that indicates a pointed, conical hat. The word *ṭarṭūr* is reported by Seeger (2022 2: 742) as ‘blöd, unter dem Pantoffel stehend; Pantoffelheld’ and ‘eine art Kopfbedeckung’. Seeger also proposes to relate this word to *ṭantūr/a* ‘Mütze’ (Seeger 2022 2: 763), probably connected with the meaning expressed here.

Line 10: This is the first mention of the wooden board *ha-l-lūḥ bi- ... min ḥaṣab* used for threshing wheat—that is, for separating the grain from the chaff. At the end of the recording, the informant added that the tool was known as *lūḥ drās* ‘threshing board’. The etymology of *drās* has been extensively discussed. Interestingly, **ḍirs/dars* ‘molar tooth’ may also be etymologically related to it. With the first consonant phonologically variable across dialects, the word for ‘molar tooth’ also appears in the Galilee as *dirs/dars* and even *jirs* in Taršiḥa, cognate of *jrs* ‘to grind’, and *zirs* in Tunisian Arabic (Behnsted and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: 152–153). Moreover, the alternative word for ‘molar tooth’, across Arabic varieties (Galilean *ṭaḥūni*) and other Semitic languages, such as Hebrew (*šīnaym ṭoḥnot* ‘molar teeth’), derives from the Semitic root *ṭḥn*, from which ‘to grind’ (Hebrew *ṭaḥanah* ‘mill’). The etymological and conceptual association of molar teeth with millstones is also frequent across European languages (Latin *mola* ‘millstone’).

The informant’s daughter provided the Hebrew translation of *lūḥ drās* as *morag* (Aranov 1977; Waters 2015). The Hebrew word *morag* has its direct Arabic counterpart in the word *mōraj/nōraj/nawraj* (Denizeau 1960).⁷ The implement is also referred to simply as ‘the board’ (Halayqa 2014), and this is how the narrator refers to it in this passage.

The delicate operation of separating the grain from the ear marks the beginning of a process of transformation, whereby the wheat grain is first torn apart and then ground in order to become food. As the informant explained, numerous short blades were inserted on the underside of the threshing board. In the ancient Mediterranean world, this harsh process was imbued with symbolic meaning (Frazer 1915). Consider the Latin word *tribulum* for ‘threshing floor’ from which derive, among others, the Italian *trebbiatura* ‘threshing’, but also *tribolazione* ‘tribulation’, *travaglio* ‘labour, suffering’, and the French *travailler* ‘to work, to labor’.

Line 10 breaks off with a hesitation. Indeed, the adverb *min tiht* at the end does not appear in its pausal form, which would involve the insertion of a help vowel. The pausal form of *tiht* is attested in the internal pause of line 11. The pausal form *tiḥit* in line 11 corresponds to the form of the preposition reported in the village by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: 40). The help vowel -i-

⁷ For further discussion of this tool, the etymology of its name, and its usage in the rural Palestinian context, see Geva-Kleinberger (2018) and Sobeh (2015).

between C₂ and C₃ also appears in the internal pause in *janib* in lines 14 and 15 (see also Palva 1965).

Line 11: The word *ḥṣāwi* is a collective noun designating small stones, pebbles (Seeger 2022 1: 259). The same root produces verbs for ‘counting’, semantically parallel to Latin *calculus*/-i ‘small stone’, and *calcolare* ‘to calculate’, derived from the ancient custom of using stones to represent counted entities. The final connector ‘*ašān* ‘in order to’ is reported for Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: 248) alongside the alternative form *minšān*.

Line 12: The syllabification in the form *raqbatha* ‘her knee’ is in line with the form *raqbati* ‘my knee’ recorded by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: 74). The proximal feminine singular deictic pronoun *hāy* (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: 204) here seems to fill the gap of a hesitation. The informant does not remember the word for the horse harness that is fitted around the horse’s neck and allows the horse to drag the threshing board in a circle around the wheat stack piled in the middle of the threshing floor. She uses the genitive exponent *tab’at* ‘of, pertaining to, belonging to’ in the feminine singular form, in agreement with *hāy*.

Line 13: The fourfold repetition of the verb *yuburmu* iconically represents the duration of the threshing process, consisting of the horse going around the heap from which the grain bundles were scattered on the threshing floor. As for the expression *w-yiṣīru yuburmu*, and more generally the frequent phrasal use of the verb *šār/yiṣīr* (‘to become’), the translation ‘to begin to’ is certainly valid. However, in some cases, it may be more appropriately rendered in English simply by a temporal connector indicating posteriority or just a change in the action, such as ‘and then ...’.

A general remark should be made concerning the use of help vowels in this dialect. In the text presented here, several such cases occur, e.g., *yuḥuṣḍūhin*, *yifirdūhin*, *yuburmu*. In the transcription, I have used regular (non-superscript) vowels, since the help vowels are pronounced with the same length as regular vowels, and not shorter. Moreover, the help vowel corresponds to that of the verbal prefix, as attested by *yifrad* > **yifradū(hin)* > *yifirdūhin*. It is interesting to notice that in the form *yurbuṭūha*, the verbal form has retained the thematic pattern of the singular, without fall of the thematic vowel and replacement by help vowel (line 12).⁸

Line 14: The verb *ḡabb/yiḡubb* is pronounced an initial fricative *ḡabb/yiḡubb* by the narrator. Seeger translates it ‘in Sicherheit bringen, sorgfältig verwahren, aufheben, bewahren, verbergen, verstecken, aufräumen, wegräumen, einpacken’ (2022 2: 713). The action seems to describe here collecting the grains of wheat from the threshing floor after threshing and storing them.

⁸ I thank the editor, Prof. Maciej Klimiuk, for his observations on the help vowels present in the verbal forms in this text.

The informant described the *ša'ūb* mentioned in this line as a kind of four-pronged metal rake with a wooden handle. As this passage of the text explains, the tool was used to turn the wheat over on the threshing floor so that it would be threshed evenly on all sides, and the straw—intended for various uses—would soften in the process. The word *nāḥa* used here for ‘side’ derives from the root *nḥy* (Hava 1982: 756; Seeger 2022 2: 1218), and is a cognate of Hebrew *la-hanḥōt/hanḥaya* ‘leading (herds)’ (Brown et al. 1975).

Line 15: The temporal adverb *ʾissa* (lit.) ‘now’ (from *ʾas-sāʿa*, lit. ‘the/this hour/time’) is frequently used in the western Galilee as a discourse marker to signal a change in topic or a subsequent scene or action (Abuhab 2025). The temporal conjunction *baʿd* reinforces its pragmatic usage here. Interestingly, at the beginning of the sentence, in the word *ʾissa*, a glottal stop is heard before the first vowel. In general, in the local dialect, there is no initial *hamzah*. But the word *ʾissa* is pronounced with the initial glottal stop when it is used as a discourse marker to signal the beginning of a new thematic sequence or of a narrative unit. In its original temporal meaning, ‘now’, indeed, the word is commonly heard without the initial glottal stop (*issa*).

The temporal conjunction *baʿd* appears combined with a verb, and thus in non-pausal form, without the help vowel. In Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: 88), the form with the help vowel, *baʿed*, is reported for Kōkab Abu-l-Ḥēja.

The word *kūm* is found as *kōm*, pl. *kwām* in Seeger (2022 2: 1106) and translated ‘Haufen; Bündel (Haare); große Menge.’ The word seems related via phonetical shift **q > k* to *qōm/qōme*, pl. *qwām* ‘zusammengehörige Gruppe, Bande, Haufen’ (Seeger 2022 2: 1041). It refers to the bundles of wheat that were gradually pulled down from the central heap onto the threshing floor to be threshed. The word *uḥra*, literally the feminine singular form of the adjective *āḥir* ‘other’, is commonly used in the Galilee region as an adverb meaning ‘(some) more’ or ‘again’ (probably from *marra uḥra* ‘one more time’).

The expression *mn-l-kūm* produces a sequence of four consonants. Interestingly the first three are all sonorants, i.e., with a high vocalic potential.

Line 16: The independent pronoun of the third person masculine (and feminine) plural *hinni* is uttered here as recorded by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger for this village (2019: 182).⁹

Lines 15 and 16: In the word *yomēn*, the historically long vowel before the stressed syllable is shortened (**yawm- > yōm-*). The shortening of long, stressed vowels that lose their accent to the following long, stressed vowel (**yawm-ayn > yōmēn > yomēn*) is somehow similar to the shortening that happens inside prosodic words, such as those constituted by phraseological verbs and main verbs. For example, in **yisīru yūburmu > yisīru yūburmu*, the originally long, stressed

⁹ For discussions of this and similar forms, see Behnstedt (1991); Blanc (1953); Diem (1972); and Rosenhouse (1984).

vowel is shortened (**yisíru* > *yisíru*), but it may maintain a secondary accent. The main prosodic accent is on the main verb (*yúburmu*).

Regarding the interface between syntax and the stylistic features that characterize this text, a final observation concerning the distribution of prefix (imperfect) and suffix (perfect) conjugation is necessary. The text opens with a temporal marker, *kan* (**kānu*), followed by the first verb in the prefix conjugation. This combination unambiguously indicates that the prefix conjugation is temporally anchored in the past. Specifically, given the nature and content of the text, the use of prefix forms suggests intense collective, repetitive, and regularly recurring (every year) actions of considerable duration that require substantial effort.

The narration proceeds exclusively through prefix forms. The initial auxiliary *kan* may establish a general temporal frame for the entire text, as if all the following prefix-conjugated verbs were governed by it. However, it is important to note that the prosodic units follow one another, and the presence of syntactic connectors signals variation in context, in which the prefix forms are used to indicate past actions—a usage deeply rooted in the Semitic languages since their earliest stages (Goldenberg 2013). Indeed, it seems that some Arabic dialects preserve functions of the prefix conjugation related to the perfective aspect and the past tense. In the present case, the issue cannot be definitively resolved, as all verbs describe repeated, collective, and reiterated actions, and the use of the prefix form is thus strongly linked to the aspectual nature of the action, and any temporal implication remains embedded and implicit.

Regarding prosody, as represented in the transcription and translation, the prosodic units are relatively short and fairly uniform in terms of intonation contour. Prosodic pauses in this text can be categorized into two types: internal and final. Longer prosodic units, in the second half of the text, may entail one or two internal pauses. Internal pauses occur within the main prosodic unit and are generally brief, without affecting vowel length. They contribute to giving the text a solemn, steady, and cadenced tone and emphasizing certain aspects or objects mentioned in the narration. In contrast, at the end of the main prosodic units, accented long vowels closest to the pause tend to undergo further lengthening. As a result, the intonation contour gradually descends at the end of each main prosodic unit, giving the text a repetitive and chant-like rhythm.

7 Conclusion

In conclusion, although considerable work has been carried out (Perez and Rosenhouse 2022), it is essential to emphasize the importance of continuing to study the heritage of the Palestinian vernacular varieties, especially traditional rural dialects, which now represent a world that is irreversibly fading. Equal attention must be given to the necessary sensitivity to ethnological, anthropological, historical, and social data in linguistic research.

As the short text discussed here demonstrates, the culture-specific aspects of the ideology of narration and the resulting narrative structure (Sowayan 1995) provide a clear example of one way in which the specific profile of a cultural group can shape linguistic data. In many cultures across the world, narration is considered a sacred act and is entrusted to expert individuals, much like physical or spiritual care. Speaking of the past evokes the past, and this process carries both benefits and risks that the community must manage.

As this text demonstrates, in order to allow a different temporal dimension to enter the present, traditional rural Palestinian culture employs a range of strategies—rhetorical (initial temporal markers), semantic (collective and impersonal actions), prosodic (pauses), pragmatic (discourse markers), and morphological (verbal forms)—discussed in the previous section. These culture-specific aspects of narrative ideology are far from being mere folkloric curiosities; they directly shape the textual tapestry grounded in the discursive functions of verbal tenses and aspects—an area that remains underexplored in most Semitic spoken varieties.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Letizia Cerqueglini  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7615-8427>

References

- ‘Abbās, Fu‘ād. 1989. *Al-‘Ādāt wa-t-taqālīd fī al-mawrūt aš-ša‘bī al-filasṭīnī*. Al-Qāhira: Al Hay’a al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma li-l-Kitāb.
- ‘Abbūd, Sa‘īd. 1933. *5000 arabische Sprichwörter aus Palästina*. Berlin: DeGruyter.
- Abo Mokh, Noor, and Stuart Davis. 2018. ‘What Triggers ‘Imāla: Focus on a Palestinian Variety with Phonological Analysis’. *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics* 32: 35–53.
- Abuhab, Yosef. 2025. ‘A Grammar of the Dialect of Kafr Yasif’. PhD thesis, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1986. *Veiled Sentiments*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Agbaria, Ahmad. 2025. *Onat ha-Mišmišim*. Jerusalem: Maktoob.
- Aranov, Maurice. 1977. ‘The Biblical Threshing-Floor in the Light of the Ancient Near Eastern Evidence: Evolution of an Institution’. PhD thesis, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- al-Bargūṭī, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf. 2001. *Al-Qāmūs al-‘arabī aš-ša‘bī al-filasṭīnī: Al-Lahğa al-filasṭīniyya ad-dāriğa*. Rām ‘Allāh and Al-Bīra: s.n.
- al-Ḥurūb, ‘Ishāq. 2015. *‘Aṭlas at-turāt ar-rifī al-filasṭīnī*. Bethlehem: Diyar Publisher.
- Baldenspreger, James. 1980. *The Immovable East: Studies of the People and Customs of Palestine*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.
- Barthélemy, Adrien. 1935ff. *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie : Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

- Bassal, Ibrahim. 2007. 'Ancient Hebrew and Aramaic Words of Agriculture Remaining in Spoken Galilean Arabic'. *Haivrit we-ahyōtēha. Studies in Hebrew Language and its Contact with Semitic Languages and Jewish* 6–7: 89–114.
- Bassal, Ibrahim. 2008. 'Kufur-Yasif Dialect: A Morphophonemic Description'. *Lingua-Culture Contextual Studies in Ethnic Conflicts of the World* 8: 85–99.
- Bassal, Ibrahim. 2012. 'Hebrew and Aramaic Substrata in Spoken Palestinian Arabic'. *Mediterranean Language Review* 19: 85–104.
- Bauer, Leonhard. 1926. *Das palästinische Arabisch: Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen; Grammatik, Übungen und Chrestomathie*. 4th ed. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Bauer, Leonhard. 1957. *Deutsch-arabisches Woerterbuch der Umgangssprache in Palaestina und im Libanon*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Behnstedt, P. 1991. 'Noch einmal zum Problem der Personalpronomina *hanne* (3.pl.), *-kon* (2.pl.) und *-hon* (3.pl.) in den syrisch-libanesischen Dialekten'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 141: 235–252.
- Behnstedt, Peter, and Aharon Geva-Kleinberger. 2019. *Atlas of the Arabic Dialects of Galilee (Israel)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Behnstedt, Peter, and Manfred Woidich. 2005. *Arabische Dialektgeographie: Eine Einführung*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Behnstedt, Peter, and Manfred Woidich. 2011. *Wortatlas der Arabischen Dialekte: Band II: Materielle Kultur*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Belinkov, Yonatan. 2014. 'The Arabic Dialect of Ġisir izZarga: Linguistic Description and a Preliminary Classification, with Sample Texts'. MA thesis, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
- Bergsträßer, Gotthelf. 1915. 'Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina'. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 38: 169–222.
- Blanc, Haim. 1953. *Studies in North Palestinian Arabic*. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society.
- Blau, Joshua. 1960. *Syntax des palästinensischen Bauerndialekts von Bīr-Zēt*. Walldorf: H. Vorndran.
- Brown, Francis, Samuel Driver, and Charles Briggs. 1975. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Burckhardt, Johann. 1822. *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*. London: Murray.
- Canaan, Tawfiq. 1924. 'Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine'. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 4: 163–203.
- Cantineau, Jean. 1938. 'Remarques sur les parlers des sédentaires syrolibanopalestiniens'. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 40 (1): 80–88.
- Cadora, Frederic. 1985. *Bedouin, Village and Urban Arabic: An Ecolinguistic Study*. Leiden: Brill.
- Cerqueglini, Letizia. 2023a. 'Toward a Linguistic Archaeology of the Southern Levant: Non-Arabic Names of Utensils and Landscape Elements in Traditional Palestinian Dialects'. In *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 06–09 April 2021, Bologna. Vol. 1: Environmental Archaeology. Hammering the Material World. Cognitive Archaeology. Endangered Cultural Heritage*, edited by Nicolò Marchetti, Michael Campeggi, Francesca Cavaliere, Claudia D'Orazio, Gabriele Giaccosa, and Eleonora Mariani, 965–977. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Cerqueglini, Letizia. 2023b. 'Ya ṛaḥḥū! Tanṭini binét!: Ġbēne in the Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic of Bāḳa l-Garbiyye'. *Folia Orientalia* 60: 227–275.
- Christie, William. 1901. 'Der Dialekt der Landbevölkerung des mittleren Galilä'. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 24: 69–112.

- Dalman, Gustaf. 1939. *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann.
- Dashti, Abdulmohsen, Rahimah S. Akbar, and Hanan A. Taqi. 2015. 'A Change of a Consonant Status: The Bedouinisation of the [j] Sound in the Speech of Kuwaitis: A Case Study'. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature* 4 (5): 104–112.
- Denizeau, Claude. 1960. *Dictionnaire des Parlers Arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine*. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale.
- Diem, Werner. 1972. 'Zum Problem der Personalpronomina *honne* (3. pl.), *-kon* (2. pl.) und *-hon* (3. pl.) in den syrisch-libanesischen Dialekten'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121: 223–230.
- Driver, Godfrey. 1925. *A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine*. London: Probsthein.
- Elihay, Yohanan. 1974. *Dictionnaire de l'arabe parle palestinien (français-arabe)*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- El Zarqa, Dina, Anneliese Kelterer, Michele Gubian, and Barbara Schuppler. 2024. 'The Prosody of Theme, Rheme and Focus in Egyptian Arabic: A Quantitative Investigation of Tunes, Configurations and Speaker Variability'. *Speech Communication* 160: article 103082.
- Farsun, Samih. 2004. *Culture and Customs of the Palestinians*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Frazer, James. 1915. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. London: Macmillan.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2000. 'Living amongst the Spirits: Death and Superstition as Reflected in the Arabic and Hebrew Vocabulary of the Jews of Safed'. *Mediterranean Language Review* 12: 18–40.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2004a. *Die arabischen Stadtdialekte von Haifa in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowits.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2004b. 'Last Informants of the Jewish-Arabic Dialect of the Ancient Community of Pqi'in'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 95: 45–61.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2009. *Autochthonous Texts in the Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tiberias*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowits.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2010. 'A Text in the Arabic Dialect of the Druze of 'Ayn Qinyi, the Golan Heights'. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 38: 99–110.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2012. 'The Vocabulary of the Druze Village of Maždal Šams on the Slopes of Mount Hermon, the Golan Heights'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 16: 109–124.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2018. 'Archeological Dialectology: Reconstructing the Etymological Derivation of the Various Lexemes Denoting the Obsolete Farm-Implement "Threshing-Board" in Palestinian Dialects'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 168 (1): 125–134.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon. 2025. 'The Christian Transjordanian Arabic Dialect of as-Salt at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century'. Paper Presented at *Cutting-Edge Research in Semitic Dialectology: Bridging Theory and Practice*, Freie Universität Berlin, 11–13 June 2025.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon, Ben-Artzi, Yossi. 2013. *Ha-Karmel šel Fon Mulinen*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press.
- Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon, and Roger Tavor. 2003. 'A Text in the Fisherman Dialect of Acre (Akko)'. *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí* 7: 125–134.
- Goldenberg, Gideon. 2013. *Semitic Languages: Features, Structures, Relations, Processes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Grant, Elihu. 1907. *The Peasantry of Palestine: The Life, Manners and Customs of the Village*. New York: The Pilgrim Press.
- Greenfield, Judah. 1978. 'The Language of Palestine 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.'. In *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variation*, edited by Herbert H. Paper, 143–154. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grotzfeld, Heinz. 1980. 'Das syrisch-palästinische Arabisch'. In *Handbuch der Arabischen Dialekte*, edited by Wolfdietrich Fischer and Otto Jastrow, 174–189. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Haefeli, Leo. 1939. *Spruchweisheit und Volksleben in Palaestina*. Luzern: Verlag Raber & Cie.
- Halayqa, Issam. 2014. *Traditional Agricultural and Domestic Tools in Palestinian Arabic: An Ethnographic and Lexical Study*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Halevy, Rivka. 2020. 'Impersonal and Pseudo-impersonal Constructions'. In *Usage-Based Studies in Modern Hebrew*, edited by Ruth Berman, Eitan Grossman, Bracha Nir, Elitzur Dattner, and Yael Reshef, 539–582. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Halloun, Moin. 1997. *A Practical Dictionary of the Standard Dialect Spoken in Palestine*. Bethlehem: Bethlehem University.
- Hanauer, James. 1935. *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land, Moslem, Christian and Jewish*. London: The Sheldon.
- Hava, Joseph. 1982. *Al-Faraid: Arabic-English Dictionary*. Beirut: Dar al-Machreq.
- Havelova, Andrea. 2000. 'The Arabic Dialects of Nazareth: A Dialectological and Sociolinguistic Description'. PhD thesis, Haifa: University of Haifa.
- Henkin, Roni. 2010. *Negev Arabic: Dialectal, Sociolinguistic, and Stylistic Variation*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Henkin, Roni. 2021. 'Evidentiality and Mirativity in Traditional Negev Arabic'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 66 (1): 153–183.
- Henkin, Roni, and Hamdih Abu-Rabiah. 2023. 'Women's Elegies in the Bedouin Negev, and around It'. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 139: 139–168.
- Hoberman, Robert D. 2007. 'Pausal Forms'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 3:564–570. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Holes, Clive. 1995. 'Community, Dialect and Urbanization in the Arabic-Speaking Middle East'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 58: 270–287.
- Hopkins, Simon. 1995. 'Šarār "pebbles" – A Canaanite Substrate Word in Palestinian Arabic'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 30: 37–49.
- Hopkins, Simon. 2012. 'Notes on the History of the Arabic Language in Palestine'. *Lingua-Culture Contextual Studies in Ethnic Conflicts of the World* 20: 50–73.
- Howes, Llewellyn. 'The Agricultural Background of the Harvest Logion in Matthew 9.37–8 and Luke (Q) 10.2'. *New Testament Studies* 69 (1): 57–75. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688522000303>.
- Irving, Sarah, ed. 2023. *The Social and Cultural History of Palestine: Essays in Honour of Salim Tamari*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Jaradat, Abdelaziz. 2018. 'The Syntax-Prosody Interface of Jordanian Arabic (Irbid Dialect)'. PhD thesis, Ottawa: University of Ottawa.
- Jastrow, Otto. 2004. 'The Arabic Dialects of the Muthallath (Central Israel)'. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 29: 166–75.
- Jastrow, Otto. 2009. 'The Arabic Dialects of the Carmel Coast'. In *Egyptian, Semitic and General Grammar: Studies in Memory of H.J. Polotsky*, edited by Gideon Goldenberg, Ariel Shisha-Halevy, 230–238. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

- Jastrow, Otto. 2013. 'A Short Typology of Palestinian Arabic Dialects'. In *Branches of The Goodly Tree: Studies In Honor of George Kanazi*, edited by Ahmad Ali, 263–267. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jayyusi, Lena. 2007. 'Iterability, Cumulativity, and Presence: The Relational Figures of Palestinian Memory'. In *Nakba: Palestine, 1948 and the Claims of Memory*, edited by Ahmad Sa'di and Lila Abu-Lughod, 107–133. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kanaana, Sharif. 1994. *Folk Heritage of Palestine*. Ṭaybe: Research Center for Arab Heritage.
- Kanafani, Ghassad. 1969. *Ā'id ʾilā Ḥayfā*. Damasco: Department of Popular Literature.
- Kloppenborg, John. 2006. *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Levin, Aryeh. 1971. 'Imāla ba-dyalektim ha-'aravim'. PhD thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Levin, Aryeh. 1987. 'The Particle "LA" as an Object Marker in Some Dialects of the Galilee'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 16: 31–40.
- Lubāni, Ḥusayn 'Ali. 2018. *Mu'ḡam al-ʿādāt w-at-taqālīd fī Filasṭīn*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.
- Marom, Yafit, and Aharon Geva-Kleinberger. 2006–2010. 'One Soul, Two Lifetimes: A Druze Text from Mount Carmel on Reincarnation'. *Mediterranean Language Review* 17: 47–63.
- Neishtadt, Mila. 2015. 'The Lexical Component in the Aramaic Substrate of Palestinian Arabic'. In *Semitic Languages in Contact*, edited by Aaron Butts, 280–310. Leiden: Brill.
- Nevo, Moshe. 2006. 'Notes on the Arabic Dialect of Iksāl'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 46: 26–58.
- Notarius, Tania. 2021. 'Impersonal Verbal Constructions in Biblical Hebrew: Active, Stative, and Passive'. *Journal for Semitics* 30 (2). <https://doi.org/10.25159/2663-6573/9379>.
- Palmer, Edward, Walter Besant, Charles Warren, Henry Stewardson, Claude Conder, Edward Hull, Henry Tristram, and Charles Wilson. 1881–1889. *The Survey of Western Palestine*. London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
- Palva, Heikki. 1965. *Lower Galilean Arabic: An Analysis of Its Anaptyctic and Prothetic Vowels: With Sample Texts*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Palva, Heikki. 1984. *A General Classification of the Arabic Dialects Spoken in Palestine and Transjordan*. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.
- Palva, Heikki. 2008. 'Sedentary and Bedouin Dialects in Contact: Remarks on Karaki and Salṭi (Jordan)'. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 8: 53–70.
- Palva, Heikki. 2012. 'Dialects: Classification'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics Online*, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong. Accessed 20 October 2025. https://doi.org/10.1163/1570-6699_eall_EALL_COM_0087.
- Perez, Yoel, and Judith Rosenhouse. 2022. *Bedouin Folktales from the North of Israel*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana Press.
- Piamenta, Moshe. 1966. *Studies in the Syntax of Palestinian Arabic: Simple Verb Forms in Subordinate and Main Clauses of Complex Sentences*. Jerusalem: The Israel Oriental Society.
- Procházka, Stephan. 2021. 'The Arabic Dialects of the Jezreel Plain and the Hula Valley (Galilee): Grammatical Notes, Remarks on Linguistic Contact, and Texts'. *Israel Oriental Studies Annual* 21: 232–273.
- Rogers, Mary. 1989. *Domestic Life in Palestine*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Rosenhouse, Judith. 1969. 'Ha-lahag ha-medubbar shel Saxnin' ['The Spoken Dialect of Saxnin']. MA thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

- Rosenhouse, Judith. 1980. 'The Dialects of Shibli and 'Aramsha in the Galilee'. In *Texts in the Dialects of Bedouins in Israel*, edited by Judith Rosenhouse, 6–49. Haifa: University of Haifa.
- Rosenhouse, Judith. 1982. 'Some Features of Some Bedouin Dialects in the North of Israel'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 7: 23–47.
- Rosenhouse, Judith. 1984. *The Bedouin Arabic Dialects. General Problems and a Close Analysis of North Israel Bedouin Dialects*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Rosenhouse, Judith. 2008. 'A New Approach to the Description of Contemporary Arabic Dialects (Mainly in Israel)'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 48: 35–57.
- Rosenhouse, Judith, and Jomana Abu Dahoud. 2017. 'Splitting of Arabic Communal Dialects at Childhood: The Case of Consonant Acquisition in Kfar Kanna Israel'. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 141: 3981. <https://doi.org/10.1121/1.4989093>.
- Sa'di, Ahmad, and Lila Abu-Lughod. 2007. *Nakba Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sarhān, Nimr. 1989. *Mawsū'at al-fülklūr al-filastīnī*. 'Ammān: Dā'irat at-Taḳāfa.
- Sayigh, Rosemary. 1979. *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*. London: Zed.
- Seeger, Ulrich. 2009. *Der arabische Dialekt der Dörfer um Ramallah. Teil 1: Texte. Teil 2: Glossar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Seeger, Ulrich. 2013. *Der arabische Dialekt der Dörfer um Ramallah. Teil 3: Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Seeger, Ulrich. 2022. *Wörterbuch Palästinensisch-Deutsch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Schmidt, Hans, and Paul Kahle. 1918. *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*. Göttingen: Vandenhoe und Ruprecht.
- Schumacher, Gottlieb. 1887. 'Arabic Proverbs: Used to Characterize some Villages in the District of Akka'. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 19 (3): 192–195. <https://doi.org/10.1179/peq.1887.19.3.192>.
- Shachmon, Ori. 2011. 'Pausal Final *Imāla* in Central Palestinian Dialects'. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 38: 145–161.
- Shachmon, Ori, and Noam Faust. 2017. 'The Spread of Prepausal Lowering in Galilean Arabic'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 62: 371–387.
- Shahin, Kimary. 1995. *Rural Palestinian Arabic*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Shahin, Kimary. 1999. *Palestinian Arabic Texts*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Shawarbah, Musa. 2017. *A Grammar of Negev Arabic*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Shehade, Haseeb. 1995. 'Bōrad and His Brothers in Kufir-Yasif Dialect'. *Studia Orientalia* 75: 229–238.
- Shehade, Haseeb. 2024. *The Dialect of Kufir Yasif: Texts in Prose and Poetry Accompanied with Verbal and Adjectival Forms, Explanations, Exercises, and Articles*. Haifa: The Arab Academic Institute for Education.
- Sirhan, Nadia. 2014. *Folk Stories and Personal Narratives in Palestinian Spoken Arabic: A Cultural and Linguistic Study*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sobeh, R. 2015. 'The Agricultural Lexicon in the Dialects of Shafa'amr'. MA thesis, Haifa: University of Haifa (in Arabic).
- Soffer, Arnon. 1983. 'Geographical Aspects of Changes within the Arab Communities of Northern Israel'. *Middle Eastern Studies* 19 (2): 213–243.
- Sonnen, Johannes. 1952. *Die Beduinen am See Genesareth: Ihre Lebensbedingungen, soziale Struktur, Religion und Rechtsverhältnisse*. Köln: Bachem.
- Sowayan, Saad. A. 1995. *The Arabian Oral Historical Narrative: An Ethnographic and Linguistic Analysis*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Spoer, Henry, and Elias Haddad. 1928. 'Studies in Palestinian Customs and Folklore'. *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society* 8: 214–222.
- Stephan, Hanna. 1925. 'Animals in Palestinian Folklore'. *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society* 5: 92–155.
- Swedenburg, Ted. 1990. 'The Palestinian Peasant as National Signifier'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 63 (1): 18–30.
- Talmon, Rafael. 2002. 'Preparation of the Northern Israeli Arabic Sprachatlas: A Report'. In *Aspects of the Dialects of Arabic Today: Proceedings of the 4th Conference of the International Arabic Dialectology Association (AIDA), Marrakesh, April 1–4, 2000. In Honour of Professor David Cohen*, edited by Abderrahim Youssi, Fouzia Benjelloun, Mohamed Dahbi, and Zakia Iraqui-Sinaceur, 68–77. Rabat: Amapatril.
- Thilo, Martin. 1937. *Fünftausend Sprichwörter aus Palästina*. Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen 40. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.
- ʿUmar, Fatina, Henkin, Roni, Nir-Sagiv, Bracha. 2021. 'Az ma omrim be-Kafr Kanna? Haya ozer-lo o azar-lo?' ['Narrative Tenses in the North Palestinian Dialect of Kafr Kanna']. *Dash Ba-Reshet* 40: 159–182.
- von Müllinen, Eberhard. 1908. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels*. Leipzig, Geographischer Anstalt von Wagner & Debes.
- von Oppenheim, Max. 1943. *Die Beduinen. Die Beduinenstämme in Palästina, Transjordanien, Sinai*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Zuʿbi, Amal. 2014. 'Ha-dyalektim ha-aravim šel našeret ve-ha-sviva: fonologya, morfologya ve-osef šel tekstim'. PhD thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Zuʿbi, Amal. 2017. 'Pausal Forms in the Arabic of Nazareth'. *Mediterranean Language Review* 24: 159–174.
- Zuʿbi, Amal. 2021a. 'Some Remarks on the Arabic Dialects of 'Arʿara in the Triangle Region (al-Muṭallat)'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 111: 311–350.
- Zuʿbi, Amal. 2021b. 'Interesting Pausal Forms in the Speech of Muslims and Christians in Kufʿr-Kanna'. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 21: 121–136.
- Zuʿbi, Amal. 2022. 'Sedentary and Bedouin Dialects in Contact: Remarks on the Dialect of Christians and Muslims in Kufur-Kanna'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 67(2): 665–702.
- Waters, Jaime. 2015. *Threshing Floors as Sacred Spaces in the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Pierre Larcher 

Aix-Marseille Université and IREMAM, Aix-en-Provence, France

***Lākin(na)* et *bal* : portrait de deux particules « rectificatives » de l’arabe classique**

Lākin(na) and *bal*: Portrait of Two ‘Rectifying’ Particles in Classical Arabic

Abstract This article is divided into three parts. The first presents the syntactic and semantic description of the particles *lākin(na)* and *bal* in Classical Arabic made by the grammarian Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī (d. after 688/1289) in the *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*. The second compares this description with that made by the French linguist Oswald Ducrot (1930–2024) and his followers of the two *mais* of French that they call *PA* and *SN*, by reference, the first, to Spanish *pero* and German *aber* and, the second, to Spanish *sino* and German *aber*. The third part shows that negation and its status are central to the problematic of *lākin(na)* and *bal*, as they are to that of the French *mais*.

Keywords Arabic grammar, Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī, *lākin(na)*, *bal*, French linguistics, Oswald Ducrot, French *mais*, pragmatics, logic, argumentation, negation, polyphony

Résumé Cet article se décompose en trois parties. La première présente la description syntaxique et sémantique des particules *lākin(na)* et *bal* de l’arabe classique faites par le grammairien Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī (m. après 688/1289) dans le *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*. La seconde confronte cette description avec celle faite par le linguiste français Oswald Ducrot (1930–2024) et ses disciples des deux *mais* du français qu’ils appellent *PA* et *SN*, par référence, le premier, à l’espagnol *pero* et à l’allemand *aber* et, le second, à l’espagnol *sino* et à l’allemand *aber*. La troisième partie montre que la négation et son statut sont au centre de la problématique de *lākin(na)* et *bal*, comme elles sont au centre de celle du *mais* français.

Mots-clefs Grammaire arabe, Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī, *lākin(na)*, *bal*, linguistique française, Oswald Ducrot, *mais*, pragmatique, logique, argumentation, négation, polyphonie



1 Introduction

Un arabisant de langue maternelle française sait, d'expérience, que deux particules de l'arabe classique – *bal* d'une part, *lākin* et *lākinna* d'autre part (que je noterai *lākin(na)* comme variantes syntaxiquement conditionnées d'une seule et même particule) – sont, dans de nombreux contextes, traduites en français par une conjonction unique – *mais* – et, inversement, que celle-ci est, dans de nombreux contextes, rendue en arabe tantôt par *lākin(na)* et tantôt par *bal*.

À cette raison purement externe de les rapprocher s'en ajoute toutefois une autre, interne à la tradition grammaticale arabe ; qu'on ne puisse faire le portrait de l'une sans faire le portrait de l'autre ne tient pas en effet à la seule qualité d'« orientaliste » du portraitiste ; s'il est historien de l'art, celui-ci aura tôt fait de découvrir qu'il a été précédé dans cette voie par les peintres indigènes.

C'est pourquoi je partirai ici de deux textes très brefs, extraits de l'une des plus vastes sommes grammaticales du VII/XIII^e, le *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya* (désormais *ŠK*) de Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī (m. après 688/1289, désormais RDA) et qui me permettront de faire le tour de la question telle qu'elle s'est posée aux grammairiens arabes. Entendons-nous bien : il ne s'agit pas pour moi, par l'effet d'un quelconque « intégrisme », de répéter purement et simplement ceux-ci, mais il ne s'agit pas non plus de me priver de la mine de notations syntaxiques et sémantiques que constituent leurs traités ; dans une seconde partie, je confronterai leur description de ces particules à celle donnée par Oswald Ducrot (1930–2024) et ses disciples du *mais* français : je crois en effet que linguistique et histoire de la linguistique peuvent mutuellement profiter l'une de l'autre ; dans une troisième et dernière partie, enfin, plus proprement « linguistique », je montrerai que la négation et son statut sont au centre de la problématique de *lākin(na)* et *bal*, comme elles sont au centre de celle du *mais* français.

2 De *lākinna* à *bal* via *lākin*

2.1 Textes

Texte 1 (*ŠK* 2, 346 = 6, 90)¹ :

Dans *lākinna*, il y a le sens de *istadraktu* et le *istidrāk* a pour sens de lever l'illusion engendrée par l'énoncé précédent, de manière similaire à l'exception (et de là vient qu'on donne à l'exception rompue la valeur de *lākinna*) car quand tu dis *ḡā'anī Zaydun*, c'est comme si l'on s'imaginait que 'Amr est venu aussi, du fait de la

¹ Il existe cinq éditions du *ŠK*. Je cite ici l'édition historique, celle d'Istanbul (1310H = 1893), d'abord la seule disponible grâce à un reprint datant, semble-t-il, des années 1970, et la meilleure des éditions modernes, celle de Makram (1421/2000).

familiarité existant entre eux deux ; aussi as-tu levé cette illusion en disant *lākinna* 'Amran lam yaḡi'.

wa-fi lākinna ma'nā istadraktu wa-ma'nā l-istidrāk raf^c tawahhum yatawalladu min al-kalām al-sābiq raf'an šabihan bi-l-istiṭnā' wa-min ṭamma quddira l-istiṭnā' al-mun-qaṭi' bi-lākinna fa-'iḏā qulta ḡā'anī Zaydun fa-ka-'annah tuwuhhima 'anna 'Amran 'ayḏan ḡā'aka li-mā baynahumā min al-'ulfa fa-rafa'ta ḏālika l-wahm bi-qawlika lākin-na 'Amran lam yaḡi'.

Contentons-nous pour l'instant de répéter l'exemple de RDA en l'affectant d'un numéro d'ordre :

- (1) ḡā'a-nī Zaydun lākinna 'Amran lam yaḡi'
« Zayd est venu chez moi, mais 'Amr, il n'est pas venu ».

Texte 2 (ŠK 2, 379 = 6, 191) :

On a déjà parlé du sens du *istidrāk* à propos de *lākinna* : la non-venue de Zayd subsiste telle quelle et ce jugement n'était pas une erreur de ta part ; tu as employé *lākin* seulement pour repousser l'illusion de l'allocuté que 'Amr, non plus, ne serait pas venu, tout comme Zayd.

wa-qad marra ma'nā l-istidrāk fi l-mušaddada fa-'adam maḡi' Zayd bāqin bi-ḡālihi lam yakun al-ḥukm bihi minka ḡalaṭ wa-'innamā ḡi'ta bi-lākin daḡ'an li-wahm al-muḡāṭab 'anna 'Amran lam yaḡi' 'ayḏan ka-Zayd.

Ce texte commente l'exemple :

- (2) mā ḡā'anī Zaydun lākin 'Amrun

dont on réservera pour l'instant la traduction.

2.2 Description syntaxique et sémantique de *lākinna*

Sur le plan syntaxique, *lākinna* fait partie avec 'inna (« certes que »), 'anna (« que »), layta (« Plût au ciel que »), la'alla (« peut-être que ») et ka-'anna (« comme si ») d'un groupe de six particules appelées simplement « 'inna et ses sœurs » ('inna wa-'aḡawātuhā) ou encore, de manière plus sophistiquée, « particules assimilées au verbe » (al-ḡurūf al-mušabbaha bi-l-fi'l) – appellation qui fait référence à une théorie de la similitude, tout à la fois formelle, syntaxique et sémantique, de ces particules avec le verbe, dans le détail de laquelle on ne peut évidemment entrer ici. C'est du chapitre qui leur est consacré dans le

ŠK (2, 345–363 = 6, 88–144) qu’est extrait le texte 1. Il s’agit en fait d’une classe d’opérateurs ayant pour opérande une phrase nominale, au sens de la grammaire arabe, c’est-à-dire une phrase à tête nominale (et non à prédicat nominal), aux constituants de laquelle ils assignent respectivement l’accusatif et le nominatif et pour résultante une autre phrase, sauf dans un cas : *’anna* + phrase ne constitue pas une phrase, mais le constituant d’une phrase, ayant la même distribution qu’un syntagme nominal, comme dans :

- (3) *’alimtu ’anna Zaydan qā’imun*
’alimtu-hu
 « je sais que Zayd est debout »
 « je le sais ».

Sur le plan sémantique, *lākinna* est décrit comme un opérateur non plus unaire, mais binaire, autrement dit un connecteur : Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (m. 646/1249), dans la *Kāfiya*, que commente RDA (ŠK 2, 359 = 6, 131) note en effet qu’il est placé entre deux énoncés *p* et *q*,² au premier desquels, a noté auparavant RDA, il fait référence (ŠK 2, 354 = 6, 112).³ On se gardera bien toutefois d’identifier un tel connecteur avec une conjonction de coordination pour la raison simple mais suffisante que celle-ci n’est pas avec celui-là dans une relation d’exclusion mutuelle et qu’à côté de *p lākin(na) q* on peut avoir aussi bien *p wa-lākin(na) q*, où *wa-* = « et » (ŠK 2, 360–361 = 6, 135–136) ou encore avec un connecteur logique pour la raison triviale que *p* et *q* peuvent ne pas être des phrases affirmatives, ainsi que le note RDA (ŠK 2, 348 = 6, 96) qui donne pour exemple :

- (4) *iḍrib Zaydan lākinna ’Amran lā taḍribhu*
 « frappe Zayd, mais ’Amr, ne le frappe pas ! ».

Exemple qui rappelle opportunément que la phrase (à tête) nominale des grammairiens arabes est une structure thème-propos, où le thème occupe dans le propos, quand celui-ci est une phrase et non plus un simple constituant, n’importe quelle place d’argument. Seraient-elles des phrases affirmatives que *p lākinna q* n’est certainement pas, au contraire de connecteurs tels que *et* ou *ou*, exclusif ou non, une « fonction de vérité », pas plus qu’en français :

² « *lākinna* a pour fonction le *istidrāk* par insertion entre deux énoncés se différenciant sémantiquement l’un de l’autre » (*lākinna li-l-istidrāk yatawassatu bayna kalāmāyn mutaḡāyirayn ma’nān*). On verra plus loin ce qu’il faut entendre par là.

³ « Le *istidrāk*, en réalité, est une signification se référant à ce qui précède, non à ce qui suit » (*al-istidrāk fi l-ḥaqīqa ma’nā rāḡi’ ilā mā qablahu lā ’ilā mā ba’dahu*).

(5)a il est	républicain mais	honnête
(5)b	socialiste	glabre
(5)c	macronien	humble

n'en est une.⁴

En fait, *lākinna* est clairement décrit par RDA comme un connecteur *pragmatique*, au sens de Morris (1938[1974]), en ce qu'il est relié à ses « interprètes », non seulement le locuteur, mais encore l'allocuté, via une « illusion » (*tawwahum*) ou « fausse croyance » (*wahm*) que le premier prévoit que *p* va engendrer (*ya-tawalladu*) chez le second et qu'il prévient en disant *lākinna q*. C'est ce mouvement typiquement pragmatique qui porte dans le métalangage des grammairiens arabes le nom de *istidrāk* et c'est avec une satisfaction non dissimulée que je constate que le verbe *istadraka* a, en dialecte syro-libanais, selon le modeste lexique de Belot (1896), le sens de « prévoir quelque chose pour l'éviter ». Il faut donc parler de *lākin(na)* comme d'une particule de « rectification préventive ».

Deux choses encore. Comme je l'ai montré ailleurs (Larcher 1980 repris sur ce point dans Larcher 1992 [2014a]), RDA inscrit sa description dans une véritable petite « théorie pragmatique », se présentant comme un diptyque, où la catégorie de *'inšā'* (« performatif ») constitue le volet conceptuel et la forme *fa'altu*, 1^{re} personne du singulier de l'accompli, le volet formel : RDA choisit en effet d'exprimer les performatifs de la métalangue, ce qu'est *istadraktu* (« je rectifie préventivement ») par rapport à *lākinna*, sous cette forme qui, dans la langue, n'est que la forme usuelle des performatifs juridiques, choix équivalant ainsi à une véritable formalisation.

Quant à la parenthèse « de manière similaire à l'exception (et de là vient qu'on donne à l'exception rompue la valeur de *lākinna*) », elle fait référence à l'assimilation que font les grammairiens entre *istidrāk* et *istiṭnā'* (« exception »)⁵ et, plus particulièrement, celle des deux qu'ils appellent « rompue » (*munqaṭi'*) par opposition à « liée » (*muttaṣil*).⁶ Est « liée » l'exception où élément excepté (*mustaṭnā'*) et ensemble dont on l'excepte (*mustaṭnā' minhu*) sont homogènes comme dans :

- (6) ḡā'a l-musāfirūna 'illā Zaydan
« Les voyageurs sont arrivés, sauf Zayd ».

⁴ (5)a vient de George Lakoff, cité par Ducrot (1972).

⁵ Cette assimilation vient en fait de la logique, devenue discipline scolastique à l'époque postclassique. Cf. al-Kātibī (2024 : 59, § 89.1 et commentaire, § 89, 228–230). Pour le détail, cf. Larcher (2025).

⁶ L'adjectif *munqaṭi'* a malencontreusement sauté dans la citation faite du texte 1 dans Larcher (2017 : 259), RDA contestant par ailleurs la pertinence de la distinction *muttaṣil*/*munqaṭi'* (pour le détail, cf. Larcher (2017 : 101–103).

Est « rompue » à l'inverse celle où ils sont hétérogènes comme dans :

- (7) ḡā'a l-musāfirūna 'illā 'amti'atahum
« Les voyageurs sont arrivés, sinon⁷ leurs bagages ».

En ce cas, 'illā est considéré sémantiquement comme l'équivalent de *mais non*. La description que RDA donne de *lākinna* s'applique parfaitement à (7) : le locuteur, en disant ḡā'a l-musāfirūna, prévoit que l'allocuté va croire que si les voyageurs sont arrivés, leurs bagages le sont aussi, croyance qu'ils prévient en disant 'illā 'amti'atahum. Une telle assimilation n'étonnera ni un francophone, ni un anglophone : en français la locution exceptive *sauf que* s'emploie dans le sens de *mais* (comme d'ailleurs 'illā 'anna dans la prose technique arabe médiévale et en arabe (standard) moderne) et en anglais *but* a également le sens de *sauf*.

Une telle description est originale : elle ne se rencontre pas à la période classique et ne se rencontre pas chez tous les auteurs de la période postclassique. Elle contraste avec une description beaucoup plus banale de *p lākinna q* en termes de simple « opposition » entre *p* et *q*, que l'on rencontre par exemple dans le *Mufaṣṣal* (p. 300) d'al-Zamaḥṣarī (m. 538/1144) :

lākinna a pour fonction la rectification : on l'insère entre deux énoncés, différenciant l'un de l'autre, négativement et positivement. On s'en sert en effet pour rectifier la négation au moyen de l'affirmation et l'affirmation au moyen de la négation, ainsi *mā ḡā'anī Zaydun lākinna 'Amran ḡā'anī* [« Zayd n'est pas venu chez moi, mais 'Amr, il est venu »] et *ḡā'anī Zaydun lākinna 'Amran lam yaḡī* [« Zayd est venu chez moi, mais 'Amr, il n'est pas venu »].

hiya li-l-istidrāk tuwassīṭuhā bayna kalamayn mutaḡāyarayn nafyan wa-ḡāban fa-yustadraku bihā l-nafy bi-l-ḡāb wa-l-ḡāb bi-l-nafy wa-ḡālīka qawluka mā ḡā'anī Zaydun lākinna 'Amran ḡā'anī wa-ḡā'anī Zaydun lākinna 'Amran lam yaḡī.

C'est un *lākinna* « oppositif » ou « adversatif » que décrit ici al-Zamaḥṣarī : la venue de 'Amr s'oppose simplement à la non-venue de Zayd dans le premier cas ou la non-venue de 'Amr à la venue de Zayd dans le second et non, comme chez RDA, la venue de 'Amr à sa propre non-venue, conclusion implicite de la non-venue de Zayd, dans le premier cas, ou sa non-venue à sa propre venue, conclusion implicite de la venue de Zayd, dans le second. Al-Zamaḥṣarī note que la différenciation peut être sémantique et non formelle, donnant deux exemples de grammairien :

- (8) fāraqanī Zaydun lākinna 'Amran ḥāḍirun
« Zayd m'a quitté, mais 'Amr est là (litt. présent) »

⁷ *Sinon* est l'exact équivalent de 'illā (< 'in « si » + lā « non », avec assimilation du *n* au *l*).

- (9) ḡā'anī Zaydun lākinna 'Amran ḡā'ibun
« Zayd est venu chez moi, mais 'Amr n'est pas là (litt. absent) »

et un exemple coranique (Cor. 8, 43) :

- (10) wa-lāw 'arākahum kaṭīran la-fašiltum wa-la-tanāza'tum fī l-'amri lākinna llāha
sallama
« et s'il te les [les ennemis] avait fait voir nombreux, vous auriez perdu courage et
auriez discuté sur l'affaire, mais Allah [vous] a donné apaisement » (tr. Blachère).

Dans ces trois exemples, *p* et *q* sont des phrases positives, mais les prédicats verbaux sont sémantiquement opposés.⁸

2.3 Lākinna et lākin

Proche de *lākinna* est *lākin*, qui n'en diffère que par l'absence de l'élément final *-na*. Pour les grammairiens arabes, cependant, il n'y a pas un mais deux *lākin* : le premier (désormais *lākin*₁) est la simple variante « allégée » (*muḥaffafa*) de *lākinna*. Comme lui, il peut être combiné avec *wa-* et, comme lui, avec *wa-*, considéré comme une simple « particule de rectification préventive », mais sans *wa-*, comme une « particule d'inchoation » (*ḥarf ibtidā'*), c'est-à-dire commençant un nouveau discours, ce qui implique une pause entre *p* et *q*.⁹ La thèse de l'« allègement » est évidemment appuyée par le fait qu'il a pour effet de « suspendre » (*'ilgā'*) la « rectification » (*'amal*) et, par suite, qu'on trouve derrière lui une phrase à tête nominale au nominatif et non plus à l'accusatif. Il en existe un certain nombre d'exemples coraniques, dont celui-ci (Cor. 4, 162) :

- (11) lākin-a l-rāsiḥūna fī l-'ilmi minhum wa-l-mu'minūna yu'minūna bi-mā 'unzila
'ilayka wa-mā 'unzila min qablika

⁸ Tout en introduisant un troisième élément, absent chez al-Zamaḥṣārī et Ibn al-Ḥaḡib, RDA (ŠK 2, 360 = 6, 135) ne leur en reprend pas moins la dimension « adversative », mais en notant qu'« il n'est pas nécessaire que *p* et *q* soient vraiment contraires : il suffit qu'ils soient incompatibles en quelque manière » (*wa-lā yalzamu l-taḍādd baynahumā taḍāddan ḥaḳīqīyyan bal yakfī tanaḳīḥimā bi-waḡḥim (< n)-mā*).

⁹ Pour al-Zamaḥṣārī (*Mufaṣṣal* 300), le *lākin* « allégé » est une particule de coordination entre phrases. Il renvoie à la section qu'il consacre aux particules de coordination et, à l'alinéa traitant de *lākin*, donne les deux exemples de grammairien ḡā'anī Zaydun lākin 'Amrun lam yaḡī' (« Zayd est venu chez moi, mais 'Amr, il n'est pas venu ») et mā ḡā'anī Zaydun lākin 'Amrun qad ḡā'a (« Zayd n'est pas venu chez moi, mais 'Amr, il est venu »). Sur les différents statuts de *lākin(na)*, cf. RDA, ŠK, 2, 380 = 6, 192, qui note que traiter *lākin* comme une coordination implique qu'il n'y a pas de pause après *p*.

« mais ceux fermes en savoir, parmi eux, et les croyants croient à ce qui t'a été révélé et à ce qui a été révélé avant toi ». ¹⁰

2.4 *Lākin* et *bal*

Le second (désormais *lākin*₂) est considéré comme une particule de coordination et c'est du chapitre qui leur est consacré dans le *ŠK* (2, 363–380 = 6, 145–192) qu'est extrait le texte 2. La deuxième phrase de ce texte reprend pour *lākin*₂ la description déjà donnée pour *lākin*₁(*na*). Autrement dit, RDA interprète (2) comme :

(2') « Zayd n'est pas venu chez moi, mais 'Amr [, lui, est venu] ».

La première phrase, en revanche, fait allusion à sa description de *bal* (cf. *infra* 3.5). Pourquoi ? Parce que *bal* et *lākin*₂ ont en commun un contexte, illustré par (2), où la particule se trouve précédée d'une phrase négative et suivie d'un constituant *b* pendant d'un constituant *a* de la phrase antérieure – ce qui peut se schématiser par *Nég p' bal/lākin*₂ *b* – et que, dans ce contexte, les grammairiens se divisent en deux camps : les uns qui, à l'instar de RDA, différencient *bal* et *lākin*₂ et les autres qui, à l'instar d'Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī (m. 761/1360, désormais IHA) dans un texte particulièrement explicite du *Šarḥ Qaṭr al-nadā* (p. 307, désormais *ŠQN*) les confondent :

tu diras *ğā'anī Zaydun lā 'Amrun*, en réplique à qui croit que 'Amr est venu sans Zayd ou qu'ils sont venus chez toi ensemble et tu diras *mā ġā'anī Zaydun lākin 'Amrun* ou *bal 'Amrun*, à qui croit le contraire.

taqūlu ġā'anī Zaydun lā 'Amrun raddan 'alā man i'taqada 'anna 'Amran ġā'a dūna Zayd 'aw 'annahumā ġā'āka ma'an wa-taqūlu mā ġā'anī Zaydun lākin 'Amrun 'aw bal 'Amrun raddan 'alā man i'taqada l-'aks.

Extrayons les deux exemples de IHA :

(12) *ğā'anī Zaydun lā 'Amrun*

(13) *mā ġā'anī Zaydun lākin/bal 'Amrun*

Là encore, la description de IHA est pragmatique. Il les présente en effet comme réponses (*radd*) à quelqu'un ayant telle ou telle croyance, donc, selon que cette

¹⁰ Le masculin pluriel (dit « sain » ou « externe ») est un des rares cas de flexion visible de l'arabe classique, opposant un nominatif -*ū(na)* à un accusatif-génitif -*ī(na)*.

croissance a été exprimée ou non, à un énoncé explicite ou implicite. (12) affirme la venue de Zayd et nie celle de 'Amr : il infirme donc totalement la croissance que 'Amr serait venu sans Zayd et partiellement celle qu'ils seraient venus ensemble. Il s'interprète comme :

(12') « Zayd est venu chez moi, non 'Amr »

(13) nie la venue de Zayd et affirme celle de 'Amr : il infirme donc totalement la croissance que Zayd serait venu sans 'Amr et partiellement celle que ni l'un ni l'autre ne seraient venus. Selon IHA, on peut employer *lākin* ou *bal*. Autrement dit, dans ce contexte, ils sont ou deviennent synonymes, ce qui veut dire que (13) et donc (2) s'interprètent comme :

(13') = (2'') « N'est pas venu chez moi Zayd, mais 'Amr ».

Un linguiste arabisant doit évidemment rendre compte d'une divergence d'interprétation aussi remarquable : si les deux interprétations ont en commun 1) la non-venue de Zayd et 2) la venue de 'Amr, 2) rectifie 1) dans l'interprétation de IHA, tandis que dans celle de RDA, 2) rectifie, non pas 1), mais un élément 3), déductible de 1).¹¹

2.5 Description syntaxique et sémantique de *bal*

2.5.1 *Bal* entre constituants

Contrairement à *lākin* traité comme particule de coordination dans un seul contexte (*lākin*₂), mais partout ailleurs comme « particule d'inchoation » (*ḥarf ibtidā'*, *lākin*₁), *bal* est partout traité comme une particule de coordination, soit entre constituants, soit entre phrases, sauf, comme on verra, dans un contexte. Dans l'alinéa qu'il lui consacre (ŠK 2, 378–379 = 6, 188–190), RDA énumère les environnements syntaxiques où il apparaît et, corrélativement, ses valeurs sémantiques. Il peut être suivi soit d'un constituant (*p bal b*) – en ce cas, *bal* coordonne *b* à un constituant *a* de *p* –, soit d'une phrase (*p bal q*) – en ce cas *bal* coordonne les deux phrases *p* et *q*. Dans le premier cas, *bal* a une unique fonction

¹¹ RDA n'ignore cependant ni la dimension « adversative » de *lākin*, ni la comparaison avec *lā*, écrivant en effet à la suite du passage cité ci-dessus comme texte n°2 : « dans la coordination d'un simple constituant, il est le contraire de *lā*, parce qu'il sert à affirmer quelque chose du second terme, après l'avoir nié du premier, tandis que *lā* sert à nier quelque chose du premier terme, après l'avoir affirmé du second » (*fa-hiya fi 'aṭf al-mufrad naqīdāt lā li-'annah li-l-'iṭbāt li-l-ṭānī ba'da l-nafy 'an al-'awwal wa-lā li-l-nafy 'an al-ṭānī ba'da l-'iṭbāt li-l-'awwal*).

de « rectification d'une erreur » (*tadāruk al-ġalaṭ*),¹² la phrase qui précède étant nécessairement une affirmation ou un ordre, une négation ou une défense (mais jamais une interrogation). Le premier cas est exemplifié par :

(14) qāma Zaydun bal 'Amrun

et la fonction de « rectification d'une erreur » ainsi décrite :

elle consiste à donner au premier terme de la suite¹³ le statut de terme obliaté, son prédicat étant attribué au second terme : l'assertion que Zayd est debout est une erreur (il peut s'être levé et ne pas s'être levé) : tu as fait savoir par *bal* que ton énonciation du nom premier terme de la coordination était une erreur, volontaire ou *lapsus linguae*.¹⁴

wa-hiya li-ġa'l al-matbū' fi ḥukm al-maskūt 'anhu manṣūban ḥukmuḥu 'ilā l-tābi' fa-yakū-nu l-'iḥbār 'an qiyām Zayd ġalat yaġūzu 'an yakūna qad qāma wa-'an lam yaqum 'afad-ta bi-bal 'anna talafuẓzaka bi-l-ism al-ma'tūf 'alayhi kāna ġalaṭ 'an 'amd 'aw sabq lisān.

Il ressort de cette description que (14) peut être traduit en français par :

(14') « Zayd s'est levé ou plutôt 'Amr ».

Dans une langue plus soutenue, on pourrait aussi employer *Que dis-je ?*.

Toujours suivi d'un constituant, mais précédé d'une négation ou d'une défense, *bal*, selon RDA, « a aussi [c'est moi qui souligne] la fonction de 'iḍrāb » (*li-l-'iḍrāb 'aydan*), ce dernier ainsi décrit :

¹² *Tadāruk* appartient à la même famille lexicale que *istidrāk* (ils sont les noms d'action respectivement d'une forme VI et d'une forme X). Les deux termes apparaissent interchangeables dans le *Kitāb* de Sibawayhi (m. 180/796 ?) : en 1, 434 il donne l'exemple de *marartu bi-raġūlin ṣāliḥin bal tāliḥin* (« je suis passé auprès d'un homme pieux ou plutôt dépravé ») en indiquant qu'« il intervient pour l'oubli ou l'erreur, le locuteur corrigeant son énoncé » (*yaġī' 'alā l-nisyan 'aw al-ġalaṭ fa-yataḍāraku kalāmahu*) – nous reviendrons sur cet exemple et cette description en 3.1. –, mais un peu avant, en 1, 430 il donne l'exemple de *marartu bi-raġūlin rāki'in bal sāḡidin* (« je suis passé auprès d'un homme s'agenouillant ou plutôt se prosternant ») en indiquant « soit il s'est trompé et s'est corrigé, soit il a oublié et s'est souvenu » (*'imma ġaliṭa fa-stadraka wa-'immā nasiya fa-ḡakara*).

¹³ RDA emploie d'abord le terme générique, puis le terme spécifique : la coordination (*'atf nasaq*) est en effet une des cinq espèces du genre *taba'īyya* où le terme qui suit dépend pour sa flexion du terme qu'il suit, la dépendance se faisant dans le cas de la coordination via une particule, alors que dans les quatre autres cas elle se fait par simple juxtaposition.

¹⁴ Sur la notion de lapsus en grammaire arabe, en rapport avec celle de rectification, cf. Sartori (2022).

il a pour sens de faire du premier jugement, qu'il soit positif ou non, le terme pour ainsi dire oblitéré par rapport au premier terme de la coordination : en disant *mā ḡā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun*, *bal* fait savoir que le jugement porté sur Zayd de non-venue est pour ainsi dire oblitéré : il se peut que ce jugement soit exact et qu'il soit non venu et il se peut qu'il ne soit pas exact et qu'il soit venu chez toi, tout comme le jugement porté sur Zayd de venue dans *ḡā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun* peut être exact ou non.

wa-ma'nā l-'iḍrāb ḡa'l al-ḥukm al-'awwal mūḡab kāna 'aw ḡayr mūḡab ka-l-maskūt 'an-hu bi-l-nisba 'ilā l-ma'tūf 'alayhi fa-fi qawlika mā ḡā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun 'afādat bal 'anna l-ḥukm 'alā Zayd bi-'adam al-maḡī' ka-l-maskūt 'anhū yuḥtamalu 'an yaṣiḥḥa hādā l-ḥukm fa-yakūnu ḡayr ḡā'in wa-yuḥtamalu 'allā yaṣiḥḥa fa-yakūnu qad ḡā'aka kamā kāna l-ḥukm 'alā Zayd bi-l-maḡī' fī ḡā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun uḥtumila 'an yakūna ṣaḥiḥan wa-'allā yakūna.

Si j'ai souligné aussi, c'est parce que *'iḍrāb*, compte tenu de la description donnée, apparaît ici comme un autre nom de *tadāruk al-ḡalaṭ*.¹⁵ Mais la remarque importante est que, selon RDA, le locuteur de *p bal b*, que *p* soit positif ou négatif, présente *p* comme une erreur de sa part, sans que le récepteur puisse en conclure à l'exactitude ou non de *p*.

Dans cette opinion, RDA déclare suivre al-Andalūsī, i.e. Abū l-Qāsim al-Andalūsī (m. 661/1263), mais que pour Ibn Mālik (m. 672/1274) :

bal, après la négation et la défense, est comme *lākin* après elles : de cette déclaration sans appel résulte que la non-venue de Zayd, quand tu dis *mā ḡā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun*, est avérée, après l'occurrence de *bal* également, comme c'est le cas dans *mā ḡā'anī Zaydun lākin 'Amrun*, de l'avis général. Et c'est ce qu'a dit l'auteur [i.e. Ibn al-Ḥāḡib] : il a dit, en effet, que dans *mā ḡā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun*, l'affirmation de la venue de 'Amr est probable, sa négation de Zayd étant, en même temps, avérée.

bal ba'da l-nafy wa-l-nahy ka-lākin ba'dahumā wa-hādā l-'iṭlāq minhu yu'tā 'anna 'adam maḡī' Zayd fī qawlika mā ḡā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrin mutaḥaqqiq ba'da maḡī' bal 'ayḍan kamā kāna ka-dālika fī mā ḡā'anī Zaydun lākin 'Amrun bi-l-ittifāq wa-bihi qāla l-muṣannif li-'annahu qāla fī mā ḡā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun yuḥtamalu 'iṭbāt al-maḡī' li-'Amr ma'a taḥaqquq nafyihi 'an Zayd.

RDA fait donc état d'une divergence d'interprétation entre grammairiens de la phrase précédant *bal*, quand celle-ci est négative : la non-venue de Zayd est-elle

¹⁵ En arabe moderne, *'iḍrāb* s'emploie dans le sens de « grève », par abréviation de *'iḍrāb 'an al-'amal*, qui en révèle le sens littéral (« cessation du travail »). L'idée est que l'on s'arrête par rapport à ce que l'on vient de dire, qu'on y renonce.

certaine ou incertaine (cette dernière opinion étant celle de RDA) ? Il y a plus. RDA fait état d'une divergence d'interprétation concernant l'élément suivant *bal* et opposant cette fois-ci ce qu'il appelle la « masse » (*ğumhūr*) des grammairiens et un seul d'entre eux, al-Mubarrad (m. 285/898 ou 286/900). Pour les premiers :

il est affirmé, car 'Amr est venu chez toi quand tu dis *mā ġā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun* : c'est comme si tu avais dit *bal ġā'anī 'Amrun* : *bal* a annulé la négation et le nom auquel est attribuée la venue.

'innahu muṭbat fa-'Amrun ġā'aka fī qawlika mā ġā'anī Zaydun bal 'Amrun fa-ka-'annaka qulta bal mā ġā'anī 'Amrun fa-bal 'abṭalat al-nafy wa-l-ism al-mansūb 'ilayhi al-mağī'.

Mais, pour al-Mubarrad :

l'erreur porte seulement sur le nom premier terme de la coordination et le verbe nié reste prédiqué du second terme : c'est comme si tu avais dit *bal mā ġā'anī 'Amrun*, comme dans l'affirmation le verbe affirmé était prédiqué du second terme.

'inna l-ğalaṭ fī l-ism al-ma'ṭūf 'alayhi faqaṭ fa-yabqā l-fī' l al-manfī musnadan 'ilā l-tānī fa-ka-'annaka qulta bal mā ġā'anī 'Amrun kamā kāna fī l-'iṭbāt al-fī ' l al-mūğab musnadan 'ilā l-tānī.

Autrement dit, alors que pour la « masse » des grammairiens :

(15) = (13) *mā ġā'anī Zaydun bal-'Amrun*

s'interprète comme :

(15') = (13') « N'est pas venu chez moi Zayd mais 'Amr »,

où est à la fois niée la venue de Zayd et affirmée celle de 'Amr, pour al-Mubarrad, cet énoncé s'interprète comme :

(15'') « Zayd ou plutôt 'Amr n'est pas venu chez moi »,

où est seulement rectifiée l'identité de la personne qui n'est pas venue. Là encore, le linguiste arabisant devra rendre compte d'une divergence d'interprétation aussi remarquable.

Il y a plus. RDA note que si l'on combine *lā* (« non ») avec *bal* et que l'on dise, après affirmation ou ordre :

(16)a qāma Zaydun lā bal 'Amrun (« Zayd s'est levé, non, mais 'Amr »)

(16)b idrib Zaydan lā bal 'Amran (« Frappe Zayd, non, mais 'Amr ! »),

le sens de *lā* se réfère à cette affirmation ou cet ordre qui précède, non à ce qui suit *bal*, car en disant *lā bal 'Amrun* tu as nié, au moyen de *lā*, que Zayd se soit levé et affirmé, au moyen de *bal*, que 'Amr s'était mis debout : si tu n'avais pas dit *lā*, la mise debout de Zayd aurait eu, comme nous l'avons indiqué, le statut du terme oblitéré, pouvant être affirmée ou ne pas l'être, et il en va de même de l'ordre : ainsi *idrib Zaydan lā bal 'Amran*, c'est-à-dire *lā taḍrib Zaydan bal idrib 'Amran* et n'eût été le *lā* mentionné, c'aurait pu être un ordre ou non de frapper Zayd en étant en même temps un ordre de frapper 'Amr.

fa-ma'nā lā yarǧī'u 'ilā ḍālika l-'iǧāb 'aw al-'amr al-mutaqaddim lā 'ilā mā ba'da bal fa-fi qawlika lā bal 'Amrun nafayta bi-lā al-qiyām 'an Zayd wa-aṭbattahu li-'Amr wa-law lam taǧī' bi-lā la-kāna qiyām Zayd kamā ḍakarnā fi ḥukm al-maskūt 'anhu yuḥtamalu 'an yuṭbata wa-'allā yuṭbata wa-kaḍā fi l-'amr naḥw idrib Zaydan lā bal 'Amran 'ay lā taḍrib Zaydan bal idrib Zaydan wa-lawlā lā l-maḍkūra la-ḥtumila 'an yakūna 'amran bi-ḍarb Zayd wa-'allā yakūna ma'a l-'amr bi-ḍarb 'Amr.

Autrement dit, la combinaison de *lā* avec *bal* lève l'ambiguïté de la phrase précédant *bal*. RDA ajoute :

de même, le *lā* introduit devant *bal* après négation ou défense se réfère au sens de cette défense et négation, qu'il confirme, et ce qui est après *bal* reste donc objet du différend entre al-Mubarrad et la masse [des grammairiens].

wa-kaḍā lā l-dāḥila 'alā bal ba'da l-nahy wa-l-nafy rāǧī'a 'ilā ma'nā ḍālika l-nahy wa-l-nafy mu'akkidan li-ma'nāhumā wa-mā ba'da lā bal 'idān bāqin 'alā l-ḥilāf al-maḍkūr bayna l-Mubarrad wa-l-ǧumhūr.

Autrement dit, en disant :

(17)a mā qāma Zaydun lā bal 'Amrun

(17)b lā taḍrib Zaydan lā bal 'Amran

le locuteur confirmerait la négation et la défense (*lā* = « Zayd ne s'est pas levé »/« ne frappe pas Zayd ! ») mais conserverait l'ambiguïté de la phrase qui suit (*bal* = « mais 'Amr s'est levé/ou plutôt 'Amr ne s'est pas levé » // « mais frappe 'Amr/ou plutôt ne frappe pas 'Amr »).

2.5.2 *Bal* entre phrases

Suivi d'une phrase, *bal* a soit la même fonction que suivi d'un constituant, c'est-à-dire celle dite de « rectification d'une erreur » (en ce cas et, comme avec un constituant, la phrase qui précède ne peut être une interrogation), soit une fonction dite de « transition » (*intiqāl* : en ce cas, la phrase qui précède peut être une interrogation) : « transition d'une phrase à une autre plus importante que la première » (*al-intiqāl min ġumla 'ilā ġumla 'uḥrā 'ahamm min al-'ulā*), se contente d'indiquer le texte du ŠK ; « transition d'un énoncé à un autre, plus important que le premier, sans intention de dédaigner le premier ni de lui conférer le statut du terme oblitéré » (*al-intiqāl min kalām 'ilā kalām 'aḥar bi-lā qaṣd 'ilā 'ihdār al-'awwal wa-ġa'lihi fī ḥukm al-maskūt 'anhu*), précise en « marge » du texte imprimé la *Ḥāšiya* (désormais *ḤŠK*) du grand polygraphe 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ġurġānī dit sayyid al-šarīf al-Ġurġānī, m. 816/1413 (désormais SŠĠ).¹⁶ Précision qui n'est pas inutile car elle vient en fait situer la fonction 2 par rapport à la fonction 1, justement comprise comme une « annulation » (*'ibtāl*), une « oblitération » (*ġa'luhu fī ḥukm al-maskūt 'anhu*), totale ou partielle, de ce qui précède par ce qui suit, selon qu'ils ont ou non une partie commune.

La fonction 1 est exemplifiée par :

- (18) ḍarabtu Zaydan bal 'akramtu-hu
« J'ai frappé Zayd. Que dis-je? je l'ai honoré »

et :

- (19) ḥaraġa Zaydun bal daḥala 'Amrun
« Zayd est sorti. Que dis-je ? 'Amr est entré ».

La fonction 2 est exemplifiée dans *ḤŠK* par un énoncé coranique (27, 65–66) tronqué, mais que je restitue ici dans sa totalité dans la mesure où sa partie manquante sert en fait à d'autres grammairiens (ici al-Rummānī, m. 384/994, dans ses *Ma'ānī al-ḥurūf* : 94) à illustrer la même fonction :¹⁷

- (20) (al-Rummānī) wa-mā yaš'arūna 'ayyāna yub'aṭūna / bal iddāraka¹⁸ 'ilmuhum
fī l-'āḥirati (*ḤŠK*) bal hum fī šakkin minhā bal hum minhā 'amūna

¹⁶ Le surcommentaire ne se trouve que dans l'édition d'Istanbul.

¹⁷ Appelée par al-Rummānī *tark li-šay' wa-'aḥd fī ġayrihi* (« délaissier une chose et en commencer une autre »), ce qui revient bien à passer de l'une à l'autre. Cette terminologie se trouve également chez al-Zaġġāġī (m. 340/949–950) dans son *Kitāb ḥurūf al-ma'ānī* (14, n° 54).

¹⁸ Variante non classique de *tadāraka*, présentant par rapport à la forme classique une syncope de la voyelle brève du préfixe *ta-* et une assimilation de la consonne *t* à la première radicale *d*, le *cluster* consonantique *dd* ainsi créé entraînant la prosthèse de la voyelle *i*.

traduit par Blachère (1980) et Masson (1967) respectivement par :

(20') « (les impies) ne pressentent pas quand ils seront rappelés. Tout au contraire, leur science sur la (Vie) Dernière est déficiente. Loin d'y croire, ils sont dans le doute à son sujet ou plutôt ils sont aveugles sur elle »

et :

(20'') « Ils ignorent le moment où ils seront ressuscités. Bien plus ! Leur science concernant la vie future est nulle ; ils en doutent ; ils sont aveugles à cet égard » (NB Masson rend les deuxième et troisième *bal* du verset par une asyndète).

De la même façon que l'on aura à rendre compte de l'ambiguïté de (13) et (15), on aura à rendre compte des divergences remarquables d'interprétation, en français, de (20).

De son côté, RDA, notant que, dans la fonction 2, *bal* peut être précédé d'une interrogation, donne pour seul exemple Cor. 26, 165–166 (également tronqué et dont je restitue la partie manquante) :

(21) 'a-ta'tūna l-ḍukrāna mina-l-'ālamīn(a) / [wa-taḍarūna mā ḥalaqa lakum rab-bukum min 'azwāḡikum] bal 'antum qawmun 'ādūna
« Accomplirez-vous l'acte charnel avec les mâles de ce monde [et délaissez-vous vos épouses que votre Seigneur a créées pour vous] ? Oui, vous êtes un peuple transgresseur » (tr. Blachère).

Là encore, un linguiste arabisant relèvera que Blachère « traduit » ici *bal* par *Oui*, alors qu'il le traduit ailleurs le plus souvent par *Non* !.

Le fait que SŠĠ, dans sa mention du *intiqāl*, substitue au terme de *ġumla* employé par RDA celui de *kalām* et le fait que dans cet emploi *bal* puisse suivre une interrogation montrent qu'il ne saurait être ici une particule de coordination entre phrases : c'est en fait un *ḥarf ibtidā'*, comme le note explicitement IHA dans le *ML* (p. 118). Cela implique une pause avant *bal*, ce que vient confirmer l'exemple (20) : *bal* se trouve au début du verset 66, donc après la pause marquant le fin du verset 65.

Si fouillée que soit la description de RDA, elle n'est cependant ni unifiée sur le plan sémantique, même si des trois termes qu'il emploie, *tadāruk al-ġalaṭ*, *'iḍrāb* et *intiqāl*, le premier et le deuxième se recoupent positivement, le deuxième et le troisième négativement, ni surtout exhaustive sur le plan syntaxique : elle ne prend en considération que les emplois dans le discours suivi, alors qu'il en existe aussi bien dans le dialogue (cf. *infra* 3.3).

3 *Lākin(na)* et *bal, mais/PA* et *mais/SN*

3.1 *Lākin(na)* et *mais/PA*

La description donnée par RDA de *lākin(na)* est comparable avec celle donnée, à plusieurs reprises, par Ducrot, soit seul, soit en collaboration, du *mais* français, mais tout particulièrement avec la toute première : pour la petite histoire, c'est la connaissance de cette description qui m'a permis d'inventer, au sens archéologique du terme, celle de RDA (Larcher 1980: 533–539). S'opposant à une description de *p mais q* en termes de simple « incompatibilité » de *p* et *q*, qui lui semble inadéquate s'agissant de phrases telles que *Il faisait beau, mais j'étais fatigué* ou *Elle est venue, mais sa mère était avec elle*, Ducrot (1972: 128) écrit :

Il serait plus exact, nous semble-t-il, de décrire le *mais* de la façon suivante. Le locuteur, après avoir prononcé la première proposition *p*, prévoit que le destinataire en tirera une conclusion « *r* » (qui peut être dans les deux derniers exemples, « tu as dû être content »). La deuxième proposition, *q*, précédée d'un *mais*, tend alors à empêcher cette éventuelle conclusion, en signalant un nouveau fait, qui la contredit. Le mouvement total serait : « *p* » ; tu songes à en conclure *r* ; il ne faut pas le faire car *q* » (ce mouvement est presque explicite dans le ἀλλὰ γάρ, « mais en effet », du grec ancien).

Par *mais*, il faut entendre ici celui des deux *mais* du français qu'Anscombe et Ducrot (1977) proposent d'appeler *PA*, par référence à l'espagnol *pero* et à l'allemand *aber*, et par opposition à celui qu'ils appellent *SN*, par référence à l'espagnol *sino* et à l'allemand *sondern*. Espagnol et allemand distinguent en effet morphologiquement ce que le français distingue seulement syntaxiquement, comme dans « il ne fait pas beau, mais chaud » (*mais/SN* ou « réfutatif » : « ce n'est pas beau qu'il faut dire, mais chaud ») vs « il ne fait pas beau, mais il fait chaud » (*mais/PA* ou « argumentatif » : sur la double interprétation possible de cet énoncé, cf. *infra*). « Réfutatif » et « argumentatif » sont la terminologie de Plantin (1978).

Comparable ne veut cependant pas dire identique. La description que donne RDA de *lākin(na)* correspond en fait à ce qu'Anscombe et Ducrot (1977) considèrent être un « cas particulier fréquent » du *mais/PA* français, celui où *q* = non-*r*. On voit que dans (1) *q* a une forme négative et s'oppose directement au *r* tiré de *p*, à savoir « (donc) 'Amr est venu (aussi) ». Mais pour Anscombe et Ducrot (1977) le « cas général » est celui où *q* ≠ non-*r*, *p mais/PA q* étant une balance argumentative où le plateau *p* pèse (i.e. est un argument) en faveur de la conclusion *r*, mais le plateau *q* pèse davantage en faveur de la conclusion non-*r*.¹⁹

¹⁹ L'image de la balance est suggérée par l'étymologie même de *mais* (< lat. *magis* « plus »). Ducrot et Vogt (1979) ont montré comment les fonctions *SN* et *PA* de l'unique *mais* français pouvaient se dériver de *magis*.

Pour ma part, je considère qu'il n'y a pas tant un cas général et un cas particulier que deux cas particuliers, le même énoncé étant en fait, suivant le contexte, susceptible des deux interprétations. Ainsi dans *Il est républicain, mais honnête*, *q* (= [il est] honnête) peut s'interpréter comme le simple contradictoire du *r* (= (donc) il est malhonnête) tiré de *p* (il est républicain), par un *liberal*, au sens américain du terme. En ce cas, *mais* est paraphrasable par *pourtant*, *cependant*, *toutefois*, *néanmoins*.²⁰ Mais, dans un contexte électoral, le même énoncé pourrait être utilisé comme une balance argumentative entre étiquette politique et intégrité d'un candidat : si son étiquette est une raison de ne pas voter pour lui, son intégrité en est une meilleure de voter pour lui. En ce cas, *mais* est paraphrasable par *par contre*, *en revanche*. Et, de même, dans « il ne fait pas beau, mais il fait chaud », *mais il fait chaud* peut être le simple contradictoire de « (donc) il fait froid », en raison de l'association souvent faite entre mauvais temps et froid, ou une meilleure raison de sortir qu'il ne fait pas beau en est une de ne pas sortir²¹. Un linguiste arabisant se demandera donc si le *lākin(na)* arabe correspond ou non aux deux interprétations possibles du *mais/PA* français : je tenterai de répondre à cette question dans la troisième partie de cet article.

Une autre différence entre les deux descriptions tient à la nature du passage de *p* à *r*. Pour Ducrot, elle est argumentative, l'argumentation pouvant ou non correspondre à une inférence²². Pour les grammairiens arabes, elle est inférentielle, spécialement du type de celle illustrée par l'exemple de *mais pourtant* donné par Anscombe et Ducrot (1983: 13) *Il est petit mais pourtant il est fort*, c'est-à-dire en

²⁰ Précédé de la particule de coordination, *wa-lākin(na)* est alors l'équivalent du « et néanmoins » qu'on trouve dans le célèbre « cher collègue et néanmoins ami ». *Lākin(na)* correspond également à *néanmoins*, dans la prose technique médiévale et en arabe moderne, où il introduit l'apodose du système concessif-potentiel *wa-'in p lākinna q* (« même si *p*, néanmoins *q* ») : la protase est un argument pour une conclusion *r* que vient contredire *q*, ce qui explique le croisement des deux systèmes concessif et rectificatif (pour le détail, cf. Larcher 2014b).

²¹ Dans Larcher (1991 [2014a]), en utilisant l'exemple donné par Ducrot (1973: 170) d'affirmation « ascriptive » (vs « descriptive ») ou « évaluative » *Cet hôtel est bon*, on rappelle que si *q* = non-*r*, l'argument pour non-*r* peut apparaître sous forme d'un *car s* (« Cet hôtel est bon, mais (pourtant) je ne le recommande pas, car il est trop cher ») et, inversement, si *q* ≠ non-*r*, la conclusion pour laquelle *q* est un argument peut apparaître sous la forme d'un *donc s* (« Cet hôtel est bon, mais (par contre) il est trop cher : je ne le recommande donc pas »). Ce qui suggère, en dernière analyse, que *mais/pourtant* et *mais/par contre* ne sont que deux variantes métonymiques d'un seul et même système : de la conclusion pour l'argument dans un cas, de l'argument pour la conclusion dans l'autre.

²² Sur la différence entre argumenter et inférer, cf. Anscombe et Ducrot (1983 ch. 1: 7–14), avec l'exemple *Pierre s' imagine que Jacques et moi sommes de vieilles connaissances, mais, pourtant, on ne s'est jamais rencontrés* : *q* contredit ici la conclusion *r* = « on s'est donc souvent rencontrés », pour laquelle *p* est un argument, alors même qu'il est présenté comme une fausse croyance de Pierre.

fait « rhétorique »²³. Pour la tradition arabe, héritière sur ce point d'une tradition alexandrine tardive, la *Rhétorique* d'Aristote fait partie de l'*Organon*, autrement dit est un traité *logique*. Dans ce contexte, il n'est pas difficile de voir que le *p* et le *r* de la description de RDA sont assimilables à la prémisse mineure et à la conclusion d'un syllogisme rhétorique ou enthymème : enthymème, parce que le passage de *p* à *r* se fait via une prémisse majeure implicite, telle que *si p, r* (« si Zayd est venu, alors 'Amr est venu aussi ») et rhétorique, car nous ne sommes pas ici dans l'ordre de la certitude, mais de la probabilité : compte tenu de la familiarité, de l'intimité (*'ulfa*) existant entre les deux, on peut en effet, sinon assurer, du moins présumer que si l'un est venu, l'autre est venu aussi.

3.2. *bal* et *mais/SN*

Selon Anscombe et Ducrot (1977: 24 et 35) l'emploi du *mais/SN* répond à un certain nombre de conditions :

1. *p* doit être une phrase négative, analysable en *Nég + p'* et où la négation est « explicite » et « syntaxique », c'est-à-dire « représentée par un mot négatif autonome » ;
2. l'emploi de *p mais/SN q* ne peut se faire qu'à l'intérieur d'une énonciation unique. En effet, en employant cette structure, le locuteur-énonciateur²⁴ tout à la fois nie *p'* (dont il n'est pas responsable) et justifie son refus de *p'* en disant *mais/SN q* : la négation y est donc « polémique », au sens large, sinon strict, dans la mesure où elle peut être la réfutation d'une affirmation explicite ou simplement implicite et se situer, en outre, dans le cadre fictif du discours ;²⁵

²³ C'est parce qu'il est dans l'inférence qu'IHA (ML 322) attribue une valeur de *tawkid* (« corroboration ») à *lākinna* dans *law ḡā'ani la-'akramtuhu lākinnaḥu lam yaḡi* (« s'il était venu chez moi, je l'aurais honoré, mais il n'est pas venu »). Si *lākinna q* « confirme » le présupposé lié à la supposition « irréaliste » *law p*, il oppose en fait à la fiction construite par celle-ci la réalité. Cet exemple est comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, à l'exemple français donné dans la note précédente : argumentation et inférence logique vont dans des sens contraires.

²⁴ J'opère ici avec la première version et la plus simple de la polyphonie de Ducrot (1980). Ce dernier distingue entre le locuteur, responsable de l'énonciation, et ayant pour pendant l'allocutaire (pour ma part, j'emploie allocuté), et l'énonciateur, responsable de l'acte illocutoire accompli dans l'énonciation et ayant pour pendant le destinataire. Avec le *mais/SN* du français, le locuteur est bien l'énonciateur de la négation de *p'*, mais non celui du *p'* nié, qui doit être attribué à un autre énonciateur, réel ou virtuel. Ultérieurement, Ducrot (2001) renoncera pratiquement au concept d'acte illocutoire, ici attribué à l'énonciateur, et lui substituera celui de « point de vue ». Je le conserve, car il est central dans la tradition linguistique arabe.

²⁵ Ducrot (1972), venant de la logique, oppose d'abord à la négation descriptive la négation métalinguistique, avant de réserver ce dernier terme à la négation polémique réfutant un énoncé explicite dont il reprend les termes.

3. quand *p'* et *q* ont une partie commune, celle-ci est obligatoirement effacée avec le *mais/SN* (alors qu'elle est maintenue ou remplacée par un anaphorique avec le *mais/PA*).

Chacune de ces conditions peut être remplie avec *bal*, comme dans cet exemple extrait des *Mille et une nuits* (*Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, 2, 268) :

- (22) kayfa kāna ḥāluka ya waladī ma'a hādā l-ʿaḡamī fa-qāla lahā lam yakun ʿaḡamiyyan bal kāna maḡūsiyyan yaʿbudu l-nār dūna l-malik al-ḡabbār
« Comment cela s'est-il passé avec ce Persan, mon fils ? », [demanda à Hassan sa mère] – « Ce n'était pas un Persan, mais un mage adorateur du Feu et non du Souverain Tout Puissant », lui répondit-il.

Nous avons bien ici une énonciation unique et une phrase négative, avec négation polémique : le fils rejette le présupposé (« c'était un Persan ») contenu dans la question de sa mère. Simplement, *lam yakun* étant sémantiquement, mais non formellement, la négation de *kāna*, celui-ci ne peut être effacé, alors qu'*était* doit l'être en français : il l'aurait été, si la négation avait été *mā kāna*.

Aucune n'a cependant de caractère obligatoire :

1bis) *bal* peut non seulement s'employer après une phrase positive (cf. 1. 4.), mais encore après une phrase implicitement négative, d'une manière ou d'une autre ; ainsi on peut trouver *bal q* après un *p* interrogatif ayant valeur de négation (la remarque faite par RDA au sujet de l'impossibilité de trouver *bal q* « rectificatif » après un *p* interrogatif n'est donc vraie que pour autant qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une interrogation rhétorique), comme dans l'exemple (Cor. 50 : 15) :

- (23) ʿa-fa-ʿayinā bi-l-ḥalqī l-ʾawwālī bal hum fī labsin min ḥalqin ḡadīdin
« Avons-nous été fatigués par la première création ? C'est plutôt eux qui doutent d'une nouvelle création ! », ²⁶

De même, on peut trouver un *bal q* après un *law p* où *p*, supposé à titre irréal, présuppose *Nég p'*, comme dans l'exemple suivant, tiré du texte même du *ŠK* (1, 89 = 1, 227) :

- (24) law kafā l-iḥtišāṣ al-ḥāṣil ʿinda l-mutakallim fī ḡawāz tankīr al-mubtada' la-ḡāza l-ibtidā' fī ʾayy nakira kānat ʾidā kānat maḡṣūṣa ʿinda l-mutakallim bal ʾin-namā l-iḥtišāṣ fī l-mubtada' ʿinda l-muḥāṭab

²⁶ Autre exemple dans Cor. 54, 25 : ʾa-ʾulqīya l-ḡikru ʿalayhi min bayninā bal huwa kaḡḡābun ʾaṣīrun (« L'Édification a-t-elle été jetée en lui, parmi nous ? Non point. C'est un imposteur insolent », tr. Blachère).

« si la spécification existant dans l'esprit du locuteur suffisait pour rendre possible l'indéfinition du thème, la thématisation serait possible avec toute expression indéfinie, quelle qu'elle soit, dès lors qu'elle serait spécifiée aux yeux du locuteur ; en fait et tout au contraire ce qui est requis, c'est la spécification du thème dans l'esprit de l'allocuté ».

On peut le trouver après une phrase négative, mais où la négation n'est pas autonome, comme dans cet exemple, également tiré du ŠK (2, 184 = 4, 348) :

(25) wa-ʿin qulnā ʿinna ʿilliyyūn ġayr ʿālam bal huwa ġamʿ ʿilliyya...

« Si nous disons : ʿilliyyūn n'est pas un nom propre (litt. est autre [que] nom propre) mais le pluriel de ʿilliyya... ».²⁷

2bis) *bal* peut coordonner deux constituants ou deux phrases, aussi bien dans le discours suivi que dans le dialogue (cf. *infra* 3.3) ;

3bis) après *bal*, on pourra trouver l'élément commun non seulement repris tel quel comme dans (ŠK 1, 10 = 1, 24) :

(26) lafẓ al-ibtidā'²⁸ laysa **madlūluhu** maḍmūn lafẓ ʾāḥar bal **madlūluhu** maʿnāhu llaḍī fi nafsīhi muṭābaqa

« l'expression d'"origine" n'a pas pour signifié le contenu d'une autre expression, mais [a pour signifié] le sens qui est le sien, contenu en elle-même adéquatement »

ou remplacé par un anaphorique, comme dans l'exemple (25) où *huwa* = ʿilliyyūn, mais encore représenté par une autre forme du même paradigme lexical, comme dans (ŠK 1, 6 = 1, 13) :

(27) lā yurīdūna... bal al-murād

(les grammairiens) ne veulent pas dire par là que... mais que... (litt. « ce qu'on veut dire »)

ou un synonyme, comme dans (ŠK 1, 4 = 1, 8) :

(28) lā yanbaġī ʾan yuḥtaraʿa fi l-ḥudūd ʾalfāẓ bal al-wāġib istiʿmāl al-mašhūr al-mutaʿāraf minhā fihā

²⁷ Le terme ʿilliyyūn (nominatif) se trouve dans Cor. 83, 19, précédé au v. 18 par ʿilliyyīn (accusatif-génitif). Ġayr est ici suivi d'un nom ; suivi d'un adjectif, il est l'équivalent du préfixe négatif *in-*, e.g. *mumkin* « possible » et *ġayr mumkin* « impossible » : dans les deux cas, il n'est pas autonome.

²⁸ Il s'agit ici du sens de la préposition *min* (« de »).

« il ne faut pas innover terminologiquement dans les définitions, mais y employer la terminologie connue et reconnue ».

En (27) on a respectivement la 3^e personne du masculin pluriel de l'inaccompli indicatif et le participe passif du verbe *'arāda* et en (28) la 3^e personne du masculin singulier du verbe *inbaḡā* (« convenir ») et le participe actif du verbe *waḡaba* (« falloir »).

Il ressort clairement de la comparaison que je viens de faire que le *bal* de l'arabe classique ne coïncide pas avec le *mais*/SN du français, mais est seulement en relation d'intersection avec lui. Peut-on cependant proposer une description unifiée de *bal* ? Il me semble que oui, à condition de partir de l'emploi, majoritaire dans la langue ancienne, de *bal* dans le dialogue.

3.3. Bal dans le dialogue

Ainsi sur les sept occurrences de *bal* dans la sourate 2 *al-Baqara* du Coran, six relèvent du dialogue, contre une du discours suivi. Par dialogue, il faut certes entendre un échange direct entre protagonistes, dont les propos sont rapportés, comme dans Cor. 2, 259 :

- (29) qāla kam labiṭṭa qāla labiṭṭu yawman 'aw ba'ḍa yawmin qāla bal labiṭṭa mi'ata 'āmin
« “Combien de temps es-tu resté [ainsi] ?”, demanda-t-il. “Je suis resté une journée ou une partie de journée”, répondit-il. “Mais non ! tu es resté cent ans !”, dit-il ».²⁹

ou encore Cor 2, 170 :

- (30) wa-'iḍā qāla lahum ittaba'ū mā 'anzala llāhu qālū bal nattabi'ū mā 'alfaynā 'alayhi 'abā'anā
« Et quand on leur dit “Suivez ce qu'Allah a révélé”, ils répondent “Non ! mais nous suivrons ce à quoi nous avons trouvé attachés nos pères” ».

Mais le plus souvent (quatre cas sur sept), il s'agit d'un échange indirect ou pseudo-dialogue. Le locuteur rapporte le propos d'une personne ou d'un groupe de personnes ou lui (ou leur) en prête un. Il y a alors deux possibilités. Dans la première, le locuteur enjoint son porte-parole³⁰ de lui/leur répliquer. C'est le cas de Cor. 2, 135 :

²⁹ La comparaison de l'énoncé arabe et de sa traduction française montre que l'arabe n'a qu'un seul verbe de citation, le verbe *qāla* (« dire ») et que celui-ci n'a qu'une seule position possible : *avant* la phrase citée.

³⁰ Identifiés par la théologie musulmane respectivement à Allah et à Mahomet. La conception islamique du Coran comme *kalām Allāh* (« parole d'Allah ») désigne ce dernier comme

- (31) qālū kūnū hūdan 'aw naṣārā tahtadū qul bal millata Ibrahīma ḥanifān wa-mā kāna min al-mušrikīna
 « Ils ont dit : “Soyez juifs ou chrétiens, vous serez bien guidés !”. Réponds : “Non, mais la communauté d’Abraham, vrai croyant, et n’ayant point été au nombre des associationnistes” ».

Ici le locuteur ne rapporte plus un dialogue mais en met en scène un : il y a cependant une interlocution, sinon réelle, du moins fictive. Il n’est pas difficile de voir que cet emploi de *bal* dans le dialogue est à l’origine de la fonction SN de *bal* dans le discours suivi. Tout en ayant le sens de « ou plutôt », il ne rectifie plus une erreur de celui qui parle, mais de celui auquel on parle. Il devient donc « polémique ». Il accomplit un acte unique de négation-rectification : si la négation est implicite, la rectification est explicite, valant justification de la négation. Et c’est cet acte de négation-rectification unique de *bal* dans le dialogue qui se dédouble dans le discours suivi : la négation y étant explicite, *bal* n’introduit plus que la rectification valant justification de la négation. Chacun des dialogues précités pourrait se réécrire sous forme d’un énoncé unique de forme *Nég p’ bal q* (ou *b*) :

- (32) lam talbaṭ yawman 'aw ba'ḍa yawmin bal labiṭṭa mi'ata 'āmin
 « tu n’es pas resté une journée ou une partie de journée, mais cent ans ».

Nous verrons dans la troisième partie de cet article que la négation de *labiṭṭa* aurait toutes chances d’être ici *lam talbaṭ* et non *mā labiṭṭa*. Quant à l’introduction de *labiṭṭa*, elle est rendue nécessaire par le fait que *lam talbaṭ* est sémantiquement, mais non formellement la négation de *labiṭṭa* : en français, la négation étant à l’inverse la forme positive encadrée par *ne...pas*, le verbe est nécessairement effacé.

- (33) lā nattaḇi'ū mā 'anzala llāhu bal mā 'alfaynā 'alayhi 'abā'anā
 « nous ne suivrons pas ce qu’Allah a révélé, mais ce à quoi nous avons trouvé attachés nos pères ».

Lā nattaḇi'ū étant non seulement sémantiquement, mais encore formellement la négation de *nattaḇi'ū*, cet élément peut être effacé.

al-mutakallim « celui qui parle, le locuteur » : la théologie sunnite orthodoxe (aṣ'arite), reprenant à la philosophie antique le concept des *tres orationes*, lui attribue le *kakām nafsi* (« discours mental »), seul éternel et « signifié » (*ma'nā*) du *kalām lafẓi* (« discours oralo-verbal »), qui en est le signifiant et qui, lui, advient dans le temps (*ḥādīṭ*). Nous verrons plus loin un effet herméneutique de ce croisement de la théologie et de la linguistique, qu’on peut appeler « théolinguistique ».

(34) lā takūnū hūdan ʿaw naṣārā bal kūnū millata Ibrahīma

« Ne soyez pas juifs ou chrétiens, mais la communauté d'Abraham ».

L'introduction de *kūnū* est rendue nécessaire pour la même raison que celle de *la-biṭṭa* en (30), le prohibitif *lā takūnū* étant sémantiquement mais non formellement la négation de l'impératif *kūnū*, alors que dans le dialogue, il était effacé, étant l'élément commun à *p* et *q*.

Une fois admis le lien entre fonction de négation-rectification de *bal* dans le dialogue et sa fonction de rectification après phrase négative polémique dans le discours suivi, on sera tenté de voir un exemple de *bal* correspondant au *mais/SN* français dans Cor. 2, 154 :

(35) wa-lā taqūlū li-man yuqtalu fī sabīli llāhi ʿamwātun bal ʾahyāʾun wa-lākin lā taṣʿarūna

Il ne le serait que si ʿamwātun et ʾahyāʾun figuraient dans une énonciation unique. Mais, pour ce, il faudrait introduire devant ʾahyāʾun l'impératif *qūlū*, pour la même raison que *labiṭṭa* et *kūnū* en (30) et (32), l'énoncé se comprenant alors comme :

(35') « Ne dites pas de ceux qui sont tués pour Allah “Morts !”, mais [dites] “Vivants !”, mais vous ne vous en rendez pas compte ».

À défaut, c'est un des trois exemples illustrant la deuxième possibilité d'échange indirect ou pseudo-dialogue : s'il n'y a plus d'interlocution, même fictive, il n'y en pas moins deux locuteurs dont l'un réagit au propos qu'il prête à l'autre. L'énoncé se comprend donc comme :

(35'') « Ne dites pas de ceux qui sont tués pour Allah : “Morts !”. Au contraire, [ils sont] vivants, mais vous ne vous en rendez pas compte ».

Ici *bal* peut être traduit par « au contraire », parce que ʿamwātun et ʾahyāʾun sont lexicalement des antonymes. Le second des trois exemples est Cor. 2, 116 :

(36) qālū ittaḥaḍa llāhu waladan subḥānahu bal lahu mā fī l-samawāti wa-l-ʿarḍi

« Ils ont dit : “Allah s'est donné un fils – gloire à lui”. Non ! Mais à lui est ce qui est dans les cieux et sur terre ».

Alors que le *mais/SN* français exige que les deux énoncés aient une partie formellement commune, le *bal* arabe exige qu'ils aient seulement une partie sémantiquement commune, ce qui est le cas ici : « il s'est donné un fils » = « il a un fils », ce que vient nier et rectifier *bal* (« il n'a pas de fils, mais [a] ce qui est dans les

cieux et sur terre »). Le troisième exemple est à la fois la première occurrence de *bal* dans cette sourate (2, 88) et la plus difficile :

(37) qālū qulūbunā ġulfun bal la‘anahumu llāhu bi-kufrihim.

La difficulté tient au fait que l’on ne voit pas de prime abord le rapport entre *p* et *q*. *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* (p. 13) indique que *bal* est ici pour le *‘idrāb*. Si l’on suit al-Tabarī, m. 310/923 (*Tafsīr* 2, 236), *p* semble être une excuse de la part des Juifs : « nos cœurs sont incirconcis » = « ils sont dans des enveloppes par rapport à ce à quoi tu nous invites, ô Mahomet » (*qulūbunā fi ‘akinnā mim mā tad‘ūnūnā ‘ilayhi yā Muḥammad*) et c’est cette excuse que *bal* rejette en affirmant qu’Allah les a maudits pour leur impiété (*q* ne doit donc pas être interprété ici comme une malédiction),³¹ le tout pouvant se paraphraser par « ce ne sont pas leurs cœurs qui sont incirconcis, mais c’est Allah qui les a maudits pour leur impiété ».

Finalement, Cor. 2, 100 est le seul exemple de *bal* en discours suivi (*p* et *q* ayant le même locuteur) et, en même temps, un exemple de *bal q* après *p* interrogatif :

(38) ‘a-wa kullamā ‘āhadū ‘ahdan nabbaḍa farīqun minhum bal ‘akṭaruhum lā yu‘-minūna.

Tafsīr al-Ġalālayni (15) indique que *bal* a ici une fonction d’*intiqāl*. Cela veut dire que nous sommes dans la même configuration qu’en (20). Dans les deux cas, la question *p* est orientée dans le sens d’une réponse positive (et c’est d’ailleurs pourquoi Blachère « traduit » *bal* par « Oui ») et *bal q* va dans le même sens, mais en ce sens plus loin que *p*, soit :

(38’) « Chaque fois qu’ils concluent un pacte, une fraction d’entre eux le rejette ? Pis ! La plupart d’entre eux ne croient pas ».

Le tout pourrait être paraphrasé par « non seulement une fraction d’entre eux, chaque fois qu’ils concluent un pacte, le rejette, mais encore la plupart d’entre eux ne croient pas ». En ce cas, le français emploie (*bien*) *plus* et, selon que *p* et *q* sont orientés pour le locuteur dans un bon ou un mauvais sens (*bien*) *mieux*, (*bien*) *pis*. (21) serait donc mieux traduit par :

(21’) « Vous accomplissez l’acte charnel avec les mâles de ce monde (...) ? Pis : vous êtes un peuple transgresseur ».

³¹ Pour la théologie et l’exégèse musulmanes tout énoncé coranique est dans le champ d’un *qāla llāhu ta‘ālā* (« Allah le Très Haut a dit : ... »). De ce fait, celui qui parle et celui dont il parle coïncidant, l’énoncé peut être interprété comme une assertion, alors qu’avec un locuteur humain, il l’est comme une imprécation (« Allah les maudisse ! », ainsi que traduit d’ailleurs Blachère).

En français familier, on pourrait dire : *même que...*

Les fonctions de *ʿidrāb* et d'*intiḳāl*, telles que décrites et exemplifiées par les grammairiens arabes, se laissent ramener à une seule et même, celle de *tadāruk al-ḡalaṭ*.³² Simplement, dans le *ʿidrāb*, élément rectifié et élément rectifiant vont dans des sens opposés, alors que dans l'*intiḳāl*, ils vont dans le même sens, mais le second, en ce sens, plus loin que le premier.

Ce sont ces deux interprétations de *bal*, qui sont aussi celles du *mais/SN* français, qui expliquent les deux interprétations (20') et (20'') de (20). Les deux traducteurs français, voyant dans Cor. 27, 65–66 un *bal* précédé d'une phrase négative projettent sur le verset le *mais/SN* français mais pour partie seulement : *p* et *q* n'ayant pas de partie formellement commune, *mais/SN* ne peut pas être employé mais seulement ses paraphrases. Mais alors que Blachère voit *p* et *q* comme sémantiquement opposés (avec *mais/SN* on aurait « ils ne sont pas conscients de quand ils seront ressuscités, mais (au contraire) déficients quant à leur connaissance de la Vie dernière »), Masson les voit comme allant dans le même sens, mais *q*, en ce sens, plus loin que *p* (avec *mais/SN* on aurait « ils ne sont pas conscients de quand ils seront ressuscités mais (bien plus) déficients quant à leur connaissance de la Vie dernière »). Dans la mesure où al-Rummānī cite le premier *bal* comme exemple de la fonction pour laquelle ḤṢK cite les deuxième et troisième, on doit voir dans la première phrase le premier degré d'une gradation où chaque phrase suivante précédée de *bal* va dans le même sens, mais en ce sens plus loin que la précédente. (20) serait donc mieux traduit par :

(20''') « Ils ne sont pas conscients de quand ils seront ressuscités. Pis ! Déficiante est leur science sur la vie future. Pis ! Ils sont dans le doute sur elle. Pis ! Ils sont sur elle aveugles... ».

Pour autant, il ne faudrait pas croire (et c'est une autre lacune de la description de *bal*) que l'*intiḳāl* ne se rencontre qu'avec le *bal* entre phrases. Il se rencontre aussi bien avec le *bal* entre constituants d'une *même*³³ phrase, comme dans l'exemple suivant (*Mille et une nuits*, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 2, 272) :

(39) ʿinna Baḡdāda kullahā bali l-dunyā kullahā laysa fihā man tudānī tilka l-ḡāriya fi ḡamālihā
« dans tout Bagdad et même dans le monde entier, il n'y a personne qui approche cette jeune esclave en beauté ».

³² Ces trois notions, ainsi que celles de *ibṭāl*, sont également étudiées par Sartori (2025), mais à propos, non de *bal*, mais de celle des appositions dite *badal* (« permutatif »).

³³ Et non de deux phrases différentes, comme en (13), où la coordination de *b* à *a* résulte, selon la description même des grammairiens arabes, de l'ellipse de la partie commune à *p* et *q*.

4 *Lākin(na)* et *bal*, *mais/PA* et *mais/SN* et la négation

4.1 Confusion *bal/lākin*

Si maintenant on revient à (2) et qu'on se demande pourquoi *bal* et *lākin*₂ peuvent s'y confondre, on répondra que c'est parce que, que l'on emploie *bal* ou qu'on emploie *lākin*, l'énoncé apporte, comme on l'a déjà relevé, les deux mêmes informations : 1) « Zayd n'est pas venu chez moi » et 2) « 'Amr est venu chez moi ». Mais si l'on veut expliquer la divergence d'interprétation de (2) entre RDA qui assimile *lākin*₂ à *lākinna* et IHA qui le confond avec *bal*, la réponse à la question tient à la *nature* de la négation. Dans la description qu'il donne de *p lākinna q*, *q*, qui a une forme négative, s'oppose à un *r* implicite : c'est donc une négation « polémique », au sens de Ducrot. En revanche, dans la description qu'il donne de *p lākin b*, RDA indique que dans *p*, qui a une forme négative, « la non-venue de Zayd reste en l'état » et que « ce jugement n'était pas une erreur de ta part ». Autrement dit, ce qui est après *lākin* ne rectifie pas ce qui est avant, mais, comme avec *lākinna*, un *r* implicite. En outre, la formulation même qu'adopte RDA montre que, pour lui, *p* ne nie pas le prédicat « venir » du sujet « Zayd », mais lui attribue le prédicat « ne pas venir ». C'est donc une négation « descriptive » au sens de Ducrot. Nier le prédicat « venir » du sujet « Zayd », c'est à l'inverse ce que fait *p bal/lākin b* dans la description de IHA, comme réponse à qui croit soit que Zayd est venu sans 'Amr soit que Zayd et 'Amr sont venus ensemble. Les négations « polémique » et « descriptive » de Ducrot ne font que retrouver, sous un autre nom, la distinction faite en logique entre négations « modale » et « dictale ». Dans la négation modale, la négation constitue le *modus* ayant dans son champ le *dictum* ou contenu propositionnel ; dans la négation dictale, la négation fait partie du *dictum* dans le champ du *modus* assertion. RDA, aussi bon logicien que pragmaticien, est particulièrement sensible à la distinction. Dans la description qu'il donne de *lā*, prophrase de « il ne s'est pas levé », en (16), il dit : *nafayta bi-lā al-qiyām 'an Zayd* « tu as nié de Zayd, au moyen de *lā*, la mise debout », autrement dit nié que Zayd se soit mis debout : c'est évidemment une négation modale ; à l'inverse, en (14), il décrit *mā ḡā'anī Zaydun* suivi de *bal* dans les mêmes termes que suivi de *lākin*₂, comme « le jugement porté sur Zayd de non-venue » (*al-ḥukm 'alā Zayd bi-'adam al-maḡī'*), qui confirment que pour lui, dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'attribuer le prédicat « ne pas venir » à Zayd et non d'en nier le prédicat « venir ». Mieux : indiquant que ce jugement peut être exact ou non et, par suite, dans le premier cas, que « Zayd est non venu » (*fa-yakūnu ḡayra ḡā'in*), il emploie ici une proposition que les logiciens occidentaux appellent « métathétique » et les logiciens médiévaux de langue arabe *ma'dūla* (« détournée »), parce que consistant en un « transfert » (grec *metáthēsis*) ou un « détournement » (*'udūl*) de la négation de la relation à l'un des termes de la proposition, sujet (S) ou prédicat (P), ici le

prédicat, i.e. « S est non-P » (au lieu de « S n'est pas P »).³⁴ Dans une telle proposition, on décrit un état, on ne nie pas une action.

C'est encore le statut de la négation qui explique la divergence d'interprétation de (15) entre al-Mubarrad et la « masse » des grammairiens : c'est parce que *mā ḡā'ani Zaydun* est compris par le premier comme affirmant que Zayd n'est pas venu et non pas niant qu'il soit venu que *bal 'Amrun* ne fait que rectifier l'identité de la personne qui n'est pas venue (« Zayd, ou plutôt 'Amr, n'est pas venu ») ; et c'est parce qu'il est compris par les seconds comme une négation modale niant que Zayd soit venu et non pas affirmant qu'il n'est pas venu que *bal 'Amrun* affirme de 'Amr le prédicat « venir » nié de Zayd. Si l'on veut comprendre ce mouvement, qui est exactement celui du *mais/SN* français, il faut voir dans (2) la « cristallisation »³⁵ d'un dialogue sous-jacent qui est :

- (40) – ḡā'aka Zaydun – bal 'Amrun
– Zayd est venu chez toi – Plutôt 'Amr !

Dans le dialogue, *bal* fait la même chose que dans le discours suivi après phrase positive : il rectifie l'identité de la personne venue. Mais, dans le dialogue, il y a deux locuteurs, de sorte que le second, en rectifiant explicitement l'identité de la personne dont le premier a affirmé la venue, se trouve nier implicitement la venue de cette personne, tout en l'affirmant d'une autre, (40) devenant l'équivalent de :

- (40') – Zayd est venu chez toi – Non, mais 'Amr !

Enfin, dans le discours suivi, il n'y a plus qu'un locuteur, mais il y a bien deux énonciateurs, le locuteur ne s'identifiant qu'à l'un des deux : en niant explicitement la venue de Zayd affirmée par l'autre énonciateur, il affirme implicitement celle de 'Amr, *bal* continuant de rectifier l'identité de la personne venue.

La confusion de *bal* et *lākin* dans le contexte illustré par (2) se retrouve en arabe (standard) moderne. Girod (2000), se fondant sur un corpus de presse égyptien, en a relevé trois exemples, plus un hors corpus, que voici (*al-Ahrām* du 22/2/1999) :

- (41) ya'ti (...) al-ra'is 'ilā Īṭāliyā wa-Almāniya laysa bi-ṣifathi ra'is Miṣr faqaṭ lākin bi-ṣifatihi 'ayḍan ra'is al-qimma al-'arabiyya
« Le président vient en Italie et en Allemagne, non seulement en sa qualité de président de l'Égypte, mais encore en sa qualité de président du sommet arabe ».

³⁴ Cf. al-Kātibī (2024 : 46, § 48 et commentaire ; 164, § 48).

³⁵ J'emprunte le terme à Ducrot.

Exemple d'autant plus incontestable qu'il figure dans une structure « non seulement... mais (SN) encore... » et qu'on apprend en classe que l'équivalent arabe en est *laysa faqaṭ* (ou *fa-ḥasb*) *bal 'aydan*.

On pourrait se demander s'il n'y a pas ici une influence de l'arabe égyptien. Dans celui-ci en effet, *laken*, l'équivalent de *lākin*, assume non seulement la fonction PA, concurrencé cependant dans ce rôle par *bass* (litt. « seulement »), mais aussi la fonction SN, comme dans l'exemple suivant donné par Girod et Aziz (2016: 168) :

- (42) meš 'Ali elli fe l-madrasa laken Aḥmad
« Ce n'est pas Ali qui est à l'école mais Ahmad ».

(42) n'est pas sans ressembler à (2) qui, dans le contexte indiqué par IHA, spécialement comme réponse à qui croit que Zayd est venu sans 'Amr, s'interprète bien comme :

- (2') « N'est pas venu chez moi Zayd, mais 'Amr » = « Ce n'est pas Zayd qui est venu chez moi, mais 'Amr ».

Et IHA étant lui-même Égyptien, on pourrait se demander si cette influence dialectale n'est pas elle-même ancienne. Une telle hypothèse pourrait se vérifier à travers les textes du moyen arabe, au sens non pas historique d'état intermédiaire entre ancien arabe et néo-arabe, mais au sens sociolinguistique de variété mixte, où alternent traits classiques, pseudo-classiques et dialectaux. En ce sens, tous les auteurs médiévaux, y compris les grammairiens, écrivent dans des proportions diverses en moyen arabe.

Mais on pourrait se demander aussi si la confusion ne remonte pas à Sibawayhi lui-même, dont le texte, sur ce point, est loin d'être clair. En effet, du *bal* coordination de deux constituants, il donne (*Kitāb* 1, 444) deux exemples, l'un après phrase positive :

- (43) marartu bi-raḡulin šāliḥin bal ṭālihin

et l'autre après phrase négative :

- (44) mā marartu bi-raḡulin karīmin bal la'imin

Mais il ne décrit sémantiquement que le premier : « [*bal*] intervient pour l'oubli ou l'erreur : il [*i.e.* le locuteur] corrige son énoncé, *parce qu'il commence par une affirmation* » [c'est moi qui souligne] (*yaḡī'u 'alā l-nisyan 'aw l-galaṭ fa-yatadāraku kalāmahu li-'annahu yabtada'u bi-wāḡib*).³⁶ Une telle description présente (43)

³⁶ Sur l'emploi de *wāḡib* dans le sens d'affirmatif/positif (vs négatif) dans le *Kitāb*, cf. Ayoub (2015) et, pour un commentaire, Larcher (2018). Cet emploi est confirmé par celui de *ṭiḡāb*

comme rectifiant ce qui est présenté comme un *lapsus memoriae* ou *linguae* et il doit donc être traduit par :

(43') « j'ai rencontré un homme vertueux ou plutôt/que dis-je ? dépravé ».

Mais la phrase justificative par moi soulignée suggère que cette description ne vaut pas pour *bal* après phrase négative et, par suite, prévient l'interprétation que ferait al-Mubarrad de (44) comme :

(44') je n'ai pas rencontré un homme noble ou plutôt/que dis-je ? ignoble.

Bal dans (44) devrait être alors interprété comme un *mais/SN* :

(44'') je n'ai pas rencontré un homme noble, mais ignoble.

Du *lākin* coordination de deux constituants, Sībawayhi ne donne qu'un exemple (*Kitāb* 1, 445), après phrase négative :

(45) mā marartu bi-rağulin ṣāliḥin lākin ṭālihin

Il juge en effet « impossible » (*muḥāl*) de trouver *lākin* après phrase positive et de dire :

(46) *marartu bi-rağulin ṣāliḥin wa-lākin³⁷ ṭālihin

Et il justifie cette impossibilité ainsi : « parce qu'on ne se sert pas de *lākin* pour rectifier une erreur après affirmation : par contre, on s'en sert pour affirmer, après la négation » (*li-'annahū lā yutadāruku bihā ba'da 'iğāb wa-lākin nahā yuṭbatu bihā ba'da l-nafy*). Une telle description est compatible aussi bien avec une interprétation de *lākin* dans (45) comme un *mais/SN* :

(45') « je n'ai pas rencontré un/d'homme vertueux, mais dépravé »

dans la seconde citation et confirme l'influence de la logique sur Sībawayhi : ce sont en effet les logiciens qui emploient *'iğāb* dans le sens d'affirmation (vs *salb* « négation »), les grammairiens employant préférentiellement en ce sens *'iṭbāt* (vs *nafy*) ; Sībawayhi emploie d'ailleurs le verbe *yuṭbatu* dans la seconde citation.

³⁷ L'édition Hārūn a *lākin* en (45), mais *wa-lākin* en (46) ; l'édition Derenbourg (ch. 101 1, 184) a *wa-lākin* dans les deux ainsi que celle de Būlāq (1, 216), qui en est issue. En principe, deux morphèmes décrits comme appartenant à la même catégorie, en l'espèce celle de particule de coordination, devraient être mutuellement exclusifs.

que comme un *mais/PA* :

(45'') « je n'ai pas rencontré un homme vertueux, mais [j'ai rencontré un homme] dépravé.

En faveur de l'interprétation comme *mais/PA*, on pourrait arguer que l'arabe ayant deux particules là où le français n'a qu'une conjonction de coordination, il peut effacer la partie commune aussi bien avec *lākin* qu'avec *bal*, alors qu'en français l'effacement ou le non-effacement de la partie commune fait la différence entre *mais/SN* et *mais/PA*. On pourrait également arguer du fait que la manière dont Sibawayhi décrit *lākin* est exactement celle dont il emploie *lākinna* pour décrire... *lākin* : on trouve en effet avant *lākinna* une phrase verbale négative et, après, une phrase nominale thème-propos, mais dont le propos est une phrase verbale affirmative et *lākinna* y apparaît comme un *mais* adversatif, paraphrable en français par *par contre*.

Quoi qu'il en soit, avec l'interprétation comme *mais/SN*, il faut admettre qu'en contexte négatif, il peut y avoir une confusion entre *bal* et *lākin* ; avec l'interprétation comme *mais/PA*, il faut admettre que la négation *mā fa'ala* est ambiguë, ce qui fait une transition avec la question suivante.

4.2 Cor. 33, 40 : *mais/SN* ou *mais/PA* ?

Si la confusion entre *bal* et *lākin*, dans le contexte de (2)/(13), est purement interne à l'arabe, langue et métalangue, on note des confusions externes, en traduction, entre *bal* et *lākin(na)*, dues à des interférences avec la langue des traducteurs. C'est le cas de Cor. 33, 40, qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre orientale et orientaliste :

(47) mā kāna Muḥammadun 'abā 'aḥadin min riḡālikum wa-lākin rasūla llāhi wa-ḥātama l-nabiyyin(a)

Le traducteur allemand (ici Henning) traduit par un *SN* :

(47') Muhammad ist nicht der Vater eines euerer Männer, sondern Allahs Gesandter und das Siegel der Propheten [« Mahomet n'est pas le père d'un de vos hommes mais l'envoyé d'Allah et le sceau des prophètes »].

Le traducteur français (ici Blachère) traduit par un *PA* :

(47'') Mahomet n'est le père de nul de vos mâles, mais il est l'Apôtre d'Allah et le sceau des prophètes.

Bien que l'allemand soit une langue à deux *mais* et qu'on ait *wa-lākin*, le traducteur allemand est sûrement influencé par le fait que *wa-lākin* est ici précédé par une phrase négative et que dans la phrase qui suit, l'élément formellement commun, en l'espèce le verbe *kāna*, est effacé. Bien que ce soient, en français comme en allemand, deux des conditions d'emploi de *SN*, Blachère est sûrement retenu contre cette interprétation par le fait qu'on n'a pas *bal*, mais *wa-lākin*. On voit ainsi qu'il ne suffit pas qu'une langue ait morphologiquement deux *mais* pour ne pas les confondre parfois sémantiquement et, inversement, qu'elle n'en ait qu'un seul pour ne pas distinguer *SN* et *PA*.

Mais le traducteur allemand peut aussi être influencé par le contexte du verset. Ce contexte, c'est, selon la tradition islamique, celui du mariage de Mahomet avec Zaynab bint Ğaḥṣ, femme répudiée de son fils adoptif Zayd b. Hārīṭa. Et, dans ce contexte, *p* s'interprète, si l'on suit *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* (354), comme une négation modale : *fa-laysa 'abā Zayd 'ay wāliduhu fa-lā yuḥarramu 'alayhi l-tazawwuġ bi-zawġatihi Zaynab* « Il n'est pas le père de Zayd,³⁸ c'est-à-dire son géniteur : il ne lui est donc pas interdit de se marier avec son épouse Zaynab ». Dans ce contexte, *p* rejette ce qu'on³⁹ disait et qui, pour le locuteur, est faux, un père adoptif n'étant pas un vrai père, et justifie son rejet, en opposant à ce rôle pour ainsi dire humain et même trop humain celui, pour ainsi dire surhumain, d'« envoyé d'Allah et de sceau des prophètes ». Notons qu'en arabe *laysa*, employé par *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn*, est toujours une négation modale (Larcher 2007).

Mais on pourrait dire que la négation que Mahomet soit le père de Zayd a déjà été faite par le v. 4 : *mā ġa'ala [llāhu] 'azwāġakumu llā'i tuzāhirūna min-hunna 'ummahātikum wa-mā ġa'ala 'ad'iyā'akum 'abnā'akum dālikum qawlukum bi-'afwāhikum* « Allah n'a pas fait de vos épouses, que vous répudiez par le dos, vos mères et il n'a pas fait de vos fils adoptifs vos fils : c'est ce que vous dites, par vos bouches ». Une femme répudiée « par le dos », c'est-à-dire au moyen de la formule « tu m'es [interdite] comme le dos de ma mère » (*'anti 'alayya ka-zahr 'ummī*) n'est évidemment pas une mère, mais seulement une femme avec laquelle les relations sexuelles sont désormais illicites comme elles le sont avec une mère... Et, de même, un fils adoptif n'est pas un vrai fils, seulement quelqu'un qu'on « appelle » fils et, par suite, un père adoptif n'est pas un vrai père, mais seulement quelqu'un qu'on appelle père.

Si cela est, Cor. 33, 40 ne fait que réaffirmer ce qui a déjà été dit, d'autant que ce verset est la conclusion de la péricope constituée par les versets 36–40 et identifiée par Blachère comme « Révélation touchant le divorce et le remariage de Zāinab » : le verset met en balance ce qu'il n'est définitivement pas et ce qu'il

³⁸ Zayd a été nommé au v. 37 de la même sourate.

³⁹ C'est bien un *on*-énonciateur, cf. v. 37 : *'id (...) taḥṣā l-nāsa* (« quand (...) tu craignais les gens »), c'est-à-dire le qu'en-dira-t-on. Ce mariage faisait scandale, par rapport en fait à la Loi juive (Lv 20, 12 : « Tu ne découvriras pas la nudité de ta belle-fille. C'est la femme de ton fils »).

est définitivement.⁴⁰ On pourrait d'ailleurs arguer, en faveur de l'interprétation comme *PA*, de la forme même de la négation, ce qui nous amène à la dernière question.

4.3 *mā fa'ala (wa-)lākin(na)* vs *lam yaf'al bal* ?

Anscombe et Ducrot (1977) établissent une corrélation entre *mais/SN* et *mais/PA*, négations polémique et descriptive : *mais/SN* est toujours précédé d'une phrase négative et cette négation est toujours polémique ; quand *mais/PA* est précédé d'une phrase négative, la négation y est descriptive.

Dans un premier temps (Larcher 1994), j'ai adopté, en l'adaptant au cas de l'arabe classique, cette corrélation, en faisant l'hypothèse que quand *p* était négatif, cette négation était descriptive avec *lākin(na)*, mais polémique avec *bal*.

Mais j'ai croisé cette première hypothèse avec une seconde : j'ai supposé en effet (Larcher 1980: 67 développé dans Larcher 1994 [2014a]) que des deux négations de *fa'ala*, soit *mā fa'ala* et *lam yaf'al*, la première était descriptive (ou dictale), mais la seconde polémique (ou modale).

Du croisement de ces deux hypothèses résultait une troisième : dans un contexte où, avec un *p* positif, on aurait *fa'ala*, on doit s'attendre à avoir, avec un *p* négatif, *mā fa'ala* avant *lākin(na)*, mais *lam yaf'al* avant *bal*.⁴¹ Cette double

⁴⁰ Dans un premier temps, j'avais supposé, en linguiste anthropologue, que le verset opposait à une qualité négative dans la société arabe traditionnelle (celui de ne pas avoir d'héritier mâle) une qualité autrement positive, faisant sortir Mahomet de sa condition humaine de simple géniteur. Mais telle n'est pas l'interprétation de l'orthodoxie sunnite, révélée par le commentaire fait par *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* de *q : lā yakūnu lahu ibn raḡul ba'dahu yakūnu nabiyyan* (litt. « il n'aura pas de fils d'homme après lui qui soit prophète »). En fait comme l'écrit Van Reth (2022 : 1123–1124), renvoyant à l'ouvrage de David S. Powers (2009) : « ceux qui détenaient le pouvoir pendant le premier siècle de l'islam étaient tous d'accord pour éviter à tout prix que quelque part quelqu'un puisse se manifester pour revendiquer l'héritage du Prophète en tant que son descendant, puisqu'un tel successeur risquait automatiquement d'être investi de l'héritage prophétique ou mieux de la prophétie héréditaire ».

⁴¹ J'ai illustré à plusieurs reprises cette double corrélation par un extrait de *'ayyu l-walad* (p. 55) d'al-Ġazālī (m. 505/1111), où l'on trouve successivement la phrase positive *kāna rasūlu llāhi (...)* *yu'iddu ḡālīka li-ba'ḏi ḥuḡurātihi* (« l'Envoyé d'Allah (...) préparait cela [i.e. de la nourriture] pour certaines de ses femmes », litt. « chambres », avec une métonymie du contenant pour le contenu) et les deux phrases négatives *wa-lam yakun yu'iddu ḡālīka li-kulli ḥuḡurātihi bal kāna yu'idduhu li-man 'alīma 'anna fi qalbihā ḡa'fan* (« Il ne préparait pas cela pour toutes ses femmes, mais seulement pour celles dont il savait qu'il y avait de la faiblesse dans leur cœur ») et *wa-'am-mā man kānat šāḥibata yaqīnin fa-mā kāna yu'iddu lahā 'aḡṭara min qūti yawmin 'aw niṣf(in)* (« Quant à celles qui étaient convaincues, il ne leur préparait pas plus de la nourriture d'une journée ou même d'une demi-journée »). La première phrase négative est un parfait exemple de *lam yaf'al...bal*, rejetant la conclusion risquant d'être tirée de la phrase positive (*certaines* allant dans le sens de *toutes* : on peut dire *certaines et même toutes*) et justifiant ce rejet en qualifiant

corrélation est vérifiée par tous les exemples que nous avons donnés, sauf un, l'exemple (15), ou l'on s'attendrait à avoir *lam yağī'* et non *mā ḡā'a*. Mais c'est précisément l'exemple qui fait débat chez les grammairiens.

Dans un second temps (Larcher 2009), j'ai apporté deux correctifs à cette double corrélation. Le premier, d'ailleurs anticipé par Ducrot (1973) lui-même pour le *mais/PA* du français, est que si la négation est toujours polémique avec *bal* et généralement descriptive avec *lākin(na)*, elle peut néanmoins être polémique avec *lākin(na)*. J'en ai donné deux exemples coraniques l'un avec *lākinna* (Cor. 8, 17) et l'autre avec *lākin* (Cor. 49, 14), tous deux uniques : je cite celui-ci (je citerai celui-là plus loin en note) :

(48) qālati l-A'rābu 'āmannā qul lam tu'minū wa-lākin qūlū 'aslamnā

« Les Arabes bédouins ont dit : “nous avons cru”. Dis : “vous n’avez pas cru”.

Mais dites : “nous nous sommes soumis” ».

Lam tu'minū est incontestablement une négation polémique, rejetant l'affirmation précédente des Bédouins 'āmannā. Elle est pourtant suivie de *wa-lākin*. On aurait un *mais/SN* si on avait soit : « [Ne dites pas “nous avons cru”] mais (dites) “nous nous sommes soumis” », soit « Dis “vous n’avez pas cru [mais vous êtes soumis]” ». Or, ici, nous avons comme *p* le premier segment de la seconde suite et comme *q* le second segment de la première suite. C'est la suite du verset qui donne la solution : *wa-lammā yadhulu l-'imānu fī qulūbikum* « la foi n'est pas encore entrée dans vos cœurs ». Autrement dit, il ne faut pas conclure de la négation de la foi ('imān) à celle de la soumission ('islām), car, en fait, les Bédouins se sont soumis, mais (par contre) n'ont pas (encore) cru.

Le second correctif concerne la négation *mā fa'ala* elle-même : pour les grammairiens arabes, si *lam yaf'al* est la négation de *fa'ala*, *mā fa'ala* est celle de *(la)(qad) fa'ala*⁴² : je mets ces deux éléments entre parenthèses, car on peut n'avoir que l'un des deux : ainsi *(wa-)mā fa'ala* est la négation de *(wa)-qad fa'ala* dans la « phrase d'état » (*ḡumla ḥālīyya*) et celle de *la-fa'ala* comme apodose d'un système hypothétique en *law*. *La-* et *qad*, combiné avec *fa'ala*, sont deux éléments ayant la même valeur modale d'assurance (*tawkid*). C'est pourquoi on peut trouver dans le Coran (8, 17) :

(49) mā ramayta 'iḍ ramayta wa-lākinna llāha ramā

celles des femmes visées. Dans la seconde phrase négative, exemple de *mā fa'ala*, la négation est d'autant moins modale qu'elle ne porte pas sur la relation sujet-prédicat, mais seulement sur la quantification du complément d'objet.

⁴² Cf. Sibawayhi (*Kitāb* 3, 117) : *wa-'iḍā qāla fa'ala fa-'inna nafyahu lam yaf'al (...) wa-'iḍā qāla la-qad fa'ala fa-'inna nafyahu mā fa'ala* « S'il [i.e. le locuteur] dit *fa'ala*, la négation en est *lam yaf'al* (...) et s'il dit *la-qad fa'ala*, la négation en est *mā fa'ala* »).

La circonstancielle présupposant *ramayta*, il ne peut revenir à un seul et même locuteur à la fois d'affirmer et de nier la même chose ! En revanche, si l'on interprète *mā ramayta* comme « tu n'as pas réellement tiré » (ce qui détermine le *ramayta* de la circonstancielle dans le sens de « tu as tiré en apparence »), le *wa-lākinna* se comprend : de *mā ramayta* il ne faut pas conclure que personne n'a tiré ou encore se demander qui a tiré, car en fait quelqu'un a tiré et c'est Allah. Le verset se comprend donc bien comme :

(49') « Tu n'as pas (réellement) tiré, quand tu as tiré, mais (PA) c'est Allah qui a tiré »

et non comme :

(49'') « Ce n'est pas toi qui as tiré, quand tu as tiré, mais (SN) [c'est] Allah ». ⁴³

La distinction de deux négations, descriptive et polémique, semble affaiblie par la conception « polyphonique » de la négation introduite par Ducrot (1980). Il propose en effet de voir dans *tout* énoncé négatif *non-p* un « dialogue cristallisé » où un énonciateur E1 affirme *p* en s'adressant à un destinataire D1, affirmation qu'un énonciateur E2 rejette en s'adressant à un destinataire D2. E1 et E2 ne sont jamais identifiés à une seule et même personne et E2 est généralement identifié au locuteur. Ce serait la description même de la négation polémique, si Ducrot n'ajoutait que *non-p* n'acquiert de caractère « agressif » que si D2 est identifié à E1.

On peut donc maintenir que Cor. 33, 40 est bien une négation descriptive, même si dans la conception polyphonique de la négation tout énoncé négatif fait désormais référence à l'énoncé positif correspondant ⁴⁴. On le maintiendra

⁴³ C'est ainsi que comprend Henning : *und nicht warfst du, als du warfst, sondern Allah*. Ce verset est coordonné à l'unique occurrence coranique de *wa-lākinna* suivant un *lam yaf'al* : *lam taqtulūhum wa-lākinna llāha qatalahum*. Le mouvement est le même qu'en (48), sauf que *lam taqtulūhum* ne rejette pas un énoncé explicite, mais une croyance, et il est le même qu'en (49), devant être compris comme « Vous ne les avez pas tués ! Mais (par contre) c'est Allah qui les a tués », c'est-à-dire comme un PA, Henning comprenant comme un SN : *Und nicht erschlugt ihr sie, sondern Allah erschlug sie* (pour le détail, cf. Larcher 2009).

⁴⁴ J'ai suggéré (Larcher 1998) que Sibawayhi anticipait en quelque manière cette conception. En effet, juste après avoir noté que *la-qad fa'ala* avait pour négation *mā fa'ala*, il ajoute (*Kitāb* 3, 117) : *li-'annahū ka-'annahū qāla wa-llāhi la-qad fa'ala fa-qāla wa-llāhi mā fa'ala* (« en effet, c'est comme s'il avait dit *wa-llāhi la-qad fa'ala* et qu'on ait répondu *wa-llāhi mā fa'ala* »). Ce qui pousse à voir dans la particule *fa-* entre les deux *qāla* le signe d'un changement d'énonciateur est ce que dit Sibawayhi un peu plus loin de *la-yaf'alanna* (inaccompli dit énergique) et de sa négation *lā yaf'alu* : *ka-'annahū qāla wa-llāhi la-yaf'alanna wa-qulta wa-llāhi lā yaf'alu* (« c'est comme s'il avait dit *wa-llāhi la-yaf'alanna* et que tu aies dit *wa-llāhi lā yaf'alu* » : ici, le passage de la 3^e à la 2^e personne laisse peu de place au doute). Dans les deux cas, Sibawayhi semble présenter l'énoncé négatif comme la réponse à l'énoncé positif correspondant d'un dialogue

d'autant plus volontiers qu'on a ici, comme *fa'ala*, *kāna* et que celui-ci, dans le contexte, ne saurait avoir une valeur temporelle de passé. C'est en fait le *kāna l-istimrāriyya* (« *kāna* de permanence ») des grammairiens arabes qui interprètent en termes d'omnitemporalité ce qui peut, voire doit l'être en termes de modalité, soit aléthique de nécessité, soit épistémique de certitude. (47) s'interprète donc bien comme :

(47'') Mahomet n'est (assurément) le père d'aucun de vos hommes, mais (par contre) il est (assurément) l'envoyé d'Allah et le sceau des prophètes.

Reste l'exemple (15). Je suggérerai qu'il peut y avoir ici une interférence avec les variétés parlées de l'arabe, à comprendre en continuité et non en opposition avec l'arabe classique et encore moins comme formes évoluées ou dégradées de celui-ci : dans ces variétés, *mā fa'ala* est l'unique négation de *fa'ala* ; elle est donc ambiguë et, selon le contexte, mais aussi le jeu des pauses, peut recevoir l'interprétation (15') ou (15'').⁴⁵

4.4 Concurrence *bal/wa-'innamā*

Girod (2000) a relevé qu'en contexte négatif, le *bal* de l'arabe classique était concurrencé en arabe moderne non seulement par *lākin*, mais encore *wa-'innamā*, donnant, entre autres exemples, celui-ci (*al-Ahrām* du 26/3/1999) :

(50) *wa-'innamā yumattīlu ta'qīdan li-l-mušila laysa fi l-Sūdān faqaṭ wa-'innamā fi kull al-miṭṭaqa*
« Cela représente seulement/en fait une complication du problème, non seulement au Soudan, mais encore dans toute la région ».

Exemple où l'on trouve tout à la fois l'emploi classique et moderne de *'innamā* et aussi incontestable pour ce dernier – et pour la même raison – que celui de *lākin*,

fictif, mettant énoncés positifs et énoncés négatifs correspondants dans le champ de la formule de serment *wa-llāhi* (« Par Allah ») pour en souligner la valeur modale de *tawkid*.

⁴⁵ On aurait, me semble-t-il, (15') en prononçant (15) d'une traite, sans pause entre constituants, mais (15'') en disant *mā ḡā'anī Zaydun*, puis en ajoutant, après une pause, *bal 'Amrun* (« Zayd n'est pas venu chez moi. Ou plutôt 'Amr »). J'ai cherché un exemple concret de *mā fa'ala... bal*. J'ai cru en trouver un dans Cor. 4, 157-158, mais ici il y a un... *mais* (et même deux !) : *mā qatalūhu* est suivi de *yaqīnan* (litt. « certitude ») et clôt le v. 157 ; c'est donc l'affirmation d'un contenu négatif, non la négation d'un contenu positif (= « il est certain qu'ils ne l'ont pas tué ») ; *bal rafa'ahu llāhu 'ilayhi* est au début du verset suivant : ce n'est donc pas la rectification-justification de la négation qui précède, mais la négation-rectification de l'affirmation ouvrant le v. 157 *'innanā qatalnā l-masiḥa 'Īsā bna Maryama* « Oui, nous avons tué le Messie, Jésus fils de Marie », signifiant donc « Non ! Mais Allah l'a élevé à lui ».

au lieu de *bal*, dans l'exemple (41). Mais, là encore, cette concurrence se laisse deviner à date ancienne dans la prose technique médiévale. J'ai cité à plusieurs reprises cette phrase, extraite du *Īdāḥ* (p. 81) d'al-Zağğāḡī :

(51) lam 'as'alka 'an hāḏā 'innamā ta'ağğabtu min šiddati l-ḥarr.

Elle prend place dans un dialogue entre Abū l-Aswad al-Du'alī (m. vers 69/688), considéré par la tradition comme le fondateur de la grammaire arabe, et sa fille, et destiné à illustrer la pertinence du 'i'rāb ou flexion désinentielle. La fille ayant dit au père *mā 'ašaddu l-ḥarri* (« quelle est la chaleur la plus intense ? »), celui-ci lui répond *al-ramḏāu fī l-hāğirati* (« la canicule en plein midi »), d'où la réplique ci-dessus citée de la fille et la contre-réplique du père *fa-qūli 'iḏan mā 'ašadda l-ḥarra* (« alors dis : Quelle chaleur intense ! ») En (51), la négation, dont on soulignera qu'elle a la forme *lam yaḑ'al*, est clairement polémique : elle rejette l'interprétation que le père a faite du propos de sa fille sur la base du 'i'rāb, comme une question sur l'intensité de la chaleur alors qu'elle avait en vue une exclamation sur cette intensité. La réplique de la fille peut certes se traduire par :

(51') « je ne t'ai pas demandé cela : je me suis seulement (ou en fait) étonnée de l'intensité de la chaleur »,

mais aussi bien par :

(51'') « je ne t'ai pas demandé cela, mais me suis étonnée de la chaleur intense »,

où 'innamā pourrait être remplacé *salva veritate* par *bal*. Mieux : on trouve *bal* et 'innamā en combinaison, comme dans l'exemple (23). Ici *bal 'innamā q* nie un *p'* qui est « il suffit que le thème soit spécifié dans l'esprit du locuteur pour qu'il puisse être indéfini » et rectifie le *p'* nié par un *q* qui est « il faut en fait que le thème indéfini soit spécifié dans l'esprit de l'allocuté » : la spécificité de cet exemple est que *p'* n'est pas nié explicitement par *p*, comme dans le *mais/SN* du français, mais implicitement comme présupposé de *law p*.

5 Conclusion

Au terme de cette enquête dans les textes grammaticaux arabes et les textes tout court, de différents genres et de différentes époques, je crois pouvoir avancer les conclusions suivantes :

1. *lākin(na)* et *bal* sont bien deux particules « rectificatives » de l'arabe classique, ne pouvant être étudiées indépendamment l'une de l'autre,

du fait même qu'elles ont été confondues, dès longtemps, dans au moins un contexte.

2. *lākin(na)* correspond bien au *mais/PA* français (sauf qu'il n'est pas une particule de coordination au sens français du terme), tant celui paraphrassable par *pourtant*, *cependant*, *néanmoins*, *toutefois* que celui paraphrassable par *par contre*, *en revanche*. Si les grammairiens arabes de l'époque postclassique, à tout le moins certains d'entre eux, ont correctement décrit celui correspondant à *mais pourtant*, ils semblent être passés à côté de celui correspondant à *mais par contre* :⁴⁶ ils connaissent seulement un *lākin(na)* « adversatif », également paraphrassable en français par *par contre*. La raison est double : pétris de logique aristotélicienne, incluant pour eux la *Rhétorique*, ils étaient sans doute plus accoutumés à raisonner en termes d'inférence, généralement adéquate pour le *mais pourtant* que d'argumentation « balancée » requise pour le *mais par contre*. L'autre raison est que la frontière peut paraître ténue entre *lākin(na)* et *bal*, quand *p* est négatif et que *q* semble s'opposer directement à *p*, ce qui explique à la fois la possible confusion des deux en arabe et, en traduction, celle de *PA* et de *SN*.
3. *bal* ne correspond au *mais/SN* du français qu'en discours suivi et précédé d'une phrase négative. C'est l'emploi le plus fréquent dans la langue moderne, où il est cependant concurrencé par *wa-'innamā*. Mais dans la langue ancienne il s'emploie majoritairement dans le dialogue, où il opère un acte de négation-rectification de *p* par *q*. C'est cet emploi qui est à l'origine du *bal/SN* du discours suivi : *p* ayant la forme *Nég p'* et la négation y étant toujours et nécessairement polémique, le locuteur de *p* n'est pas l'énonciateur du *p'* qu'il nie. *Bal* s'emploie aussi dans le discours suivi, soit entre deux phrases, soit entre deux constituants d'une même phrase. Cet emploi, minoritaire dans la langue ancienne, subsiste dans la langue moderne, spécialement entre deux constituants. Il se relie facilement au précédent : si l'on tient, pour des raisons statistiques, le *bal* « dialogal » pour premier, on pourrait dire que dans le discours suivi le locuteur se dédouble jouant à la fois le rôle du premier et du second énonciateur. Un argument en ce sens pourrait être trouvé dans le fait que *bal* peut être précédé de *lā* (*p lā bal q(b)*). Ce qui suggère que le *p bal*

⁴⁶ J'ai donné (Larcher 2017) un bel exemple de *lākin* « argumentatif » extrait du 'ayyuhā l-walad d'al-Ġazālī (p. 43) : *wa-kāna su'āluhu li-l-istifāda(ti) lākin yakūnu balidan lā yudriku l-haqā'iq(a)* (« sa question avait pour but de s'informer, mais ce peut être un idiot qui ne saisit pas les réalités » ; *p* va dans le sens de la conclusion *r* = « il faut lui répondre » et *q* dans celui de la conclusion contraire non-*r* = « il ne faut pas lui répondre », d'ailleurs explicitée juste après *fa-lā yanbaġi l-iṣṭigālu bi-ġawābihi 'ayḍan* « il ne faut donc pas s'occuper non plus de lui répondre »).

q du discours suivi opère bien le même acte unique de négation-rectification que le *p – bal q* du dialogue, se dédoublant en un acte de négation de *p*, quand *bal* est précédé de *lā*, suivi d'un acte de rectification de *p* par *q*, valant justification de la négation de *p*, exactement comme il se dédouble quand on passe du *p – bal q* du dialogue au *p (= Nég p')* *bal q* du discours suivi. En ne traitant que des emplois de *bal* dans le discours suivi, les grammairiens arabes suggèrent que, pour eux, l'auto-rectification (à quoi se ramènent les deux fonctions de *ʿiḍrāb* et *intiqāl*) est première et, par suite, qu'en passant du discours suivi au dialogue, on ne fait que passer de la rectification de soi à celle de l'autre. Néanmoins, la fine remarque de RDA que, n'était *lā* précédant *bal*, on ne saurait si dans *p bal q*, *p* est exact ou non, et à laquelle je fais droit montre que la négation impliquée par *bal* dans le discours suivi n'a pas la valeur de rejet et de refus qu'elle a dans le dialogue. De fait, la comparaison avec le « ou plutôt » du français montre qu'il s'agit plutôt d'un « en même temps » !⁴⁷

En résumé, on pourrait dire que *lākin(na)* opère partout une rectification *a priori* d'un élément *implicite* – directe si *q = non-r*, indirecte si *q ≠ non-r*⁴⁸ – et *bal* partout la rectification *a posteriori* d'un élément *explicite*.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Pierre Larcher  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0538-0121>

⁴⁷ Ou *plutôt* remplace en effet un terme par un autre, mais sans effacer le premier, pour la raison simple et suffisante qu'il a été effectivement exprimé. C'est ce qui rend particulièrement magnifique la phrase inaugurale de l'Avant-propos des *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* de Chateaubriand : « Comme il m'est impossible de prévoir le moment de ma fin, comme à mon âge les jours accordés à l'homme ne sont que des jours de grâce ou plutôt de rigueur, je vais m'expliquer ». L'homme étant condamné à mourir, tout jour de vie supplémentaire est comme une grâce accordée à un condamné. Mais à partir d'un certain âge, il s'agit moins de vie que de survie et la grâce est moins agréable que désagréable : Chateaubriand joue ici sur la polysémie de *grâce*, tout en filant peut-être la métaphore judiciaire (cf. « arrêts de rigueur »).

⁴⁸ En ce sens que la rectification de *r* se fait via *q* comme argument pour *non-r*, comme dans l'exemple cité à la note 46.

Bibliographie

Sources primaires

- Alf layla wa-layla*. 3 vol. Beyrouth : Dār al-Hilāl, s.d.
- Ġazālī (al-). 1969. *Lettre au disciple (ʿayyuhā l-walad), texte arabe et traduction française par Toufic Sabbagh*. 3^e éd. Beyrouth : Commission Libanaise pour la traduction des chefs-d'œuvre.
- Ġurġānī, ʿAbī b. Muḥammad al-. *Al-Ḥāšiya ʿalā šarḥ al-Kāfiya*, cf. Raḍī al-dīn al-Astarābādī, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*.
- Ibn al-Ḥāḡib, *Kāfiya* = *al-Muqaddima al-kāfiya fi l-naḥw*, cf. Raḍī al-dīn al-Astarābādī, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya*.
- Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī, *Muġnī al-labīb* = Ġamāl al-dīn Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī. S.d. *Muġnī al-labīb ʿan kutub al-ʿaʿarīb*. 2 parties en 1 vol. Édité par Māzin al-Mubārak, Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥamd Allāh et Saʿīd al-Afġānī. Dimašq : Dār al-Fikr.
- Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī, *Šarḥ Qaṭr al-nadā* = Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ġamāl al-dīn Ibn Hišām al-Anṣārī. 1355/1936. *Šarḥ Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā*. Édité par Muḥammad Muḥyī al-dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamid. S.l. : s.n.
- Kātibī al-, *Risāla Šamsiyya* = Naġm al-dīn al-Kātibī's *Al-Risālah al-Šamsiyyah*. An Edition and Translation with Commentary [by] Tony Street. Library of Arabic Literature. New York: New York University Press, 2024.
- Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya* = Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī. 1275 et 1310 H. *Šarḥ Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥāḡib*. 2 vol. Istanbul : Maṭbaʿat al-šarika al-šihāfiyya al-ʿuṭmāniyya [réimp. Beyrouth : Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, s.d.].
- Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya* = Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Raḍī l-dīn al-Astarābādī. 1421/2000. *Šarḥ al-Raḍī ʿalā Kāfiyyat* [sic] *Ibn al-Ḥāḡib*. 4 vol. Édité par ʿAbd al-ʿĀl Sālim Makram. Al-Qāhira : ʿĀlam al-kutub.
- Rummānī, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-. 1401/1981. *Kitāb maʿāni l-ḥurūf*. Édité par ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāʿīl al-Šalabi. Ġadda : Dār al-Šurūq.
- Sībawaihi. 1881 et 1889. *Le Livre de Sībawayhi. Traité de grammaire arabe par Sībōiyyā dit Sībawaihi. Texte arabe publié (...) par Hartwig Derenbourg*. Tome Premier et Tome Second. Paris : Imprimerie nationale.
- Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* = Abū Bišr ʿAmr b. ʿUṭmān b. Qanbar Sībawayhi. 1316 H. *Al-Kitāb* 2 vol. Būlāq : al-Maṭbaʿa al-kubrā al-ʿamiriyya.
- Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* = Abū Bišr ʿAmr b. ʿUṭmān b. Qanbar Sībawayhi. 1966–1977. *Al-Kitāb*. 5 vol. Édité par ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. Al-Qāhira : s.n. [réimp., Beyrouth : ʿĀlam al-kutub, s.d.].
- Ṭabarī (al-), *Tafsīr* = Abū Ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ġarīr al-Ṭabarī. 1422/2001. *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan tāwīl al-Qurʾān*. 26 vol. Édité par ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī. Al-Qāhira : Haġr.
- Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* = Ġalāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī et Ġalāl al-dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī. S.d. *Tafsīr al-imāmayn al-ġalālayn*. Al-Qāhira : al-Maktaba al-šaʿbiyya.
- Zaġġāġī, Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Iṣḥāq al-. 1404/1984. *Kitāb ḥurūf al-ma ʿāni*. Édité par ʿAlī Tawfiq al-Ḥamad. Beyrouth : Muʾassasat al-Risāla ; Irbid : Dār al-Amal.
- Zamaḡšarī, *Mufašṣal* = Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamaḡšarī. S.d. *Al-Mufašṣal fi ʿilm al-ʿarabiyya*. Beyrouth : Dār al-Ġil.

Sources secondaires

- Anscombre, Jean-Claude, et Oswald Ducrot. 1977. « Deux *mais* en français ? ». *Lingua* 43 : 23–40.
- Anscombre, Jean-Claude, et Oswald Ducrot. 1983. *L'Argumentation dans la langue*. Bruxelles : Pierre Mardaga éditeur.
- Ayoub, Georgine. 2015. « Some Aspects of the Relation between Enunciation and Utterance in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*. A Modal Category: *wājib/ġayr al-wājib* ». Dans *The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics II. Kitāb Sibawayhi. Interpretation and Transmission*, édité par Amal Alesha Marogy et Kees Versteegh, 6–35. *Studies in Semitic Languages* 83. Leiden et Boston: Brill.
- Belot, Jean-Baptiste. 1896. *Dictionnaire al-Faraed arabe français*. Beyrouth : Imprimerie catholique.
- Der Koran*. Traduit de l'arabe par Max Henning, introduction et notes d'Annemarie Schimmel. Stuttgart : Reclam, 1991.
- Ducrot, Oswald. 1972. *Dire et ne pas dire. Principes de sémantique linguistique*. Collection Savoir. Paris : Hermann.
- Ducrot, Oswald. 1973. *La preuve et le dire. Langage et logique*. Série bleue, collection Repères. Tours : Mame.
- Ducrot, Oswald. 1980. « Analyse de textes et linguistique de l'énonciation ». *Les mots du discours*, dans Oswald Ducrot et al., 7–56. Paris : Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Ducrot, Oswald. 2001. « Quelques raisons de distinguer entre “locuteurs” et “énonciateurs” ». *Polyphonie – linguistique et littéraire. Documents de travail* 3 : 19–41.
- Ducrot, Oswald, et C. Vogt. 1979. « De *magis* à *mais* : une hypothèse sémantique ». *Revue de linguistique romane* 43 : 317–341.
- Girod, Alain. 2000. « Faits d'évolution récents en arabe moderne à partir d'un corpus de presse égyptien ». Thèse de doctorat, Marseille : Université d'Aix-Marseille I.
- Girod, Alain, et Aziz Emad. 2016. *Grammaire de l'arabe égyptien d'aujourd'hui*. Paris : Ellipses.
- Larcher, Pierre. 1980. *Information et performance en science arabo-islamique du langage*. Thèse de doctorat de 3^e cycle, Paris : Université de Paris III.
- Larcher, Pierre. 1988. « La particule *lākin(na)* en arabe : apports de la tradition linguistique arabe à la linguistique contemporaine. ». Conférence, Université de Rennes 2 (13 janvier).
- Larcher, Pierre. 1989. « *Lākinna* et *bal* : portrait de deux particules rectificatives de l'arabe classique. ». Conférence, Université de Lyon 2 (25 mai).
- Larcher, Pierre. 1991 [2014a]. « Du *mais* français au *lākin(na)* arabe et retour. Fragment d'une histoire comparée de la linguistique. ». *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique* 20 (1) : 171–193 [repris dans Larcher 2014a, ch. XVII : 317–336].
- Larcher, Pierre. 1992 [2014a]. « La particule *lākin(na)* vue par un grammairien arabe du XIII^e siècle ou comment une description de détail s'inscrit dans une “théorie pragmatique”. ». *Historiographia Linguistica* 19 (1) : 1–24 [repris dans Larcher 2014a, ch. VIII : 145–165].
- Larcher, Pierre. 1994 [2014a]. « *mā fa'ala* vs *lam yaf'al* : une hypothèse pragmatique. ». *Arabica* 41 (3) : 388–415 [repris dans Larcher 2014a, ch. XVIII : 337–362].
- Larcher, Pierre. 1994 [2014a]. « *mā fa'ala* vs *lam yaf'al* : addendum. ». *Arabica* 43 (3) : 494–496 [repris dans Larcher 2014a, ch. XIX : 363–366].
- Larcher, Pierre. 1998. « Le concept de polyphonie dans la théorie d'Oswald Ducrot. ». *Les sujets et leurs discours. Énonciation et interaction*, édité par Robert Vion, 203–224. Aix-en-Provence : Publications de l'Université de Provence.

- Larcher, Pierre. 2007. « L'arabe classique : trop de négations pour qu'il n'y en ait pas quelques-unes de modales. ». Dans *La Négation*, édité par Christian Touratier et Charles Zaremba, 69–90. *Travaux linguistiques du CLAIX* 20. Aix-en-Provence : Publications de l'Université de Provence.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2009 [2020]. « Négation et rectification en arabe coranique : la structure *mā fa'ala... wa-lākin...* ». Dans *Modern Controversies in Qur'ānic Studies*, édité par Mohammed Nekroumi et Jan Meise, 123–140. *Bonner Islamstudien* 7. Hambourg : E.B. Verlag [repris dans Larcher 2020, ch. X : 159–171].
- Larcher, Pierre. 2014a. *Linguistique arabe et pragmatique*. Préface de Kees Versteegh. *Études arabes médiévales et modernes* PIFD 281. Beyrouth : Presses de l'Ifpo.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2014b. « *Wa-'in p, lākin(na) q* : un croisement de deux systèmes argumentatifs en arabe classique. ». Dans *Arab and Arabic Linguistics. Traditional and New Theoretical Approaches*, édité par Manuela E.B. Giolfo, 93–105. *Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement Series* 34. Oxford : Oxford University Press pour l'Université de Manchester.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2017. *Syntaxe de l'arabe classique*. Collection Manuels. Aix-en-Provence : Presses Universitaires de Provence.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2018. « Compte rendu de Amal Alesha Marogy et Kees Versteegh (éds), *The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics II. Kitāb Sibawayhi : Interpretation and Transmission*. Leyde et Boston : Brill ("Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics", 83), 2015. ». *Arabica* 65 (1) : 259–263.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2020. *Sur le Coran. Nouvelles approches linguistiques*. Collection Domaines étrangers. Limoges : Lambert-Lucas.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2025. « Compte rendu de Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī, *The Rules of Logic*, edited and translated by Tony Street. New York : New York University Press (Library of Arabic Literature), 2024, et de *Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's Al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah. An Edition and Translation with Commentary*, Tony Street, New York : New York University Press (Library of Arabic Literature), 2024. ». *Arabica* 72 (1–2) : 258–265.
- Le Coran (al-Qor'ān)*. Traduit de l'arabe par Régis Blachère. Paris : G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1980.
- Le Coran*. Préface par J. Grosjean, introduction, traduction et notes par D. Masson. 2 vols. Collection Folio. Paris : Gallimard, 1980.
- Morris, Charles. 1938 [1974]. « Foundations of the Theory of Signs. ». Dans *International Encyclopaedia of Unified Science* 1/2, édité par Otto Neurath. Chicago : University of Chicago Press [trad. fr. partielle « Fondements de la théorie des signes », *Langages* 35 : 15–21, 1974].
- Plantin, Christian. 1978. « Deux mais ». *Semantikos* 2 (2–3) : 89–93.
- Powers, David S. 2009. *Muḥammad Is Not the Father of Any of Your Men: The Making of the Last Prophet*. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sartori, Manuel. 2022. « Lapsus et apposition de rectification en arabe. Contribution à une histoire comparée des traditions grammaticales. ». *Historiographia Linguistica* 49 (1) : 1–38.
- Sartori, Manuel. 2025. « Le permutatif d'autocorrection en arabe. Évolution terminologique et réorganisation typologique ». *Folia Orientalia* 62 : 133–185.
- Van Reth, Jan. 2022. « Sourate 33. *Al-Aḥzāb* (Les Factions). ». Dans *Le Coran des Historiens*, sous la direction de Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi et Guillaume Dye, t. III, *Commentaire et analyse du texte coranique. Sourates 27 à 114*, 1119–1147. Paris : Les Éditions du Cerf.

Manuel Sartori 

Aix-Marseille Université, France | manuel.sartori@gmail.com/manuel.sartori@univ-amu.fr

Le permutatif d'autocorrection en arabe : évolution terminologique et réorganisation typologique

The Permutative of Self-Correction in Arabic: Terminological Evolution and Typological Reorganisation

Abstract This article examines the last class of Arabic permutatives (*badal*), which is often set apart by the grammarians themselves, since it usually involves the speaker correcting himself after having made an unintended mistake, in short, a slip of the tongue. As most Arabic grammars written by Western scholars are almost entirely silent on this topic, it is necessary to turn to the medieval Arabic grammarians. There, however, the data vary considerably from one author to another, which made it essential to consult as many sources as possible in order to grasp the question comprehensively. This reveals that the limitation of the number of subtypes of this permutative to three appears to mark a confinement of the Arabic grammatical tradition within the framework of Sībawayhi's text (d. 180/796?). One then realises that the taxonomy adopted for the hyperonym most often passes over in silence the essential feature of this type of permutative—namely, retraction—on the grounds that it has usually been understood merely as a hyponym within the category. Finally, although in certain cases, but only in some, it is possible to relate this type of permutative to the notion of abrogation (here, of the permuted term, *mubdal min-hu*), such abrogation is by no means necessary, since some grammarians emphasise the continued presence of both the permuted term and the permutative. The phenomenon, in fact, rests upon a continuum of intentionality, which may apply to the permutative alone, or jointly to the permutative and the permuted term, or even to both together and to the relation that unites them. All this, while once again showing to what extent at least some medieval grammarians were far from tone-deaf, and how central pragmatic awareness was to their approach, thus calls for a revision of how we envisage this category. It reminds us of the existence of a double retraction, depending on whether or not it is abrogative, which in turn makes it possible to propose a new presentation of this category, too easily and too hastily labelled *badal al-ḡalaṭ*.

Keywords abrogation, apposition, appositive, *badal*, *badā'*, change of mind, contradiction, contradictory, error, *ḡalaṭ*, *ʾibṭāl*, *ʾidrāb*, intention, intentionality, gradation, *maṭbūʿ*, oversight, mistake, *mubāyana*, *mubāyin*, *mubdal min-hu*, forgetfulness, oblivion, permutative, permuted term, *qaṣd*, retraction, overstatement, *tābiʿ*



Résumé Cet article aborde la dernière classe des permutatifs arabes (*badal*) qui est souvent celui mis à part par les grammairiens eux-mêmes du fait qu'il s'agit, le plus souvent, pour le locuteur de se corriger suite à une erreur involontairement commise par lui, en gros, un lapsus. Si les grammaires arabisantes sont dans la grande majorité des cas tout à fait muettes ou peu s'en faut sur la question, c'est vers les grammairiens arabes médiévaux qu'il faut donc se tourner. Là, les données étant assez disparates d'un auteur à l'autre, il s'est alors agi d'en consulter le plus grand nombre possible pour embrasser au mieux cette question. Cela permet de se rendre compte combien la limitation du nombre des sous-espèces de ce permutatif à trois apparaît comme la marque d'un emprisonnement de la tradition grammaticale arabe par rapport au texte de Sibawayhi (m. 180/796 ?). On se rend dès lors compte que la taxinomie adoptée pour l'hypéronyme passe le plus souvent sous silence l'aspect essentiel de ce type de permutatif, à savoir la rétraction, au motif que cette dernière n'y a, le plus souvent, été comprise que comme l'hyponyme de la catégorie. Enfin, s'il est vrai que dans certains cas, mais certains cas seulement, il est possible de relier ce type de permutatif à la notion d'abrogation, ici du terme permuté (*mubdal min-hu*), cette abrogation n'y est, loin de là, pas nécessaire, certains grammairiens mettant en exergue le maintien du terme permuté et du permutatif. Le tout repose en fait sur un continuum d'intentionnalité, cette dernière pouvant s'appliquer au seul permutatif, ou bien à celui-ci et au permuté de manière conjointe, ou bien encore à ces deux-là et à la relation qui existe entre celui-ci et celui-là. Tout ceci, en même temps que cela permet d'évaluer une nouvelle fois combien certains grammairiens médiévaux au moins ne sont pas sourds et combien la pragmatique est centrale dans leur démarche, amène donc à réviser notre façon d'entrevoir cette catégorie et de rappeler l'existence d'une double rétraction, en fonction que celle-ci est ou non abrogative, ce qui permet alors de proposer une nouvelle présentation de cette catégorie trop facilement étiquetée de *badal al-ğalaṭ*.

Mots-clefs abrogation, apposé, appositif, *badal*, *badā'*, changement d'avis, contradiction, contradictoire, erreur, *ğalaṭ*, *ʾibtāl*, *ʾidrāb*, intention, intentionnalité, gradation, *maṭbū'*, mégarde, méprise, *mubāyana*, *mubāyin*, *mubdal min-hu*, *nisyān*, oubli, permutatif, permuté, *qaṣd*, rétraction, surenchère, *tābi'*

1 Introduction

Ainsi que je le note ailleurs (Sartori 2022 : 2), les appositions sont intégrées à la grammaire de l'arabe dès le début de son histoire.¹ Il s'agit notamment de *ṣifa* (ou *naʿt*), qualification (= apposition épithétique, e.g. *ğā'a l-timīḍu* l-muḡtahidu "l'étudiant *sérieux* est venu") ; *ta'kid* (ou *tawkid*), corroboration (= apposition corroborative, e.g. *ğā'a 'aliyyun nafsū-hu* "Alī est venu *en personne*") ; *badal*, permutation, substitution (= apposition substitutive, e.g. *qāma 'aḥū-ka muḥam-*

¹ C'est du reste un arabisant, Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) qui, dans ses *Principes de grammaire générale mis à la portée des enfants* (Silvestre de Sacy 1832 : 193–194 [Troisième partie, Chap. IV, "De l'analyse" de la 2e édition, celle de 1799 ne comprenant pas ce chapitre]), présente l'apposition comme une construction syntaxique caractérisée par l'aggrégation de plusieurs noms entrant dans un rapport non de dépendance mais de concordance (cf. également Neveu 1998 : 30).

madun “ton frère, *Muḥammad*, s’est levé”) ;² *ʿaṭf bayān*,³ apposition explicative (e.g. *qāma ʾaḥū-ka muḥammadun* “ton frère *Muḥammad* s’est levé”) ;⁴ et *ʿaṭf nasaq*,⁵ coordination (= apposition coordinative, e.g. *ḡāʾa ʿaliyyun wa-ḥālidun* “*ʿAlī* et *Ḥālid* sont venus”) que l’on retrouve toutes dans le plus ancien traité grammatical arabe à nous être parvenu, le *Kitāb* (“le Livre”) de Sībawayhi (m. 180/796 ?). Elles n’y forment pour autant pas encore un ensemble identifiable comme étant celui des *tawābiʿ*.⁶ Ce dernier terme est le pluriel de *tābiʿ*, littéralement “ce qui suit”, et précisément ce qui suit un élément dans la chaîne discursive et se trouve le plus généralement accordé avec celui-ci en déclinaison puisque dépendant du premier. C’est pourquoi il est possible d’en parler comme d’un “appositif”.⁷ Ce dernier se trouve apposé, c’est-à-dire placé après le *matbūʿ* (“élément auquel on appose”).⁸

À l’autre extrémité du spectre, Muṣṭafā l-Ġalāyīnī (m. 1364/1944), compilateur des classiques dans son *Ġāmiʿ al-durūs al-ʿarabiyya* (“la Somme des études arabes”), détaille pour la troisième espèce d’apposition, le permutatif, pas moins de quatre types.⁹

² Ce terme technique de la grammaire arabe est généralement rendu par les arabisants d’expression française par “permutatif”. Outre qu’il s’agit ici d’exposer l’opération (de qualification, de corroboration, et donc de permutation ou de substitution, etc.), le terme “substitution” pour l’opération et celui de “substitut” pour l’élément impliqué par cette opération seraient plus adéquats. Je conserverai toutefois également “permutatif” pour l’élément impliqué par cette opération, ainsi qu’on peut le trouver notamment chez Larcher (2017 : 35).

³ Sur l’origine terminologique de *ʿaṭf bayān*, cf. Sartori (2019). Le concernant, cf. également Talmon (1981 ; 1982 : 30 ; 1984 : 43).

⁴ Sur la différence à faire entre *badal* et *ʿaṭf bayān*, cf. Sartori (2018).

⁵ Sur cette dernière catégorie, cf. Sartori (2021).

⁶ Le terme *tawābiʿ* n’est employé qu’une seule fois dans le *Kitāb* (cf. Sībawayhi *Kitāb*(2) : IV, 343), mais pas dans le sens technique d’appositifs que nous lui connaissons. Il ne forme donc pas l’ensemble identifiable connu depuis (cf. Owens 1990 : 62–74, 83, 161), la terminologie ne devenant explicite qu’à partir d’Ibn al-Sarrāġ (m. 316/929), auteur du *ʿUṣūl fī l-naḥw* (cf. Owens 1990 : 52).

⁷ Pour cette raison, *tawābiʿ* est parfois également traduit par “concordants” (cf. Goguyer 1888 : 132 ; Owens 1990 : 161, 234). Il l’est ici par “appositifs”, en lien avec notre propre tradition grammaticale et linguistique, traduction par ailleurs préférée à celle de Djamel Eddine Kouloughli (1947–2013) qui les nomme “satellites” (cf. Kouloughli 2007 : 75 et suiv.).

⁸ Au niveau hyperonymique, nous avons donc affaire à un couple *matbūʿ/tābiʿ*, et au niveau hyponymique, nous avons donc quatre couples : *mawṣūf/ṣifa* ou *manʿūt/naʿt* (“élément qualifié/qualificatif”), *muʾakkad/taʾkid* (“élément corrobore/corroboreatif”), *mubdal min-hu/badal* (“élément permuté/permutatif” ou “substitué/substitutif”), *maʿṭūf ʿalay-hi/ʿaṭf bayān* (“élément auquel on appose l’apposition explicative/apposition explicative”) ; et un troupe *maʿṭūf ʿalay-hi/ḥarf ʿaṭf/maʿṭūf* (“élément coordonné/particule de coordination/élément coordonné”).

⁹ Voici, chez lui, les trois premiers types dont il s’agit : *al-badal al-muṭābiq* “le permutatif concordant” (que l’on trouve souvent chez les grammairiens arabes comme étant le *badal al-kull min al-kull* “permutatif du tout pour le tout”) ; *badal al-baʿd min al-kull* (“permutatif de la partie

La particularité du quatrième type est que le locuteur se corrige suite à une erreur qu'il vient de commettre. Ġalāyīnī nomme ce quatrième type *al-badal al-mubāyīn* (Ġalāyīnī *Ġāmi'* : III, 180), ce que l'on peut traduire comme "le permutatif distinctif" ou "le permutatif contradictoire", que 'Abbās Ḥasan (1900–1979) nomme pour sa part *badal al-mubāyana* (Ḥasan 1966 : III, 670) "permutatif de contradiction",¹⁰ et interpréter comme "permutatif de rectification", "de reprise" ou encore "d'autocorrection".

Ġalāyīnī, comme plus tard Ḥasan, subdivise ce type en trois sous-types. Le premier est nommé *badal al-ġalaṭ* "permutatif d'erreur" ou "de méprise", dont il donne pour exemple "l'enseignant, l'élève [plutôt], est venu" (*ġā'a l-mu'allim al-tilmīd*) (Ġalāyīnī *Ġāmi'* : III, 180). Dans ce cas, la langue fourche et on prononce autre chose que ce que l'on souhaitait. Le deuxième est nommé *badal al-nisyān* "permutatif d'oubli" ou "de mégarde", que Ġalāyīnī exemplifie par "Alī est parti à Damas, Baalbek [plutôt]" (*sāfara 'alī 'ilā dimašq ba'labakk*) (Ġalāyīnī *Ġāmi'* : III, 180).¹¹ Ġalāyīnī résume la différence à faire entre les deux de la sorte : "le permutatif d'erreur a à voir avec la langue, celui d'oubli avec l'âme" (*fa-badal al-ġalaṭ yata'allaqu bi-l-lisān wa-badal al-nisyān yata'allaqu bi-l-ġanān*) (Ġalāyīnī *Ġāmi'* :

pour le tout") ; *badal al-ištīmāl* ("permutatif d'inclusion") (Ġalāyīnī *Ġāmi'* : III, 179). Le premier équivalait à une corroboration ; le second consiste en une correction de ce que pourrait comprendre l'allocutaire au moyen d'une restriction de la définition en intension de l'élément permuté par une seconde définition, en extension celle-ci, au moyen du permutatif qui est intrinsèque, consubstantiel à l'élément permuté ; le troisième consiste à corriger ce que l'allocutaire pourrait comprendre au moyen d'une restriction de la définition en intension de l'élément permuté par une seconde définition, en extension, au moyen du permutatif qui, cette fois, est extrinsèque, non consubstantiel à l'élément permuté. Dans les deux derniers cas entrevus, il s'agit donc à chaque fois de préciser ou de corriger ce que pourrait comprendre l'allocutaire. Dans ces trois cas, la prononciation de l'élément permuté relève tout à fait de l'intention du locuteur qui, une fois prononcé le premier terme, choisit soit de le corroborer par un autre dans le premier cas, soit de le préciser par un autre dans les deux autres cas. Notons enfin que certains auteurs, rares, n'indiquent pas de subdivisions à la catégorie de *badal*. C'est le cas, dans son court opuscule, d'Ibn al-Ṭarāwa (m. 526/1132 ou 528/1134) qui n'entrevoit pour sa part que le permutatif total en en parlant comme du *badal al-šay' allaḏi huwa huwa* (Ibn al-Ṭarāwa *Risāla* : 95).

¹⁰ Les termes *mubāyīn* et *mubāyana* appartiennent à la racine B-Y-N et sont tous deux dérivés de la forme verbale augmentée III. Albert (Albin) Félix Ignace de Biberstein Kazimirski (1808–1887) enregistre deux sens à cette forme : "1. Se séparer des autres et les abandonner, 2. Intervenir" (Kazimirski 1860 : 186b) et Hans Wehr (1905–1981) les significations suivantes : "to part, go away (from), to leave (s.o.) ; to differ, be different (from), be unlike s.th. ; to contradict (s.th.), be contrary (to) ; to conflict, be at variance, be inconsistent (with s.th.)" (Wehr 1976 : 106a).

¹¹ Où l'on perçoit donc une typologie des lapsus, issue du fond grammatical arabe médiéval, semblable à ce que font des auteurs contemporains pour les langues européennes (cf. notamment Rossi et Peter-Defare 1998 ou Brancher 2016). Sur cette question de la reconnaissance par la grammaire des lapsus et leur catégorisation ancienne, par la grammaire arabe, comme des appositions, voir Sartori (2022).

III, 180).¹² Ici, on pense dire vrai, mais on se souvient en le disant qu'il s'agissait d'autre chose, oublié sur le moment. Enfin, le troisième sous-type est appelé *badal al-ʾiḍrāb* "permutatif de rétractation", que Ġalāyīnī explique ainsi :

Le permutatif de rétractation c'est, au sein d'une phrase, lorsque l'intention de [prononcer] chacun du permutatif et de l'élément permuté est effective, si ce n'est que le locuteur est revenu sur son intention [de prononcer] l'élément permuté au profit de son intention [de prononcer] le permutatif.

wa-badal al-ʾiḍrāb mā kāna fi ġumla qaṣd kull min al-badal wa-l-mubdal min-hu fi-hā ṣaḥiḥ ġayr ʾanna l-mutakallim ʾadala ʾan qaṣd al-mubdal min-hu ʾilā qaṣd al-badal. (Ġalāyīnī *Ġāmiʿ* : III, 180)

Voici l'exemple qu'il en donne : "prends le calame, la feuille" (*ḥuḍi l-qalam, al-war-aqa*) (Ġalāyīnī *Ġāmiʿ* : III, 180). Comme il l'explicite, cela revient à donner l'ordre de prendre le calame, en voulant effectivement le dire, puis de se raviser pour délaïsser cet ordre et ordonner de prendre la feuille.

Ḥasan présente les choses de la même manière d'un point de vue terminologique à deux différences près : *al-badal al-mubāyin* y est le *badal al-mubāyana* et la troisième sous-espèce, en plus d'être appelée *badal al-ʾiḍrāb*, est nommée *badal al-badāʾ*,¹³ "permutatif de changement d'avis".¹⁴

Du point de vue de la description, Ḥasan indique par contre que le premier se caractérise par la dimension de l'erreur de la langue (*ġalaṭan lisāniyyan*) et donc par un *lapsus linguae*, signifiant que l'expression du terme permuté n'est pas intentionnelle, au contraire du second qui se caractérise par le fait de "prononcer

¹² Formule qu'il emprunte à Ibn Hišām al-ʾAnṣārī (m. 761/1360), qui est, d'après mes connaissances, le premier grammairien à l'employer (*al-ġalaṭ mutaʾalliq bi-l-lisān wa-l-nisyan mutaʾalliq bi-l-ġanān*, Ibn Hišām al-ʾAnṣārī *ʾAwḍaḥ* : III, 291 ; *al-ġalaṭ fi l-lisān wa-l-nisyan fi l-ġanān*, Ibn Hišām al-ʾAnṣārī *Sabil al-hudā* : 447 ; "le premier est dû à l'organe et le second à l'esprit", Goguyer 1887 : 361).

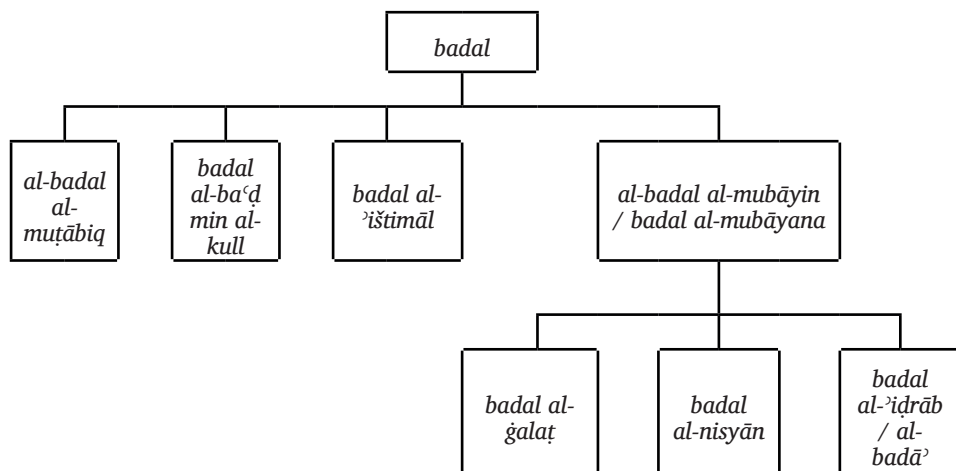
¹³ Il en précise la vocalisation : "*bi-faṭḥ al-bāʾ wa-l-dāl*" (Ḥasan 1966 : 671, note 3), ce qui est également ce que donne Kazimirski dans son dictionnaire (cf. Kazimirski 1860 : I, 99a). Par ailleurs, dans cette même note, il dit de cet *ʾiḍrāb* qu'il s'agit du *ʾiḍrāb intiḡālī* (cf. *infra* 3.4 Les deux rétractations). Je me contente enfin de noter, ce qui mériterait un article à part entière, que l'auteur des *Kulliyāt*, Kafawī (m. 1094/1683), use de *badal al-nadāma* en lieu et place de *badal al-badāʾ*. Le terme *nadāma* est-il un calque du grec *élegos* (ἐλέγος) "un chant de deuil, une lamentation", donc une élégie, mais ici une métonymie raffinée pour le regret "feint" (cf. *infra*) de ne pas trouver les mots justes pour décrire l'être aimé, ou bien est-ce un calque de *metánoia* (μετάνοια), "revenir sur sa décision", faisant écho au sens andalou de *nadima* comme *desdezirse* dans le *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana* de Pedro de Alcalá (ca. 1455–1515), que Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy (1820–1883) traduit par "se dédire, se rétracter" (cf. Dozy 1927 : II, 653a) ? Et si c'est le cas, comment cette notion est-elle parvenue jusqu'à Kafawī en Crimée ?

¹⁴ Cf. Ḥasan (1966 : III, 670–671, 671–672) pour les exemples.

l'élément permuté intentionnellement mais de se rendre compte du défaut de son intention et alors de s'en raviser et de mentionner le permutatif qui, lui, est correct" (*huwa llaḍi yuḍkaru fī-hi l-mubdal min-hu qaṣḍan wa-yatabayyanu li-l-mutakallim fasād qaṣḍi-hi fa-ya'dilu 'an-hu wa-yuḍkaru l-badal alladī huwa l-ṣawāb*) (Ḥasan 1966 : III, 671). Quant au troisième enfin, il en donne une description identique au précédent, l'élément permuté étant là aussi intentionnel, si ce n'est qu'on s'en rétracte, c'est-à-dire précise-t-il, qu'on s'en détourne et qu'on le délaisse de sorte à ce qu'il soit passé sous silence, sans qu'on lui apporte ni démenti ni confirmation comme s'il n'avait jamais été évoqué et qu'on se tourne vers le permutatif (*huwa llaḍi yuḍkaru fī-hi l-mubdal min-hu qaṣḍan, wa-lākin yuḍribu 'an-hu l-mutakallim [ʿay yaṣarifū 'an-hu wa-yatruku-hu maskūtan 'an-hu] min ḡayr 'an yata'arraḍa la-hu bi-nafy 'aw 'iṭbāt — ka-'anna-hu lam yaḍkur-hu — wa-yattaḡihu 'ilā l-badal*) (Ḥasan 1966 : III, 671–672).

Ġalāyīnī et Ḥasan sont donc d'accord sur le caractère non intentionnel de l'élément permuté lorsqu'il s'agit d'un *lapsus linguæ* et sur le caractère au contraire volontaire de ce même élément dans le cas de ce qu'ils nomment la rétractation. Leur approche diffère par contre sensiblement concernant le deuxième sous-type, celui de l'oubli, l'un attribuant à l'élément permuté un caractère non intentionnel quand l'autre y voit plutôt un caractère intentionnel (au moins au moment de l'énonciation).

À la lecture de Ġalāyīnī et de Ḥasan, qui servent ici d'idéal-type weberien,¹⁵ tout ceci peut dès lors se représenter de la sorte :



¹⁵ En référence au “maître de Heidelberg”, Max Weber (1864–1920), et à sa méthode d’analyse sociologique (cf. principalement Weber 1992).

Comment en est-on arrivé à cette architecture semble-t-il aboutie qui distingue quatre types de permutatifs et, sous le dernier, trois sous-types ? Cette représentation est-elle par ailleurs correcte ? Si la question se pose, c'est parce que la rétractation, qui est au cœur de ce permutatif, ne semble entrevue que comme une sous-espèce de celui. Y aurait-il confusion entre l'hyperonyme et l'hyponyme et, si oui, comment l'expliquer ?

Je ne me concentrerai donc ici que sur le dernier type de permutatif. Après un détour par les grammairiens arabisants, qui se révèlent dans la très grande majorité de peu de secours sur cette question, je me tournerai naturellement vers les grammairiens arabes médiévaux. Là, par une sorte d'anamnèse, je repartirai depuis le *Kitāb* de Sibawayhi, ce qui sera alors l'occasion de voir que la tradition grammaticale arabe n'est pas un simple commentaire du *Kitāb* de Sibawayhi¹⁶ mais, à partir de sa matière, un véritable développement intellectuel ayant pris place sur plusieurs siècles, même si, pour partie comme nous le verrons, la présentation typologique faite par la tradition grammaticale arabe médiévale reste prisonnière du *Kitāb*. La grande disparité des présentations chez les grammairiens arabes médiévaux permettra alors de questionner le nombre de sous-espèces du permutatif d'autocorrection, d'interroger les catégories d'hyperonyme et d'hyponyme qui lui sont liées, de même que d'entrevoir un continuum d'intentionnalité qui permet de comprendre qu'abrogation et rétractation, quoi que proches, ne sont pas synonymes et que les choses sont donc plus complexes.

2 La tradition grammaticale arabisante

Parmi les auteurs arabisants contemporains, certains ne présentent pas les quatre types de permutatifs ni n'en rappellent la terminologie associée.¹⁷ D'autres les abordent bien, de manière plus ou moins précise en fonction des visées théoriques ou pédagogiques qui sont les leurs et parmi eux certains évoquent le quatrième type envisagé ici.¹⁸ Le plus complet sur la question, il est vrai dans une étude spé-

¹⁶ Ainsi que l'écrivait Henri Fleisch (1904–1985) : “Sibawayhi, élevé sur le pavois par al-Mubarrad, obtint une autorité immense : il devint le *Maître* sans plus. En principe, tout devait se trouver dans le *Kitāb*, que l'on vint à appeler : *Qurʾān an-naḥw* ‘le Coran de la grammaire’ ; sa manière de voir, ses opinions devaient être les seules exactes. On en vint aussi à conclure non seulement de ses dires, mais de ses silences (comme pour le Prophète des Arabes) : ainsi, ce que l'on ne trouvait pas dans le *Kitāb* était d'avance écarté comme dénué d'autorité” (Fleisch 1961 : I, 34).

¹⁷ Cf. Corriente (2002) ; Buckley (2004 : 624–627) ; Alish (2005 : 298–299) ; Ryding (2005 : 224–227) ; Hassanein et al. (2011 : 25), qui indiquent tout de même, quoique de manière erronée, que le *badal* connaît trois types ; Larcher (2017 : 35). Alhawary, lui, ne présente que les deux premiers types de permutatifs sans donc aborder le quatrième (cf. Alhawary 2016 : 161).

¹⁸ C'est le cas de Manca (*Grammatica (teorico-pratica) di arabo letterario moderno*) chez qui le dernier type reste réduit à la seule étiquette de *badal al-galaṭ* (cf. Manca 1999 : 275). Comme

cialement consacrée à la question des appositions, est Esseesy qui distingue sous le quatrième les trois sous-types, respectivement “*badal al-ʾidrāb* ‘permutative of recanting’, [...] *badal al-ḡalat* [sic] ‘permutative of error’, [...] *badal an-nisyān* ‘permutative of forgetfulness’” (Esseesy 2006 : I, 124b), retrouvant alors la présentation faite par Galāyini.

Parmi les arabisants modernes, certains n’en disent tout bonnement rien.¹⁹ D’autres présentent bien les quatre types de *badal*-s mais ne détaillent en rien les sous-types du dernier.²⁰ D’autres, enfin, sont plus complets dans leur présentation puisqu’ils abordent non seulement les quatre types de permutatifs, mais encore détaillent le quatrième en sous-types. Il s’agit d’abord de William Wright (1830–1889) qui, dans *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, distingue bien sous

elle, Haywood et Nahmad (*A New Arabic Grammar of the Written Language*) se contentent de présenter sans le détailler le dernier type, non autrement nommé que *badal al-ḡalat* et traduit “Permutative of error” (cf. Haywood et Nahmad 2001 : 405). Sawaie (*Fundamentals of Arabic Grammar* / *ʾUṣūl al-naḥw al-ʿarabī*) ne fait pas mieux (cf. Sawaie 2014 : 425–426), et dans *Early Arabic Grammatical Theory : Heterogeneity and standardization*, Owens présente les quatre types mais sans détailler le dernier (cf. Owens 1990 : 59).

¹⁹ C’est le cas, dans l’ordre chronologique, d’Albert Socin (1844–1899) dans sa *Arabische Grammatik : Paradigmen, Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar* plus tard traduite en anglais par Archibald Robert Stirling Kennedy (1859–1938) sous le titre *Arabic Grammar. Paradigms, Literature, Exercises and Glossary* (cf. Socin 1885 : 87 ssq. ; 1895 : 106 ssq.), de même que d’Henri Fleisch dans *L’arabe classique. Esquisse d’une structure linguistique* ou dans son *Traité de philologie arabe* (cf. Fleisch 1956 ; 1961 ; 1979), de Régis Blachère (1900–1973) dans ses *Éléments de l’arabe classique* (cf. Blachère 1985 : 84), de Blachère et Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1862–1957) dans leur *Grammaire de l’arabe classique* (cf. Blachère et Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1975 : 321), ou encore de Wolf Dietrich Fischer (1928–2013) dans sa *Grammatik des Klassischen Arabisch* traduite en anglais par Jonathan Henry Rodgers sous le titre *A Grammar of Classical Arabic* (cf. Fischer 1972a : 180–181 ; 1972b : 204–205).

²⁰ Il en va ainsi d’Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy dans sa *Grammaire arabe à l’usage des élèves de l’école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes* (cf. Silvestre de Sacy 1831 : II, 286), de Carl Paul Caspari (1814–1892) dans sa *Grammatica arabica in usum scholarum academicarum* (cf. Caspari 1848 : 259), de Charles Schier (1813–1869) dans sa *Grammaire arabe* (cf. Schier 1849 : 392–393), d’Edward Henry Palmer (1840–1882) dans *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (cf. Palmer 1874 : 276), de Donat Vernier (1838–1917) dans ce qui se présente pourtant comme une *Grammaire arabe composée d’après les sources primitives* (cf. Vernier 1891 : II, 177), de Belkasem Ben Sedira (1845–1901) dans sa *Grammaire d’arabe régulier. Morphologie, syntaxe, métrique* (cf. Ben Sedira 1898 : 150), de Robert Sterling (1859–1917) dans un ouvrage intitulé *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (cf. Sterling 1904 : 222), d’Augustin Périer (1872–1927) dans sa *Nouvelle grammaire arabe* (cf. Périer 1911 : 167–168), d’Hermann Reckendorf (1863–1924) dans *Arabische Syntax* qui donne, lui, la terminologie arabe, sans toutefois détailler plus avant le quatrième type (cf. Reckendorf 1921 : I, 65), de Griffiths Wheeler Thatcher (1863–1950) dans *Arabic Grammar of The Written Language* (cf. Thatcher 1922 : 283–284) et enfin de Laura Vecchia Vaglieri (1893–1989), autrice de la *Grammatica teorico-pratica della lingua araba* (cf. Vecchia Vaglieri 2002 [1937] : II, part. III, 217).

le quatrième type des sous-types. Ils ne sont toutefois chez lui qu'au nombre de deux, chacun étant lui-même double :

[...] (d) The fourth case is where the permutative (*al-mubdal*) is wholly different from the *mubdal min-hu* or word for which it is substituted (*al-badal al-mubāyin li-l-mubdal min-hu*). It is of two sorts : (α) *badal al-ʾiḍrāb* the permutative of retractation [...] or *badal al-badāʾ* the substitution of a new opinion, something one would like to substitute for the original statement ; as, for instance, when one says *ʾakaltu ḥubzan* I ate bread, but then, preferring to state that he had eaten meat, adds the word *laḥ-man* (*ʾakaltu ḥubzan laḥman*). Here, to use the words of the grammarians, *yuḡsadu l-matbūʿ ka-mā yuḡsadu l-tābiʿ* the *mètbūʿ* is designed as well as the *tābiʿ* ; and this is what distinguishes it from (β) *badal al-ḡalaṭ wa-l-nisyan* the permutative of error and forgetfulness, in which the *matbūʿ* is uttered merely by mistake, and the correct word immediately substituted for it ; as when one says *marartu bi-kalbin farasin* I passed by a dog, (I meant to say) a horse. (Wright 1996 [1859–1862] : II, 286)

Il oppose donc au “permutatif d’erreur et d’oubli” (*badal al-ḡalaṭ wa-l-nisyan*), sous lequel il range donc aussi bien l’apposition corrective du *lapsus linguæ* que celle du *lapsus memoriæ*,²¹ le “permutatif de rétractation” (*badal al-ʾiḍrāb*) ou “permutatif de changement d’avis” (*badal al-badāʾ*)²². D’autre part, sur le plan des exemples pris, celui correspondant à (β) est semblable à ceux donnés par Ġalāyīnī pour l’erreur et l’oubli, et il en va de même de celui correspondant à (α)²³ qui est semblable à celui donné par Ġalāyīnī pour la “rétractation”.

De son côté, Mortimer Sloper Howell (1841–1925)²⁴ aborde le quatrième type de permutatif, qu’il traduit comme étant “[...] (4) the *subst. of blunder*”, à comprendre comme de “bourde, gaffe” (*blunder*) et, là, rappelle bien quant à lui, au contraire de Wright qui restreignait à deux les sous-types (eux-mêmes doubles), les trois sous-types vus chez Ġalāyīnī et chez Ḥasan :

The *subst.* distinct from the *ant.* (IA), which is of three kinds (R)²⁵, (a) the *subst.* of digression (IA, Sh) and the *subst.* of (IA) afterthought (R, IA) [...] ; (b) the *subst.* of

²¹ On remarquera donc l’ajout substantiel fait par l’auteur à l’ouvrage de base qu’il traduit depuis Caspari.

²² Que Wright écrit *bāʾ-dāl-ʾalif madda-ḥamza*. La justification du *ʾalif madda* se trouve en Wright (1996 : I, 24–25) (voir aussi van Putten 2021), et sur l’orthographe de ce mot, cf. *supra* note 13.

²³ Que l’on retrouve au moins depuis Ibn Ġinnī (m. 392/1002) et qui, chez lui, n’est pas un cas relevant des permutatifs, mais de la coordination asyndétique (*ḥadḥ ḥarf al-ʿatf*) (Ibn Ġinnī *Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* : I, 297 ; II, 67).

²⁴ Sur lequel on lira Larcher (2019).

²⁵ Howell fait usage d’abréviations : “R” = “The Commentary (c. 683 or 686) of the Shaikh Raḍī adDīn Muḥammad Ibn AlḤasan alAstarābādī, known as ArRaḍī, the Grammarian (d. 684 or 686), upon the IH, lithographed at Teheran, Lucknow, and Dehli” (Howell 1880 : I, XXI) ;

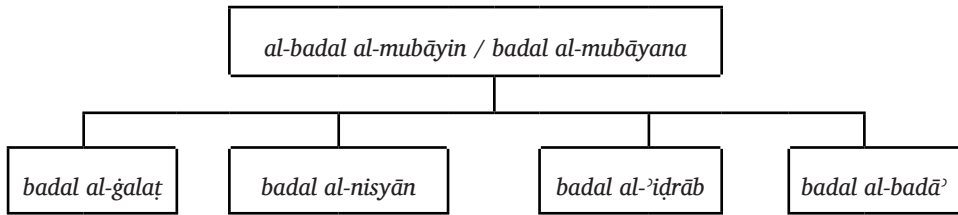
(IA, Sh) sheer veritable (R) blunder (R, IA, Sh) and forgetfulness [below] (IA) [...] ;
 (c) the *subst.* of (Sh) forgetfulness (R, Sh). (Howell 1880 : I, § 150, 466–467)

Par contre, comme chez Wright avant lui, le premier sous-type qu'il présente est lui-même double, "digression" d'un côté, "pensée après coup" de l'autre, sans jamais en donner la terminologie arabe. On reconnaît cependant sans mal sous le second le *badal al-badā'*, c'est-à-dire le permutatif de changement d'avis, alors qu'il est *a priori* plus difficile de reconnaître sous *digression* le *badal al-ʿiḍrāb*, c'est-à-dire le permutatif de rétractation. Enfin, si Wright subsumait sous (α) deux sortes en n'en donnant qu'un exemple commun, noyant alors toute différence éventuelle à faire, Howell fournit bien deux exemples sous (a), le premier, *ʿinna l-raḡula la-yuṣalli l-ṣalāta mā kutiba la-hu niṣfa-hā ṭuluṭa-hā rubuʿa-hā ʿilā l-ʿuṣuri* *Verily the man prays the prayer, what has been prescribed for him, its half, its third, its fourth, to the tenth*, correspondant au *badal al-ʿiḍrāb* et donc au permutatif de rétractation, semblable à cette coordination asyndétique dont il est question en note 23 et repérable dans les exemples tant de Ġalāyīnī, Ḥasan et Wright, et le second, qu'il emprunte à Raḍī l-Dīn al-ʿAstarābādī (m. 688/1289 ?), *hindun naḡmun badrun Hind is a star, a full moon*, correspondant au *badal al-badā'* et dont le sens, nous le verrons, est différent en ce qu'il répond à une intentionnalité tout autre. Dans ce dernier cas, l'intentionnalité du locuteur non seulement s'applique à chacun des deux termes que le locuteur veut, l'un et l'autre, prononcer, mais s'applique également, et c'est toute la différence, à la transition de l'un à l'autre, à l'effet de gradation produit par ce passage qui est lui-même voulu. Ce dernier cas est alors semblable à la *correctio* latine.²⁶

Nous aurions alors non pas trois mais quatre sous-types distincts à repérer sous le quatrième type de permutatif : *ḡalaṭ* et *niṣyān* qu'il convient de distinguer d'une part, mais également *ʿiḍrāb* et *badā'* d'autre part, ces deux derniers n'étant pas subsumés mais bien distincts.

"IA" = "The Commentary of the Kāḍī Bahā adDīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd Ar-Raḥmān alKuraṣhī alHāshimī alʿAḳilī, a descendant of ʿAḳil Ibn Abī Ṭālib, alHamadhānī by origin, alBālīsī alMiṣrī ashShāfiʿī, known as Ibn ʿAḳil, the Grammarian (b. 698 or 698, d. 769), upon the IM, edited by Dieterici" (Howell 1880 : I, x) ; "Sh" = "The *Shudhūr adhDhahab* by IHsh, with a Commentary by the Author, printed at Bālāk" (Howell 1880 : I, xxiii).

²⁶ Philippe Louis Lièble (1734–1813) la résume ainsi : "La correction est une figure par laquelle l'orateur corrige, rétracte, modifie ou explique, soit la pensée, soit les paroles qu'il vient de proférer ; et leur en substitue d'autres, ou plus convenables ou plus fortes. [...] *que dis-je ?* est sa formule la plus ordinaire" (Lièble 1803 : 317) et Pierre "Émile" Fontanier (1765–1844) en parle comme d'une "*figure par laquelle on rétracte en quelque sorte ce qu'on vient de dire à dessein, pour y substituer quelque chose de plus fort, de plus tranchant, ou de plus convenable*" (Fontanier 1968 : 366). Dans cet article, je ne traiterai pas, pour l'arabe, de l'histoire conceptuelle de ce dernier cas semblable à la *correctio* latine à laquelle il convient de réserver une étude à part entière.



Faut-il donc considérer comme Wright que le premier sous-type qu'il présente (α) est constitué d'un doublet ou bien plutôt qu'il s'agit d'un dédoublement avec deux sens qui ne sont pas exactement les mêmes ainsi que semble le suggérer Howell traduisant Raḍī l-Dīn al-ʾAstarābāḍī ?

3 La tradition grammaticale arabe médiévale

3.1 Une typologisation en quête de stabilité

3.1.1 La question du nombre

Comme souvent dans son *Kitāb*, les données sont éparpillées : aucun chapitre n'est consacré en tant que tel aux appositifs (*tawābiʿ*) et par suite aucun au permutatif (*badal*).²⁷ Si la terminologie que nous avons vue n'est en partie pas présente dans cet ouvrage,²⁸ les termes *badāʾ*, *ʾiḍrāb* et *mubāyin* en étant absents (cf. Troupeau 1976 : 38, 129,²⁹ 44–45), il est toutefois possible de trouver trois passages où Sibawayhi aborde ce que Ḡalāyīnī et Ḥasan désigneront plus tard sous l'étiquette de *al-badal al-mubāyin/badal al-mubāyana*. Dans le premier passage, il écrit :

Il n'est possible de dire *raʾaytu zaydan ʾabā-hu* "j'ai vu Zayd, son père" et *raʾaytu zaydan ʾamran* "j'ai vu Zayd, ʾAmr" que si l'on a voulu dire *raʾaytu ʾamran* "j'ai vu ʾAmr" et *raʾaytu ʾabā zaydin* "j'ai vu le père de Zayd" et que l'on s'est trompé ou que l'on a oublié puis que l'on a repris son énoncé ensuite, ou bien que l'on s'est rétracté de cela et qu'on l'a ôté et mis "ʾAmr" à sa place.

²⁷ Dont le traitement se répartit donc sur plusieurs chapitres (cf. Owens 1990 : 70–72).

²⁸ Ce qui est le cas, concernant les permutatifs hors permutatif contradictoire, objet de cet article, puisqu'on ne trouve pas *iṣṭimāl* (cf. Troupeau 1976 : 120), non plus que les expressions *badal al-kull min al-kull*, *badal muṭābiq* ou *badal al-baʿḍ min al-kull*.

²⁹ On trouve par contre bien *ʾaḍraba (yuḍribu) ʿan* à trois reprises (cf. Troupeau 1976 : 129) avec le sens de "rétracter" et toujours en relation avec le permutatif. Ces trois reprises sont celles citées dans cet article.

wa-³⁰inna-mā yağūzu “ra’aytu zaydan ‘abā-hu” wa-“ra’aytu zaydan ‘amran” [‘immā]³⁰
 ‘an yakūna ‘arāda ‘an yaqūla “ra’aytu ‘amran” ‘aw “ra’aytu ‘abā zaydin” fa-ğaliṭa ‘aw
 nasiya ṭumma stadraḳa kalāma-hu [ba‘du]³¹ wa-‘immā ‘an yakūna ‘aḍraba ‘an ḍālika
 fa-naḥḥā-hu wa-ğā‘ala “‘amran” makāna-hu. (Sibawayhi Kitāb(2) : I, 151–152)

On voit donc apparaître une opposition mettant face à face, par le biais d’un balancement argumentatif (‘immā ... ‘immā), l’erreur et l’oubli (ğaliṭa ‘aw nasiya) d’une part et la rétractation (‘aḍraba) d’autre part, soit donc les trois sous-types, ici sous formes verbales, que l’on voit chez Ġalāyīnī et Ḥasan, mais sans que le terme *badal* n’apparaisse pour autant.³² Notons par ailleurs que, lié au fait de se rétracter, est posé le fait d’ôter (*naḥḥā*) l’élément permuté.

Il existe un autre passage où les trois sous-types semblent être abordés ensemble. Cela se repère dans un chapitre où le mot *badal* n’apparaît certes pas en tant que tel, le couple étant chez Sibawayhi celui de *mubdal* et de *mubdal min-hu*.³³ Là, à partir de l’exemple suivant promis à un bel avenir, *marartu bi-rağulin ḥimārīn* “je suis passé près d’un homme, [euh, que dis-je] un âne”, Sibawayhi entrevoit deux cas, soit qu’il s’agisse de quelque chose d’absurde (*muḥāl*), soit au contraire de quelque chose de recevable (*ḥasan*), le premier cas signifiant que le locuteur veut dire que “l’homme est un âne” (*fa-‘an ta‘niya ‘anna l-rağul ḥimār*). Concernant le second cas, voici ce que dit Sibawayhi :

Quant à celui qui est bon, c’est que tu dises *marartu bi-rağulin* “je suis passé près d’un homme” puis que tu substitues *al-ḥimār* “l’âne” à *al-rağul* “l’homme” et que tu dises *ḥimār* “un âne”, soit que tu te sois trompé ou que tu aies oublié et que tu te sois alors repris, soit qu’il te semble bon de te rétracter de ton passage près de l’homme et que tu le remplaces par ton passage près de l’âne après que tu aies voulu autre chose que cela.

wa-‘ammā llaḍī yaḥsunu fa-huwa ‘an taqūla “marartu bi-rağulin” ṭumma tubdila “l-ḥimār” makān “al-rağul” fa-taqūla “ḥimār” ‘immā ‘an takūna ḡaliṭa ‘aw nasita fa-stadrakta wa-‘immā ‘an yabduwa la-ka ‘an tuḍriba ‘an murūri-ka bi-l-rağul wa-tağ‘ala makāna-hu murūra-ka bi-l-ḥimār ba‘d mā kunta ‘aradta ḡayr ḍālika. (Sibawayhi Kitāb(2) : I, 439)

³⁰ Présent dans la leçon de Hartwig Derenbourg (1844–1908). Cf. Sibawayhi Kitāb : I, 64.

³¹ Absent de la leçon de Hartwig Derenbourg. Cf. Sibawayhi Kitāb : I, 64.

³² La seule mention qu’on y trouve est que la substitution “intervient soit du fait de l’oubli soit du fait de l’erreur” (*yağī‘u ‘alā l-nisyān ‘aw ‘alā l-ğalaṭ*) (Sibawayhi Kitāb(2) : I, 434, cf. également II, 341 ; III, 87, 502), mais pas les expressions exactes de *badal al-ğalaṭ* ou de *badal al-nisyān*.

³³ “Chapitre du substitut (*mubdal*) à l’élément substitué (*mubdal min-hu*) lorsque le premier partage avec le second la fonction grammaticale du cas indirect” (*hādā bāb al-mubdal min al-mubdal min-hu wa-l-mubdal yašraku l-mubdal min-hu fī l-ğarr*) (Sibawayhi Kitāb(2) : I, 439–441).

On retrouve dans ce passage les trois sous-types d'erreur (*ḡaliṭṭa*), d'oubli (*nasīta*) et de rétractation (*tuḍriba*)³⁴ comme dans le passage précédent (*ḡaliṭṭa*, *nasīya*, *ʿaḍraba*). Toutefois pour Sībawayhi, en raison de ce balancement argumentatif, il n'y a finalement que deux cas de figure dont le critère de distinction semble reposer sur la volonté du locuteur (*ʿarāda*), suggérant donc que la prononciation du terme permuté (*mubdal min-hu*) dans le cas de l'erreur et de l'oubli n'est pas intentionnelle mais qu'elle l'est dans le cas de la rétractation.

Il y a plus puisqu'une lecture attentive indiquera également autre chose : le texte propose là encore une alternative (*ʿimmā ʿan ... ʿimmā ʿan*), mais le second terme de celle-ci est quelque peu différent dans la mesure où c'est cette fois le verbe *yabduwa*, subjonctif du verbe *badā-yabdū la-hu* ("paraître, semble à quelqu'un, sembler bon", Kazimirski 1860 : I, 99a) et non directement le verbe *tuḍriba* qui apparaît. Il semble donc que nous retrouvions là à la fois les protoformes³⁵ des termes *ʿiḍrāb* et *badāʿ* tels que les mentionnent Wright et Ḥasan, tout semblant donc s'originer chez Sībawayhi, de même que la "confusion" qu'il y aurait entre l'un et l'autre, ce qui ferait passer ces deux termes pour un doublet.

Ce qui va renforcer l'idée d'un doublet et non d'un dédoublement sémantique, tient au fait que dans le dernier passage à citer de Sībawayhi, c'est la même structure que l'on retrouve, les verbes *badā* et *ʿaḍraba* étant mêlés de sorte que la postérité aura sans doute à cœur d'y voir la même chose :

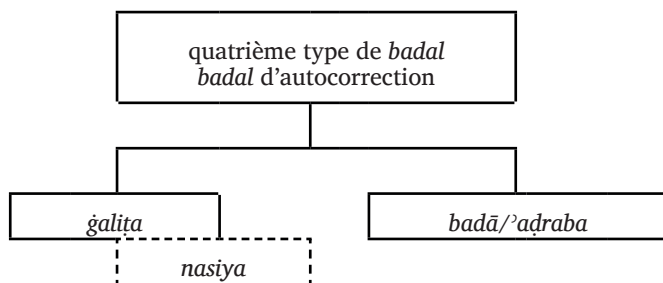
marartu bi-ʿabdi llāhi zaydin "je suis passé près de 'Abd Allāh, Zayd", soit tu t'es trompé puis t'es repris, soit il t'a semblé bon de te rétracter de ton passage près du premier pour le faire se tenir au niveau du second.

"marartu bi-ʿabdi llāhi zaydin" ʿimmā ḡaliṭṭa fa-tadārakta wa-ʿimmā badā la-ka ʿan tuḍriba ʿan murūri-ka bi-l-ʿawwal wa-taḡʿala-hu li-l-ʿāḥir. (Sībawayhi *Kitāb*(2) : II, 16)

Cette fois, la dimension de l'oubli n'est plus mentionnée, seule restant l'erreur d'une part, la rétractation d'autre part. Toutefois, l'auteur du *Kitāb* ne présente pas expressément deux sous-espèces pour ce quatrième type de permutatif, ne parlant même pas encore ici de *badal*...

³⁴ Ailleurs dans le *Kitāb*, on trouve soit ensemble l'erreur et l'oubli (cf. Sībawayhi *Kitāb*(2) : I, 434 ; II, 340 ; III, 87, 502) soit l'erreur et la rétractation (cf. Sībawayhi *Kitāb*(2) : II, 16).

³⁵ L'éditeur scientifique du *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ* de Suyūṭī (m. 911/1505) n'a donc pas tort de dire qu'il n'a pas trouvé les expressions de *badal al-badāʿ* ou *badal al-ʿiḍrāb* dans le *Kitāb* de Sībawayhi (Suyūṭī *Hamʿ* : III, 149, note 2), même si cela n'est alors que partiellement vrai.



Sībawayhi

Mubarrad (m. 285/898 ou 286/899) est semble-t-il le premier à présenter la terminologie telle qu'elle va s'imposer.³⁶ Il nomme en effet le quatrième type de permutatif *badal al-ğalaṭ*, usant donc à la fois de l'erreur (*al-ğalaṭ*) mais surtout du terme *badal* et non plus du terme *mubdal*, le tout dans la structure adnominale qu'on lui connaît. Voici ce qu'il en dit :

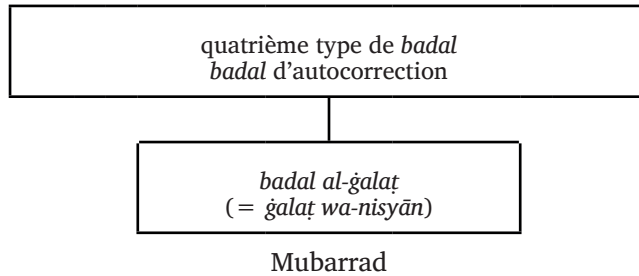
Le permutatif possède une autre fonction, et c'est celui que l'on nomme permutatif d'erreur. Cela, c'est de dire *marartu bi-rağūlin ḥimārin* "je suis passé près d'un homme, un âne". On a voulu dire *marartu bi-ḥimārin* "je suis passé près d'un âne" et alors soit on s'est trompé en disant *marartu bi-rağūlin* "je suis passé près d'un homme" et on s'est alors repris en plaçant ce qui devait l'être et que l'on voulait dire, soit c'est comme si l'on avait oublié et que l'on se soit souvenu. Ce permutatif n'a aucun équivalent en Coran ou en poésie, mais lorsqu'il se produit dans le discours, par erreur ou oubli, c'est ainsi qu'est son cas.

wa-li-l-badal mawḍiʿ ʿāḥar wa-huwa llaḍi yuqālu la-hu badal al-ğalaṭ wa-ḍālika qawlu-ka "marartu bi-rağūlin ḥimārin" ʿarāda ʿan yaqūla "marartu bi-ḥimārin" fa-ʿimmā ʿan yakūna ḡaliṭa fī qawli-hi "marartu bi-rağūlin" fa-tadāraka fa-waḍaʿa llaḍi ḡāʿa bi-hi wa-huwa yuridu-hu fī mawḍiʿi-hi ʿaw yakūna ka-ʿanna-hu nasiya fa-ḍakara fa-hāḍā l-badal lā yakūnu miṭlu-hu fī qurʿān wa-lā šīʿr wa-lākin ʿiḍā waqaʿa miṭlu-hu fī l-kalām ḡalaṭan ʿaw nisyānan fa-hākaḍā ʿi-rābu-hu. (Mubarrad *Muqtaḍab* : I, 68)

De cela on apprend au moins trois choses : la première c'est que "l'on nomme" (*allaḍi yuqālu la-hu*) ce type de *badal* le *badal al-ğalaṭ*, Mubarrad n'étant donc peut-être pas le premier à le faire nonobstant le fait que cette expression ne se trouve pas chez Sībawayhi (cf. *supra* note 32) ; la deuxième c'est que pour cet auteur, il n'y a que deux sous-types à éventuellement distinguer, celui d'erreur

³⁶ Dans un chapitre intitulé "Nous disons à propos de longues questions par lesquelles les gens instruits sont testés" (*wa-naqūlu fī masāʾil ṭiwāl yumtaḥanu bi-hā l-mutaʿallimūn*) (Mubarrad *Muqtaḍab* : I, 65-68).

et celui d'oubli, ce qu'il ne fait pas complètement puisqu'il les subsume sous une étiquette unique de *badal al-ğalaṭ* ; la troisième, c'est qu'il n'évoque pas, malgré la présence chez Sībawayhi des termes *ʾaḍraba*, *tuḍriba* et *tabduwa*, une autre sous-sort de ce permutatif (cf. également Mubarrad *Muqtaḍab* : IV, 528–530).



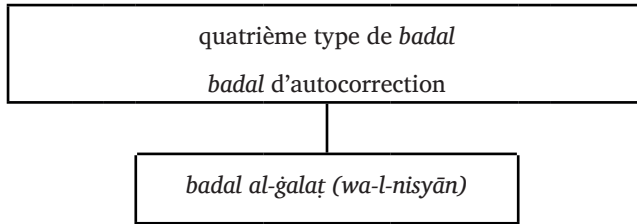
On retrouve peu ou prou les mêmes choses chez l'auteur du *ʾUṣūl fi l-naḥw* qui, pour mémoire, parle quant à lui non pas simplement de *badal*, mais de *ʿaṭf al-badal* ("apposition de permutation").³⁷ Ibn al-Sarrāğ dit également de ce permutatif qu'il présente comme étant "le permutatif de l'erreur et de l'oubli" (*badal al-ğalaṭ wa-l-nisyān*) (Ibn al-Sarrāğ *ʾUṣūl* : II, 48) qu'il n'apparaît pas dans le Coran et l'exemplifie à la manière de Sībawayhi par *marartu bi-rağulin ħimārin*, ce qui, après Mubarrad, deviendra une antienne dans la grammaire arabe. Il l'appelle également simplement *badal al-ğalaṭ* (Ibn al-Sarrāğ *ʾUṣūl* : I, 321),³⁸ mais jamais autrement. On remarque donc que, même si les termes *ʾiḍrāb* ou *badāʾ* n'apparaissent toujours pas,³⁹ la terminologie semble se stabiliser avec *badal al-ğalaṭ* (*wa-l-nisyān*).⁴⁰

³⁷ Cf. Sartori (2021 : notamment 98, 103–104, 108) ; qu'on ne confondra pas avec *badal al-ʿaṭf* tel que je le propose ici (cf. *infra* 4 Conclusion).

³⁸ Exemplifié ici par *ʿindī milʾ ziqq ʿasalan samnan* "j'ai une outre pleine de miel, de graisse" expliquant là qu'il ne peut s'agir que d'un permutatif d'erreur dans la mesure où l'outre ne peut être pleine simultanément de l'une et de l'autre chose : "Tu ne peux pas avoir une outre pleine de graisse et la remplir de miel, car une fois qu'elle est pleine de l'un, elle ne peut contenir l'autre" (*wa-lā yağūzu ʿʿindī milʾ ziqq ʿasalan samnanʾ ʾillā fi badal al-ğalaṭ ḥaṣṣatan li-ʾanna-hu lā yakūnu ʿinda-ka milʾ ziqq samnan wa-milʾu-hu ʿasalan li-ʾanna-hu min ʾayyi-himā mṭalaʾa fa-qad ṣağala ʿan-hu l-ʾāḥar*) (Ibn al-Sarrāğ *ʾUṣūl* : I, 321).

³⁹ Du moins pas en relation avec le *badal*. Si le terme *badāʾ* est bien absent de son ouvrage, on trouve tout de même *ʾiḍrāb* en connexion avec la coordination au moyen de *bal* dont il dit "sa signification est la rétraction du premier et l'affirmation du second comme lorsque tu dis "j'ai frappé Zayd, ʿAmr plutôt" (*wa-maʿnā-hā l-ʾiḍrāb ʿan al-ʾawwal wa-l-ʾiṭbāt li-l-tāni naḥw qawli-ka ʿḍarabtu zaydan bal ʿamran*") (Ibn al-Sarrāğ *ʾUṣūl* : II, 57).

⁴⁰ Un indice de la stabilité terminologique concernant le quatrième type de permutatif est le fait que Zağğāğī (m. 337/949), l'auteur du *Ğumal*, fait usage de périphrases dans le cas des trois premiers, sous la forme de phrases verbales du type "on substitue ..." (*yubḍalu* ...), mais qu'il donne par contre bien *badal al-ğalaṭ* pour le dernier (*wa-l-badal al-rābiʿ badal al-ğalaṭ*) (Zağğāğī *Ğumal* : II, 23).



Ibn al-Sarrāğ

Par la suite, certains auteurs se contentent d'une étiquette unique pour ce quatrième type de permutatif sans en détailler les sous-espèces éventuelles, qu'il s'agisse du *badal al-ğalaṭ*, avec éventuellement une subsomption de la catégorie de l'oubli sous celle de l'erreur⁴¹ ou du *badal al-ğalaṭ wa-l-nisyān*.⁴² Moins nom-

⁴¹ C'est le cas de Zağğāğī qui ne parle que du *badal al-ğalaṭ (wa-l-badal al-rābi' badal al-ğalaṭ)* (Zağğāğī *Ğumal* : II, 23) et ne semble pas entrevoir le cas de l'oubli, mais également de Fārisī (m. 377/987), auteur du *Kitāb al-İdāh*, qui ne parle que de *badal al-ğalaṭ* (cf. Fārisī *İdāh* : 220–221). C'est encore le cas avec Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī (m. 456/1064), dans son *Šarḥ al-Luma'* (cf. Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī *ŠL* : I, 229–231), Ibn Babāšād (m. 469/1077), dans le commentaire qu'il fait du *Ğumal* de Zağğāğī (cf. Ibn Bābašād *ŠĞZ* : I, 70–71), et ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Ğurğānī (m. 471/1078), que ce soit dans son *Ğumal*, le commentaire qu'il en fait ou encore dans le commentaire qu'il fait du *İdāh* de Fārisī (cf. Ğurğānī *Ğumal* : 33 ; Ğurğānī *ŠĞ* : 279 ; Ğurğānī *MŠī* : II, 935). Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī (m. 521/1127) fait de même (cf. Baṭalyawsī *Rasā'il* : 221), de même que Zamaḥšarī (m. 538/1144), que ce soit dans son *Mufaššal* ou son *ʿUnmudağ fi l-naḥw* (cf. Zamaḥšarī *Mufaššal* : 155 et Zamaḥšarī *ʿUnmudağ* : 20). C'est encore le cas avec celui qu'on appelle Ğāmi' al-ʿulūm, c'est-à-dire Bāqūlī (m. 543/1148), qui présente, à la suite d'Ibn Ğinnī qu'il commente, le *badal al-ğalaṭ* sur lequel il ne dit rien de plus (cf. Ğāmi' al-ʿUlūm *ŠLN* : 257–258). ʿAnbārī (m. 577/1181), auteur du *ʿAsrār al-ʿarabiyya*, mentionne également le *badal al-ğalaṭ* (ʿAnbārī *ʿAsrār* : 298), mais lui non plus ne détaille pas plus avant ce dernier type sans même en fournir un exemple (cf. ʿAnbārī *ʿAsrār* : 299–301). Ce même laconisme se repère chez Ibn al-Dahhān al-Bağdādī (m. 569/1174), commentateur des *Luma'* d'Ibn Ğinnī (cf. Ibn al-Dahhān al-Bağdādī *Ğurra* : II, 841) ou encore chez Barda'i (m. 609/1212–1213), commentateur du *ʿUnmudağ fi l-naḥw* de Zamaḥšarī (cf. Barda'i *Ḥadā'iq* : 138) et chez Ğāmi' (m. 898/1492), issu de la branche génétique du *Mufaššal* de Zamaḥšarī (cf. Ğāmi' *ŠMG* : II, 11–12). Un auteur comme al-ʿA'lam al-Šantamarī (m. 476/1083) va même moins loin dans la mesure où, s'il exemplifie ce *badal* à la manière de Sībawayhi (*marartu bi-rağulin ḥimārīn*, Šantamarī *Nukat* : II, 34), n'en donne pas le nom non plus qu'il ne le détaille en d'éventuels sous-types (cf. Šantamarī *Nukat* : II, 34–35).

⁴² C'est le cas d'Ibn Ğinnī, le très fameux auteur des *Luma' fi l-ʿarabiyya*, qui parle de *badal al-ğalaṭ wa-l-nisyān* (Ibn Ğinnī *Luma'* : 144) avant toutefois de le réduire à *badal al-ğalaṭ* (Ibn Ğinnī *Luma'* : 146), subsumant ainsi les deux sous la même étiquette, tout en donnant deux exemples dont on comprend, même s'ils sont en fait interchangeables, que le premier exemplifie l'erreur et le second l'oubli : *ʿağibtu min zaydin ʿamrin* "j'ai trouvé Zayd, ʿAmr étonnant" et *rakibtu farasan ḥimārān* "j'ai monté un cheval, un âne" (Ibn Ğinnī *Luma'* : 146). Il en va exactement de même d'Ibn Ya'īs (m. 643/1245) qui parle de *badal al-ğalaṭ wa-l-nisyān* (cf. Ibn Ya'īs *ŠM* : II,

breux sont ceux qui ne donnent pas véritablement de nom à ce permutatif, ce qui est le cas de l'andalou Ġuzūlī⁴³ (m. 607/1210) qui n'en donne pas non plus d'exemple (cf. Ġuzūlī *Muqaddima* : 76–77).

D'autres, tout en l'évoquant, l'excluent plus ou moins expressément de la catégorie des permutatifs "dignes d'intérêt".⁴⁴ C'est notamment le cas d'un auteur comme Ibn al-Ḥabbāz (m. 637/1239) qui, tout en citant le *badal al-ġalaṭ*, l'exclut de la catégorie des permutatifs et lui dénie tout intérêt,⁴⁵ indiquant qu'il s'agit en fait de

quelque chose dont on fait peu de cas et qui est rejeté puisqu'il ne comporte aucune valeur communicationnelle, et alors il a été établi que les *badal* utilisés sont de trois sortes.

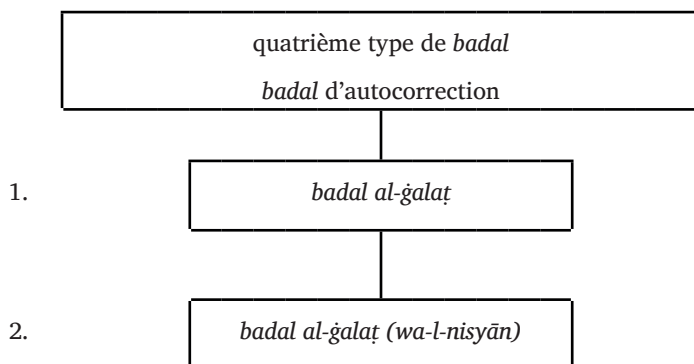
wa-l-ṭānī muḥdar muṭṭaraḥ li-ʿanna-hu lā fāʿidata fī-hi fa-ṭabata ʿanna l-ʿabdāl al-mus-taʿmala ṭalāṭat ʿaqsām. (Ibn al-Ḥabbāz *Tawḡīḥ* : 276)

262) avant de le résumer sous la forme *badal al-ġalaṭ* (Ibn Yaʿīš *ŠM* : IV, 282 ; V, 6), montrant bien combien l'oubli se trouve souvent subsumé sous l'erreur dans l'esprit d'une grande partie des grammairiens arabes médiévaux. ʿAlawī (m. 749/1348), commentant les *Lumaʿ* d'Ibn Ġinnī parle lui également uniquement du *badal al-ġalaṭ wa-l-nisyān* (cf. ʿAlawī *KBŠL* : 293).

⁴³ Parfois également donné comme Ġazūlī, mais précisé comme Ġuzūlī par d'autres : "avec vocalisation en *u* du *ġim* et du *zāy*" (*bi-ḍamm al-ġim wa-l-zāy*) (al-Ġābi 1987 : 571). Il est né à Ġuzūla [Sebt Gzoula], ville de l'actuel Maroc distante de Safi d'environ 27 kilomètres.

⁴⁴ C'est également le cas de certains arabisants. Ainsi, Kouloughli traduisant le *ʿUnmuḍaġ fī l-naḥw* de Zamaḥṣarī, commente au sujet du *badal al-ġalaṭ* que "ce dernier cas ne semble pas exiger d'explication particulière. Notons que la tradition grammaticale arabe semble exiger qu'il ne s'agisse pas d'une substitution « volontaire », ce qui, évidemment, ferait passer dans le registre de l'usage métaphorique..." (Kouloughli 2007 : 81). Resterait alors à définir de quelle "tradition grammaticale" il s'agit puisque, nous l'avons déjà vu, certains distinguent justement au sein de ce quatrième type jusqu'à trois sous-types dont l'un est expressément "volontaire" et rhétorique (plus que métaphorique)... Quant à savoir si ce dernier cas (*badal al-ġalaṭ*) "ne semble pas exiger d'explication particulière", on ne peut que s'inscrire en faux.

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Ḥāġib (m. 646/1249) adoptera la même position, évoquant uniquement le *badal al-ġalaṭ*, mais notant son exclusion du champ des permutatifs : "le permutatif d'erreur est chez eux [les grammairiens] rejeté" (*badal al-ġalaṭ ʿinda-hum muṭṭaraḥ*) (Ibn al-Ḥāġib *ʿIdāḥ* : I, 428, cf. également Ibn al-Ḥāġib *ʿIdāḥ* : I, 426). Il ne fera pas mieux ailleurs (cf. Ibn al-Ḥāġib *Kāfiya* : 137–138 et Ibn al-Ḥāġib *ʿImlāʾ* : II, 660).



1 = Mubarrad, Zağğāğī, Fārisī, Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī, Ibn Babāšād, ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Ġurġānī, Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsī, Zamaḥṣarī, Bāqūlī, ʿAnbārī, Ibn al-Dahhān al-Baġdādī, Bardaʿī, Ġāmī, al-ʿAḷam al-Šantamarī ; Ibn al-Ḥabbāz

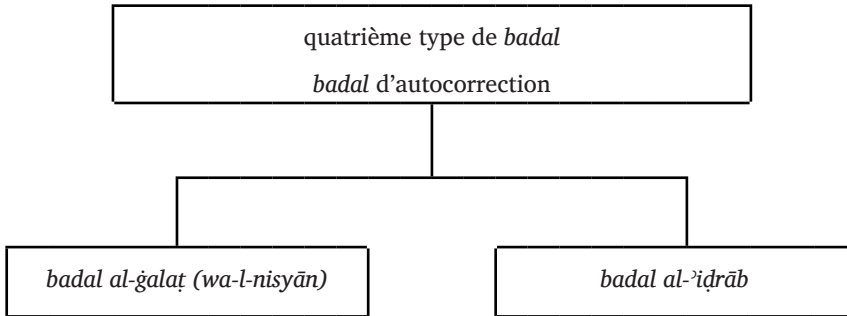
2 = Ibn al-Sarrāğ, Ibn Ġinnī, Ibn Yaʿīš, ʿAlawī

Si certains vont même un peu plus loin en ne l'évoquant même pas,⁴⁶ d'autres auteurs font apparaître aux côtés du *badal al-ğalaṭ* un autre terme avec qui il fait couple. Le premier à le faire est semble-t-il Sīrāfī (m. 368/979), chez qui le terme *ʿiḍrāb* ("rétractation") apparaît pour la première fois en lien avec la question des permutatifs (cf. Sīrāfī *ŠKS* : II, 11). De même chez l'auteur du *ʿIlal al-naḥw*, Ibn al-Warrāq (m. 381/991), qui évoque l'erreur et l'oubli (*al-ğalaṭ wa-l-nisyān*) en abordant les particules de coordination (*ḥurūf al-ʿatf*, Ibn al-Warrāq *ʿIlal* : 516) et particulièrement la particule rectificative *bal* "mais plutôt"⁴⁷ qu'il décrit comme

⁴⁶ C'est le cas d'Ibn al-Šaġarī (m. 542/1147) qui néglige dans ses *ʿAmālī* ce *badal* dont il ne dit donc rien (cf. Ibn al-Šaġarī *ʿAmālī* : II, 93), de même que Suhaylī (m. 581/1185), auteur du *Natāʾiğ al-fikr fī l-naḥw*, qui n'aborde à aucun moment le quatrième type de *badal* (cf. Suhaylī *Natāʾiğ* : 239–240). Pour finir, on ne trouve enfin rien de notable chez deux auteurs postérieurs, Ḥalīl b. Ḥusayn al-ʿIsʿardī (m. 1259/1843) dans sa *Kāfiya l-kubrā fī ʿilm al-naḥw* et Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā l-Ḥuḍarī (m. 1287/1870) auteur d'une glose marginale à partir du commentaire fait par Ibn ʿAqīl (m. 769/1367) sur la *ʿAlfiyya* d'Ibn Mālik (m. 672/1274) (cf. ʿIsʿardī *KK* : 171 et Ḥuḍarī *Ḥāšiya* : II, 159–163).

⁴⁷ Comme cela apparaîtra, *bal* traverse toutes ces discussions autour du *badal al-mubāyana*, c'est-à-dire au sujet de ce permutatif d'autocorrection. Il n'est qu'à lire par exemple Ġalāyīnī qui précise que les personnes éloquentes ne peuvent être victimes de l'erreur : "Le permutatif de rectification dans ses différentes sortes n'apparaît pas dans le discours des personnes éloquentes, et celui parmi eux, s'il devait lui arriver d'en faire l'expérience, ferait apparaître entre le permutatif et l'élément avec lequel il permute le mot *bal* ("[mais] plutôt, voire") en guise d'indice de son erreur, de son oubli ou de sa rétractation" (*wa-l-badal al-mubāyin bi-ʿaqsāmi-hi lā yaqaʿu fī kalām al-bulaġāʾ, wa-l-badīʿ ʿin waqaʿa fī šayʾ min-hu ʿatā bayn al-badal wa-l-mubdal min-hu bi-kalimat "bal" dalālatan ʿalā ġalaṭi-hi ʿaw nisyāni-hi ʿaw ʿiḍrābi-hi*) (Ġalāyīnī *Ġāmiʿ* : III, 180). Cette remarque s'origine au moins chez Raḍī l-Dīn al-ʿAstarābādī : "ni la faute pure ni la permutation d'erreur ne se produisent [que ce soit] dans le discours des personnes éloquentes [ou dans] de ce qui procède

servant à exprimer soit la rétractation (*al-ʿiḍrāb*, Ibn al-Warrāq *ʿIlal* : 516) mais également soit l'erreur ou l'oubli (*ʿalā waḡhayn ʿimmā ʿalā ʿariq al-ḡalaṭ ʿimmā ʿalā ʿariq al-nisyān*) (Ibn al-Warrāq *ʿIlal* : 516 et 520) avec pour exemple ḡāʿa-nī zaydun bal ʿamrun “m’est venu Zayd, ʿAmr plutôt”. On retrouve donc là à la fois les trois termes donnés plus tard par Ḡalāyīnī, mais également une opposition entre *ḡalaṭ* et *nisyān* d’une part et *ʿiḍrāb* d’autre part ainsi qu’elle se dessine chez Sibawayhi et en partie chez Sīrāfi qui a délaissé la dimension de l’oubli, à moins qu’il ne la subsume sous celle de l’erreur.⁴⁸



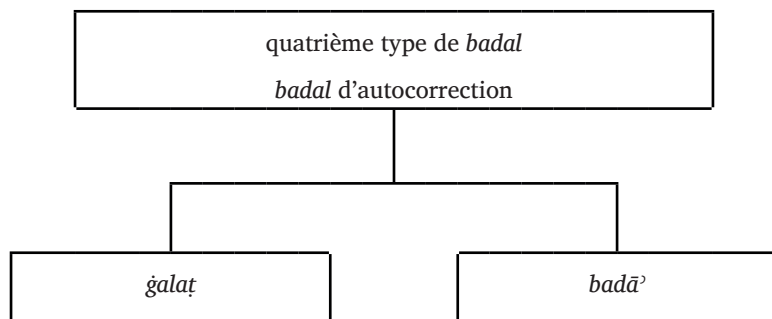
Sīrāfi, Ibn al-Warrāq, Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī, Ibn Mālik,
Ibn al-Qawwās, Ibn Ḡamāʿa, Ibn ʿAqīl, Suyūṭī

Plus tard dans l’histoire, un autre terme fait couple avec le *badal al-ḡalaṭ (wa-l-nisyān)* : en lieu et place de *ʿiḍrāb* on trouve alors le terme *badāʿ*. Cela se repère tout d’abord chez Ḡuzūlī qui indique en effet que si le *badal* ne relève d’aucun des trois premiers types (*badal al-kull*, *badal al-baʿd*, *badal al-ʾiṣtimāl*), alors il est duel, soit *ḡalaṭ* soit *badāʿ* (*fa-ʿin ḡāʿa ḥarīḡan ʿan ḥādā fa-huwa ʿimmā ḡalaṭ wa-ʿimmā*

de la réflexion et de l’esprit. Cela ne se trouve dès lors pas dans la poésie, et si cela se produit dans le discours, on est alors en droit de se rétracter du premier, fautif, au moyen de *bal* (“[mais] plutôt”)” (*wa-lā yaḡīʿu l-ḡalaṭ al-ṣarf wa-lā badal al-nisyān fī kalām al-ḡaḥāḥ*” *wa-lā yaḡḍuru ʿan rawīyya wa-ḡaḥāna fa-lā yakūnu fī šīr ʿaṣlan wa-ʿin waḡaʿa fī kalām fa-ḡaḡqu-hu l-ʿiḍrāb ʿan al-ʿawwal al-maḡlūt fī-hi bi-bal*) (cf. ʿAstarābādī *ŠK* : II, 404). Cf. *infra* note 67. Concernant la discussion autour des vues grammaticales arabes sur *bal* de manière générale, en lien avec les concepts de *ʿiḍrāb*, *ʿibtāl* et *intiḡāl* ici développées de manière plus particulière, je renvoie à Larcher (ici même).

⁴⁸ Plus tard, on retrouve ce même couple *badal al-ḡalaṭ/badal al-ʿiḍrāb* chez un certain nombre de grammairiens, qu’il s’agisse d’Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī (m. 609/1212, Ibn Ḥarūf *ŠĠZ* : I, 343), Ibn Mālik (*ŠKŠ* : I, 575), Ibn al-Qawwās (m. 696/1297, Ibn al-Qawwās *ŠAIM* : III, 813), Ibn Ḡamāʿa (m. 733/1333) dans son commentaire de la *Kāfiya* d’Ibn al-Ḥāḡib (cf. Ibn Ḡamāʿa *ŠK* : 188), Ibn ʿAqīl dans son commentaire du *Ġumal* de Zaḡḡāḡī qui en parle comme du *badal al-ʿiḍrāb wa-badal al-badāʿ* (cf. Ibn ʿAqīl *ŠA* : II, 73–74), ou de Suyūṭī dans deux de ses ouvrages, le *Ḡamʿ al-ḡawāmiʿ fī l-naḥw* et le *Hamʿ al-hawāmiʿ fī šarḥ Ḡamʿ al-ḡawāmiʿ* (cf. Suyūṭī *Ḡamʿ* : 258–259 et Suyūṭī *Hamʿ* : III, 149).

badāʾ) (Ğuzūlī *Muqaddima* : 76–77). Même s’il n’en donne aucun exemple, il entrevoit donc une distinction à faire entre l’erreur (*ġalaṭ*) et ce que plus tard Wright taxera de “deuxième opinion”, “deuxième avis” (*badāʾ*) et qu’on retrouve chez Ḥasan.⁴⁹ Ce faisant, il aborde la troisième sous-espèce, mais, délaissant celle dite de l’oubli (*nisyān*), à moins qu’il ne la subsume sous l’erreur, nous ne trouvons donc chez lui que deux hyponymes pour un hyperonyme qu’il ne nomme pas.



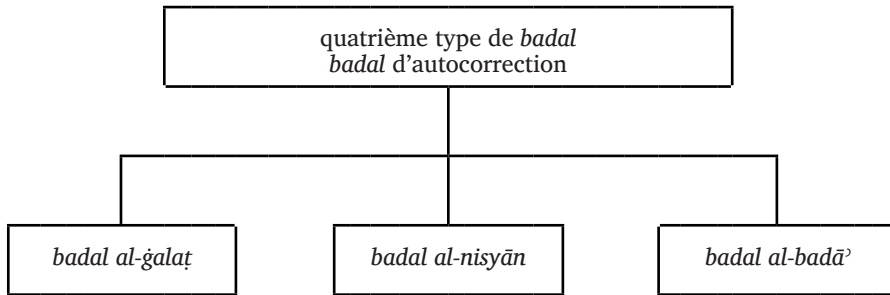
Ğuzūlī, Ibn Ğamāʿa, ʿAlawī, Ibn ʿAqīl

Il faut en fait attendre un commentateur de Ğuzūlī en la personne de Šalawbīn (m. 645/1247), lui-même andalou, pour voir enfin réellement apparaître un triplet. L’identification de ce triplet apparaît sous sa plume sous la forme de *ʾimmā ... ʾimmā ... ʾimmā* lorsqu’il dit de ce dernier type de permutatif qu’il est soit d’erreur soit de changement d’avis et que Sibawayhi avait ajouté le type de l’oubli (*wa-qawlu-hu fa-huwa ʾimmā ġalaṭ wa-ʾimmā badāʾ zāda sibawayhi wa-ʾimmā nisyān*, Šalawbīn *ŠMG* : II, 692). Malheureusement il n’en dit pas plus ni n’en fournit aucun exemple.⁵⁰ Ce même triplet se retrouve par la suite chez plusieurs grammairiens.⁵¹

⁴⁹ C’est également le cas de ʿAlawī, mais cette fois dans *al-Minhāġ fi šarḥ Ğumal al-Zaġġāġī* (cf. ʿAlawī *Minhāġ* : I, 258–259).

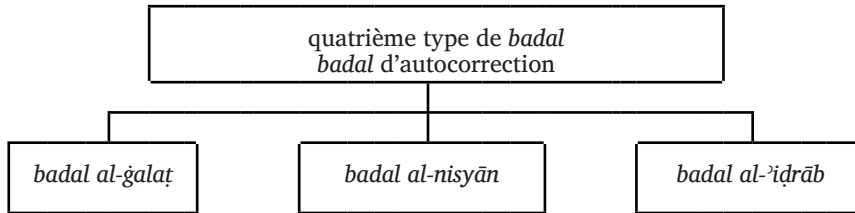
⁵⁰ Ailleurs, dans son *Ṭawṭīʿa fi l-naḥw*, il n’en dit rien de plus, seul l’ordre changeant : *fa-huwa ʾimmā ġalaṭ wa-ʾimmā nisyān wa-ʾimmā badāʾ* (Šalawbīn *Ṭawṭīʿa* : 203). Ce même triplet se retrouve chez Ibn Ğaʿfar al-ʿIrbilī (m. 680/1252–1253 ?), lui aussi auteur d’un commentaire de la *Muqaddima* de Ğuzūlī intitulé *al-Minhāġ al-ġallī fi šarḥ Qānūn* al-Ğuzūlī* (cf. Ḥāġġī *Kašf* : II, 1801), qui en parle une première fois comme d’un *badal* soit *ġalaṭ* soit *badāʾ* (cf. Ibn Ğaʿfar al-ʿIrbilī *Minhāġ* : f° 87v, l. 20 et f° 89v, l. 6–7). *La *Muqaddima* est également connue sous le nom d’*al-Qānūn* (cf. Binaghi 2011 : 51) et ce même titre est également attribué à un commentaire du même ouvrage fait par Ibn Mālik (cf. Ḥāġġī *Kašf* : II, 1800).

⁵¹ Ibn ʿAbī l-Rabīʿ (m. 688/1289, cf. Ibn ʿAbī l-Rabīʿ *Basīṭ* : I, 392–393), Ibn Ğaʿfar al-ʿIrbilī ou encore d’Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī (m. 754/1353) qui, dans le commentaire qu’il fait du *Ğumal* de Zaġġāġī indique ce même triplet *badal ġalaṭ*, *badal nisyān* et *badal badāʾ* (cf. Ibn al-Faḥḥār *ŠĜ* : I, 192) ainsi que d’autres l’entrevoient, au premier rang desquels Raḍī l-Dīn al-ʿAstarābāḍī.



Šalawbīn, Ibn Ġaʿfar al-ʿIrbilī, Ibn ʿUṣfūr, Ibn ʾAbī l-Rabīʿ, Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī

Pour autant, si ʾUṣmūnī (m. 748/1347) entrevoit lui aussi un triplet, le troisième terme est celui de ʾiḍrāb et non de *badāʾ* (cf. ʾUṣmūnī *Manḥağ* : II, 436–437), ce qu’il n’est toutefois pas le premier à faire ainsi (cf. *infra*). Un autre auteur, plus tardif en la personne de Ġamāl al-Dīn Fākihī (m. 972/1564), dans l’autocommentaire qu’il fit de son *K. al-Ḥudūd fi l-naḥw*, ne fait pas autre chose que de présenter un triplet avec le *badal ʾiḍrāb*, le *badal al-ğalaṭ* et le *badal nisyān* (Fākihī *ŠḤ* : 267–268). Par ailleurs, ʾUṣmūnī précise qu’Ibn Mālik (le versificateur) ainsi que de nombreux grammairiens n’ont pas distingué entre ces deux derniers sous-types, les subsumant sous le nom de *badal al-ğalaṭ* (*wa-l-nāẓim wa-kaṭīr min al-naḥwiyyīn lam yufarriqū bayna-humā fa-sammaw l-nawʿayn badal al-ğalaṭ*) (ʾUṣmūnī *Manḥağ* : II, 437, cf. *supra* note 41).



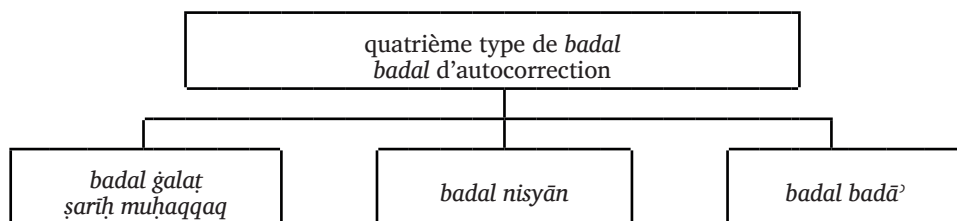
ʾUṣmūnī, Ibn Hišām al-ʾAnṣārī, Fākihī

Le premier toutefois à dire expressément des sous-espèces de ce permutatif qu’elles sont au nombre de trois est Raḍī l-Dīn al-ʾAstarābāḍī. Il distingue, en les opposant les uns aux autres, le cas de *badāʾ*⁵² “changement d’avis”, celui de *ğalaṭ šariḥ muḥaqqaq* “véritable erreur”, et celui de *nisyān* “oubli” en disant :

⁵² Le terme apparaît vocalisé tel que *budāʾ* dans l’édition utilisée (cf. également ʾAstarābāḍī *ŠK(2)* : II, 386), mais pas ailleurs (cf. ʾAstarābāḍī *ŠK(3)* : I, 1081 qui donne la suite *bāʾ-dāl-hamza-ʾalif*, certainement une coquille pour *bāʾ-dāl-ʾalif-hamza* et ʾAstarābāḍī *ŠK(4)* : I, 340, l. 1 qui donne, lui, *bāʾ-dāl-ʾalif* surmonté d’une *hamza* et donc *badaʾ* ou *budaʾ*). Pierre Larcher (communication personnelle en date du 26/08/2022) confirme la lecture *budāʾ* à partir d’une

Celui qu'on appelle permutatif d'erreur est de trois sortes. Il s'agit soit de changement avis [...] soit d'une erreur véritable [...] soit d'un oubli.

wa-hāḏā llaḏi yusammā badal al-ġalaṭ 'alā ṭalāṭat 'aqsām 'immā budā' [...] wa-'immā ġalaṭ ṣariḥ muḥaqqaq [...] wa-'immā nisyān. (ʿAstarābāḏī ŠK : II, 403–404)



ʿAstarābāḏī

Ce triplet est d'autant plus manifeste chez Ibn ʿUṣfūr (m. 669/1271), lui qui parle de six types de permutatifs, les mettant donc tous sur le même plan, les *badal al-ġalaṭ*, *badal al-nisyān* et *badal al-badā'* (cf. Ibn ʿUṣfūr ŠĠ : I, 252, cf. également Ibn ʿUṣfūr *Muqarrib* : 321–322), formant les quatrième, cinquième et sixième permutatifs, les deux premiers (quatrième et cinquième) étant permis sans être attestés dans l'usage (*samā'*) et le dernier (sixième) étant, lui, attesté mais dont on pourrait penser, dit-il, qu'il relève en fait de la coordination asyndétique (cf. *infra*) plus que de la permutation (cf. Ibn ʿUṣfūr ŠĠ : I, 253–254 et 255).⁵³

Au mieux, nous parvenons donc à trois sous-espèces alors que nous avons vu qu'il était possible d'en définir au moins quatre (pour mémoire *ġalaṭ*, *nisyān*, *badā'* et *ʾiḏrāb*, cf. *supra* 2 La tradition grammaticale arabisante), et, en grande

autre édition, celle de ʿAbd al-ʿĀl Makram (III, 121) dont je ne dispose malheureusement pas, et confirme que l'édition d'Istanbul (1310), dont je ne dispose pas non plus, doit être à la base de (4). C'est sous la forme *bā'-dāl-'alif-hamza* que le terme apparaît chez Ibn Manẓūr (m. 711/1311), il est vrai sans qu'il ne précise la vocalisation du mot, qui le définit comme "le fait de trouver juste quelque chose connu après coup [...]" et Farrā' a dit "*badā li badā'un*" c'est-à-dire un autre avis m'est apparu" (*istiṣwāb šay' 'ulima ba'd 'an lam yu'lam [...] wa-qāla al-farrā' "badā li badā'un" 'ay ḡahara li ra'y 'āḡar*, Ibn Manẓūr *Lisān* : II, 42). Le terme semble donc devoir être lu *badā'* ou *budā'*, mais pour Ḥasan ou Kazimirski, il s'agit bien de *badā'* (cf. *supra* note 13).

⁵³ Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī fait de même dans l'un de ses ouvrages, en parlant de six catégories de permutatifs avec le *badal al-ġalaṭ*, la *badal al-nisyān* et le *badal al-ʾiḏrāb* en quatrième, cinquième et sixième types, les autonomisant en quelque sorte. En quelque sorte, puisqu'il les présente tout de même de manière conjointe (*wa-l-rābi' wa-l-ḡāmis wa-l-sādis badal al-ʾiḏrāb wa-badal al-ġalaṭ wa-badal al-nisyān*) (Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī *Sabīl al-hudā* : 447 ; Goguyer 1887 : 361), mais il n'ex-emplifie pas ces différents cas de figure. Notons par ailleurs qu'il n'utilise ici pas le terme *badā'*, à l'instar de ʿUšmūnī (cf. *supra*).

partie, cette limitation du nombre des sous-espèces de ce permutatif à trois apparaît comme la marque d'un emprisonnement de la tradition grammaticale arabe par rapport au texte de Sibawayhi qui n'en laissait justement entendre que trois.

3.1.2 Le choix de l'hyperonyme

On vient de le voir, pour certains, en l'absence d'hyponyme, la seule étiquette donnée est celle du *badal al-ğalaṭ* (cf. les auteurs cités en note 41) et/ou du *badal al-ğalaṭ wa-l-nisyān*, ce qui est le cas de 'Alawī dans son *Kitāb al-bayān fī šarḥ al-Luma' li-Ibn Ğinnī*, de même que d'Ibn al-Sarrāğ, Ibn Ğinnī et Ibn Ya'īs.

On l'a vu également, pour certains autres, la dernière sous-espèce de ce permutatif d'autocorrection est nommée *badā'* ("changement d'avis"), ce qui est le cas de Ğuzūlī, Šalawbīn, Ibn Ğa'far al-'Irbilī, Ibn 'Abī l-Rabī', 'Alawī, Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī, Ibn 'Uṣfūr, 'Astarābādī et Ibn 'Aqīl, alors que pour d'autres il s'agit visiblement du terme *'iḍrāb* ("rétractation"), ce qui est manifestement le cas de Sirāfī, Ibn al-Warrāq, Ibn Ḥarūf al-'Iṣbīlī, Ibn Mālik, Ibn al-Qawwās, Ibn Ğamā'a, 'Uṣmūnī, Ibn Hišām al-'Anšārī, Ibn 'Aqīl, Fākihī et Suyūṭī.

En fait, ces deux cas de figures ressortissent aux différents choix d'organisation du lexique terminologique chez les grammairiens arabes. Pour certains, c'est donc *badā'* qui joue ce rôle d'hyponyme aux côtés de *ğalaṭ* (*šarīḥ*) et de *nisyān*, tel que cela se repère chez Ibn Ğa'far al-'Irbilī, Ibn 'Abī l-Rabī', 'Astarābādī, Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī et Fākihī,⁵⁴ mais chez Ibn Ğa'far al-'Irbilī, c'est *'iḍrāb* qui joue le rôle de l'hyperonyme (cf. Ibn Ğa'far al-'Irbilī *Minḥāğ* : f° 89v., l. 6–17), de même que chez Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī, alors qu'il s'agit du *badal al-ğalaṭ* chez Ibn 'Abī l-Rabī', dont ce dernier dit qu'il est l'équivalent du *badal al-'iḍrāb* (cf. Ibn 'Abī l-Rabī' *Basīṭ* : I, 392–393) en ce sens où le *badal al-ğalaṭ* revient à se rétracter de ce qui vient d'être dit (*huwa badal al-'iḍrāb 'an al-'awwal*) au profit d'autre chose. Cela se comprend de la même manière chez 'Astarābādī puisqu'il dit au sujet de l'ensemble du *badal al-ğalaṭ*, qui joue chez lui le rôle d'hyperonyme, qu'il est possible de se rétracter au moyen de *bal* (*fa-ḥaqqu-hu l-'iḍrāb 'an al-'awwal al-mağlūt fī-hi bi-"bal"*, 'Astarābādī *ŠK* : II, 404), suggérant donc que ce quatrième type peut également être étiqueté de *badal al-'iḍrāb*.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Pour Ibn 'Uṣfūr, nul hyperonyme n'est mentionné, *badal al-ğalaṭ*, *badal al-nisyān* et *badal al-badā'* étant les quatrième, cinquième et sixième types de permutatifs (cf. Ibn 'Uṣfūr *ŠĞ* : I, 252).

⁵⁵ Il en va de même d'Ibn al-Dahhān al-Bağdādī (cf. *supra* note 41) qui, ne détaillant pas de sous-types à ce dernier permutatif propre au locuteur distrait (*sāhiyan*), applique à l'ensemble de ce permutatif le terme de *mudrib* "qui se rétracte", participe actif du verbe *'aḍraba-yuḍribu*. Il dit en effet : "Cela n'existe que dans le discours utilisé sans assurance, le locuteur étant distrait. À ce titre, il est bien que tu fasses intervenir *bal* pour que l'on soit informé que tu te rétractes du premier en attirant l'attention sur le second. Ceci est une nécessité qui se rencontre dans la langue parlée mais pas dans la poésie" (*wa-'inna-mā yakūnu ḥādā fī kalām al-nās al-musta'mal*

Un autre auteur doit être ici mentionné. Il s'agit d'Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣṣīlī qui place clairement le *ʿidrāb* en situation d'hyperonyme avec le *badāʾ* comme hyponyme. Ce Sévillien, commentateur du *Ġumal* de Zağğāğī, ajoute en effet au *badal al-ğalaṭ* qu'il trouve chez ce dernier et cite expressément (cf. Ibn Ḥarūf *ŠĠZ* : I, 353) un cinquième type qu'il nomme, en référence à Sibawayhi, *badal al-ʿidrāb*, dont le sens est celui de la coordination au moyen de *bal* et qui serait de deux sortes, *badāʾ* ou non, laissant donc entendre deux sous-types à ce cinquième type :

wa-huwa ʿalā ḥamsat ʿaḍrub al-ʿarbaʿa ka-mā ḍakara wa-l-ḥāmis badal al-ʿidrāb ḍakara-hu sibawayhi [...] wa-maʿnā-hu maʿnā l-ʿaṭf bi-“bal” [...] wa-yakūnu badāʾ wa-ğayr badāʾ. (Ibn Ḥarūf *ŠĠZ* : I, 343)

On comprend alors que, distinct du *badal al-ğalaṭ* (sous lequel il subsume peut-être, comme d'autres, l'oubli), le *badal al-ʿidrāb* est l'hyperonyme de deux sous-types, *badāʾ* et non-*badāʾ* (cf. *infra* 3.4 Les deux rétractations).

Or, pour d'autres au contraire, c'est *ʿidrāb* qui, aux côtés de *ğalaṭ* (éventuellement accompagné de *nisyān*), joue manifestement le rôle d'un hyponyme. Reste toutefois à savoir quel élément en est l'hyperonyme. Si, des auteurs cités en note 48, la question ne se pose pas pour Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣṣīlī, Ibn Ġamāʿa et Suyūṭī, pas plus que pour Ibn al-Warrāq pour qui *ʿidrāb* est l'un des types de permutatifs au même titre que *badal al-kull*, *badal al-baʿḍ* et *badal al-ʾiṣṭimāl*, il est possible d'y répondre pour d'autres. Pour Ibn al-Qawwās, *ʿidrāb* se trouve être, aux côtés de *ğalaṭ*, l'hyponyme du *badal al-ğalaṭ* (cf. Ibn al-Qawwās *ŠAIM* : III, 813).

Pour Sirāfī par contre, il semble possible de dire que c'est *badāʾ* (en fait *yabdū*) qui joue le rôle de l'hyperonyme dont *ʿidrāb* est l'un des hyponymes. Reprenant visiblement le texte d'Ibn al-Sarrāğ, il en systématise en quelque sorte la terminologie employée et, du quatrième permutatif, il dit :

Et la quatrième sorte est le permutatif d'erreur [...] qui apparaît dans le discours où une personne commence à dire quelque chose qu'elle ne veut pas dire. Elle le supprime alors, comme si elle ne l'avait pas mentionné, au moyen d'une expression qu'elle souhaite. C'est comme lorsque tu dis *raʾaytu zaydan* "j'ai vu Zayd", alors que tu souhaites [en fait dire] "Amr", et que tu supprimes "Zayd" en mentionnant "Amr" et que tu dises *raʾaytu zaydan ʿamran* "j'ai vu Zayd, Amr". Tu veux [dire] Zayd puis il t'apparaît le fait que cette action ne s'applique pas encore à Zayd mais qu'elle s'applique à Amr, soit parce que tu le réalises, soit parce que tu as voulu te rétracter de l'attribution de cette action à Zayd, et cela n'apparaît que dans la spontanéité de l'énoncé.

ğayr al-muṭabbat fi-hi fa-yakūnu l-mutakallim bi-hi sāhiyan wa-bābu-hu ʿan taʿtiya bi-“bal” li-yuʿlama ʿanna-ka muḍrib ʿan al-ʿawwal lafit ʾilā l-ṭāni wa-hāḍā ḍarūra taqaʿu fi l-kalām lā yaqaʿu fi l-ṣiʿr (Ibn al-Dahhān al-Bağḍādī *Ġurra* : II, 841–842).

wa-l-wağh al-rābiʿ badal al-ğalaṭ [...] ʿinna-mā yağīʿu fī l-kalām alladī yabtadiʿu-hu l-ʿinsān ʿalā ḡiha sabaqa l-lisān ʿilā l-šayʿ alladī lā yurīdu-hu fa-yulḡi-hi ḥattā ka-ʿanna-hu lam yaḍkur-hu bi-lafẓ mim mā yurīdu-hu ka-qawli-ka “raʿaytu zaydan” wa-ʿanta turīdu “amran” fa-tulḡi “zaydan” wa-taḍkuru “amran” fa-taqūlu “raʿaytu zaydan amran” wa-takūnu murīdan li-zayd fa-yabḏū la-ka ʿimmā li-ʿanna-ka tabayyanta ʿanna l-fiʿl lam yaqaʿ baʿdu bi-zayd wa-ʿanna-hu kāna wāqiʿan bi-ʿamr wa-ʿimmā li-ʿanna-ka ʿaradta l-ʿidrāb ʿan nisbat ḏālīka l-fiʿl ʿilā zayd wa-ʿinna-mā yaqaʿu fī badīh al-kalām. (Sirāfi ŠKS : II, 10-11)

Un certain nombre de choses sont à soulever, mais la première d'entre elles c'est que Sirāfi réemploie le terme utilisé par Sibawayhi, à savoir le verbe *yabḏū*, et qu'à l'instar de ce qu'on voyait à l'œuvre chez l'auteur du *Kitāb*, c'est dans le champ de ce dernier que se trouve l'alternative proposée, et c'est sous la deuxième proposition que se trouve l'emploi, semble-t-il pour la première fois en lien avec la question des permutatifs, de l'expression *ʿidrāb*. Si ceci est certainement à relier à l'usage fait par Sibawayhi de *tuḍriba* dans le cadre des permutatifs (cf. *supra*) et à l'usage fait par Ibn al-Sarrāğ de *ʿidrāb* dans le contexte de la coordination au moyen de *bal* (cf. *supra* note 39), il faut insister sur le point suivant : si du verbe *badā-yabḏū* procède bien le terme technique *badāʿ* (absent au moins ici de chez Sirāfi), ce dernier serait alors à considérer, dans l'esprit de cet auteur, comme l'hyperonyme de *ʿidrāb* qui en serait, en retour, l'un des hyponymes aux côtés de *ğalaṭ* ; la deuxième, c'est qu'il suit Sibawayhi, tout étant question de volonté du locuteur (*ʿarāda*, *yurīdu*, *murīd*), et que l'alternative proposée repose sur l'actualité ou non (*wāqiʿ* vs. *lām yaqaʿ baʿdu*) du fait envisagé, ce qui dessine les contours de l'erreur principalement (plus que de l'oubli), ou sur la volonté du locuteur de se rétracter de ce qu'il vient de dire ; la troisième, c'est qu'il utilise le verbe *ʿalḡā-yulḡi* (“supprimer, effacer”) et que cette action de suppression semble concerner l'ensemble des sous-types en jeu pour lesquels elle se trouve en facteur commun ; la dernière c'est qu'il identifie la cause de l'erreur en en disant qu'il s'agit de ce que nous reconnaitrons plus tard comme étant un lapsus (*sabaqa l-lisān ʿilā*), ce qui n'était pas encore fait ainsi jusqu'alors.

Enfin, pour Ibn ʿAqīl cette fois, c'est aux côtés du *badal al-ğalaṭ wa-l-nisyan* que le *badal al-ʿidrāb* joue le rôle d'un hyponyme dont l'hyperonyme est *al-badal al-mubāyin*, cette introduction terminologique étant due à Ibn Mālik.⁵⁶ Mais encore, chez lui comme chez Ibn Mālik, ʿUṣmūnī et Suyūṭī, *badal al-ʿidrāb* et *badal al-badāʿ* sont strictement identiques. Dans le commentaire qu'il fait de sa *ʿAlfiyya*, Ibn Malik précise que le dernier type est un permutatif qui “contredit” (*yubāyinu*, *mubāyin*) l'élément permuté et que ce permutatif est de deux sortes. Voici comment il le dit :

⁵⁶ On retrouve donc ici une fois de plus l'origine de que l'on a vu chez Ḡalāyīnī sous la forme de *mubāyin*. On retrouve *al-badal al-mubāyin* plus tard, outre Ḡalāyīnī, chez ʿUṣmūnī, Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī, Ibn ʿAqīl et Fākīhī notamment.

Parmi le permutatif se trouve celui qui contredit l'élément permuté et cela connaît deux sortes : l'une où l'élément permuté est mentionné intentionnellement, ce qu'on nomme permutatif de changement d'avis et permutatif de rétractation et pour lui j'ai exemplifié par *hiğratun 'isā'atun haqqu l-musī* "rompre les ponts, commettre un acte nuisible est le droit de celui qui offense" où *haqqu l-musī* est le thème, *hiğratun* le *ḥabar* et *'isā'atun* le *badal 'iḍrāb* [...]. En relève la parole du Prophète *'inna l-rağul la-yuṣalli l-ṣalāt wa-mā kutiba la-hu nişfu-hā ṭuṭu-hā 'ilā l-'uṣr* "Un homme peut certes accomplir la prière, et il ne lui est inscrit que la moitié, le tiers, jusqu'au dixième" ;⁵⁷ [...] la seconde des deux sortes de permutatif contradictoire c'est comme lorsque tu dis : *al-musī'u mina l-ḍammi mu'arran muktasin* "la personne critiquée, de blâme est dénuée, parée". Tu voulais dire *al-musī'u mina l-ḍammi muktasin* "la personne critiquée, de blâme est parée", mais tu t'es trompé en mentionnant *mu'arran* "dénuée" et tu lui as substitué ce qui était prévu. Cette sorte n'est pas attestée dans le discours éloquent, et l'élément permuté n'est mentionné que par erreur ou oubli.

*min al-badal mā yubāyinu l-mubdal min-hu wa-huwa 'alā ḍarbayn 'aḥadu-humā mā yuḍkaru matbū'u-hu bi-qaṣd wa-yusammā badal al-badā' wa-badal al-'iḍrāb wa-min 'ağli-hi maṭṭaltu bi-"hiğratun 'isā'atun haqqu l-musī" fa-"haqqu l-musī" mubtada' wa-"hiğratun" ḥabar wa-"isā'atun" badal 'iḍrāb [...] wa-min-hu qawl al-nabī "'inna l-rağul la-yuṣalli l-ṣalāt wa-mā kutiba la-hu nişfu-hā ṭuṭu-hā 'ilā l-'uṣr" [...] wa-l-tānī min ḍarbay l-badal al-mubāyin*⁵⁸ *ka-qawli-ka "al-musī'u mina l-ḍammi mu'arran muktasin" 'aradta 'an taqūla "al-musī'u mina l-ḍammi muktasin" fa-ğaliṭta bi-ḍikr "mu'arran" fa-'abdalta min-hu llaḍi kāna murādan fa-hāḍā l-naw' lā yariḍu fī kālam faṣiḥ wa-lā yuḍkaru matbū'u-hu 'illā ġalaṭan 'aw nisyānan.* (Ibn Mālik ŠKŠ : I, 575–576)

Conformément à ce que nous voyons chez Ġalāyīnī, Ibn Mālik range sous *al-badal al-mubāyin* à la fois le *badal al-ğalaṭ wa-l-nisyān* d'une part, et le *badal al-badā'* et le *badal al-'iḍrāb* d'autre part, non distingués l'un de l'autre.⁵⁹ Enfin, Fākihī fait

⁵⁷ Le sens de ma traduction diffère de celle donnée par Howell (cf. *supra*), l'idée étant que la récompense d'une prière, fût-elle complète, dépend de sa sincérité et de la concentration de la personne qui l'accomplit (d'où sa réduction à la moitié, voire au dixième).

⁵⁸ Dans l'édition utilisée comme dans une autre (Ibn Mālik ŠKŠ(2) : III, 1278), les éditeurs scientifiques font précéder le terme *al-mubāyin* d'une marque de ponctuation sous la forme de deux points, faisant donc de ce terme le propos (*ḥabar*) de la phrase à tête nominale dont le thème (*mubtada'*) est alors *wa-l-tānī min darbay l-badal*, ce que précise le second éditeur en vocalisant d'une *ḍamma* ledit *ḥabar*. Or, il s'agit bien ici de comprendre que le *ḥabar* est en fait *ka-qawli-ka*. De fait, sous la plume d'Ibn Mālik, *al-badal mā yubāyinu l-mubdal min-hu* est l'équivalent du *badal al-mubāyin*, et c'est celui-ci, en tant qu'hyperonyme, qui recouvre à la fois le *badal al-'iḍrāb* et le *badal al-badā'* d'une part et le *badal* qu'il ne nomme pas *al-ğalaṭ* mais dont l'exemple et l'explication par *ğaliṭta* ne laisse pas de doute quant à l'identité.

⁵⁹ Ailleurs, il dit "on l'appelle permutatif de rétractation ou permutatif de changement d'avis s'il contredit le premier [terme] complètement et intentionnellement ; sinon, c'est un permutatif

des *badal al-ġalaṭ*, *badal al-nisyān* et *badal al-ʿiḍrāb* les sous-espèces du permutatif appelé, à la suite d'Ibn Mālik, *al-badal al-mubāyin*, tout en suggérant, toujours à la suite d'Ibn Mālik, une identité entre *badā'* et *ʿiḍrāb*.

Nom du permutatif d'autocorrection et absence d'hyponymes			Présence d'un hyperonyme			
∅	<i>badal al-ġalaṭ</i>	<i>badal al-ġalaṭ wa-l-nisyān</i>	<i>badal al-ġalaṭ</i>	<i>badal al-ʿiḍrāb</i>	<i>badal al-badā'</i>	<i>badal al-mubāyin</i>
Sībawayhi Ġuzūlī Šalawbīn Ibn ʿUṣfūr	Mubarrad Zaġġāġī Fārisī Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī Ibn Babāšād ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Ġurġānī Ibn al-Sīd al-Batalyawṣī Zamaḥšarī Bāqūlī ʿAnbārī Ibn al-Dahhān al-Baġdādī Bardaʿī Ġāmī al-ʿAʿlam al-Šantamarī	Ibn al-Sar-rāġ Ibn Ġinnī ʿAlawī Ibn Yaʿīš	Ibn ʿAbī l-Rabīʿ ʿAstarābādī Ibn al-Qa-wwās	Ibn al-War-rāq Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIšbīlī Ibn Ġaʿfar al-ʿIrbīlī ʿAstarābādī Ibn Ġamāʿa Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī Suyūṭī	[Sirāfi]	Ibn Mālik Ibn Hišām al- ʿAnšārī Ibn ʿAqīl ʿUšmūnī Fākīhī

On se rend alors compte que la taxinomie adoptée par les grammairiens arabes médiévaux à l'endroit de l'hyperonyme passe le plus souvent sous silence l'aspect essentiel de ce type de permutatif, à savoir la rétractation, pourtant commune à toutes ses sous-espèces, au motif que cette dernière n'y a, là encore le plus souvent, été comprise que comme l'hyponyme de la catégorie.

3.2 Les mots de l'abrogation

On remarque donc que les grammairiens arabes n'ont pas ce que l'on pourrait appeler un réel consensus sur la position à tenir sur cette question de la typologisation des sous-espèces du permutatif d'autocorrection. Cette dernière, en tant qu'opération qu'engage le locuteur pour corriger la faute qu'il vient de commettre, suppose

d'erreur" (*wa-[yusammā] badal ʿiḍrāb ʿaw badā' ʿin bāyana l-ʿawwal muṭlaqan wa-qaṣdan wa-ʿillā fa-badal ġalaṭ*) (Ibn Mālik *Taṣṣīl* : 172).

normalement, mais nous verrons que tel n'est pas toujours le cas (cf. *infra* 3.3.2 et 3.3.3), la suppression de l'erreur au profit du mot juste, celui qui était normalement prévu d'être prononcé. Cette suppression est évoquée de diverses manières. Elle apparaît sous la forme verbale *naḥḥā* ("ôter") chez Sībawayhi et sous celle du verbe *ʾalgā* (exactement *yulḡi* "supprimer") chez Sīrāfi. Pour Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī, il s'agit de *ṭarḥ* ("rejet"),⁶⁰ quand ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Ġurġānī emploie, lui, le mot *sāqit* ("qui est omis"),⁶¹ alors que d'autres utilisent le terme *tark* ("abandon"), ce qui est notamment le cas, dans ce contexte, d'Ibn al-Qawwās⁶² mais également de ʿAlawī qui, lui, le double du terme *ʾiṣrād ʿan* ("se détourner") que l'on trouve également chez Ibn Ġaʿfar al-ʿIrbilī.⁶³ Voici ce que dit ʿAlawī :

Le second c'est qu'il [apparaisse] de manière délibérée et intentionnelle, et cela correspond au fait de mentionner quelque chose en premier puis d'interrompre cette mention au point de la délaissier et de s'en détourner au profit d'autre chose. Cela s'appelle le changement d'avis et cela apparaît souvent dans la poésie, et les personnes éloquentes l'emploient à des fins élégantes dans la louange comme le blâme. En voici un exemple : *hind kawkab bal badr bal qamar bal šams* "Hind est un astre, mieux une pleine lune, non une lune ! mieux un soleil !" où le fait de se détourner du premier ne se fait que délibérément afin d'exagérer dans l'éloge de qui tu souhaites louer.

wa-tānī-himā ʿan yakūna ʿalā ġihat al-ʿamd wa-l-qaṣd wa-huwa ʿan yaḍkura šayʿan ʿawwalan tumma yaʿtaridu la-hu fī tarki-hi wa-l-ʾiṣrād ʿan-hu ʾilā šayʿ ʾāḥar wa-hāḍā šayʿ yusammā l-badāʾ wa-huwa wāqitʿ fī l-šīʿr kaṭīran wa-yastaʿmilu-hu l-ḥuṣṣāhā li-ʾaḡrād rašīqa fī l-madḥ wa-l-ḍamm wa-min-hu qawlu-ka "hind kawkab bal badr bal qamar bal šams" fa-l-ʾiṣrād hāhunā ʿan al-ʾawwal li-ʾanna-mā kāna ʿalā ġihat al-ʿamd li-l-mubālaḡa fī madḥ man turidu madḥa-hu. (ʿAlawī Minhāġ : I, 259)

⁶⁰ "Quant au rejet de la prise en considération de l'élément permuté c'est de dire *marartu bi-raġulin ḥimārin* 'je suis passé près d'un homme, un âne' en ce qui concerne le permutatif d'erreur, et il n'est pas correct ici de faire cas de l'élément permuté puisqu'on ne voulait pas en asserter, seule la langue ayant fourché" (*fa-ʿammā sulūku-hum ṭarīq ṭarḥ al-ʾiṭidād bi-l-mubdal min-hu fa-qawlu-hum "marartu bi-raġulin ḥimārin" fī badal al-ġalaṭ wa-lā yašihḥu ʿan yaʿtadda bi-l-mubdal min-hu hunā li-ʾanna-hu lam yaqṣid al-ḥabar ʿan-hu wa-ʾinna-mā sabaqa ʾilā ḍālika lisānu-hu*) (Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī *ŠL* : I, 229–231).

⁶¹ Dans l'autocommentaire qu'il fait de son *Ġumal*, il précise que ce qui est voulu est bien le permutatif et non ce à quoi on substitue, la mention de ce dernier n'étant que le fait d'une distraction ou inadvertance (*sahw*) ou d'une erreur et qu'il est donc, en conséquence, omis sous tous ses aspects (*wa-ʿammā badal al-ġalaṭ fa-lā yakūnu l-mubdal min-hu murādan bi-ḥāl bal yakūnu l-murād huwa l-badal [...] wa-ḍikr [al-mubdal min-hu] sahwa ʿalā sabil al-ġalaṭ fa-huwa yakūnu sāqitan bi-kull waġh*) (Ġurġānī *ŠĠ* : 279).

⁶² Cf. Ibn al-Qawwās (*ŠAIM* : III, 813).

⁶³ Cf. Ibn Ġaʿfar al-ʿIrbilī (*Minhāġ* : f° 89v, l. 12).

Enfin, d'autres font usage du terme *'ibtāl* ("abrogation"), comme c'est le cas d'al-*'Aḷam al-Šantamarī* (*Nukat* : II, 34), mais également de Suyūṭī (cf. *Ham*^c : III, 149), de Fākihī (cf. *ŠH* : 269) et de Ḥasan (cf. 1966 : III, 623).

Ces termes⁶⁴ s'appliquant à l'ensemble de ce quatrième permutatif conçu comme hyperonyme, on pourrait donc en conclure qu'il faut supprimer, ôter, abroger le terme malencontreusement prononcé dans tous les cas. De fait, pour Sibawayhi il s'agit d'ôter le terme permuté, de même que pour Sīrāfi, où la suppression dont il fait état semble concerner l'ensemble des sous-types en jeu pour lesquels elle se trouve en facteur commun. Cela vaut encore pour Ibn Barhān al-*'Ukbarī* et *'Abd al-Qāhir al-Ġurġānī* (cf. *supra* notes 60 et 61), tous deux appliquant le rejet et l'omission à l'erreur de type *lapsus linguæ*, et où donc il s'agit effectivement de supprimer le terme malencontreusement prononcé, Ġurġānī allant même jusqu'à préciser que cette omission est totale puisqu'elle se fait sous tous ses aspects (*bi-kull waġh*). Par contre, chez *'Alawī*,⁶⁵ cela ne semble pas s'appliquer à autre chose que l'erreur véritable ainsi que l'a nommée *'Astarābāḍī*...

3.3 L'intentionnalité : un continuum

La forme emblématique du quatrième permutatif, quel que soit son nom, est bien sa première sous-espèce, à savoir le cas du *lapsus linguæ* et de sa correction (cf. Sartori 2022). Ce qui la caractérise est sans nul doute l'aspect non intentionnel de la prononciation de l'élément qui deviendra l'élément permuté. Ce caractère non intentionnel est bien souligné par Ibn Bābašād, commentateur du *Ġumal* de Zaġġāġī, pour qui l'erreur apparaît de manière non intentionnelle (*'alā ġayr qaṣd*), ce qu'il est, me semble-t-il, le premier à dire de la sorte, et que le mieux est de faire apparaître la particule de coordination rectificative *bal* (*wa-min-hā badal al-ġalaṭ lā yuqāsu 'alay-hi li-'anna-hu yaqa'u 'alā ġayr qaṣd wa-l-'awlā fī miṭl hādā 'iḍā waqa'a fī kalām al-'insān 'an ya'tiya bi-"bal" li-yu'līma 'anna-hu ġālīṭ*) (Ibn Bābašād *ŠĠZ* : I, 70–71).

Deux choses sont à en dire : la première c'est qu'on voit là la référence à la particule de coordination rectificative *bal*, Ibn al-Sarrāġ faisant, pour mémoire, une connexion entre le *'iḍrāb* et cette particule (cf. *supra* note 39).⁶⁶ Et de fait,

⁶⁴ L'ensemble de ces termes de l'abrogation ici listés mériterait une étude à part entière, qui dépasse l'ambition et le cadre du présent travail, pour en aborder les usages les plus courants dans d'autres contextes grammaticaux.

⁶⁵ Ce qui est également le cas chez Ibn al-Qawwās tout comme chez Ibn Ġa'far al-*'Irbilī* entre autres.

⁶⁶ Ce qui est encore le cas d'Ibn al-Warrāq (cf. *Ḥal* : 516 et 520), d'Ibn Ḥarūf al-*'Iṣbīlī* (cf. *ŠĠZ* : I, 343), Ibn Mālik (cf. *ŠT* : III, 195), Ibn Ġamā'a (cf. *ŠK* : 188), Ibn *'Aqīl* (cf. *ŠA* : II, 73), Ḥasan (cf. 1966 : III, 623).

pour la totalité de ce permutatif, l'ensemble des grammairiens ou peu s'en faut rappelle que le mieux est encore de souligner la rétractation et le fait de se reprendre (*tadāruk*) au moyen de *bal*⁶⁷ qui est justement une particule de reprise (*ḥarf tadāruk*), ce notamment pour éviter que le *badal* ne soit confondu avec une épithète, ce qu'explicitement on ne peut mieux Ibn ʿUṣfūr :

Dans ce cas, il est préférable d'utiliser *bal* "mais", afin que nous sentions la rétractation par rapport au premier et qu'on ne puisse s'imaginer que tu avais l'intention de qualifier. Ne vois-tu pas que lorsque tu dis *raʿaytu raḡulan ḥimāran* "j'ai vu un homme, un âne", ou *ṭawran* "un taureau", il est possible qu'on s' imagine que tu as vu un homme ignorant ou stupide ?

wa-l-ʿaḥsan fi miṭl ḥādā ʿan taʿtiya bi-“bal” fa-naṣʿura bi-l-ʿiḍrāb ʿan al-ʿawwal li-ʿallā yatawawhama fi ḍālik ʿanna-ka qaṣadta l-ṣifa ʿa-lā tarā ʿanna-kā ʿiḍā qulta “raʿaytu raḡulan ḥimāran” ʿaw “ṭawran” ʿamkana ʿan tatawawhama ʿanna-ka raʿayta raḡulan ḡāhila ʿaw balidan. (Ibn ʿUṣfūr ŠĜ : I, 254)

L'autre chose à souligner c'est que cette référence faite à l'intentionnalité, et précisément la non-intentionnalité du locuteur, indique donc que, pour Ibn Bābašād, seule l'erreur (voire l'oubli) est à considérer, mais pas cette autre forme de permutatif vue chez Wright et surtout chez Howell. Or, Ibn Mālik, tout en faisant cette même connexion, disant donc de ce permutatif qu'il est semblable à une coordination faite au moyen de la particule rectificative *bal* "mais, plutôt", précise là que l'on a affaire à deux cas de figures : la rétractation d'une part, l'erreur d'autre part, la distinction reposant sur l'intentionnalité du locuteur, la seconde seulement se faisant de manière non intentionnelle (*dūna qaṣd*, Ibn Mālik ʿAl-fiyya : 43–44).⁶⁸ ʿUṣmūnī met également sur cette piste de l'intentionnalité, lui qui rappelle que si l'élément visé est forcément le *badal*, le *mubdal min-hu* quant à lui peut soit ne pas être visé du tout (*badal al-ḡalaṭ*), soit visé, et là, soit il l'est temporairement (*badal al-nisyān*) soit totalement (*badal al-ʿiḍrāb/al-badāʿ*) (cf. ʿUṣmūnī *Manḥağ* : II, 436–437).

li-ʿanna l-badal lā budda ʿan yakūna maqṣudan [...] fa-l-mubdal min-hu ʿin lam yakun maqṣudan ʿilbattatan wa-ʿinna-mā sabaqa l-lisān ʿilay-hi fa-huwa badal al-ḡalaṭ [...] wa-ʿin kāna maqṣudan fa-ʿin tabayyana baʿda ḍikri-hi fasād qaṣdi-hi fa-badal nisyān

⁶⁷ Ce qu'a fait plus haut ʿAstarābādī (cf. ŠK : II, 404), et ce que dit encore Ibn al-Dahhān al-Baḡdādī (cf. *Ğurra* : II, 841–842), de même qu'Ibn Yaʿīš (cf. ŠM : II, 262), Ibn Ġaʿfar al-ʿIrbilī (cf. *Minḥağ* : f° 89v, l. 14), Ibn al-Qawwās (cf. ŠAIM : III, 813), Ibn al-Hiṣām al-ʿAnṣārī (cf. *ʿAwḍaḥ* : III, 292).

⁶⁸ Ce qu'indique déjà Baṭalyawsī (cf. *Ḥulal* : 129–130).

[...] *wa-ʾin kāna qaṣḍ kull wāḥid min al-mubdal min-hu wa-l-badal ṣaḥīḥan fa-badal al-ʾidrāb wa-yusammā ʾayḍan badal al-badāʾ*. (ʿUṣmūnī, *Manḥağ* : II, 436–437)

J'irai pour ma part un peu plus loin.

3.3.1 Intentionnalité unique : le permutatif d'erreur

Pour le grand commentateur d'Ibn al-Ḥāğib, il existe donc trois sous-types à ce qu'il nomme le permutatif de l'erreur. Pour mémoire, il écrit :

Il s'agit soit d'un changement d'avis [...] soit d'une erreur véritable [...] soit d'un oubli.

wa-hāḍā llaḍi yusammā badal al-ğalaṭ ʿalā ṭalāṭat ʾaqsām ʾimmā budāʾ [...] *wa-ʾimmā ġalaṭ ṣariḥ muḥaqqaq* [...] *wa-ʾimmā nisyān*. (ʿAstarābādī *ŠK* : II, 403–404)

Voici ce qu'il dit du second :

Il s'agit soit d'une erreur véritable, comme lorsque tu as voulu dire, par exemple, *ğāʾa-nī ḥimār* “un âne m'est venu” et que ta langue a fourché vers *rağul* “homme” puis que tu te sois repris et aies dit *ḥimār* “un âne”.

wa-ʾimmā ġalaṭ ṣariḥ muḥaqqaq ka-mā ʾidā ʾaradta maṭalan ʾan taqūla “ğāʾa-nī ḥimār” fa-sabaqa lisānu-ka ʾilā “rağul” tumma tadārakta fa-qulta “ḥimār”. (ʿAstarābādī *ŠK* : II, 403)

On retrouve là deux éléments clefs : à la fois, peu ou prou, l'exemple initial donné par Sibawayhi (*marartu bi-rağulin ḥimārin*),⁶⁹ et également l'explication de cette erreur, à savoir une langue qui fourche (*sabaqa l-lisān*).⁷⁰ Toutefois, il se distingue d'Ibn al-Ḥāğib. Ce dernier en effet, explique ce type de permutatif par l'unique fait d'une langue qui a fourché (comme chez Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī, Zamaḥṣarī et Bardaʿī). À l'instar d'Ibn Bābašād, il n'entrevoit alors pas d'autres dimensions à lui donner, l'exemple qu'il en fournit étant bien, avec quelques aménagements,

⁶⁹ Et à sa suite quasiment chez tous les grammairiens, soit tel quel (cf. Mubarrad *Muqtaḍab* : I, 68; Ibn al-Sarrāğ *ʾUṣūl* : II, 48; Fārisī *ʾIdāḥ* : 221; Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī *ŠL* : I, 229; Ğurğānī *Ğumal* : 33; Šantamarī *Nukat* : II, 34; Zamaḥṣarī *Mufaṣṣal* : 155; Bardaʿī *Ḥadāʾiq* : 138; Ibn Ğaʿfar al-ʾIrbilī *Minḥāğ* : f° 89v, l. 7), soit avec quelques aménagements comme ici chez ʿAstarābādī ou avec *marartu bi-rağulin imraʾatin* chez Suyūṭī (cf. Suyūṭī *Hamʿ* : III, 149).

⁷⁰ Que l'on retrouve également chez Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī (*ŠL* : I, 229–231); Baṭalyawṣī (*Ḥulal* : 129–130); Zamaḥṣarī (*Mufaṣṣal* : 155); Bardaʿī (*Ḥadāʾiq* : 138); Ibn Ğaʿfar al-ʾIrbilī (*Minḥāğ* : f° 89v, l. 6–17); Ibn Hišām al-ʾAnṣārī (*ʿAwdāḥ* : III, 289–291); Suyūṭī (*Hamʿ* : III, 149); Fākihi (*ŠH* : 270). On trouve également l'expression *min ġayr qasḍ* (“de manière non intentionnelle”) (Ibn Bābašād *ŠĞZ* : I, 70).

celui de Sībawayhi et relevant donc uniquement de l'erreur (et/ou de l'oubli). Il évoque donc un rejet sans maintien du terme permuté, ni même sans intention d'avoir prononcé cet élément permuté (cf. Ibn al-Ḥāḡib *ʿImlāʿ* : II, 660).⁷¹

3.3.2 Intentionnalité double : le permuté et le permutatif

Ici, trois permutatifs vont être à distinguer. Il s'agira d'abord du permutatif d'oubli, puis du permutatif que j'appellerai "de liste", puis enfin du permutatif de changement d'avis.

3.3.2.1 Le permutatif d'oubli

ʿAstarābādī va de fait un peu plus loin que d'autres, précisant au niveau du troisième sous-type ceci :

Et il s'agit soit d'un oubli, et c'est que tu optes pour ce qui est en fait une erreur, non pas parce que ta langue fourche en sa direction, mais parce que tu oublies l'élément visé puis que, après cela, tu t'en rétractes en mentionnant l'élément visé.

wa-ʿimmā nisyān wa-huwa ʿan taʿtamida ḡikr mā huwa ḡalaṭ wa-lā yasbuqu-ka lisānu-ka ʿilā ḡikri-hi lākin tansā l-maqṣūd tumma baʿd ḡālika tatadāraku-hu bi-ḡikr al-maqṣūd. (ʿAstarābādī *ŠK* : II, 404)

Il faut donc remarquer que, même dans le cas de l'oubli, la mention du premier terme se fait initialement de manière délibérée (*ʿan taʿtamida*), ce que suggérait Ḥasan, et qu'alors seul l'élément permuté au niveau de l'erreur véritable est réellement non intentionnel. Il se distingue donc de l'ensemble des grammairiens vus pour qui la dimension de l'oubli est soit inexistante soit subsumée sous celle de l'erreur.⁷²

⁷¹ Ce qui est également le cas, entre autres, d'Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī et d'Ibn Bābašād (cf. Ibn Barhān al-ʿUkbarī *ŠL* : I, 229–231 et Ibn Bābašād *ŠĠZ* : I, 70–71).

⁷² Par ailleurs, il ne faudrait alors pas mal lire un autre passage du *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya* où ʿAstarābādī dresse une frontière entre ce qu'il nomme *badal al-ḡalaṭ* et les trois autres (*badal al-kull*, *badal al-baʿd*, *badal al-iṣṭimāl*). Selon lui, ce permutatif d'erreur, et lui seul, se caractérise par le fait que ce qui est visé n'est que le *badal* et non le *mubdal min-hu*, tandis que dans les trois autres cas, les deux sont visés ensemble : "Nous ne considérons pas que ce qui est visé dans le permutatif du tout [pour le tout] soit uniquement le second [terme], ni dans les autres types de permutatifs, si ce n'est celui d'erreur" (*ʿannā lā nusallimu ʿanna l-maqṣūd fī badal al-kull huwa l-ṭānī faqaṭ wa-lā fī sār al-ʿabdāl ʿillā l-ḡalaṭ*) (ʿAstarābādī *ŠK* : II, 398). Suite à l'indication d'une intentionnalité à la fois dans le *badal badāʿ* mais également dans le *badal nisyān*, il faut donc bien comprendre ici que le [*badal*] *al-ḡalaṭ* dont il parle est mis, par licence, à la place de *badal ḡalaṭ šarḥ muḥaqqaq* et n'est donc pas l'hyperonyme de la catégorie mais l'hyponyme.

3.3.2.2 Le permutatif de liste : la coordination asyndétique

Chez les grammairiens arabes on trouve un autre exemple récurrent sous la forme de *'akaltu ḥubzan laḥman* (Ibn 'Aqīl ŠA : II, 73–74).⁷³ De celui-ci qu'il nomme *badal al-ʾiḍrāb wa-badal al-badā'*, Ibn 'Aqīl indique qu'il répond à une double intention, celle de prononcer l'élément permuté et le permutatif (*yuqṣadu matbū'u-hu ka-mā yuqṣadu huwa*) (Ibn 'Aqīl ŠA : II, 74).

Ibn 'Uṣfūr se pose quant à lui la question de la typologisation de ce même type d'exemples (cf. note 73) qu'il nomme *badal al-badā'* et qui est la sixième sorte de *badal* dont il traite (Ibn 'Uṣfūr ŠĜ : I, 255) :⁷⁴

Le permutatif se subdivise en six sortes : trois sur lesquelles les grammairiens se sont entendus quant à leur possibilité et dont le corpus fait montre, deux qui sont possibles en théorie mais que le corpus n'atteste pas, et un que le corpus mentionne si ce n'est que les grammairiens ont divergé à son sujet : relève-t-il de ce chapitre ou bien de celui de la coordination ?

wa-l-badal yanqasimu sittat 'aqṣām ṭalāṭa ttafaqa l-naḥwiyyūn 'alā ḡawāzi-hā wa-wa-rada bi-hā l-samā' wa-iṭnān ḡā'izān fī l-qiyās wa-lam yarid bi-himā l-samā' wa-wāḥid warada bi-hi l-samā' 'illā 'anna l-naḥwiyyūn ḥtalafū fī-hi hal huwa min hādā l-bāb 'am min bāb al-'atf. (Ibn 'Uṣfūr ŠĜ : I, 252)

Ibn 'Uṣfūr dit donc à propos de ce dernier cas, le *badal al-badā'*, que les deux lectures sont possibles : permutation ou coordination (*wa-l-ṣaḥiḥ 'anna l-waḡḥayn mumkinān*, Ibn 'Uṣfūr ŠĜ : I, 255),⁷⁵ laissant en fait la porte ouverte à une interprétation de ce type de *badal* comme étant à l'*intersection* entre la permutation et la coordination.

Et si Ibn 'Uṣfūr peut y voir une forme de coordination, c'est entre autres parce que ce même type d'exemples est traité comme telle par Ibn Ġinnī. Ce dernier, dans ses *Ḥaṣā'is*, aborde de fait dans un chapitre, intitulé “Chapitre sur le fait que ce qui est élidé, lorsqu'une indication contextuelle permet de le restituer, est considéré comme exprimé, à moins qu'une contrainte liée à la structure de l'énoncé ne l'empêche” (*bāb fī 'anna l-maḥḍūf 'idā dallat al-dalāla 'alay-hi kāna fī*

⁷³ On trouve également *'akaltu ḥubzan tamran* (Ibn al-Dahhān al-Baḡdādī Ġurra : II, 841 ; Ibn Ġa'far al-'Irbilī *Minhāḡ* : f° 89v, l. 7) ou encore *'akaltu laḥman samakan tamran* (Ibn 'Uṣfūr ŠĜ : I, 255).

⁷⁴ C'est par ailleurs sans doute chez lui que se saisit le mieux le concept de *badā'* que l'on comprend comme étant le fait de trouver quelque chose bon, à son idée (cf. Kazimirski 1860 : I, 99a).

⁷⁵ Tout ceci se trouve résumé dans un autre de ses ouvrages (cf. Ibn 'Uṣfūr *Muqarrib* : 321–322).

ḥukm al-malfūz bi-hi ʿillā ʿan yaʿtarīḍa hunāka min šināʿat al-lafz mā yumnaʿu min-hu) (Ibn Ğinnī *Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* : I, 293–299), le cas de l’élision de la particule de coordination. Là, il en indique le caractère irrégulier (*šādd*) en le reliant à ʿAbū Zayd⁷⁶ qui aurait dit : “j’ai mangé de la viande, du poisson, des dattes” (*law kāna taqdiru-hu [...] la-kāna qad ḥaḍafa ḥarf al-ʿatf wa-baqqā l-maʿtūf bi-hi wa-ḥaḍā šādd wa-ʿinna-mā ḥakā min-hu ʿabū ʿuṣmān ʿan ʿabī zayd ʿakaltu laḥman samakan tamran*) (Ibn Ğinnī *Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* : I, 297).⁷⁷

On reconnaît là à la fois un exemple semblable à celui d’Ibn ʿUṣfūr pour qui il constitue une intersection entre permutation et coordination et l’exemple de Wright qui, au contraire d’Ibn Ğinnī, le présentait comme un *badal al-ʿiḍrāb/badāʾ* éventuellement à comprendre comme un permutatif de liste. Je propose alors de voir dans ce permutatif de liste un cas de *badal al-ʿatf*⁷⁸ ainsi nommé en référence, depuis ce type d’exemples en *ʿakaltu laḥman samakan tamran*, à Ibn Ğinnī et Ibn ʿUṣfūr.

3.3.2.3 Le permutatif de changement d’idée (2)⁷⁹

Il existe enfin un autre cas à présenter où le locuteur a l’intention de prononcer tant ce qui sera l’élément permuté que le permutatif. C’est Ibn Mālik qui en fournit l’exemple qui est de fait très proche, si ce n’est *formellement* identique, à celui vu à l’instant, mais qui en diffère d’un point de vue sémantique. Dans l’autocom-

⁷⁶ C’est-à-dire ʿAbū Zayd Saʿīd b. ʿAws b. Tābit al-ʿAnṣārī (m. 215/831).

⁷⁷ Cf. également le “Chapitre sur le fait d’ajouter ou d’élider des particules” *bāb fi ziyādat al-ḥurūf wa-ḥaḍfi-hā*, Ibn Ğinnī *Ḥaṣāʾiṣ* : II, 67). Suhaylī donne dans ses *ʿAmālī* l’exemple d’un médecin qui, s’adressant à un malade qui n’aurait pas besoin d’un régime (*ḥimya*), dirait “mange des dattes, du poisson, de la viande, des produits laitiers, ce que tu veux !” lui permettant donc de manger tous les aliments sans restriction tandis que s’il avait coordonné au moyen du *wāw* “et”, il aurait établi une restriction aux seuls éléments (et aliments) de cette liste (*ʿiḍā qāla l-ṭabīb maṭalan li-man lā yaḥṭāḡu ʿilā l-ḥimya “kul tamran samakan laḥman labanan mā šīʿta” wa-ʿinna-mā ʿarāda l-istirsāl ʿalā ḡamīʿ al-maʿūmāt wa-law ʿaṭafa bi-l-wāw lam tatanāwal al-ʿibāḥa ʿillā mā ḍakara min-hā*) (Suhaylī *ʿAmālī* : 103). Suhaylī indique donc que l’absence de particule de coordination, tout en maintenant pour lui le fait qu’il s’agisse de coordination, a un effet pragmatique : l’établissement d’une liste non restrictive.

⁷⁸ Qu’on prendra soin de distinguer du permutatif de détail (*badal al-taḥṣīl*), évoqué par Sterling dans *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* en guise de cinquième type de permutatif (cf. Sterling 1904 : 221–222) et exemplifié par “In the book are two chapters, a chapter on etymology and an chapter on syntax, *fi l-kitāb faṣṭāni faṣl fi l-ṣarf wa-faṣl fi l-naḥw*” (Sterling 1904 : 222), ce qui s’origine au moins chez Ibn Bābašād qui aborde le cas du *taḥṣīl al-ʿadād* (Ibn Bābašād *ŠĠZ* : I, 72) qu’il exemplifie ainsi : “j’ai en ai vu cinq, Zayd, ʿAmr, Bakr, Ḥālid et Gaʿfar” (*raʿaytu ḥam-satan zaydan wa-ʿamran wa-bakran wa-ḥālidan wa-ḡaʿfaran*) (Ibn Bābašād *ŠĠZ* : I, 73) où donc seul le premier de la liste est un *badal*, les autres lui étant coordonnés. On retrouve cela ensuite chez Ibn Mālik dans son *Šarḥ al-Taḥṣīl* (cf. Ibn Mālik *ŠT(2)* : VII, 3397).

⁷⁹ Ce “(2)” s’éclairera par la suite, cf. *infra*.

mentaire qu'il fait du *Tashīl*, il présente ce qui est pour lui le *badal al-badā'* et le *badal al-ʿidrāb* comme suit :

En disant “on l'appelle permutatif de rétractation ou permutatif de changement d'avis s'il contredit le premier [terme] complètement et intentionnellement” j'ai attiré l'attention sur le fait qu'au sein du permutatif existe ce qui suit le cours de l'élément coordonné au moyen de *bal* “mais, plutôt”. C'est comme lorsque tu dis : *ʿaʿti l-sā'il raḡifan dirhaman* “donne au mendiant une galette de pain, un dirham” où tu as ordonné pour lui une galette de pain puis tu as été compatissant envers lui et tu t'es rétracté de la galette de pain en lui substituant le dirham. Dans cette sorte, sont visés tant le premier que le second [termes] comme l'abrogeant et l'abrogé.⁸⁰ Si *bal* “mais, plutôt” était intervenu entre les deux, cela aurait été bien, mais du fait de *bal* on ne l'appelle plus permutatif puisque le permutatif est un appositif sans connecteur. Le permutatif de changement d'avis est expressément et sémantiquement comme le permutatif de rétractation.

wa-qawli “yusammā l-badal badal ʿidrāb ʿaw badā' ʿin bāyana l-ʿawwal muṭlaqan wa-qaṣdan” nabbahtu bi-hi ʿalā ʿanna min al-badal mā yaḡri maḡrā l-maʿtūf bi-“bal” ka-qawli-ka “ʿaʿti l-sā'il raḡifan dirhaman” ʿamarta la-hu bi-raḡif ṭumma raqqa qalbu-ka ʿalay-hi fa-ʿaḍrabta ʿan al-raḡif wa-ʿabdalta min-hu l-dirham fa-hāḍā l-nawʿ maqṣūd fi-hi l-ʿawwal wa-l-ṭānī ka-l-nāsiḥ wa-l-mansūḥ wa-law ḡuʿila bayna-humā “bal” la-kāna ḥasanan wa-lākinna-hu yazūlu ʿan-hu bi-“bal” ʿiṭlāq al-badal li-ʿanna l-badal tābiʿ bi-lā mutbiʿ wa-badal al-badā' ka-badal al-ʿidrāb lafẓan wa-maʿnan. (Ibn Mālik ŠT : III, 195–196)

Ce passage est fort intéressant pour plusieurs raisons. Ibn Mālik y pose une parfaite identité entre *badal ʿidrāb* et *badal badā'*, ne suggérant donc aucune différence à faire entre rétractation (*ʿidrāb*) et changement d'avis (*badā'*) (cf. *supra*) ; comme d'autres, il oppose ce *ʿidrāb/badā'* à *ḡalaṭ* sur le critère de l'intentionnalité (*qaṣdan*), mais où élément permuté (*mubdal min-hu*) et permutatif (*badal*) sont intentionnels.⁸¹ Par contre, rien n'indique que le pain et le dirham seront donnés, seul

⁸⁰ Ces deux termes, *al-nāsiḥ* et *al-mansūḥ* (de racine N-S-Ḥ où *nash* signifie abrogation), désignent en sciences coraniques et en droit islamique le principe d'abrogation, où un verset (ou une règle légale) postérieur (*nāsiḥ*) en remplace un antérieur (*mansūḥ*). Ce concept vise à concilier des prescriptions apparemment contradictoires dans le Coran et la Sunna. Cf. Burton (1993) et Burton (2001).

⁸¹ C'est exactement ce que fait Ibn al-Qawwās qui distingue le *badal al-ḡalaṭ* du *badal badā'* sur le critère de l'intentionnalité (*ʿāmidan*) : “Et s'il ne procède pas d'une erreur du fait d'une langue qui a fourché, mais qu'il [le locuteur] a mentionné le premier [terme] de manière intentionnelle puis qu'il lui est apparu un [autre] avis, alors il est permis de l'abandonner au profit du second [terme] et celui-ci est appelé changement d'avis et non erreur” (*wa-ʿammā ʿiḍā lam yakun ʿan ḡalaṭ sabaqa ʿilay-hi l-lisān bal ḡakara l-ʿawwal ʿāmidan ṭumma badaʿa [sic] la-hu raʿy*

ce dernier pouvant *in fine* l'être, ce qui différencie cet exemple de la coordination asyndétique telle que vue chez Ibn Ġinnī ou Ibn ʿUṣfūr ou encore chez Suhaylī (cf. *supra* note 77).

3.3.3 Intentionnalité triple : le permuté, le permutatif et la gradation

On vient de le voir avec l'exemple et l'explicitation qu'il en donne, notamment par le biais de *raqqa qalbu-ka ʿalay-hi*, Ibn Mālik suggère l'existence d'une gradation entre l'élément permuté et le permutatif.⁸² De fait, un pièce d'argent vaut bien mieux qu'une simple galette de pain. C'est de cette gradation dont il va être à présent question. Toutefois, la gradation que nous allons envisager est une gradation *préméditée*, elle-même voulue, ce qui n'est *a priori* pas le cas dans l'exemple d'Ibn Mālik, où, après avoir prononcé un premier terme (une simple galette de pain), on se rend compte (sans y avoir préalablement prêté attention) qu'il conviendrait de le remplacer par un autre, plus fort ou plus adéquat (un pièce en argent). C'est là, dans ce caractère prémédité, toute la différence qu'il y a à faire entre le cas précédent et celui qui va nous occuper à présent.

Réfutant l'avis de Zaġġāġī selon qui le *badal al-ġalaṭ* serait, en plus du Coran, absent de la poésie et du discours éloquent, Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī détaille deux sous-types qui ne reçoivent cependant pas chez lui d'appellations particulières. Le premier, involontaire, signe l'erreur ou la bêtise manifeste du locuteur, l'autre, délibéré, sa volonté stylistique :

J'ai trouvé que le [permutatif d']erreur se subdivisait en deux sections. La première : cela se produit sans que le locuteur le veuille [...] mais, alors qu'il s'apprête à dire quelque chose, sa langue fourche, ce qui peut être dû à la maladresse et à la stupidité du locuteur [...]. La seconde : il s'agit d'une chose que le locuteur prémédite et qu'il a l'intention de dire, visant ainsi l'exagération comme lorsqu'on dit *hind kawkab bal badr bal šams* "Hind est un astre, mieux une pleine lune, mieux un soleil". Lorsqu'on l'a comparée à l'astre, on s'est déclaré fautif et on a dit *ġaliṭtu bal hiya badr* "je me suis trompé, elle est plutôt une pleine lune", puis on s'est [encore] déclaré fautif dans la comparaison que l'on fit d'elle avec la pleine lune et on a dit

fa-ġāza tarku-hu ʿilā l-tānī fa-ʿinna-hu yusammā badāʾ lā ġalaṭan) (Ibn al-Qawwās *ŠAIM* : III, 813). On trouve ailleurs *maqṣūdan* (cf. Ibn Ġamāʿa *ŠK* : 188).

⁸² Concernant le *badal al-ʿiḍrāb*, Ibn Mālik, on l'a vu dans la citation plus haut (Ibn Mālik *ŠKŠ* : I, 575–576) en donne deux exemples, le premier dans un contexte positif, l'autre dans un contexte négatif (celui du hadith du prophète relevant du chapitre dit *bāb mā ġāʿa fī nuqṣān al-ṣalāt* "Chapitre sur les déficiences de la prière"), où se repère à chaque fois une gradation, *ʿisāʿa* ("offense, acte nuisible") étant plus fort que *hiġra* ("rupture") dans un contexte positif quand la moitié de la prière est plus forte que le tiers, lui-même plus fort que le quart, etc. dans un contexte négatif. Cette même gradation se repère également dans l'exemple donné par Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī.

bal hiya šams “mais plutôt un soleil”. La règle de ce type de comparaison et de commencer au plus bas puis de s'élever au plus haut.

wa-wağadtu l-ğalaṭ yanqasimu qismayn 'aḥadu-humā yaqa'u min ġayr 'an yurī-da-hu l-mutakallim [...] wa-lākinna-hu yaḏhabu 'ilā 'an yaqūla šay'an fa-yasbuqu lisānu-hu 'ilā ġayri-hi wa-qad yakūnu min 'īyy l-mutakallim wa-ğabāwati-hi [...] wa-l-ṭānī šay' yata'ammadu-hu l-mutakallim wa-yaqsidu-hu wa-yurīdu bi-dālik al-mubālağa ka-qawl al-qā'il "hind kawkab bal badr bal šams" lammā šabbaha-hā bi-l-kawkab ḥaṭṭa'a nafsa-hu fa-qāla "ğaliṭtu bal hiya badr" ṭumma ġallaṭa nafsa-hu fī tašbihi-hā bi-l-badr fa-qāla "bal hiya šams" wa-hādā l-naw' min al-tašbih ḥukmu-hu 'an yubda'a fī-hi bi-l-'adnā ṭumma yartaqiya 'ilā l-'alā. (Baṭalyawsī Ḥulal : 129–130)

C'est donc au moins chez cet auteur que s'origine l'exemple trouvé chez Howell de même que l'explication d'une gradation ascendante que ce dernier tire depuis 'Astarābādī (cf. *infra*) alors que le mode normal en arabe est la gradation descendante (cf. Larcher 2017 : 34 écrit *decrecendo*). Ce fait indique bien qu'il ne s'agit non pas d'une simple énumération par juxtaposition (cas de la coordination sans particule coordinative entrevu plus haut par Ibn Ġinnī) mais d'une forme de *badal*, ce que Baṭalyawsī précise de manière on ne peut plus claire. Ce sur quoi il faut également insister est le fait que non seulement, dans cette forme de permutation, tant le premier que le second terme sont intentionnels et maintenus, nulle abrogation ou suppression n'étant de mise, feinte qu'elle est tout au plus, mais encore que l'effet de gradation, de surenchère (*mubālağa*), est lui même recherché par le locuteur, prémédité (*yata'ammadu*) par ce dernier puisque c'est cette gradation qui permettra d'atteindre l'effet stylistique recherché. Enfin, Baṭalyawsī entrevoit certes une dichotomie, mais celle-ci oppose l'erreur à cette forme délibérée, feinte, mais pas à une simple rétractation de changement d'avis.

Écoutons à présent 'Astarābādī à ce sujet, lui qui reprend le même exemple (mais dénué de la particule *bal*) :

Celui qu'on appelle permutatif d'erreur est de trois sortes. Il s'agit soit de changement avis et c'est que tu mentionnes l'élément permuté intentionnellement et de manière préméditée puis que tu feignes de t'être trompé, au profit d'un second terme étranger [au premier]. Les poètes optent souvent pour lui aux fins d'exagération et pour montrer leur habileté artistique en termes d'éloquence, et sa condition est de progresser du plus bas vers le plus haut comme lorsque tu dis *hind nağm badr šams* “Hind est un astre, une pleine lune, un soleil” : tu fais comme si, même si tu souhaitais mentionner l'astre, tu t'étais trompé, et tu montres alors que tu ne souhaitais au départ que la comparer à la pleine lune, et ainsi de suite lorsque tu dis “pleine lune” et “soleil”.

wa-hāḏā llaḏi yusammā badal al-ḡalaṭ ‘alā ṭalāṭat ‘aqsām ‘immā budā’ wa-huwa ‘an taḏkura l-mubdal min-hu ‘an qaṣd wa-ta‘ammud tumma tūhima ‘anna-ka ḡaliṭ li-kawn al-ṭānī ‘aḡnabiyyan wa-hāḏā ya‘tamidu-hu l-ṣu‘arā’ kaṭīran li-l-mubālaḡa wa-l-tafannun fi l-faṣāḡa wa-ṣarṭu-hu ‘an yartaqiya min al-‘adnā li-l-‘aṭā ka-qawli-ka “hind naḡm badr šams” ka-‘anna-ka wa-‘in kunta mu‘tamidan li-ḏīkr al-naḡm tuḡalliṭu nafsa-ka wa-turī ‘anna-ka lam taqṣid fi l-‘awwal ‘illā taṣbiha-hā bi-l-badr wa-ka-ḏālika qawlu-ka “badr šams”. (ʿAstarābādī ŠK : II, 403)

Il distingue donc, en les opposant les uns aux autres, le cas de *badā’* “changement d’avis”, celui de *ḡalaṭ ṣariḥ muḡaqqaq* “véritable erreur”, et celui de *nisyān* “oubli” (*wa-hāḏā llaḏi yusammā badal al-ḡalaṭ ‘alā ṭalāṭat ‘aqsām ‘immā budā’ [...] wa-‘immā ḡalaṭ ṣariḥ muḡaqqaq [...] wa-‘immā nisyān*) (ʿAstarābādī ŠK : II, 403–404). Le fait qu’il soit possible d’opposer *ḡalaṭ ṣariḥ muḡaqqaq* à *ḡalaṭ badā’* doit pouvoir faire comprendre que ce dernier n’a rien de véritable, ce que corrobore l’exemple pris par Raḏī l-Dīn al-ʿAstarābādī et l’explication qu’il en donne, où l’on repère bien une gradation ascendante (*‘an yartaqiya min al-‘adnā li-l-‘aṭā*) et donc une permutation feinte (*tūhima*), par surenchère (*mubālaḡa*), le tout de manière préméditée (*qaṣd wa-ta‘ammud*), exactement ainsi que nous l’avons vue chez Baṭalyawsī.⁸³

Un auteur comme Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī en vient même à se singulariser (cf. Ibn Ḥarūf ŠĠZ : I, 343) en ce sens qu’il en donne un exemple coranique : *qutīla ‘aṣḡābu l-‘uḡḏūdi* ﴿لنَّارِي دَاتِي لِّوَاوُودِي﴾ (Cor 85, 4–5) “[ils] ont été tués, les Hommes du Four, ﴿— feu sans cesse alimenté —, ” (Blachère 1950 : 644–645). Rappelons que, depuis Mubarrad, ce qui est une antienne reprise par l’ensemble des grammairiens, le Coran est, par essence, exempt d’erreurs et donc de *badal al-ḡalaṭ*. L’exemple coranique pris par Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī ne relève donc pas du *badal al-ḡalaṭ* mais bien de ce cinquième type (chez lui) qu’il nomme *badal al-‘idrāb*, distinct du quatrième. Et s’il ne s’agit pas d’un permutatif d’erreur ou d’oubli, également impossible dans le texte coranique, c’est qu’il doit s’agir de ce que Baṭalyawsī n’a pas étiqueté lorsqu’il évoquait le cas où le locuteur commet délibérément l’“erreur” mais que ʿAstarābādī appelle *badal al-badā’*, *badā’* qu’évoque justement Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī à cet endroit de son texte. Il s’agirait alors de comprendre cet exemple coranique, toujours selon Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī, comme suit : “[ils] ont été tués, les Hommes du Four, du four, que dis-je ? du feu

⁸³ Ces mêmes éléments à la fois d’intentionnalité (*maḡṣūdan*) et de gradation vers le plus haut (*‘awlā*) se retrouvent par exemple chez Ibn Ḡamā’a (cf. ŠK : 188), de même que chez ʿAlawī qui souligne à la fois l’aspect intentionnel (*‘alā ḡiḡhat al-‘amd wa-l-qaṣd*) et de gradation par surenchère (*mubālaḡa*, ʿAlawī *Minḡāḡ* : I, 259).

sans cesse alimenté” avec une gradation faisant du feu alimenté quelque chose de plus fort, de plus éloquent que le simple four.⁸⁴

Un autre auteur suggère cette même gradation ascendante. Il s’agit d’Ibn ‘Abī l-Rabī‘ qui indique :

Et cela, c’est que tu mentionnes le premier puis qu’il t’apparaisse bon de passer à un autre que tu lui substitues. Un exemple de cela est de dire *ḡā’a-nī l-wazīr al-‘amīr* “est venu à moi le ministre, le prince” alors que les deux sont bien venus à toi : tu as asserté en premier de la venue du ministre puis tu t’es porté sur le fait d’asserter de [la venue du] prince parce que cela est plus fort quant à ce que tu souhaites [dire].

wa-ḡālika ‘an taḡkura l-‘awwal ṭumma yabduwa la-ka ‘an tantaqila ‘ilā ḡayri-hi fa-tub-dila min-hu wa-miṭāl ḡālika ‘an taqūla “ḡā’a-nī l-wazīr al-‘amīr” wa-humā qad ḡā’a-ka fa-‘aḥbarta ‘awwalan bi-maḡi’ al-wazīr ṭumma ntaqalta ‘ilā l-‘iḥbār ‘an al-‘amīr li-‘anna ḡālika ‘aqwā fi-mā turīdu-hu. (Ibn ‘Abī l-Rabī‘ *Basīṭ* : I, 408)

Avec un tel exemple, deux lectures sont possibles : soit de comprendre que le ministre et le prince sont deux personnes distinctes, et que, sous une forme de coordination asyndétique, le locuteur évoque successivement les deux, comme dans l’exemple de la viande, du poisson et des dattes donné par Ibn Ğinnī et Ibn ‘Uṣfūr ; soit, ce qui est l’interprétation d’Ibn ‘Abī l-Rabī‘, de comprendre qu’il s’agit en fait d’une seule et même personne, à la fois ministre et prince, et qu’à des fins d’emphase, le locuteur choisit une permutation par gradation allant de la moins forte à la plus forte (*‘aqwā*) des qualifications.

On notera enfin chez lui l’utilisation du concept de déplacement, de translation (*intiḡāl*) sous la forme de *tantaqila* et de *intaqalta*, qui ici, couplé à l’exemple qu’il donne, semble bien vouloir signifier que l’élément permuté est maintenu, aux fins d’emphase, et non pas supprimé, ce concept de translation fournissant la transition vers le point suivant.

3.4 Les deux rétractions

Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Fākihi se révèle être intéressant puisque dans l’autocommentaire qu’il fit de son *K. al-Ḥudūd fi l-naḥw*, il reprend la typologie d’Ibn Mālik, l’hypéronyme étant *al-badal al-mubāyin* (dont il donne en plus de la terminologie un premier exemple, classique, sous forme de *‘inda-ka raḡul ḥimār*) (Fākihi *ŠH* : 262)

⁸⁴ Notons que pour une grande majorité des grammairiens à la suite de Fārisī, ce verset relève bien du *badal*, mais du *badal al-iṣtimāl* (cf. Fārisī *’Iḡāḥ* : 221), ce que réfute pour sa part Suhaylī qui s’étonne fortement que Fārisī ait pu avoir cette idée, ne voyant là qu’un permutatif de la chose pour la chose (*badal al-ṣay’ min al-ṣay’*), ce qu’il justifie par une élation implicite du type *qutla ‘aṣḡabu l-‘uḡdūdi ‘uḡdūdi l-nāri ḡāti l-waḡūd*. (cf. Suhaylī *Natā’iḡ* : 240).

et ses hyponymes, au nombre de trois, le *badal* *ʿidrāb*, le *badal al-ġalaṭ* et le *badal nisyān* (Fākihī *ŠH* : 267–268).

De l’hyperonyme, il explique que le permutatif est en contradiction formelle et sémantique avec l’élément permuté (*yubāyinu-hu lafẓan wa-maʿnan*) (Fākihī *ŠH* : 267).

Du premier hyponyme, il précise que par “rétractation” il convient d’entendre “rétractation de transition” (*ʿay ʿidrāb intiḡāl*) (Fākihī *ŠH* : 267) en reprenant pour l’exemplifier le hadith déjà mentionné. À son propos, il indique une nouvelle fois qu’il s’agit d’un permutatif de rétractation de transition et pas d’une rétractation d’abrogation (*ʿidrāb ʿibṭāl*), le permutatif tout comme son élément permuté étant intentionnellement exprimés (*fa-“tuluṭu-hā” wa-mā baʿda-hu badal ʿidrāb intiḡāl lā ʿidrāb ʿibṭāl min “niṣfu-hā”*) (Fākihī *ŠH* : 269). Et c’est pourquoi, selon lui, ce permutatif “est appelé permutatif de changement d’avis puisque le locuteur affirme d’une chose puis il lui apparaît bon et bien d’affirmer d’une autre sans abroger la première” (*yusammā badal al-badāʾ li-ʿanna l-mutakallim yuḥbiru bi-ṣayʾ tumma yabdu la-hu ʿan yuḥbira bi-ʿāḡar min ġayr ʿibṭāl al-ʿawwal*) (Fākihī *ŠH* : 269). Ce faisant, lui comme d’autres mettent une égalité entre *ʿidrāb* et *badāʾ*, mais cette égalité se fait précisément chez lui entre *ʿidrāb intiḡāl* et *badāʾ* et non entre *ʿidrāb ʿibṭāl* et *badāʾ*, de sorte que *badāʾ* est un hyponyme de *ʿidrāb*.

Du deuxième hyponyme, il fournit un autre exemple (*raʿaytu zaydan al-faras*) (Fākihī *ŠH* : 268) mais surtout dit que certains en ont fait une particularité de la poésie, alors que d’autres (dont Sibawayhi et la majorité) l’ont attesté pour la prose. Pourtant, si l’un des trois sous-types qui nous intéresse est bien attesté selon les uns et les autres dans la poésie, c’est effectivement bien le premier, mais pas le deuxième, à la rigueur observable dans le discours oral spontané. Il ajoute ce que nous avons déjà vu, à savoir que ce sous-type se caractérise par l’aspect non intentionnel et par une langue qui fourche (cf. Fākihī *ŠH* : 270).

Du troisième hyponyme, enfin, il ne donne qu’un exemple (*ġāʿa-nī zayd bakr*) (Fākihī *ŠH* : 268 et 270), rappelant que le mention de l’élément permuté s’est faite par cause d’un oubli.

Chez cet auteur, qui reprend en grande partie Ibn Mālik et Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī, on trouve tout de même de quoi alimenter notre réflexion avec les termes de *ʿibṭāl* (déjà rencontré chez al-ʿAʿlam al-Šantamarī et Suyūṭī) et *intiḡāl* (rencontré sous sa forme verbale chez Ibn ʿAbī l-Rabīʿ), opposant strictement et expressément *ʿidrāb intiḡāl* à *ʿidrāb ʿibṭāl*. Ce faisant, il indique très précisément que la rétractation (*ʿidrāb*) de manière générale et générique n’est en rien un synonyme de “mise de côté” (*naḡḡā*, vu chez Sibawayhi), “suppression” (*ʿalġā*, vu chez Sīrāfi), “rejet” (*tarḡ*, vu chez Ibn Barḡān al-ʿUkbarī et Ibn al-Ḥabbāz), “mise à bas” (*sāḡit*, vu chez ʿAbd al-Qāḡir al-Ġurġānī), “abandon” (*tark*, vu chez Ibn al-Qawwās), ou “abrogation” (*ʿibṭāl*, vu chez al-ʿAʿlam al-Šantamarī et Suyūṭī), seul le *ʿidrāb ʿibṭāl* les impliquant de manière nécessaire.

Faut-il voir dans cette dichotomie celle proposée par Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIšbīlī qui consistait, sous un même *ʿidrāb*, à concevoir deux sous-types qu’il nommait *badāʾ*

et *ğayr badā* ? Dans la mesure où ce dernier n'en disait rien de plus, il est difficile de trancher.

Si pour un certain nombre de grammairiens, l'opération de rétractation supposerait celle d'abrogation de l'élément permuté au profit du seul permutatif qui, lui, viendrait le remplacer, l'ôter, le supprimer, le rejeter, etc. (cf. 3.2 Les mots de l'abrogation), ce n'est manifestement pas toujours le cas puisque l'élément permuté peut être 1) intentionnellement prononcé mais encore 2) maintenu tel qu'on le voit notamment chez des auteurs comme Baṭalyawsī, Ibn 'Abī l-Rabī', 'Astarābādī, Suyūṭī⁸⁵ et Fākīhī. C'est du reste ce dernier qui dresse clairement la différence à faire entre une rétractation de transition et une rétractation d'abrogation. Et c'est ce que l'on retrouve plus tard chez Ḥasan qui aborde le *'idrāb intiḳālī* ("rétractation transitoire") auquel il oppose le *'idrāb 'ibṭālī* ("rétractation abrogative"). Voici ce qu'il dit des deux en lien avec la particule *bal* :

Son [*bal*] sens est soit la rétractation d'abrogation soit celle de transition. La [rétractation d'] abrogation est celle qui suppose de nier le jugement qui précède dans l'énoncé avant *bal* et de décider qu'il n'est pas réel, que celui qui le prétend est mensonger et que le fait de s'en écarter au profit d'un autre jugement qui apparaît après lui [*bal*] est obligatoire comme dans *al-'ağrām al-samāwiyya tābita bal al-'ağrām al-samāwiyya mutaḥarrika* "les corps célestes sont immobiles, plutôt les corps célestes sont mobiles" [...] parce que cette immobilité n'est pas un fait avéré et quiconque le prétend est un menteur. C'est alors comme si le locuteur avait dit "les corps célestes sont immobiles, non, les corps célestes sont mobiles et non pas immobiles" et qu'il ait alors infirmé et nié le premier jugement et qu'il ait proposé après lui un nouveau jugement. [...] La rétractation de] transition est celle qui suppose le déplacement d'un dessein avant la particule *bal* à un nouveau dessein après elle avec la conservation du jugement précédent tel quel et l'absence de suppression de ce qu'il suppose comme [dans] son dire, qu'il soit exalté, *qad 'aflaḥa man tazakkā wa-ḍakara sma rabbi-hi fa-ṣallā bal tu'tirūna l-ḥayāta l-dunyā wa-'āḥirātu ḥayrun wa-'abqā* "[14] Heureux [au contraire] sera qui se sera purifié, [15] aura invoqué (*ḍakara*) le nom de son Seigneur et prié ! [16] Mais vous, [Incrédibles !], vous préférez la Vie Immédiate [17] alors que la [Vie] Dernière est meilleure et plus durable" [Blachère 1950 : 648] : le dessein autour duquel tourne le propos avant *bal* est celui de l'obéissance (au fait d'être exempt de péchés, au culte d'Allah, à la prière) et le nouveau dessein qui se trouve après est l'amour de la vie d'ici-bas et la préférence de celle de l'au-delà sur celle-ci, [mais] les deux desseins sont destinés à demeurer tels quels.

⁸⁵ Il s'agit chez lui de remarquer l'utilisation du terme *'ibṭāl* ("abrogation"), déjà vu chez al-'A'lam al-Šantamarī, si ce n'est qu'ici, il s'agit de son opposé (*ğayr 'ibṭāl*), et où l'on comprend donc que l'un et l'autre sont non seulement intentionnels mais maintenus. Par contre, nulle gradation de surenchère ou volonté stylistique ne sont abordées par Suyūṭī.

wa-ma'nā-hu 'immā l-'idrāb al-'ibtālī wa-'immā l-'idrāb al-intiqālī fa-l-'ibtālī huwa llaḍi yaqtaḍi nafy l-ḥukm al-sābiq fī l-kalām qabl “bal” wa-l-qat' bi-'anna-hu ḡayr wāqī' wa-mudda'i-hi kāḍib wa-l-inṣirāf 'an-hu wāḡib 'ilā ḥukm 'aḥar yaḡī'u ba'da-hā naḥwa “al-'aḡrām al-samāwiyya ṭābita bal al-'aḡrām al-samāwiyya mutaḥarrika” [...] li-'anna ḥāḍā l-ṭabāt 'amr ḡayr ḥāṣil wa-man yadda'i-hi kāḍib fa-ka-'anna l-mutakallim qāla “al-'aḡrām al-samāwiyya ṭābita lā fa-l-'aḡrām al-samāwiyya mutaḥarrika wa-laysat ṭābita” fa-'abtala l-ḥukm al-'awwal wa-nafā-hu wa-'araḍa ba'da-hu ḥukman ḡadīdan [...] wa-l-intiqālī huwa llaḍi yaqtaḍi l-intiqāl min ḡaraḍ qabl al-ḥarf “bal” 'ilā ḡaraḍ ḡadīd ba'da-hu ma'a 'ibqā' al-ḥukm al-sābiq 'alā ḥālī-hi wa-'adam 'ilgā' mā yaqtaḍi-hi ka-qawli-hi ta'ālā “qad 'aflaḥa man tazakkā wa-ḍakara sma rabbi-hi fa-ṣallā bal tu'tirūna l-ḥayāta l-dunyā wa-'āḥirātu ḥayrun wa-'abqā”⁸⁶ fa-l-ḡaraḍ allaḍi yadūru ḥawla-hu l-kalām qabl “bal” huwa l-tā'a (bi-l-ṭahāra min al-ḍunūb, wa-bi-'ibādat allāh wa-bi-l-ṣalāt) wa-l-ḡaraḍ al-ḡadīd ba'da-hā huwa ḥubb al-dunyā wa-tafḍīl al-'āḥira 'alay-hā wa-kilā l-ḡaraḍayn maḡṣūd bāqin 'alā ḥālī-hi. (Ḥasan 1966 : III, 623–624)⁸⁷

En résumé, deux types de rétractations se laissent dessiner : l'une, dite de transition, revient à passer d'un motif à une autre sans pour autant supposer la suppression du premier ; l'autre, dite d'abrogation, revient au contraire à délaissier la chose dite en premier au profit d'une autre, et à supprimer la première, jugée erronée.

4 Conclusion

Les traités grammaticaux sont-ils interchangeable ? Non, et d'autant moins si l'on souhaite avoir une vision un tant soit peu précise et complète, ce qui requiert alors d'en consulter un grand nombre. Seul ce travail de comparaison, ce qui devrait être une lapalissade, se révèle heuristique.

Cela permet de voir que pour un certain nombre d'entre les grammairiens arabes médiévaux l'oubli n'est qu'un cas particulier de l'erreur, de sorte qu'il s'y trouve subsumé.

Cela permet de repérer l'existence, au sein des permutatifs, d'un permutatif stylistique, rhétorique donc, qu'il est également possible de qualifier de feint ou de surenchère, feint puisqu'il s'agit pour le locuteur/orateur de faire semblant

⁸⁶ Cor 87, 14–17.

⁸⁷ L'auteur dit sensiblement la même chose au sujet de la particule 'am : 'ibtāl al-ḥukm al-sābiq wa-nafy maḍmūni-hi wa-l-qat' bi-'anna-hu ḡayr wāqī' wa-l-ḥukm 'alā mudda'i-hi bi-l-kiḍb wa-l-inṣirāf 'an ḍālika l-ḥukm 'ilā ḥukm 'aḥar yaḡī'u ba'da-hā wa-ḥāḍā huwa l-'idrāb al-'ibtālī [...] al-intiqāl min ḡaraḍ bāqin 'alā ḥālī-hi 'ilā 'aḥar yuḥālifu-hu wa-yusammā l-'idrāb al-intiqālī (Ḥasan 1966 : III, 597, note 1). Sur cette même distinction au sein du 'idrāb, on consultera également l'ouvrage du savant indien Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn al-Qāḍī Muḥammad Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad Ṣābir al-Fārūqī l-Ḥanafī l-Tahānawī (m. 1158/1745 ?), *Kaṣṣāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn wa-l-'ulūm* (cf. Tahānawī *Kaṣṣāf* : 218b–219a).

de se tromper pour pouvoir, dans un mouvement de surenchère, ajouter au premier un autre plus fort (cf. Baṭalyawsī, Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī, Ibn ʿAbī l-Rabīʿ, ʿAstarābādī, Ibn Ǧamāʿa, ʿAlawī, Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī).

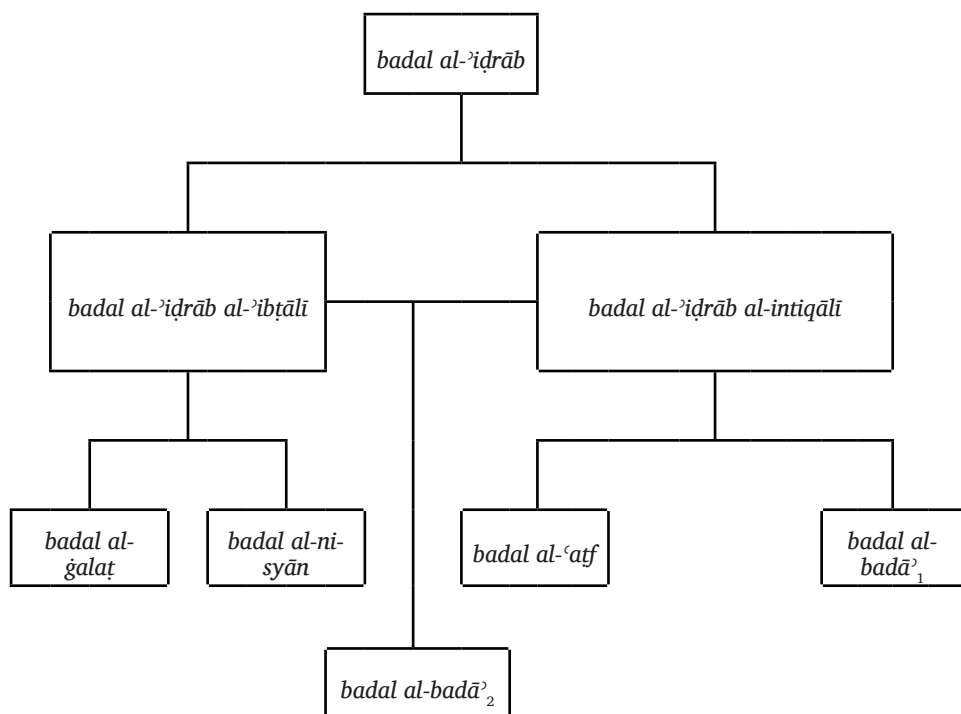
Cela permet surtout de repérer que soit le *badal al-badāʾ*, dont l'apparition du terme dans le champ strict de la grammaire arabe en rapport avec les permutatifs est relativement tardive (VII^e/XIII^e siècle), est présenté comme l'équivalent du *badal al-ʿidrāb* (cf. Sībawayhi, Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī, Ibn Mālik, Ibn Ǧamāʿa, ʿUṣmūnī, Ibn Hišām al-ʿAnṣārī, Ibn ʿAqīl, Suyūṭī),⁸⁸ soit que celui-ci est présenté comme l'hyperonyme de la catégorie dont celui-là n'est alors que l'un des hyponymes aux côtés du *badal al-ḡalaṭ wa-l-nisyān* (cf. Ibn al-Dahhān al-Baḡdādī, Ibn Ǧāfar al-ʿIr-bīlī, Ibn ʿAbī l-Rabīʿ et Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī).⁸⁹ À cette dernière liste s'ajoute celle de ceux qui, en l'absence d'un hyperonyme, font du *badal al-badāʾ* l'une des sortes de ce quatrième type de *badal* (cf. Ǧuzūlī, Šalawbīn, Ibn ʿUṣfūr) ou qui, sous un autre hyperonyme (*badal al-ḡalaṭ* ; *al-badal al-mubāyin*) en font encore un hyponyme (cf. ʿAstarābādī, Ibn al-Qawwās, ʿAlawī ; Fākihi).

Sur la base de ce recueil de données, et en considérant, notamment avec ceux des grammairiens pour qui ce quatrième type de permutatif se caractérise, quel que soit le sous-type envisagé, par une rétractation (*ʿidrāb*), laquelle ne présuppose pas nécessairement l'abrogation du terme permuté, lui qui peut au contraire être maintenu dans certains cas (c'est toute la signification de "mieux", "plutôt", "voire"),⁹⁰ je propose une nouvelle organisation typologique de ces permutatifs, ce qui peut se représenter de la sorte :

⁸⁸ Cela, certainement issu de la lecture de Sībawayhi qui, on s'en souvient, écrivait *ʿan yabduwa la-ka ʿan tuḍriba* (Sībawayhi *Kitāb*(2) : I, 439), plaçant ainsi ce qui allait devenir *ʿidrāb* dans le champ de ce qui deviendrait *badāʾ* et, ce faisant, les liait si intimement que certains grammairiens, prisonniers de ce texte, continuèrent de faire de même.

⁸⁹ Plus marginalement, le *badal al-badāʾ* est présenté comme l'hyperonyme de la catégorie avec *ḡalaṭ* et *ʿidrāb* en hyponymes (cf. Sīrāfī).

⁹⁰ Ce sont en fait les deux valeurs de *bal* : ou bien dans "a *bal* b", b annule a ("ce n'est pas a qu'il faut dire, *mais* (*plutôt*) b") ou bien il va dans le même sens que lui, mais plus loin que lui, en mieux ou en pis, "a *bal* b" signifiant "a, (bien) mieux/pis b", selon la dénotation/connotation s'attachant à a et b (cf. Larcher 2017 : 255–267, part. 256–258).



intentionnalité du locuteur (-)
maintien du *mubdal min-hu* (-)

intentionnalité du locuteur (+)
maintien du *mubdal min-hu* (+)

badal al-ḡalaṭ = *marartu bi-raḡulin ḥimārin* : cas de *lapsus linguae* ;

badal al-ni-syān = *marartu bi-raḡulin ḥimārin* : cas de *lapsus memoriae* ;

badal al-ʿatf = *ʾakaltu laḥman samakan tamran* : cas de permutatif de liste (coordination asyndétique) ;

badal al-badāʾ₁ = *ḥind kawkab (naḡm) badr šams* : cas de permutatif feint et de surenchère (*correctio latine*) ;

badal al-badāʾ₂ = *ʾaʿṭi-hi raḡifan dirhaman* : cas de permutatif de reprise.

Je propose donc de voir dans le type de permutatif d'autocorrection dont il a été question, plutôt que le *badal al-mubāyin*, le *badal al-ʿiḍrāb*, c'est-à-dire le “permutatif de rétractation” qui, on le constate alors, ne forme pas un doublet avec le *badal al-badāʾ*. Ce *badal al-ʿiḍrāb* connaît deux cas de figure en fonction que l'élément permuté est réellement supprimé (*ʿiḍrāb ʿibṭālī*) ou non et donc maintenu (*ʿiḍrāb intiqālī*).

Le premier de ces sous-types se caractérise donc par l'abrogation du terme permuté et connaît deux sortes, celle de l'erreur d'une part, celle de l'oubli d'autre part.

Le second sous-type se caractérise par le maintien du terme permuté et connaît également deux sortes, l'une où il n'y a pas d'effet de gradation en tant que tel, ni donc d'effet stylistique, ce que je propose de nommer le *badal al-ʿatf* en ce qu'il correspond au cas de coordination asyndétique compris comme un "permutatif de liste" tel qu'on a pu le voir chez Ibn Ġinnī, Ibn ʿUṣfur mais également Suhaylī. Aux côtés de cette sorte se trouve alors le *badal al-badāʾ*₁ "permutatif de changement d'avis" (1) tel que nous le voyons à l'œuvre chez Baṭalyawṣī, Ibn Ḥarūf al-ʿIṣbīlī, Ibn ʿAbī l-Rabīʿ, ʿAstarābādī, Ibn Ġamāʿa, ʿAlawī et Ibn al-Faḥḥār al-Bayrī avec cet effet stylistique dû à la gradation qui existe entre les deux termes, ces deux termes étant intentionnellement prononcés de même que l'effet de gradation étant recherché et prémédité, ce qui en fait un équivalent à la *correctio* latine. Je choisis de le nommer *badal al-badāʾ*₁ parce qu'il existe un autre cas, où une gradation existe bien, mais où rien n'indique qu'elle soit, elle, préméditée par le locuteur, et où rien n'indique non plus que l'élément permuté soit maintenu (ou abrogé) après l'opération de rétractation.⁹¹ Ce cas est celui vu chez Ibn Mālīk et j'en fais alors un *badal al-badāʾ*₂, "permutatif de changement d'avis" (2), intermédiaire à l'ensemble des autres cas de figure.'

	Intentionnalité du <i>mubdal min-hu</i>	Suppression du <i>mubdal min-hu</i>	Gradation ascendante
<i>badal al-ḡalaṭ</i>		✓	
<i>badal al-nisyān</i>	✓	✓	
<i>badal al-ʿatf</i>	✓		
<i>badal al-badāʾ</i> ₁	✓		✓
<i>badal al-badāʾ</i> ₂	✓	✓ (?)	✓

⁹¹ Dans l'exemple d'Ibn Mālīk, *ʿaʿti-hi raḡīfan dirhaman*, rien n'indique que *raḡīfan* soit maintenu de telle sorte que celui dont on parle recevrait et du pain et un dirham, mais rien n'indique non plus que *raḡīfan* soit abrogé de telle sorte que celui dont on parle pourrait recevoir et du pain et un dirham. La différence entre *badāʾ*₁ et *badāʾ*₂ tient au fait que dans (1) le *mubdal min-hu* est intentionnel, ce qu'il n'est pas ou du moins pas dans la même intensité dans (2).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Manuel Sartori  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9967-267X>

Bibliographie

Sources primaires

- ‘Alawī, *KBŠL* = ‘Abū l-Barakāt ‘Umar b. ‘Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī l-‘Alawī l-Kūfī. 1423/2002. *Kitāb al-bayān fī šarḥ al-Luma‘ li-Ibn Ğinnī*. 1^e éd. Édité par ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ḥamawayya. ‘Ammān : Dār ‘ammār.
- ‘Alawī, *Minhāğ* = al-Mu‘ayyid bi-l-Lāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. ‘Alī l-Ḥusaynī l-‘Alawī. 1430/2009. *Al-Minhāğ fī šarḥ Ğumal al-Zağğāğī*. 2 vol. Édité par Hādī ‘Abd Allāh Nāğī. Al-Riyāḍ : Maktabat al-rušd.
- ‘Anbārī, *‘Asrār* = Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abū l-Barakāt ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-‘Anšārī l-‘Anbārī. 1377/1957. *‘Asrār al-‘arabiyya*. Édité par Muḥammad Bahğat al-Bayṭār. Dimašq : al-Mağma‘ al-‘ilmī l-‘arabī bi-Dimašq.
- ‘Astarābādī, *ŠK* = Raḍī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Astarābādī. 1419/1998. *Šarḥ Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥāğib*. 5 vol. Édité par ‘Imīl Badī‘ Ya‘qūb. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-‘il-miyya.
- ‘Astarābādī, *ŠK(2)* = Raḍī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Astarābādī. 1416/1996 [1393/1973–1398/1978]. *Šarḥ Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥāğib*. 2^e éd. 4 vol. Édité par Yūsuf Ḥasan ‘Umar. Bingāzī : Manšūrāt Ğāmi‘at Qār Yūnis,
- ‘Astarābādī, *ŠK(3)* = Raḍī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Astarābādī. 1417/1996. *Šarḥ al-Raḍī li-Kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥāğib*. 2 vol. Édité par Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ibrāhīm al-Ḥifzī. Al-Riyāḍ : Ğāmi‘at al-‘imām Muḥammad b. Sa‘ūd al-‘islāmiyya.
- ‘Astarābādī, *ŠK(4)* = Raḍī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Astarābādī. 1366/1946. *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya fī l-naḥw wa-bi-hāmišati-hi Ḥāšiya li-l-Sayyid Šarīf al-Ğurğānī*. 2 vol. Édité par ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Tabrizī. n.l. : Manšūrāt al-maktaba l-murtaḍawiyya li-‘iḥyā’ al-‘aṭār al-ğā‘fariyya.
- Barda‘ī, *Ḥadā’iq* = Sa‘d al-Dīn Sa‘d Allāh al-Barda‘ī. 1435/2014. *Ḥadā’iq al-dağā’iq wa-huwa šarḥ ‘alā matn al-‘Unmuḍağ fī l-naḥw li-l-Zamağšarī*. Édité par ‘Afīf al-Dīn Ḥassan Al-Turkmānī. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya.
- Baṭalyawsī, *Ḥulal* = ‘Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī. 1400/1980. *Al-Ḥulal fī ‘iṣlāḥ al-ḥalal min kitāb al-Ğumal*. Édité par Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Karīm Sa‘ūdī. Bayrūt : Dār al-ṭalī‘a li-l-ṭibā‘a wa-l-našr.
- Baṭalyawsī, *Rasā’il* = ‘Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī. 1428/2007. *Rasā’il fī l-luğa*. Édité par Walīd Muḥammad al-Sarāqabī. Al-Riyāḍ : Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal li-l-buḥūṭ wa-l-dirāsāt al-‘islāmiyya.
- Fākiḥī, *ŠḤ* = Ğamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aḥmad b. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī l-Fākiḥī. 1408/1988. *Šarḥ Kitāb al-ḥudūd fī l-naḥw*. Édité par al-Mitwalī Ramaḍān ‘Aḥmad al-Damīrī. Al-Qāhira : Ğāmi‘at al-‘Azhar.

- Fārisī, *ʾİdāh* = ʾAbū ʿAlī l-Ḥasan b. ʾAḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ğaffār b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʾAbān al-Fasawī l-Fārisī l-Naḥwī. 1432/2011. *Kitāb al-ʾİdāh*. 1^e éd. Édité par Kāzīm Baḥr al-Murğān. Bayrūt : ʿĀlam al-kutub [reprint 2^e édition 1416/1996].
- Ġalāyīnī, *Ġāmiʿ* = Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad Salīm al-Ġalāyīnī. 1421/2000. *Ġāmiʿ al-durūs al-ʿarabiyya*. 1^e éd. Édité par ʿAbd al-Munʿim Ḥalīl ʾIbrāhīm. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.
- Ġāmi, *ŠMG* = Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʾAḥmad al-Ġāmi. 1430/2009. *Šarḥ mullā Ġāmi, al-Fawāʾid al-Ḍiyāʾiyya ʿalā matn al-Kāfiya fi l-naḥw wa-yalī-hi ḥawāšī wa-taʿlīqāt li-l-šayḥ ʿAlī Riḍā ʿUṭmān al-Dūlālī l-Qaysirī : Dūlūzādah*. 1^e éd. 2 vol. Édité par ʾAḥmad ʿAzzū ʾInāya et ʿAlī Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. Bayrūt : Dār ʾihyāʾ al-turāṭ al-ʿarabī.
- Ġāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm, *ŠLN* = ʾAbū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bāqūlī l-ʾAṣbahānī l-maʾrūf bi-Ġāmiʿ al-ʿulūm. 1428/2007. *Kitāb šarḥ al-Lumaʿ fi l-naḥw*. Édité par Muḥammad Ḥalīl Murād al-Ḥarbī. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.
- Ġurğānī, *Ġumal* = ʾAbū Bakr ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ġurğānī. 1392/1972. *Al-Ġumal*. Édité par ʿAlī Ḥaydar. Dimašq : Manšūrāt dār al-ḥikma,
- Ġurğānī, *MŠİ* = ʾAbū Bakr ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ġurğānī. 1402/1982. *Al-Muqtašid fi šarḥ al-ʾİdāh*. 2 vol. Édité par Kāzīm Baḥr al-Murğān. Baġdād : Manšūrāt wizārat al-ṭaqaʾa wa-l-ʾiʿlām.
- Ġurğānī, *ŠĠ* = ʾAbū Bakr ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ġurğānī. 1432/2011. *Šarḥ al-ġumal fi l-naḥw*. 10^e éd. Édité par Ḥalīl ʿAbd al-Qādir ʾİsā. Bayrūt et ʿAmmān : Dār Ibn Ḥazm & al-Dār al-ʿuṭmāniyya.
- Ġuzūlī, *Muqaddima* = ʾAbū Mūsā ʾİsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Yalalbaḥt al-Ġuzūlī l-Barbarī l-Marākišī. 1408/1988. *Al-Muqaddima l-ġuzūliyya fi l-naḥw*. Édité par ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb Muḥammad Šaʿbān, Cor. Ḥāmid ʾAḥmad Nabil et Faṭḥī Muḥammad ʾAḥmad Ġumʿa. Al-Qāhira : ʾUmm al-qurā.
- Ḥāġġī, Ḥalīfa, *Kašf* = Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd Allāh, al-Mulā Kātib al-Ġallibī l-Quṣṭanṭī l-Rūmī l-Ḥanafī. 1402/1982. *Kašf al-zunūn ʿan ʾasāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*. 2 vol. Édité par s.e. Bayrūt : Dār ʾihyāʾ al-turāṭ al-ʿarabī.
- Ḥuḍarī, *Ḥāšiya* = Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā l-Ḥuḍarī. 1434/2013. *Ḥāšiyat al-Ḥuḍarī ʿalā šarḥ Ibn ʿAqīl ʿalā ʾAlfiyyat Ibn Mālik*. 5^e éd. 2 vol. Édité par Turkī Farḥān al-Muṣṭafā. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.
- Ibn ʾAbī l-Rabīʿ, *Basīṭ* = ʾAbū l-Ḥusayn ʾUbayd Allāh b. ʾAḥmad b. ʾUbayd Allāh Ibn ʾAbī l-Rabīʿ al-Qurašī l-ʾİsbīlī l-Sabtī. 1407/1986. *Al-Basīṭ fi šarḥ Ġumal al-Zaġġāġī*. 2 vol. Édité par ʾAyyād b. ʾAyd al-Ṭabīṭī. Bayrūt : Dār al-ġarb al-ʾislāmī.
- Ibn ʿAqīl, *ŠA* = Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʾAbū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qurašī l-Hāšimī l-ʿAqīlī l-Hamdānī l-Miṣrī Ibn ʿAqīl. 1431/2010. *Šarḥ Ibn ʿAqīl ʿalā ʾAlfiyyat Ibn Mālik*. 7^e éd. 2 vol. Édité par ʾImīl Badīʿ Yaʿqūb. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.
- Ibn al-Daḥḥān al-Baġdādī, *Ġurra* = ʾAbū Muḥammad Saʿīd b. al-Mubārak b. ʿAlī l-ʾAnṣārī l-maʾrūf bi-Ibn al-Daḥḥān al-Baġdādī. 1432/2011. *Al-Ġurra fi šarḥ al-Lumaʿ min ʾawwal bāb ʾinna wa-ʾaḥawātī-hā ʾilā ʾāḥir bāb al-ʿatf*. 2 vol. Édité par Farīd ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Al-Zāmil al-Sulaym. Al-Riyāḍ : Dār al-tadmuriyya.
- Ibn al-Faḥḥār, *ŠĠ* = ʾAbū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʾAḥmad Ibn al-Faḥḥār. 1434/2013. *Šarḥ al-Ġumal*. 1^e éd. 2 vol. Édité par Rawʿa Muḥammad Nāġī. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya.
- Ibn al-Ḥabbāz, *Tawġīḥ* = Šams al-Dīn ʾAbū l-ʿAbbās ʾAḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʾAḥmad al-maʾrūf bi-Ibn al-Ḥabbāz al-ʾIrbilī l-Mawṣilī l-Naḥwī l-Ḍarīr. 1428/2007. *Tawġīḥ al-Lumaʿ*. 2^e éd. Édité par Fāyiz Zakī Muḥammad Diyāb. Al-Qāhira et al-ʾIskandariyya : Dār al-salām.

- Ibn al-Hāğib, *Kāfiya* = Ġamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. 'Umar b. 'Abī Bakr b. Yūnus Ibn al-Hāğib al-Miṣrī l-Dimašqī l-Mālikī. 1407/1986. *Al-Kāfiya fī l-naḥw*. 3 vol. Édité par Ṭariq Nağm 'Abd Allāh. Ġadda : Maktabat dār al-wafā', Silsilat maktabat Ibn al-Hāğib.
- Ibn al-Hāğib, *'İdāh* = Ġamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. 'Umar b. 'Abī Bakr b. Yūnus Ibn al-Hāğib al-Miṣrī l-Dimašqī l-Mālikī. 1431/2010. *Al-'İdāh fī šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*. 3^e éd. 2 vol. Édité par 'Ibrāhīm Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh. Dimašq : Dār Sa'd al-Dīn.
- Ibn al-Hāğib, *'İmlā'* = Ġamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. 'Umar b. 'Abī Bakr b. Yūnus Ibn al-Hāğib al-Miṣrī l-Dimašqī l-Mālikī. 1418/1997. *Šarḥ al-Muqaddima l-kāfiya fī 'ilm al-'i'rāb li-muṣannifi-hā Ġamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. al-Hāğib*. Édité par Ġamāl 'Abd al-Āṭī Muḥaymar 'Aḥmad. Makka : Maktabat Nizār Muṣtafā l-Bāz.
- Ibn al-Qawwās, *ŠAIM* = 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abū l-Faḍl 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ġum'a b. Zayd b. 'Azīz al-Qawwās al-Mawṣili. 1405/1985. *Šarḥ 'Alfiyyat Ibn Mu'ti*. 1^e éd. 4 vol. Édité par 'Alī Mūsā l-Šūmalī. al-Riyāḍ : Maktabat al-ḥariğī.
- Ibn al-Šağarī, *'Amālī* = Hibat Allāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza l-Ḥasanī l-'Alawī. 1413/1992. *'Amālī Ibn al-Šağarī*. 1^e éd. Édité par Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī. Al-Qāhira : Maktabat al-Ḥanğī.
- Ibn al-Sarrāğ, *'Uṣūl* = 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Sarī b. Sahl Ibn al-Sarrāğ al-Bağdādī. 1417/1996. *Al-'Uṣūl fī l-naḥw*. 3^e éd. 4 vol. Édité par 'Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Fatli. Bayrūt : Mu'assasat al-risāla.
- Ibn al-Ṭarāwa, *Risāla* = 'Abū l-Ḥusayn Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sabā'i l-Mālaqī l-'Arḍiṭī Ibn al-Ṭarāwa. 1416/1996. *Risālat al-'iḥṣāḥ bi-ba'd mā ġā'a min al-ḥaṭa' fī l-'İdāh*. 1^e éd. Édité par Ḥatim Šāliḥ al-Ḍāmin. Bayrūt : 'Ālam al-kutub.
- Ibn al-Warrāq, *'İlal* = 'Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās Ibn al-Warrāq. 1434/2013. *'İlal al-naḥw*. 3^e éd. Édité par Maḥmūd Muḥammad Maḥmūd Naşşār. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Ibn Bābaşād, *ŞĠZ* = 'Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. 'Aḥmad b. Bābaşād. 1424/2003. *Šarḥ kitāb al-Ġumal li-l-Zağğāğī*. 2 vol. Édité par Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Sa'dī. Bağdād : Ġāmi'at Bağdād.
- Ibn Barhān al-'Ukbarī, *ŞL* = 'Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāhid b. 'Alī l-'Asadī Ibn Barhān al-'Ukbarī. 1404/1984. *Šarḥ al-Luma'*. 1^e éd. 2 vol. Édité par Fā'iz Fāris. al-Kuwayt : al-Silsila l-turāṭiyya.
- Ibn Ġamā'a, *ŞK* = Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd Allāh b. Ḥāzim b. Şaḥr al-Kanāfi l-Ḥamawī l-Şāfi'i. 1421/2000. *Šarḥ Kāfiyat Ibn al-Hāğib*. Édité par Muḥammad Muḥammad Dāwud. Al-Qāhira : Dār al-manār.
- Ibn Ġa'far al-'Irbilī, *Minḥāğ* = Raḍī l-Dīn 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Aḥmad b. Ġa'far al-'Irbilī. S.d. *Al-Minḥāğ al-ğalil fī šarḥ Qānūn al-Ğuzūlī*. Édité par s.e. S.l. : s.n.. Accessed 24 October 2025. <https://www.quranicthought.com/ar/books/-الجزولي-في-شرح-قانون-الجليفي-المنهاج-الجللي>
- Ibn Ġinnī, *Ḥaṣā'iş* = 'Abū l-Faḥḥ 'Uṭmān b. Ġinnī l-Mawṣili. 1429/2008. *Al-Ḥaṣā'iş*. 3^e éd. 3 vol. Édité par 'Abd al-Ḥamid Hindāwī. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Ibn Ġinnī, *Luma'* = 'Abū l-Faḥḥ 'Uṭmān b. Ġinnī l-Mawṣili. 1405/1985. *Al-Luma' fī l-'arabiyya*. 2^e éd. Édité par Ḥāmid al-Mu'min. Bayrūt : 'Ālam al-kutub & Maktabat al-naḥḍa l-'arabiyya.
- Ibn Ḥarūf, *ŞĠZ* = 'Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥarūf al-'İsbilī. 1419/1998. *Šarḥ Ġumal al-Zağğāğī*. Édité par Salwā Muḥammad 'Umar 'Arab. Makka : Ġāmi'at 'Umm al-Qurā.
- Ibn Hişām al-'Anşārī, *Sabīl al-hudā* = Ġamāl al-Dīn 'Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-'Anşārī Ibn Hişām. 1422/2001. *Sabīl al-hudā 'alā šarḥ Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-şadā wa-ma'a-hu Risāla fī madḥ al-naḥw*. Édité par Muḥam-

- mad Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamid et 'Abd al-Ḡalīl al-'Aṭā l-Bakrī. Dimašq : Maktabat dār al-fağr.
- Ibn Hišām al-'Anṣārī, *'Awḍaḥ* = Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-'Anṣārī Ibn Hišām. 1409/1989. *'Awḍaḥ al-masālik 'ilā 'Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*. 1^e éd. 4 vol. Édité par H. al-Fāḥūrī. Bayrūt : Dār al-ḡīl.
- Ibn Mālik, *ŠKŠ* = Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī l-Ḡayyānī l-'Andalusī. 1431/2010. *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya l-Šāfiya wa-yalī-hi l-Kāfiya l-Šāfiya*. 2^e éd. 2 vol. Édité par 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwaḍ et 'Ādil 'Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawḡūd. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Ibn Mālik, *ŠKŠ(2)* = Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī l-Ḡayyānī l-'Andalusī. 1402/1982. *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya l-Šāfiya*. 1^e éd. 4 vol. Édité par 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Aḥmad Harīrī. Makka : Dār al-Māmūn li-l-turāt.
- Ibn Mālik, *ŠT* = Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī l-Ḡayyānī l-'Andalusī. 1430/2009. *Šarḥ al-Tashīl. Tashīl al-fawā'id wa-takmil al-ma-qāšid*. 2^e éd. 3 vol. Édité par Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā et Ṭāriq Faṭḥī l-Sayyid. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Ibn Mālik, *ŠT(2)* = Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī l-Ḡayyānī l-'Andalusī. 1428/2007. *Šarḥ al-Tashīl al-musammā Tamḥid al-qawā'id bi-šarḥ Tashīl al-fawā'id*. 1^e éd. 11 vol. Édité par 'Alī Muḥammad Fāḥir et al. al-Qāhira : Dār al-salām.
- Ibn Mālik, *Tashīl* = Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī l-Ḡayyānī l-'Andalusī. 1386/1967. *Tashīl al-fawā'id wa-takmil al-ma-qāšid*. Édité par Muḥammad Kāmil Barakāt. Bayrūt : Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī.
- Ibn Mālik, *'Alfiyya* = Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī l-Ḡayyānī l-'Andalusī. 1418/1998. *'Alfiyyat ibn Mālik fi-l-naḥw wa-l-šarf*. Dimašq : Dār al-kawṭar.
- Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* = Ḡamāl al-Dīn 'Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. 'Alī b. 'Aḥmad al-'Anṣārī l-Rūwayfa'ī l-'Ifriqī l-Miṣrī Ibn Manẓūr. 1424/2003. *Lisān al-'Arab*. 2^e éd. 18 vol. Bayrūt : Dār šādir.
- Ibn 'Uṣfūr, *Muqarrib* = 'Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Mu'min b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī l-'Išbīlī Ibn 'Uṣfūr. 1418/1998. *Al-Muqarrib wa-ma'a-hu Muṭul al-Muqarrib*. 1^e éd. Édité par 'Ādil 'Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawḡūd et 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwaḍ. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Ibn 'Uṣfūr, *ŠĠ* = 'Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Mu'min b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī l-'Išbīlī Ibn 'Uṣfūr. 1419/1998. *Šarḥ Ġumal al-Zağğāğī*. 1^e éd. 3 vol. Édité par Fawwāz al-Ša'ār et 'Imīl Badī' Ya'qūb. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Ibn Ya'īs, *ŠM* = Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abū l-Baqā' Ya'īs b. 'Alī b. Ya'īs b. 'Abī l-Sarāyā Muḥammad b. 'Alī l-'Asadī l-Ḥalabī Ibn Ya'īs. 1432/2011. *Šarḥ al-Mufašṣal li-l-Zamaḥšari*. 2^e éd., revue et corrigée. 6 vol. Édité par 'Imīl Badī' Ya'qūb. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- 'Is'ardī, *KK* = Ḥalīl b. al-mulā Ḥusayn al-'Is'ardī. 1428/2007. *Al-Kāfiya l-kubrā fi 'ilm al-naḥw*. 1^e éd. Édité par 'Ilyās Qablān al-Turkī. Bayrūt & 'Istānbūl : Dār šādir et Maktabat al-'iršād.
- Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* = 'Abū l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-'Akbar al-Tumālī l-'Azdi l-Mubarrad. 1420/1999. *Al-Muqtaḍab*. 1^e éd. 5 parts in 3 vol. Édité par Ḥasan Ḥamad et Ēmile Badī' Ya'qūb. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Šalawbīn, *ŠMG* = 'Abū 'Alī 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Šalawbīn. 1413/1993. *Šarḥ al-Muqaddima l-ḡuzūliyya l-kabīr*. 1^e éd. 3 vol. Édité par Turkī b. Sahū b. Nazzāl al-'U-taybī. Al-Riyāḍ : Maktabat al-rušd.

- Šalawbīn, *Ṭawṭi'a* = 'Abū 'Alī 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Azadī l-ma'rūf bi-l-Šalawbīn. 1401/1981. *Al-Ṭawṭi'a fī l-naḥw*. Édité par Yūsuf 'Aḥmad Muṭawwi'. Al-Qāhira : Dār al-turāt al-'arabī.
- Šantamarī, *Nukat* = Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā l-Šantamarī l-'Andalusī l-ma'rūf bi-l-'A'lam al-Šantamarī. 1420/1999. *Al-Nukat fī tafsīr Kitāb Sibawayhi wa-tabayyun al-ḥaḥf min lafzi-hi wa-šarḥ 'abyāti-hi wa-ġaribi-hi*. 1^e éd. 3 vol. Édité par Rašīd Bi-l-Ḥabīb. Al-Ri-bāt : Wizārat al-'awqāf wa-l-šu'un al-'islāmiyya.
- Sibawayhi, *Kitāb* = 'Abū Bišr 'Amr b. 'Uṭmān b. Qanbar Sibawayhi. 1881–1889. *Le livre de Sibawaihi. Traité de grammaire arabe par Sībōūya, dit Sibawaihi*. 2 vol. Édité par Hartwig Derenbourg. Paris : Imprimerie nationale [reprint Hildesheim/New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 2 vol., 1970].
- Sibawayhi, *Kitāb(2)* = 'Abū Bišr 'Amr b. 'Uṭmān b. Qanbar Sibawayhi. 1408/1988. *Al-Kitāb*. 3^e éd. 5 vol. Édité par 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. Al-Qāhira : Maktabat al-Ḥanġī.
- Sirāfi, *ŠKS* = 'Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Marzubān. 1433/2012. *Šarḥ Kitāb Sibawayhi*. 2 éd. 5 vol. Édité par 'Aḥmad Ḥasan Mahdalī et 'Alī Sayyid 'Alī. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Suhayli, *Natā'ig* = 'Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Ašbaġ b. Ḥusayn b. Sa'dun al-Suhayli l-Ḥaṭ'amī l-Mālaqī. 1412/1992. *Natā'ig al-fikr fī l-naḥw*. Édité par 'Adil 'Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawġūd et 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwad. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Suhayli, *'Amālī* = 'Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Ašbaġ b. Ḥusayn b. Sa'dun al-Suhayli l-Ḥaṭ'amī l-Mālaqī. S.d. *'Amālī l-Suhayli*. Édité par Muḥammad 'Ibrāhīm al-Bannā. S.l. : Maṭba'at al-sa'āda.
- Suyūṭī, *Ġam'* = Ġalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Sābiq al-Dīn Ḥaḍr al-Ḥuḍayrī l-Šāfi'ī l-'Asyūṭī l-mašhūr bi-l-Suyūṭī. 1432/2011. *Ġam' al-ġawāmi' fī l-naḥw*. Édité par Našr 'Aḥmad 'Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-'Āl et Šabri 'Ibrāhīm al-Sayyid. Al-Qāhira : Maktabat al-'ādāb.
- Suyūṭī *Ham'* = Ġalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Sābiq al-Dīn Ḥaḍr al-Ḥuḍayrī l-Šāfi'ī l-'Asyūṭī l-mašhūr bi-l-Suyūṭī. 1418/1998. *Ham' al-hawāmi' fī šarḥ Ġam' al-ġawāmi'*. 1^e éd. 3 vol. Édité par 'Aḥmad Šams al-Dīn. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Tahānawī, *Kaššāf* = Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn al-Qāḍī Muḥammad Ḥamid b. Muḥammad Šabir al-Fārūqī l-Ḥanafī l-Tahānawī. 1416/1996. *Kaššāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn wa-l-'ulūm*. Édité par Rafiq al-'Aġam et al. Bayrūt : Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.
- 'Ušmūnī, *Manḥaġ* = Nūr al-Dīn 'Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā l-'Ušmūnī. 1375/1955. *Šarḥ al-'Ušmūnī 'alā 'Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik al-musammā Manḥaġ al-sālik 'ilā 'Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*. 1^e éd. 3 vol. Édité par Muḥammad Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamid. Bayrūt : Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī.
- Zaġġāġī, *Ġumal* = 'Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ishāq al-Nahāwandī l-Zaġġāġī. 1404/1984. *Al-Ġumal fī l-naḥw*. 2 vol. Édité par 'Alī Tawfiq al-Ḥamad. Bayrūt et 'Ir-bid : Mu'assasat al-risāla et Dār al-'amal.
- Zamaḥšarī, *Mufaššal* = Ġar Allāh 'Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad al-Ḥawārizmī l-Zamaḥšarī. 1420/1999. *Al-Mufaššal fī šan'at al-'irāb*. Édité par 'Imil Badi' Ya'qūb. Bayrūt : Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Zamaḥšarī, *'Unmūdaġ* = Ġar Allāh 'Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad al-Ḥawārizmī l-Zamaḥšarī. 1420/1999. *Al-'Unmūdaġ fī l-naḥw*. Édité par Sāmī b. Muḥammad al-Manšūr. S.l. : s.n.

Sources secondaires

- al-Ġabī, Bassām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. 1987. *Muʿjam al-ʿaʿlām. Muʿjam tarāḡim li-ʿašhar al-riḡāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿArab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustašriqīn*. Limassol : al-Ġaffān wa-l-Ġabī.
- Alhawary, Mohammad T. 2016. *Arabic Grammar in Context*. London et New York : Routledge.
- Alosh, Mahdi. 2005. *Using Arabic: A Guide to Contemporary Usage*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Ben Sedira, Belkassam. 1898. *Grammaire d'arabe régulier. Morphologie, syntaxe, métrique*. Alger : Adolphe Jourdan.
- Binaghi, Francesco. 2011. « La grammaire arabe en Espagne musulmane ». Master2 sous la direction de Pierre Larcher. Aix-en-Provence : Université de de Provence (Aix-Marseille I).
- Blachère, Régis. 1950. *Le Coran*. Paris : Maisonneuve.
- Blachère, Régis. 1985. *Éléments de l'arabe classique*. Paris : Maisonneuve-Larose.
- Blachère, Régis, et Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes. 1975 [1952]. *Grammaire de l'arabe classique (Morphologie et syntaxe)*. 3^e édition revue et remaniée éd. Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Brancher, Dominique. 2016. « “When the Tongue Slips It Tells the Truth”: Tricks and Truths of the Renaissance Lapsus ». *Renaissance Studies* 30 (1) : 39–56.
- Buckley, Ronald Paul. 2004. *Modern Literary Arabic: A Reference Grammar*. Beyrouth : Librairie du Liban.
- Burton, John. 1993. « Naskh ». Dans *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (EI2)*, édité par C.E. Bosworth et al. 7 : 1009b–1012a. Leiden et New York : Brill.
- Burton, John. 2001. « Abrogation ». Dans *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, 1 : 11a–19a. Leiden, Boston et Köln : Brill.
- Caspari, Carolus Paulus. 1848. *Grammatica arabica in usum scholarum academicarum*. Leipzig : Fritzsche.
- Corriente, Federico C. 2002 [1988]. *Gramática árabe*. 2^e éd. Barcelone : Herder.
- Dozy, Reinhart Pieter Anne. 1927. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. 2^e éd. 2 vol. Leide et Paris : E.J. Brill et Maisonneuvres Frères.
- Esseesy, Mohssen. 2006. « Apposition ». Dans *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, édité par Kees Versteegh et al. 1 : 123–126. Leiden : Brill.
- Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 1972a. *Grammatik des Klassischen Arabisch*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium 11. Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz.
- Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 1972b. *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*. Traduit par Jonathan Rodgers. New Haven et London : Yale University Press.
- Fleisch, Henri. 1956. *L'arabe classique. Esquisse d'une structure linguistique*. Nouvelle, revue et augmentée éd. Recherches 5. Beyrouth : Dar el-Machreq.
- Fleisch, Henri. 1961. *Traité de philologie arabe. vol. I. Préliminaires, phonétique, morphologie nominale*. Beyrouth : Imprimerie catholique.
- Fleisch, Henri. 1979. *Traité de philologie arabe. vol. II. Pronoms, morphologie verbale, particules*. Beyrouth : Dar al-Machreq.
- Fontanier, Pierre « Émile ». 1968 [1821–1830]. *Les figures du discours*. Paris : Flammarion. Gérard Genette.
- Goguyer, Antonin. 1887. *La pluie de rosée. Étanchement de la soif. Traité de flexion et de syntaxe par Ibnu Hījām*. Leiden : E.J. Brill.
- Goguyer, Antonin. 1888 [1995]. *La Alfīyah d'Ibnu-Malik, suivie de la lāmiyyah et un lexique arabe-français des termes techniques*. 2^e éd. Beyrouth : Librairie du Liban.

- Ḥasan, ‘Abbās. 1966. *Al-Naḥw al-wāfi*. 4 vol. Al-Qāhira : Dār al-ma‘ārif bi-Miṣr.
- Hassanein, Ahmed Taher et al. 2011. *The Concise Arabic-English Lexicon of Verbs in Context*. Cairo et New York : The American University in Cairo Press.
- Haywood, John Alfred, et H.M. Nahmad. 2001 [1965]. *A New Arabic Grammar of the Written Language*. 2^e éd. Londres : Lund Humphries.
- Howell, Mortimer Sloper. 1880. *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language. Translated and Compiled from the Works of the Most Approved Native or Naturalized Authorities*. 2 vol. Allahabad : s.n.
- Kazimirski, Albert (Albin) Félix Ignace de Biberstein. 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. 2 vol. Paris : Maisonneuve et Cie [reprint Beyrouth, Librairie du Liban].
- Kouloughli, Djamel Eddine. 2007. *Le résumé de la grammaire arabe par Zamaḡṣarī*. Langues 8. Lyon : ENS Éditions.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2017. *Syntaxe de l’arabe classique*. Aix-en-Provence : Presses Universitaires de Provence.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2019. « Mortimer Sloper Howell (1841–1925), lecteur de Radī l-dīn al-As-tarābādī (VIIe/XIIIe siècle), et deux lithographies indiennes ». *Historiographia Linguistica* 46 (1–2) : 101–127.
- Larcher, Pierre. 2025. « *Lākin(na)* et *bal* : portait de deux particules « rectificatives » de l’arabe classique ». *Folia Orientalia* 62 : 91–131.
- Lièble, Philippe Louis. 1803. *Nouvelle rhétorique française, à l’usage des jeunes personnes de l’un et l’autre sexe*. Paris : Charon et Leblanc.
- Manca, Agnese. 1999. *Grammatica (teorico-pratica) di arabo letterario moderno*. 2^e tirage éd. Roma : Associazione nazionale di amicizia e di cooperazione italo-araba.
- Neveu, Franck. 1998. *Études sur l’apposition : Aspects du détachement nominal et adjectival en français contemporain, dans un corpus de textes de J.-P. Sartre*. Bibliothèque de grammaire et linguistique 2. Paris : Honoré Champion.
- Owens, Jonathan. 1990. *Early Arabic Grammatical Theory: Heterogeneity and standardization*. Amsterdam et Philadelphia : J. Benjamins.
- Palmer, Edward Henry. 1874. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Londres : Wm. H. Allen & Co.
- Périer, Augustin. 1911. *Nouvelle grammaire arabe*. Paris : Ernest Leroux.
- Reckendorf, Hermann. 1921. *Arabische Syntax*. Heidelberg : Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung.
- Rossi, Mario, et Évelyne Peter-Defare. 1998. *Les lapsus ou comment notre fourche a langüé*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.
- Ryding, Karin C. 2005. *A Reference Grammar of Modern Arabic*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Sartori, Manuel. 2018. « La différence entre *badal* et *‘aṭf bayān*. Mutisme et surdité des grammaires de l’arabe ? ». *Al-Qanṭara* 39 (2) : 547–586.
- Sartori, Manuel. 2019. « Entre influence et coïncidence : la réminiscence du grec dans l’arabe. Contribution à l’histoire de la grammaire arabe ». *Historiographia Linguistica* 46 (3) : 219–249.
- Sartori, Manuel. 2021. « Le *‘aṭf nasaq* : une « coordination » pléonastique ? Contribution à l’histoire de la grammaire arabe ». *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 43 (1) : 93–117.
- Sartori, Manuel. 2022. « Lapsus et apposition de rectification de l’arabe. Contribution à une histoire comparée des traditions grammaticales ». *Historiographia Linguistica* 49 (1) : 1–38.
- Sawaie, Mohammed. 2014. *Fundamentals of Arabic Grammar / ‘Uṣūl al-naḥw al-‘arabī*. London et New York : Routledge.

- Schier, Charles (Karl Heinrich). 1849. *Grammaire arabe*. Dresde et Leipsic : Arnold.
- Silvestre de Sacy, Antoine-Isaac. 1831. *Grammaire arabe à l'usage des élèves de l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, avec figures*. 2^e édition, corrigée et augmentée à laquelle on a joint un traité de la prosodie et de la métrique des Arabes. 2 vol. 3^e éd. Paris : Imprimerie royale [revue par L. Machuel. Tunis : Institut de Carthage édition revue et augmentée, 1904].
- Silvestre de Sacy, Antoine-Isaac. 1832 [1799]. *Principes de grammaire générale, mis à la portée des enfants, et propres à servir d'introduction à l'étude de toutes les langues*. 6^e éd. Paris : Belin.
- Socin, Albert. 1885. *Arabische Grammatik : Paradigmen, Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium 4. Karlsruhe et Leipzig : Reuther.
- Socin, Albert. 1895. *Arabic Grammar. Paradigms, Literature, Exercises and Glossary. Second English Edition Translated from the Third German Edition by the Rev. Arch. R. S. Kennedy D. D.* éd. London et Berlin : Williams & Norgate et Reuther & Reichard.
- Sterling, Robert. 1904. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Londres : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & CO.
- Talmon, Rafael. 1981. « Appositival 'atf: An Inquiry into the History of a Syntactic Category ». *Arabica* 28 (2-3) : 278-292.
- Talmon, Rafael. 1982. « *Naḥwiyyūn* in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb* ». *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 8 : 12-38.
- Talmon, Rafael. 1984. « *Al-tafkīr al-naḥwī qabl Kitāb Sibawayhi. Dirāsa fī tāriḥ al-muṣṭalaḥ al-naḥwī l-ʿarabī* ». *Al-Karmil* 5 : 37-53.
- Thatcher, Griffiths Wheeler. 1922 [1911]. *Arabic Grammar of The Written Language*. 2^e éd. Londres et Heidelberg : Julius Groos.
- Troupeau, Gérard. 1976. *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sibawayhi*. Études arabes et islamiques 7. Paris : Klincksieck.
- van Putten, Marijn. 2021. « *Madd as Orthoepy Rather Than Orthography* ». *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 12 (2) : 202-213.
- Veccia Vaglieri, Laura. 2002 [1937]. *Grammatica teorico-pratica della lingua araba*. 2 vol. Roma : Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Vernier, Donat S. J. 1891. *Grammaire arabe composée d'après les sources primitives*. 2 vol. Beyrouth : Imprimerie catholique.
- Weber, Max. 1992 [1965]. *Essais sur la théorie de la science*. Paris : Plon.
- Wehr, Hans. 1976. *Arabic-English Dictionary*. 3^e éd. Urbana, Illinois : Spoken Language Services. J. Milton Cowan.
- Wright, William. 1996 [1896-1898, 1859-1862]. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Translated from the German of Caspari and edited with numerous additions and corrections. Third edition revised by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje with a preface and addenda et corrigenda by Pierre Cachia. 2 vol. Librairie du Liban reprint éd. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Sylvia Filipowska 

Jagiellonian University, Poland | sylvia.filipowska@uj.edu.pl

The Discourse of ‘New Turkey’ in Contemporary Polish Reportage Books (2009–2024)

Abstract This article examines how the concept of the ‘new Turkey’ is constructed and represented in six Polish literary reportage books published between 2009 and 2024. Using Norman Fairclough’s framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and drawing on the author’s background in Turkology, it investigates how language, ideology and power intersect in portrayals of contemporary Turkey. Although widely used, the term ‘new Turkey’ lacks a consistent definition and is often employed ambiguously—even within individual texts. Early reportages by Cegielski and Szablowski associate it with republican modernity, while later works by Orchowski, Szumer-Brysz and Rostkowska link it to the AKP era and the aftermath of the 2016 coup attempt. By comparing these works diachronically, the article demonstrates how the term’s meaning shifts from a symbol of secular modernisation to a marker of ideological transformation in recent Turkish politics. Despite differing interpretations, the reportages share recurring themes: the status of ethnic and religious minorities, women’s rights, urban transformation and the tension between tradition and modernity. These themes reveal both historical continuities and contemporary political shifts. The authors—often with progressive or left-leaning perspectives—foreground marginalized voices and critique dominant narratives, though their viewpoints are shaped by cultural distance and the conventions of the reportage genre. Ultimately, the article argues that the ‘new Turkey’ is not a singular, definable entity but a contested discursive space shaped by competing ideologies and personal experiences. As Rostkowska observes, ‘no one knows if these countless New Turkeys will ever meet’.

Keywords ‘new Turkey’, Polish literary reportage, Critical Discourse Analysis, ideology and discourse, modernity and tradition, Max Cegielski, Witold Szablowski, Thomas Orchowski, Marcelina Szumer-Brysz, Agnieszka Rostkowska



1 Introduction

Over the past two decades, more than a dozen book-length reportages on Turkey have been published in Poland. The first appeared in 2009 and nearly every subsequent year has seen the release of a new title.¹ The sheer number of works of literary journalism on Turkey—either originally written in Polish or translated into Polish—within such a short time frame is striking. This phenomenon reflects a longstanding Polish interest in Turkish themes, rooted in a complex historical relationship, including over three centuries of geopolitical proximity (1475–1792).

The earliest Polish sources of knowledge concerning the Ottoman Empire were closely tied to diplomatic activity. Following the establishment of official diplomatic relations in 1414, at least ‘160 Polish missions and embassies were sent to the Porte’ (Kołodziejczyk 2000: 175), which places Poland among the leading European states in terms of diplomatic engagement with the Ottomans (Topaktaş 2015: 308). After the loss of Polish independence at the end of the 18th century, diplomatic correspondence was gradually supplanted by the memoirs of political emigrants who sought refuge within the Ottoman Empire. Another significant source of information about the Ottoman realm emerged from the accounts of pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem, which had been under Ottoman control since 1517. The 16th century, often referred to as ‘the golden age of pilgrimages’² (Bystroń 1930: 10), yielded several noteworthy descriptions of Ottoman territories. However, it was in the 19th century that a substantial proliferation of pilgrimage narratives occurred. During this period, many pilgrims began to adopt the role of tourists in the modern sense, eager to document and publish their travel impressions (Filipowska 2024: 738). In that century alone, approximately thirty full-length book travel memoirs concerning Turkey were published in Polish (Filipowska 2017: 12–14). Poland’s regaining of inde-

¹ The following is a chronological list of authors’ names and the year their reportages were published in Poland: Cegielski (2009); Szablowski (2010); Kelek (2011, translated from German); Mak (2011, translated from Dutch); Strittmatter (2014, translated from German); King (2016, translated from English); Smoleński (2016); Temelkuran (2017, translated from English); Orchowski (2018); Szumer-Brysz (2018); Kassabova (2019, translated from English); Rostkowska (2020); Tunç (2020, translated from Turkish); Szumer-Brysz (2021); Orchowski (2021). Six book-length reportage works originally written in Polish and entirely focused on Turkey were selected for this article: Max Cegielski, *Oko świata. Od Konstantynopola do Stambułu*; Witold Szablowski, *Zabójca z miasta moreli. Reportaże z Turcji*; Thomas Orchowski, *Rzeź na Tarlabası. Opowieść o nowej Turcji*; Marcelina Szumer-Brysz, *Wróżąc z fusów. Reportaże z Turcji*; Agnieszka Rostkowska, *Wojownicy o szklanych oczach. W poszukiwaniu Nowej Turcji*; Marcelina Szumer-Brysz, *Izmir. Miasto giaurów*.

² All translations of quotations from Polish and Turkish, unless explicitly stated otherwise, have been provided by Sylvia Filipowska.

pendence in 1918 coincided with profound political transformations in Turkey, culminating in the proclamation of the republic in 1923. This convergence of historical events sparked renewed interest in Turkish affairs, resulting in the publication of several significant works of reportage in the inter-war period. However, this interest waned considerably after the Second World War. Post-war reportage on Turkey became exceedingly rare, a decline largely attributable to the travel restrictions imposed by the communist regime.

The situation changed markedly following the collapse of the communist regime in 1989; however, a significant catalyst for renewed Polish interest in Turkey emerged in 2006, when the Nobel Prize in Literature was awarded to Orhan Pamuk. There is no doubt that 'the popularity of Pamuk's novels in Poland has had a considerable impact on the interest of Polish reportage writers in Turkey' (Filipowska 2022: 104). Another pivotal moment occurred on July 15, 2016, with the coup d'état attempt. This event serves as the starting point for three reportage books—those authored by Orchowski, Sumer-Brysz and Rostkowska. Furthermore, two of these authors chose to emphasize the transformative nature of contemporary Turkey through their subtitles: *The Story of a New Turkey* (Orchowski) and *In Search of a New Turkey* (Rostkowska). These titles suggest that the reader will encounter completely new insights, reflecting a perception that Turkey has undergone profound and possibly unprecedented change. This raises a critical question: were these transformations genuinely a consequence of the attempted coup, or does the invocation of the term 'new Turkey' function primarily as a rhetorical or marketing device, designed to attract readership by promising fresh perspectives? To address this question, it is essential to examine the usage of the term 'new Turkey' within the field of political science and to compare its conceptual framework with the narratives and themes presented in the aforementioned reportages.

This study applies Norman Fairclough's framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its principal methodological approach to investigate how the notion of the 'new Turkey' is discursively constructed in Polish works of literary journalism. Fairclough conceptualizes language not as a neutral medium of communication, but as 'a form of social practice' (Fairclough 1989: 22). In this view, language is understood as being inherently embedded in social structures—it is simultaneously a component of society, a social process and a socially conditioned activity. As such, language plays a pivotal role in the production, reproduction and contestation of ideologies, power relations and cultural hegemonies. The analysis is conducted in accordance with Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse, which facilitates a comprehensive examination of the texts by addressing three interrelated levels: text, discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough 2006: 63–73). The textual level focuses on the formal and linguistic features of the texts, including vocabulary, metaphorical expressions, syntactic structures, rhetorical devices and other dis-

cursive strategies employed to construct representations of the ‘new Turkey’. The discursive practice level investigates the processes of text production, distribution and reception. This includes identifying, who articulates the notion of the ‘new Turkey’, within which cultural and historical contexts, and under what ideological assumptions. The social practice level situates the discourse within broader socio-political frameworks, examining the ideological implications embedded in intercultural narratives and the ways in which the term ‘new Turkey’ reflects or challenges dominant power structures. This multidimensional approach enables a critical interrogation of how Polish literary journalists construct the image of contemporary Turkey and whether their narratives serve to reinforce prevailing stereotypes or, conversely, seek to question and deconstruct them. Furthermore, it allows for the identification of dominant discourses shaping the portrayal of Turkish sociopolitical realities and their potential consequences within the broader field of intercultural communication.

2 The term ‘new Turkey’ in political sciences

The term ‘new Turkey’ undeniably possesses a distinctly political origin in the context of the 21st century. Initially, it was associated with Turkey’s aspirations to join the European Union, symbolizing a vision of modernization, democratization and alignment with European norms. This interpretation of the term persisted for an extended period, particularly in the discourse of journalists and political scientists operating outside of Turkey (Morris 2005; Yavuz 2007). Inside Turkey, however, the meaning of ‘new Turkey’ evolved over time. Around the period of the 2010 constitutional referendum, the term began to be appropriated by the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) as part of its political rhetoric. It came to signify a promise of stability and prosperity under AKP governance—a form of social contract predicated on the continuous construction of a renewed and improved national reality. Turkish politicians frequently employed the phrase in conjunction with the concept of *inşa* (‘construction’), as in *Yeni Türkiye’nin inşası* (‘the construction of the new Turkey’), thereby framing it as an ongoing project of national transformation (Yaşlıçimen 2014: 1).

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan prominently invoked the concept during his presidential campaign and upon his election as the 12th President of the Republic of Turkey on August 10, 2014, he pledged to implement his political programme under the banner of the ‘new Turkey’. In this context, the term functioned as a rhetorical shorthand encapsulating a broader ideological vision for the country’s future.

These statements emphasized the idea that the ‘Old’ Turkey was a country of coups, and the ‘New’ Turkey would leave coups and revolutions behind. (...) The emphasis that this ‘New’ Turkey would be the pioneering states and a regional power of the

21st century is another idea that was promoted. Within this context, the vision of a 'New' Turkey that is 'local and national', 'not Western-oriented' and determines its own interior and foreign policies was adopted. (Gulmez and Tuysuz 2020: X)

The development of the term 'new Turkey' has been marked by both unexpected shifts and substantial implications. Originally employed to describe a state aspiring to European Union membership and thus oriented toward Western democratic norms, the term has undergone a profound semantic shift. Over time, it has become one of the most frequently invoked—yet simultaneously ambiguous and ideologically charged—expressions in Turkish public discourse. What remains consistent, however, is its strong association with the post-military political era dominated by the AKP and the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Waldman and Caliskan 2017: 1–5).

This interpretation is also reflected in Polish political science literature (Surdel 2017; Wódka 2015; 2017). A particularly insightful contribution comes from Mateusz Chudziak, an expert at the Centre for Eastern Studies in Warsaw, whose study titled *The Coup as Founding Myth: The Ideological Pillars of the New Turkey* offers a compelling perspective. Chudziak identifies four core values underpinning the ideological framework of the new Turkey: the nation, the state, the leader and the struggle for a better future. He argues that the failed coup attempt of July 2016 served as a catalyst for the AKP to implement far-reaching transformations. In this context, the coup is reinterpreted not merely as a political crisis, but as a foundational moment—"the symbolic birth of the New Turkey" (Chudziak 2017: 17).

3 Cegielski: The old Constantinople and the new Istanbul

The semantic ambiguity of the term 'new Turkey' is also reflected in Polish literary reportages concerning that country. Chronologically, the first such work is Max Cegielski's *Oko świata. Od Konstantynopola do Stambułu* [*The Eye of the World: From Constantinople to Istanbul*], published in 2009. The narrative structure of the book is explicitly organized around the binary opposition of 'old' and 'new', where the former denotes the Ottoman legacy and the latter refers to the republican era. This dichotomy is underscored through the chapter titles, each beginning with either 'Constantinople' or 'Istanbul', thereby juxtaposing the city's historical past with its contemporary identity. Cegielski asserts that Istanbul cannot be approached other than by 'following in the footsteps of his predecessors' (Cegielski 2010: 15), so he repeatedly cites the opinions of nineteenth-century Polish travellers. His text is replete with historical dates, factual annotations, quotations and contextual explanations. This deliberate intertextuality and historical layering reflect what he describes as the necessity to 'carry the baggage of erudition' (Cegielski 2010: 15), which in turn underscores the enduring strength of the tradition of writing about Turkey in Polish literature.

Cegielski appears to be motivated by a desire to fill the nearly century-long gap in Polish reportage on Turkey. In doing so, he selectively reconstructs key moments in the history of the Turkish Republic, beginning with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, whom he credits with having 'saved the country and created a modern republic, but destroyed Ottoman tolerance and cosmopolitanism' (Cegielski 2010: 86). The values introduced by Atatürk in the early twentieth century are repeatedly questioned and reinterpreted by Cegielski's interlocutors. One such figure is the artist Extrastruggle, who, during his 2007 exhibition at the Istanbul Modern art museum, presented posters referencing Atatürk's iconic slogan *Ne mutlu Türküm diyene* [*How happy is the one who says 'I am a Turk'*], replacing the word Turk with alternative identities such as Kurd, Armenian, communist, Christian and Islamic orthodox. This artistic intervention underscores the contested legacy of republican nationalism and the growing visibility of marginalized identities in contemporary Turkey. Another symbolic rupture with Atatürk's legacy is represented by the planned demolition of the Atatürk Cultural Centre (AKM) in Istanbul's Taksim Square. Cegielski reflects on this development by asking: 'I wonder if Turkey is changing so much that under the AKP government it needs new symbols to replace the old ones from Atatürk's time' (Cegielski 2010: 250). The transformations introduced by the AKP do not escape the reporter's attention; he senses the emergence of yet another iteration of the 'new' in Turkey's political and cultural landscape. At the same time, he begins to experience a degree of conceptual disorientation in distinguishing between what is 'new' and what is 'old'. For instance, describing the tense atmosphere following the AKP's victory in the 2007 parliamentary elections, he notes that the 'old elites' disapprove of the fact that President Abdullah Gül's wife wears a traditional headscarf. Unnoticeably in Cegielski's narrative, the new republican elites became the old ones... This inversion reflects the fluid and contests nature of political identity in modern Turkey.

In his effort to address the absence of Polish reportages on the republican period of Turkish history, Cegielski devotes considerable attention to pivotal events and figures that have shaped modern Turkey. He discusses, among others, the anti-Greek and anti-Jewish pogroms of 6 September 1955; the figure of Ali Ağca, known in Poland primarily for the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II in 1981; the assassination of Armenian journalist Hrant Dink in 2007; the rise to power of the AKP; the literary significance of Orhan Pamuk; and the legacy of Turkish poet Nazım Hikmet, whose Polish ancestry renders him particularly meaningful to Polish readers. Cegielski's reportage is especially attuned to socio-cultural dimensions of contemporary Turkey. He explores the status of religious and ethnic minorities, such as the Alevis (attending a religious ceremony in a *cemevi* with his interpreter's cousin) as well as the everyday lives of street traders, men sitting in the cafés, residents of *gecekondu* (informal housing settlements), the Romani community in the Sulukule district and independent artists and performers. Even stray dogs in Istanbul's urban landscape become

subjects of his ethnographic curiosity, exactly as they were present in the memoirs of 19th-century Polish travellers (Filipowska 2017: 154–156). His approach to urban space is informed by a critical awareness of industrialization and gentrification processes. While historical monuments are typically discussed within chapters labelled as part of 'old Turkey', Cegielski consistently supplements these descriptions with reflections on their contemporary context, e.g. in the case of the Eyüp mosque and cemetery:

It's spring, it's green, but there's nothing flowering yet. We are climbing uphill. Loti in *Constantinople in 1890* described Eyüp in May, when roses and jasmine were in fragrance beside the gravestones. On one of the paths he met three little girls, 'as if they were out of place'. We also met three girls, teenagers who hid here from the sight of their parents. In Loti's time, there were no such Turkish girls in the city. Wearing jeans, sneakers and T-shirts, they smoke one cigarette together, giggling when they see me. (Cegielski 2010: 50)

One of the recurring themes in Cegielski's reportage is the position of women in Turkish society, a subject to which he devotes considerable attention. His inquiry centres on the boundaries of women's personal freedom, with clothing emerging as a key symbolic marker of autonomy and identity. During a visit to the apartment of two Alevi women from Sivas, Cegielski, prompted by 'a piece of colourful strings visible above the trousers', initiates a conversation about 'appearance as a declaration of worldview' (Cegielski 2010: 157). Filiz, a fashion designer, reflects on the performative nature of dress in Turkish society. She describes how some women tailor their appearance to align with the expectations of different male figures in their lives—dressing one way for a boyfriend on a date and another in the presence of a father or brother. In her view, 'Turkish society is conservative in terms of morality' (Cegielski 2010: 156). This observation is echoed in an interview with Esra, a resident of the affluent Nişantaşı district, who notes that her great-grandmother uncovered her head even before the fall of the Ottoman Empire, suggesting a more complex and historically layered narrative of women's visibility and agency. The repeated focus on women's dress may also reflect enduring Polish stereotypes about Turkey and Turkish women. This thematic preoccupation has historical roots, as nineteenth-century Polish travellers often devoted separate sections of their accounts to the subject of women's clothing and social roles (Filipowska 2017: 221). Cegielski's engagement with this motif thus not only reveals contemporary tensions within Turkish society but also resonates with a long-standing tradition in Polish travel writing.

A central focus of Cegielski's reportage is the Turkish left-wing opposition and the history of anti-socialist violence, both past and present. He revisits key moments of political repression, including the Sheikh Said uprising in 1925, the Taksim Square massacre during the 1 May parade in 1977, the attack on

the Alevi cultural congress in Sivas in 1993 and the shootings at Alevi cafés in Istanbul on 12 March 1995. These events are situated within a broader narrative of marginalization and political exclusion, particularly of groups such as the Alevis and Kurds. Cegielski notes that socialist ideals are often embraced by Kurdish communities, who are described as being ‘socially excluded’ (Cegielski 2010: 54). In an effort to engage directly with these marginalized voices, the reporter travels to Gazi Mahallesi, a peripheral district of Istanbul predominantly inhabited by migrants from eastern Turkey. The neighbourhood’s reputation for political unrest is so pronounced that only the third taxi driver he approaches in Taksim agrees to take him there. Cegielski’s sustained interest in such spaces is evident in the structure of his book: nearly half of the chapters devoted to ‘new Istanbul’ (9 out of 20) are subtitled *Gazi Mahallesi*, *Return to Gazi Mahallesi* or *Küçük Armutlu* (another district with a similar socio-political profile). His interlocutors from Küçük Armutlu are described as ‘stigmatised people—for social and religious reasons. They are known as the ‘3K’—Kurds, communists and Kızılbaş (a pejorative term for Alevis, literally meaning ‘red heads’)’ (Cegielski 2010: 129). This triad of identities encapsulates the intersection of ethnic, political and religious marginalization in contemporary Turkey and underscores Cegielski’s commitment to documenting voices from the periphery of mainstream political discourse.

Cegielski’s interlocutors include, among others, Mesut, a member of the socialist Freedom and Solidarity Party (Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi, ÖDP, later renamed as the Left Party in 2019); Hasan, the manager of an Alevi clinic; and the husband of a political prisoner who died during a hunger strike (he chooses to remain anonymous). The reporter openly acknowledges that during his initial visits to Istanbul, he lacked access to *gecekondu* neighbourhoods and only through collaboration with local translators was he able to engage meaningfully with residents of these marginalized districts. One of these translators is Bayram, a sociology student at Bosphorus University, who identifies as ‘an atheist and socialist’ (Cegielski 2010: 277). It appears that the political orientations of the translators may have influenced not only the selection of interviewees but also the choice of locations visited. This, in turn, contributed to the distinctly left-leaning perspective that characterizes the reportage. Cegielski himself addresses this issue in the second edition of the book, noting that some readers criticized the work for its perceived ideological bias. For instance, Marzena, a Pole working in the editorial office for the English-language supplement of an Istanbul-based newspaper, accused him of ‘exaggerating the importance of the left-wing opposition in the country’ (Cegielski 2010: 336). In response, the author offers a measured defence, stating that he ‘does not have a monopoly on the truth about reality’ (Cegielski 2010: 337). This remark encapsulates a fundamental principle of the reportage genre: the acknowledgment of subjectivity and the situated nature of narrative perspective.

4 Szablowski: Two Turkeys

Witold Szablowski, in his collection *Zabójca z miasta moreli. Reportaże z Turcji* [*The Assassin from the Apricot City: Reportage from Turkey*], published one year after Cegielski's work, also engages with the concept of republican Turkey as the 'new Turkey'. Reflecting on the legacy of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, he writes:

As president, Kemal sets the bar extremely high for himself. In the course of a decade, he aims to change a benighted leviathan into a modern country, and the traditional fez-wearing Turk into a New Turk—a rightful citizen of Europe (Szablowski 2013: 180).

In contrast to Cegielski, Szablowski's primary focus lies in the contemporary period—specifically, the first decade of the 21st century. Historical references appear only sporadically and serve primarily to contextualize present-day phenomena. He briefly discusses Atatürk's reforms, recounts the story of his marriage to Latife Hanım and references figures such as Nazım Hikmet and Ali Ağca. However, even these historical elements are firmly anchored in the present, as Szablowski explores their ongoing resonance in Turkish society. For instance, he highlights the enduring cultural phenomenon of *Hikmetomania*—the continued reverence for Nazım Hikmet among contemporary Turks. He visits the family of Ali Ağca, who was incarcerated at that time and conducts an interview with İpek Çalışlar, author of a 2006 biography of Latife Hanım, who was accused of insulting Atatürk and brought to trial.

Szablowski directs his attention to contemporary issues or events from recent years that continue to provoke intense debate within Turkish society. One entire chapter, titled *Moustachioed Republic*, is devoted to Prime Minister Erdoğan and the rise to power of the AKP. Rather than offering direct evaluations or commentary on the party's policies, Szablowski employs a subtle and symbolic approach, using the motif of the moustache. He opens the chapter with the following thesis:

In Turkey you can recognise the politicians by their moustaches. The nationalists have the longest ones. The socialists are slightly shorter, and the shortest ones belong to the Islamists. (Szablowski 2013: 87–88)

The chapter concludes with a description of a meeting held on 15 July 2007, during which terms such as 'Islam', 'Sharia', or 'Qur'an' were not mentioned even once, yet the audience was predominantly composed of men with short moustaches. Szablowski also explores political attitudes and perspectives on the European Union through a visit to a shop selling The Bye-Bye Bush Shoes, manufactured by Ramazan Baydan. This brand gained international notoriety after a journalist threw one of its shoes at President George Bush during a press conference in Bagh-

dad in 2008. The majority of the shop's clientele consists of individuals critical of the West, such as Zeynep, a student from Istanbul. She expresses a desire to throw a shoe at Orhan Pamuk as well, arguing that he, having come from a wealthy background and never having worked even one day in his life, was awarded the Nobel Prize solely because 'he vilifies the Turkish nation' (Szabłowski 2013: 171).

Szabłowski demonstrates a deeper interest in questions of morality than in politics, once again employing the power of detail—not only as a memorable narrative device, but also as a vehicle for metaphor (Szczygieł 2022: 54–55). The distribution of condoms outside a mosque serves as a springboard for a broader discussion on sexuality in contemporary Turkey. Among the topics addressed are premarital virginity, public houses where many Turkish boys experience their first sexual encounters, sexual advice columns authored by Güzin Abla, circumcision, pornography, homosexuality and prostitution. Szabłowski conducts interviews with a diverse range of individuals, including Üstünel, a gay man whose sexual orientation is openly acknowledged among his friends in Istanbul but remains concealed from his family and acquaintances in his hometown; Saliha Ermez and Ayşe Tükrükçü, former sex workers who ran as candidates in the 2007 parliamentary elections—despite attracting media attention, they received fewer than a thousand votes; and members of Lambda, an organization that advocates for LGBTQ+ rights and organizes equality parades. An entire chapter is devoted to the issue of honour killings and the work of the Kamer foundation, which intervenes to protect women at risk. The narrative is anchored in an interview with Hatice; a woman whose own father attempted to kill her for allegedly tarnishing the family's honour. As in other parts of the book, Szabłowski refrains from overt commentary, instead presenting statistical data and factual accounts to allow the reader to draw their own conclusions.

On the day I was admiring Mesopotamia from the plane, a father killed his daughter in Şanlıurfa. Why? Because she sent a text message to a radio station with best wishes for her boyfriend. Her first name and surname were mentioned on air. The father believed she had tarnished her virginity. (Szabłowski 2013: 39)

In further exploring the theme, Szabłowski observes that 'all starts with a rumour' (Szabłowski 2013: 44). This pervasive atmosphere of suspicion and social control leads him to reflect on his own behaviour: while walking down the street, he avoids smiling at unfamiliar women, fearing the potential consequences. 'Maybe it's exaggeration, but I think my smile could kill someone, so I lower my gaze and keep walking' (Szabłowski 2013: 45). He engages in a conversation with Deniz Akçay, the screenwriter of the popular television series *Little Women*, to discuss the status of women in Turkey. Through this dialogue, Szabłowski uncovers the profound challenges faced by single women in Turkish society, where traditional norms and expectations continue to exert significant pressure.

Szabłowski also draws attention to the plight of immigrants in Turkey, particularly those residing in the country without legal status. He interviews Mahmoud, an Iraqi man stranded in Istanbul, who survives by teaching English, selling stolen passports and acting as an intermediary for human smugglers. In an attempt to delve deeper into the issue, Szabłowski travels to Izmir, where he seeks contact with smugglers—an effort that proves unsuccessful. Migrants, wary of exposure, refuse to speak with him or allow photographs to be taken. As a result, Szabłowski supplements his narrative with data from international reports and vivid descriptions of the grim realities faced by refugees: overcrowded boats being pushed back and forth between Turkish and Greek territorial waters and beach cleaners removing the bodies of drowned migrants before tourists arrive. He portrays illegal migrants as suspended in a liminal space—trapped ‘in the middle’, like on a bridge, with no clear path forward or back.

The metaphor of the bridge, of being in the middle, appears frequently in Szabłowski’s work. It is, in fact, the dominant compositional feature of the reportage, which begins with the chapter *Bridges on the Bosphorus*, where the motif of being torn between East and West, tradition and modernity, appears for the first time:

We are sailing from Europe to Asia. The journey takes about a quarter of an hour. Here there are businessmen along with beggars, women in chadors with women in mini-skirts, non-believers with Imams, prostitutes with dervishes, the holy with the unholy—all Turkey on a single ferry. (Szabłowski 2013: XV)

The book concludes with a reflection on a photograph published in the Turkish daily ‘Hürriyet’, depicting two women standing in the sea—one topless, the other wearing a full-body swimsuit designed for Muslim women, revealing only her eyes. The accompanying editorial comment reads: ‘That’s Turkey for you’ (Szabłowski 2013: 210). This striking juxtaposition of East and West, tradition and modernity, echoes themes frequently explored in the works of Orhan Pamuk. The motif of a cultural and ideological split between East and West is among the most prominent and recurrent in the oeuvre of the Turkish Nobel laureate. In Szabłowski’s reportage, the division of Turkey into two distinct spheres—cultural, ideological and social—is more pronounced than the often-invoked dichotomy between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ Turkey. His narrative focuses almost exclusively on the modern, republican state, while simultaneously acknowledging that profound transformations are unfolding before his eyes—signs of an emerging ‘new’ reality.

In later editions of the book, Szabłowski added a chapter devoted to the 2013 Gezi Park protests. He spent a week at the site, engaging with both demonstrators and their opponents in an effort to understand the underlying tensions:

What unites them, and what divides them? And how will the occupation of the park leave its mark on them in general? (Szabłowski 2013: 1)

This new chapter was placed at the beginning of the volume, thereby disrupting the previously established compositional structure and shifting the thematic focus more explicitly toward the notion of the ‘new’.³

In contrast to Cegielski, Szablowski possesses a functional command of the Turkish language, which significantly facilitated his access to a wide range of interlocutors. He asserts that he gained more insight into Turkish society through conversations with individuals such as Mustafa, a truck driver, than during two semesters of study at Marmara University. Nevertheless, he frequently encounters a recurring sentiment among his interviewees: that he, as a foreigner, cannot truly understand them because he is not Turkish. Despite this perception, Szablowski succeeds remarkably in capturing the nuances and complexities of the Turkish mentality. His reportage has been met with critical acclaim not only in Poland but also internationally. The book has been translated into numerous languages, including English, Czech, Estonian, Dutch, German, Russian, Slovak, Ukrainian and Italian. Notably, the chapter devoted to the poet Nazım Hikmet was published in Turkish by Osman Fırat Baş (Baş 2023).

5 Orchowski: A truly ‘new’ Turkey?

While Cegielski concentrated on Istanbul as a whole and Szablowski explored various regions of Turkey, the third reporter, Thomas Orchowski, narrowed his focus to a single district of Istanbul—Tarlabaşı. His reportage, *Rzeź na Tarlabaşı. Opowieść o nowej Turcji* [*The Slaughter in Tarlabaşı: The Story of a New Turkey*], was published in 2018, although the majority of the material was gathered prior to the attempted coup d’état in 2016.

The opening chapter, *Tanks at the Bosphorus*, appears somewhat appended to an otherwise completed manuscript. It is notably brief—only five pages in length—and resembles a press-like report of the events of July 15, presented in an hour-by-hour format. The chapter concludes with the assertion:

Thus, the fifth coup in Turkey’s recent history fails. It has neither the support of the public, nor of the majority of the military, nor of politicians, even those in the opposition. Why? (Orchowski 2018: 15).

However, this question remains unanswered, as the subsequent chapter does not continue the discussion. Instead, it opens with a depiction of snowfall in Istanbul in January—an allusion to Orhan Pamuk’s *Snow*—and a description of stray dogs roaming the streets of Tarlabaşı, followed by a historical and con-

³ In the English edition this clear structure has been disrupted. The sequence of the chapter is different. The chapter on the Gezi Park is first, while the name of the chapter *Bridges on the Bosphorus* has been changed to *Instead of a Preface* with Roman pagination.

temporary portrait of the neighbourhood. The theme of the coup attempt re-surfaces only toward the end of the book, most prominently in the penultimate sixth chapter, which recounts Orchowski's visit to the presidential palace in Ankara and his interview with presidential advisor Saadet Oruç. Conducted just two weeks after the failed coup, this conversation provides the foundation for Orchowski's claim: 'In post-coup Turkey, the events of 15 July have become the new myth founding the country of the President' (Orchowski 2018: 197). This statement closely echoes the analytical framework of aforementioned Mateusz Chudziak, a specialist at the Centre for Eastern Studies in Warsaw. The topic re-emerges once more in the book's final pages, where, as at the beginning, a similar question is posed: 'What happened on July 15, 2016? In fact... we still don't know' (Orchowski 2018: 256). Orchowski only revisits widely circulated speculations: that the majority of Turks, according to opinion polls, believe the Gülen movement was responsible; that European intelligence services attribute the coup to a faction of officers fearing imminent purges; and that some voices suggest President Erdoğan himself orchestrated the event.

The 2016 coup d'état attempt, which serves as a kind of compositional frame for Orchowski's reportage—although evidently added later, after the majority of the book had already been written—is presented as a pivotal moment in the ongoing effort to define the concept of the 'new Turkey'. However, the author's use of this term is not entirely consistent. At the beginning of the book, 'new' refers to the founding of the republican state: 'Trauma and irritated pride—these were the circumstances under which the new Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923' (Orchowski 2018: 84). Later in the narrative, the 'new Turkey' denotes the contemporary state governed by the AKP and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who is referred to as 'the New Father of the Turks' (Orchowski 2018: 259). In this vision, the 'new Turkey' is characterized by monumentalism and grandiosity—each new project is expected to surpass the previous in scale and visibility: the largest Çamlica Mosque, the longest third bridge over the Bosphorus, the most expansive new airport. Within this framework, the impoverished residents of Tarlabası are perceived as an affront to the national image: they are, as Orchowski puts it, 'salt in the eye of the new Turkey' (Orchowski 2018: 113), because poverty does not align with the state's aspirational self-image. He further comments:

The expression of modernity in this vision is not human rights, equality or democracy. Nor are clean air or trees. Great and visible with the naked eye—this is the new Turkey (Orchowski 2018: 115).

Orchowski's reportage is thus situated between the historical legacy of republican Turkey and its contemporary sociopolitical realities. Without question, the central theme of his work is the condition of national minorities in Turkey.

The symbolic locus of this theme is the district of Tarlabaşı—once a vibrant, multiethnic neighbourhood inhabited primarily by Greeks, Armenians and Jews (notably, the Polish national poet Adam Mickiewicz lived and died there), later depopulated through forced displacement and pogroms and eventually repopulated by impoverished communities, often including petty criminals. While the subject of minorities had already been addressed by both Cegielski and Szablowski—whose works Orchowski references—his treatment is notably more detailed. He interviews descendants of Istanbul's minority populations and introduces lesser-known historical episodes, such as the tragic fate of the *Struma*, a ship carrying Jewish refugees during World War II and the *varlık vergisi* ('wealth tax'), which disproportionately targeted non-Muslim citizens. Many of the themes explored in subsequent chapters are familiar from earlier reportages: the experiences of homosexual and transgender individuals, honour killings, the status of women (with the recurring motif of the headscarf), urban revitalization in Istanbul, the figure of Latife Hanım, the political symbolism of male facial hair (a passage that closely echoes Szablowski's work), the Kurdish issue and the PKK, the rise of the AKP and Erdoğan's ascent to power and the Gezi Park protests. However, Orchowski attempts to revisit these topics through new lenses, offering alternative examples or previously unexamined details—for instance, the *lubunca* slang used within the LGBTQ+ community, the cultural phenomenon of singer Bülent Ersoy, or a comparative analysis of Emine Erdoğan and Latife Hanım.

Importantly, Orchowski also introduces entirely new subjects not addressed by his predecessors. These include the situation of Turkish guest workers in Germany, developments in contemporary Turkish cinema, the figure of Fethullah Gülen and a compelling account of the precarious state of press freedom in Turkey. In this context, he visits the editorial offices of the newspaper 'Cumhuriyet' and conducts interviews with prominent journalists such as Murat Sabuncu, Can Dündar and Aykut Küçükaya.

In light of the aforementioned observations, the subtitle of Orchowski's book—*The story of a new Turkey*—appears to be significantly overstated. It seems to function primarily as a marketing device, designed to suggest the promise of novel insights absent from earlier reportages on Turkey. In reality, the work proves to be the weakest among the three, reiterating numerous themes already explored by his predecessors. The reportage lacks compositional coherence, does not distinguish itself through stylistic finesse or analytical depth and is marred by editorial oversights. Notably, several proper names are rendered without the appropriate Turkish diacritical marks—for example, 'Gunes' instead of 'Güneş' and 'İsmail Bahadır' instead of 'İsmail Bahadır'. Despite these shortcomings, Orchowski has continued to position himself as a commentator on Turkish affairs, publishing a subsequent reportage on the divided island of Cyprus in 2021.

6 Szumer-Brysz: Just Turkey

Marcelina Szumer-Brysz is the author of two reportage books on Turkey.⁴ The first, *Wróżąc z fusów. Reportaże z Turcji* [*Foretelling from the Coffee Grounds: Reportage from Turkey*], published in 2018, begins with the 2016 coup d'état attempt. The second, released in 2021, focuses entirely on a single city—Izmir—and bears the subtitle *Miasto gjaurów* [*The City of Giaours*]. In neither of these works does the concept of the 'new Turkey' play a central role. The author does not seek to systematically document political or societal transformations, nor does she attempt to structure her observations within a scholarly framework distinguishing between the 'old' and 'new' orders in Turkey. Rather, her aim is to present the country as she has experienced it—perhaps somewhat chaotically, from multiple perspectives, at times with admiration, at others with criticism. What matters most to her are ordinary people and their personal stories. Thanks to her command of the Turkish language, her marriage to a Turkish man (which eventually ended in divorce) and several years of living and working in Izmir and its surroundings, Turkey has become her second homeland—one that she holds close to her heart.

Upon reading both of Szumer-Brysz's reportage books, one gains the impression that they are written with a specific target audience in mind—Polish women who, stereotypically, are familiar with Turkey primarily through popular television series and holiday tourism. This assumption is reinforced by the inclusion of dedicated chapters on Turkish TV series in both volumes, reflecting the author's astute observation: 'For Turkey's image in the world, the TV series—*Endless Love* and dozens of others—have done more than all diplomacy put together' (Szumer-Brysz 2018: 210). Szumer-Brysz addresses many themes already explored in earlier reportages, such as the situation of the Kurds and other national and religious minorities, the refugee crisis, the LGBTQ+ community, the legacy of Nazım Hikmet and the political left, the role of women in Turkish society and the phenomenon of femicide—murders of women committed by family members. Nevertheless, she demonstrates a keen journalistic intuition and honesty in capturing the fatigue and impatience of her interlocutors, who have likely been asked the same questions repeatedly. For instance, when questioned about the Armenian issue, Berrin responds with evident exasperation:

⁴ Her third book, *Turcja. Na wschód od Zachodu* [*Turkey: In the East of the West*], published in 2024, does not conform to the conventions of typical reportage, although it incorporates elements of literary journalism. It is a hybrid work that blends the characteristics of a travel guide, a concise history of Turkey, a compendium of cultural curiosities and personal reflections drawn from the author's years of living in the country.

Oh, come on! Are you people in Europe still talking about Hitler? Certainly not, because that is a past issue (Szumer-Brysz 2018: 120).

Szumer-Brysz also succeeds in presenting well-worn themes—some of which were already considered tiresome in the 19th century—from fresh and engaging perspectives. For instance, she frames the topic of Istanbul's stray dogs through the personal and emotional narrative of burying her own dog and she explores Islamic teachings on sexuality by engaging in a candid conversation with a female *hodja*. Her writing frequently emphasizes the female perspective. When addressing the Kurdish issue in Turkey, she recounts the story of Leyla İmret, a Kurdish woman and daughter of a slain PKK fighter, who was raised in Germany and later returned to Turkey. At the age of 26, despite not speaking Turkish fluently, İmret became the mayor of Cizre. In discussing the refugee crisis, Szumer-Brysz focuses on the experiences of Syrian women in Izmir, drawing on interviews with a gynaecologist, social workers and schoolteachers. She also offers a unique portrayal of Atatürk through the lens of his mother, Zübeyde Hanım—referred to as the 'grandmother of the Turks'.

Among the newer themes explored in her work, social issues receive particular attention. Through her marriage to a Turkish man, Szumer-Brysz gained not only an intimate view of Turkish domestic life but also firsthand experience of it. She describes the cultural and generational clashes within the household, with special emphasis on her mother-in-law, humorously depicted as a *valide sultan* in reference to the popular television series *The Magnificent Century*. Her book on Izmir is especially noteworthy. It presents the city's cosmopolitan history alongside vivid details of contemporary life, such as the annual Dressed Women's Bicycle Tour, the Petkim refinery and the Mathematics Village founded by Professor Ali Nesin, son of the renowned Turkish writer Aziz Nesin.

Szumer-Brysz does not attempt to delineate a binary division between the 'old' and 'new' Turkey. Instead, she portrays the country as she perceives and experiences it, openly incorporating her own reflections and commentary. Her fluency in Turkish and extended residence in the country enable her to access a wide range of social environments, although these encounters are not always comfortable—for example, her participation in a kinder party in Ankara, held within the circles of an ultra-nationalist youth group. While her books may initially appear light-hearted and seemingly tailored to a female, domestic readership, a closer examination reveals a nuanced and vivid portrayal of Turkish reality. Szumer-Brysz demonstrates a graceful command of the Polish language and a talent for crafting witty, insightful remarks. However, the reportage is not without its flaws. There are noticeable errors in Turkish orthography, particularly in the use of the dotted and dotless *i* (*i*/*ı*), as well as minor inaccuracies in frequently quoted Turkish phrases—for instance, *Müsait bu yerde* instead of the correct *Müsait bir yerde* (Szumer-Brysz 2021: 172).

7 Rostkowska: countless 'new Turkeys'

Agnieszka Rostkowska's reportage, *Wojownicy o szklanych oczach. W poszukiwaniu Nowej Turcji* [*Warriors with Glass Eyes: In Search of a New Turkey*], published in 2020, offers a particularly thorough and insightful examination of the concept of the 'new Turkey'. Drawing on her academic background in Turkology and International Relations, the author provides a nuanced portrayal of contemporary Turkey, shedding light on aspects of the country that have remained relatively unfamiliar to Polish readers. Even when revisiting well-trodden themes—such as the situation of Kurds, refugees and non-heterosexual individuals, likely in response to the expectations of her readership—Rostkowska approaches them from fresh and original angles. One illustrative example is her treatment of the Islamic headscarf. She writes:

Hijab, the Islamic headscarf that covers the hair. I was not going to mention it. Described for decades, by everyone, in every way—how many ways can it be? Until I met Melek, who also used to see no reason to pay attention to the headscarf. (Rostkowska 2020: 156)

For Melek (a pseudonym), the headscarf becomes a symbol of freedom and feminism—an interpretation that defies conventional Western narratives. Rostkowska presents this perspective with sensitivity and depth, offering a compelling counterpoint to dominant discourses on gender and religion in Turkey.

Rostkowska's reportage begins with an account of the 2016 coup d'état attempt, yet it is presented from a perspective distinct from those adopted by previous reporters. The central figure of the first chapter is Ahmet Alkılıç, a devoted supporter of the AKP, who was shot in the head and arm while defending his homeland on the night of July 15. Although Rostkowska asserts that 'the coup d'état attempt is the legend on which the collective identity of the New Turkey is built' (Rostkowska 2020: 26), she locates the origins of this 'new era' earlier, in the 2013 Gezi Park protests. The second chapter introduces Cem Yakaşkan, former leader of the Beşiktaş football club's ultra supporters and a vocal opponent of the AKP. He recounts his experiences during the Gezi protests and Rostkowska notes that 'there is the same nostalgia in his voice as in Ahmet's when speaking about July 15, 2016' (Rostkowska 2020: 39). Through this juxtaposition, the author effectively illustrates the deep societal divisions in Turkey and the extent to which political allegiances shape personal narratives and collective memory.

One of the most valuable aspects of Rostkowska's reportage lies in her efforts to engage with individuals across the political spectrum. However, she acknowledges the difficulty of gaining access to pro-government circles, where distrust of Western journalists runs deep. As she explains, 'a Western journalist, reporter, writer is either a spy or a manipulator working against Turkey. Talking to him is

like an instance of high treason' (Rostkowska 2020: 152). This belief is powerfully encapsulated in the words of one of her interviewees:

This will be your last book. And your publisher's too. Are you really going to write why we support Erdoğan? In Europe, you only publish voices that vilify our president. If you break out of this pattern... (Rostkowska 2020: 150).

Although Rostkowska strives to present a diversity of perspectives and to maintain a high degree of objectivity—refraining from overt authorial judgments or commentary—a significant portion of her reportage is devoted to individuals who 'do not feel at home in the New Turkey' (Rostkowska 2020: 275). She offers detailed accounts of numerous sensitive and underreported issues that had not been addressed by previous journalists. These include the hunger strikes that began in the autumn of 2016 with protests in Ankara's Kızılay district, the suppression of oppositional media outlets, the gatherings of the so-called Saturday Mothers (*Cumartesi Anneleri*) and the 79-day curfew imposed in eastern Turkey in the autumn of 2015. It is important to emphasize that Rostkowska does not rely on extensive authorial commentary. Instead, she adopts a restrained narrative style, allowing the voices of her interlocutors and the facts themselves to carry the weight of the message. Her approach is more illustrative than interpretative, often letting the reader draw conclusions from the juxtaposition of testimonies and events, e.g.:

Any Kurd suspected of connections with the PKK and subversive activity could have gone missing.

Any Kurd could have gone missing.

Anyone could have gone missing. (Rostkowska 2020: 198)

The search for a definition of the 'new Turkey' serves as the conceptual and structural foundation of Rostkowska's reportage. Throughout the book, she attempts to clarify a term that is frequently invoked yet rarely defined. At the beginning of the reportage, she writes:

Nobody noticed when she came. She began to appear at election gatherings, popping up in television debates and press commentaries, until she dominated politicians' speeches and captured the imagination of foreign commentators. Some spoke of it as a liberation, while others as a curse. Named but undefined, the New Turkey transformed the lives of Turks before they had time to realise it. (Rostkowska 2020: 13)

By citing political rhetoric surrounding the term 'new Turkey', Rostkowska subjects these declarations to empirical scrutiny, engaging directly with individuals whose lives have been shaped by such transformations. For instance, in response

to President Erdoğan's 2015 statement that Beyoğlu would be the starting point for constructing the 'new Turkey', she examines the reality of the district—now marked by empty, modern shopping malls such as Demirören and Grand Pera, which replaced iconic cultural landmarks like the Emek Cinema, İnci Patisserie, Robinson Crusoe Bookshop and Kelebek Korse lingerie store. Symbols of this new national vision include the Atatürk Cultural Centre (AKM), frequently mentioned by other reporters, as well as the mosque on Taksim Square and the former Romani neighbourhood of Sulukule, now redeveloped into luxury apartments primarily purchased by wealthy Arab investors. This rapid urban transformation, emblematic of the 'new Turkey', has also led to a rise in workplace accidents. According to the 1 Umut Association, which documents such incidents, these casualties are 'sacrifices on the altar of the New Turkey' (Rostkowska 2020: 129).

Faruk Yaslıçimen, the chief executive of the NewTurkey portal—established in 2012 as a platform for reprinting and translating Turkish press articles into English—has observed that the term 'new Turkey' has increasingly acquired negative connotations, particularly in Western discourse. As a result, he decided to rebrand the platform under a new name: PoliticsToday.org. Rostkowska's years-long investigation into the meaning of the 'new Turkey' ultimately does not yield a definitive understanding of the term. Instead, it leads her to a crucial and thought-provoking conclusion: there is no singular or universally accepted definition—each individual constructs their own version. As she poignantly remarks, 'And no one knows if these countless New Turkeys will ever meet' (Rostkowska 2020: 313).

8 New Turkey, old themes

The term 'new Turkey' frequently appears in contemporary Polish reportage literature on Turkey, despite lacking a precise or universally accepted definition. Even within the work of a single author, the term is often employed inconsistently. It is also written differently—sometimes capitalized, sometimes not, and occasionally enclosed in quotation marks.⁵ Nevertheless, a discernible evolution of the term can be observed.

In the first two reportages—by Cegielski and Szablowski—the 'new Turkey' refers to the republican state, contrasted with the 'old' Ottoman Empire. These texts, written in the first decade of the 21st century, predate the term's widespread adoption in political discourse, where it later came to signify the era of AKP rule under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, particularly in the context of his pre-election rhetoric. Still, both reporters sense that significant transformations are underway, and that the balance between the old and the new is shifting. A key moment in this transition is the Gezi Park protests, which Szablowski chose to include in later

⁵ The original spelling has been retained in titles and quotations.

editions of his book—not as an appendix, but as the opening chapter, thereby disrupting the original, carefully structured composition.

The next three reportages—by Orchowski, Szumer-Brysz and Rostkowska—begin with the 2016 coup d'état attempt. Notably, two of them feature the term 'new Turkey' in their subtitles, suggesting that the coup marks the beginning of a new chapter in the country's history. The term is also used frequently throughout the texts, which may reflect a tendency to adopt the language of political newspeak. While Rostkowska's reportage offers a genuinely valuable and critical examination of the concept of the 'new Turkey', Orchowski's work appears to rely more on marketing strategy—pairing a catchy phrase with a timely political event in order to repackaging familiar content in a seemingly new form.

A close analysis of the content of the reportages reveals that, regardless of how the term 'new Turkey' is defined, a consistent set of recurring themes emerges across all the works. Many of these themes have long been familiar to Polish readers, dating back to the accounts of travellers who visited the Ottoman Empire. These include the condition of ethnic minorities, the role of women in society—often illustrated through the recurring motif of veiling—the presence of stray dogs in urban spaces and the ongoing expansion and transformation of Istanbul. While these topics are contextualized through contemporary events, their persistent recurrence suggests a deeper, perhaps culturally embedded, readerly expectation. For similar reasons, nearly every reportage includes references to figures such as Nazım Hikmet or Mehmet Ali Ağca—individuals whose connections to Poland make them particularly resonant for Polish audiences. This pattern reflects the nature of reportage as a form of social documentation—one that does not mirror reality directly, but rather filters it through the cultural lens, personal experience and ideological orientation of the author, as well as through the conventions of the genre, which often imply a dialogue with one's literary predecessors.

Two additional tendencies are particularly noteworthy in the selection and treatment of subject matter: the reporters' generally left-leaning sympathies and a marked inclination toward sad, tragic or unsettling themes. The latter tendency is arguably characteristic of Polish literary tradition. As Nobel laureate Henryk Sienkiewicz once wrote in a letter from Constantinople in 1886—despite admiring the beauty of the Bosphorus from Çamlıca Hill—he would rather describe the dead dogs of Galata, because 'it is easier to move the saliva than the soul' (Sienkiewicz 1951: 327).

9 Conclusion

Applying Norman Fairclough's framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to the corpus of Polish literary reportages on Turkey reveals that the term 'new Turkey' functions less as a stable political category and more as a dynamic discursive construct. Through Fairclough's three-dimensional model—text, discur-

sive practice and social practice—it becomes evident that Polish reporters do not merely describe Turkish reality but actively participate in shaping its representation through language.

At the textual level, the reportages employ a range of rhetorical strategies—metaphors (e.g. bridges, veils, sacrifice), symbolic juxtapositions (e.g. East vs. West, tradition vs. modernity) and narrative framing (e.g. beginning with the coup or Gezi Park protests)—to construct competing visions of Turkish identity. The term 'new Turkey' itself is inconsistently used, often undefined and variably capitalized or placed in quotation marks, reflecting its semantic instability and ideological fluidity. At the level of discursive practice, the production and reception of these texts are shaped by the authors' positionalities as Polish observers, often with left-leaning sympathies and a preference for marginalized voices. Their narratives are filtered through cultural expectations, genre conventions and the legacy of Polish travel writing. The recurrence of themes such as women's rights, minority oppression and urban transformation suggests both a continuity with historical representations of the Ottoman Empire and a response to contemporary political developments under the AKP. Finally, at the level of social practice, the discourse of the 'new Turkey' reflects broader ideological struggles over national identity, modernization and power. The reportages engage with and sometimes challenge dominant Turkish narratives—particularly those promoted by Erdoğan's government—while also reproducing certain Western liberal assumptions. The multiplicity of meanings attributed to the 'new Turkey' across the texts underscores the fragmentation of Turkish society and the contested nature of its political transformation.

Miles P. Davis's study on self-censorship among foreign journalists in Turkey offers an important comparative perspective that further illuminates the conclusions drawn in this article. His findings reveal how foreign correspondents—particularly freelancers—must navigate a complex environment shaped by surveillance, political pressure and the persistent threat of deportation or violence. These conditions foster widespread self-censorship, which manifests not only in the selection of topics but also in the framing and dissemination of stories, especially via social media platforms (Davis 2022). This dynamic closely parallels the cautious strategies employed by Polish reportage authors, who, despite operating from a relatively safer distance, are nonetheless influenced by ideological frameworks, cultural expectations and genre conventions. Their frequent reliance on metaphor, anecdote and indirect critique reflects a similarly constrained discursive space—one shaped less by immediate political repression and more by the subtler mechanisms of narrative tradition and audience anticipation. Both Davis's study and the Polish reportages analysed here demonstrate that journalistic discourse on Turkey—whether produced from within or outside its borders—is deeply embedded in structures of power, ideology and self-regulation.

Ultimately, the search for a singular definition of the 'new Turkey' proves elusive. Instead, the term emerges as a site of ideological negotiation—shaped

by historical memory, political rhetoric, power, ideology, self-regulation and intercultural perception. As Agnieszka Rostkowska states: ‘And no one knows if these countless New Turkeys will ever meet’ (Rostkowska 2020: 313). Discourse of ‘new Turkey’ in contemporary Polish reportage books is not merely descriptive but constitutive—it constructs sociopolitical realities.

Funding

The research has been supported by a grant from the Faculty of Philology under the Strategic Programme Excellence Initiative at Jagiellonian University.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Sylvia Filipowska  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7108-0317>

References

- Baş, Osman Fırat, ed. 2023. *Çekmecemden Çeviriler. Leh Edebiyatı'ndan Kısa Metinler*. İzmir: Livera Yayınevi.
- Bystroń, Jan Stanisław. 1930. *Polacy w Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egipcie (1147–1914)*. Kraków: Księgarnia Geograficzna Orbis.
- Cegielski, Max. 2010. *Oko świata. Od Konstantynopola do Stambułu*. 2nd ed. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B.
- Chudziak, Mateusz. 2017. *Pucz jako mit założycielski. Filary ideologiczne Nowej Turcji*. Warszawa: Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich im. Marka Karpia.
- Davis, Miles P. 2022. ‘Self-Censorship: Foreign Journalists’ reportage of Turkey’. *Journalism* 23 (9): 1995–2011.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and Power*. London and New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2006. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.
- Filipowska, Sylvia. 2017. *Obraz dziewiętnastowiecznego Stambułu w polskiej i tureckiej literaturze wspomnieniowej*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
- Filipowska, Sylvia. 2022. ‘The Reception of Orhan Pamuk’s Literary Output in Poland’. In *Texts, Contexts, Intertexts: Studies in Honor of Orhan Pamuk*, edited by Julian Rentzsch and Petr Kučera, 91–111. Baden Baden: Ergon Verlag.
- Filipowska, Sylvia. 2024. ‘Travellers to the Middle East from the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on Islam and Muslims’. In *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 22. Central Europe (1800–1914)*, edited by David Thomas and John Chesworth, 738–761. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Gulmez Recep, and Suat Tuysuz, eds. 2020. *The New Turkey: Politics, Society and Economy*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

- Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz. 2000. *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century): An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill.
- Morris, Chris. 2005. *The New Turkey: The Quiet Revolution on the Edge of Europe*. London: Granta Books.
- Orchowski, Thomas. 2018. *Rzeź na Tarlabası. Opowieść o nowej Turcji*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Agora.
- Rostkowska, Agnieszka. 2020. *Wojownicy o szklanych oczach. W poszukiwaniu Nowej Turcji*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
- Sienkiewicz, Henryk. 1951. 'Korespondencja I'. In *Dzieła. Wydanie zbiorowe*, vol. 55, edited by Julian Krzyżanowski, 307–331. Warszawa: PIW.
- Surdel, Bruno. 2017. 'Nowa Turcja'. Stabilizacja czy chaos?'. *Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych* 5: 1–7. Accessed 26 May 2025. <https://csm.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/CSM-KOMENTARZ-Surdel-NOWA-TURCJA-STABILIZACJA-CZY-CHAOS-05.2017.pdf>.
- Szabłowski, Witold. 2013. *The Assassin from Apricot City: Reportage from Turkey*. Translated by Antonia Lloyd-Jones. London: Stork Press.
- Szczygieł, Mariusz. 2022. *Fakty muszą zatańczyć*. Warszawa: Dowody na Istnienie.
- Szumer-Brysz, Marcelina. 2018. *Wróżąc z fusów. Reportaże z Turcji*. Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne.
- Szumer-Brysz, Marcelina. 2021. *Izmir. Miasto giaurów*. Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne.
- Topaktaş, Hacer. 2015. 'Karlofça'dan Lozan'a İstanbul'da Leh diplomatlar 1699–1923', *OTAM Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 37: 307–336.
- Waldman, Simon, and Emre Caliskan. 2017. *The New Turkey and Its Discontents*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wódka, Jakub. 2013. *Polityka zagraniczna „nowej” Turcji: implikacje dla partnerstwa transatlantyckiego*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.
- Wódka, Jakub, ed. 2015. *„Nowa” Turcja. Aspekty polityczne, gospodarcze i społeczne*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.
- Yaşlıçimen, Faruk. 2014. 'Yeni Türkiye'nin Kavram Haritası'. *SETA Perspektif* 74: 1–5.
- Yavuz, Hakan, ed. 2007. *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Democracy and the AK Parti*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Anita Borghero 

Università degli Studi di Cagliari | a.borghero@hotmail.it

Killer and Guest: A Brief Analysis of the Semantic Horizon of *goghna-* through *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Ṛgveda*

Abstract Within the section devoted to the description of *kṛt* suffixes, rule A 3.4.73 *dāśagoghnau sampradāne* teaches how to correctly interpret the terms *dāśa-* and *goghna-*, two deverbal nominal stems respectively derived from *dāś-* ‘to give’ and *go-* ‘cow’ + *han-* ‘to kill’. As taught by the constraint of this *sūtra*, which is *sampradāne*, these terms denote recipients and not agents as might be expected. In other words, in the language described by Pāṇini, a *dāśa-* is ‘the one to whom something is given’, while a *goghna-* is ‘someone for whom a cow is killed’, i.e., a guest. In the main frame of comparative research between Pāṇini and the language of the Vedas and with the specific aim of going deeper into the linguistic *datum* documented by A 3.4.73, this paper focuses on the technical and semantical analysis of the term *goghna-* with a special attention to the *Ṛgveda*. Finally, some suggestions about the cultural implications of the semantic switch reported by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* will be considered in the conclusions.

Keywords Pāṇini, Vedic studies, ancient linguistics, Vedic literature

1 Introduction

The present inquiry steps from a provision taught by Pāṇini about the non-agentive trait of a compound (*goghna-*) morphologically endowed with a type of affix that usually denotes *nomina agentis* (§2). The textual occurrences of this word are analysed in §3 to check the reliability of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with Vedic literature’s lexicon and to look for the exceptional semantic switch from agent to recipient in the language. In the mainframe of the still unsolved problem about the language targeted by Pāṇini’s grammar, the final section of this paper aims to investigate the parallelism between the word *goghna-* and analogous formations found in the *RV*. Finally (§4), and with respect to the formulation of A 3.4.73, some observations about the social and cultural environment of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* will be exposed; this study cannot provide any definitive answer to the delicate point of the nature



of the language described by Pāṇini: it merely adds evidence and tries to organize the collected new data.

The relationship between Pāṇini and the Vedas has been long discussed by scholars such as Liebig (1891), Thieme (1935), Cardona (2002), Kiparsky (2012) and Kulikov (2013). As Bronkhorst (2016: 8) clearly explains, there is a close link between the regions in which a considerable number of Vedic texts were composed and the Gandhāra, the area where Pāṇini lived according to both tradition (e.g., Xuanzang's chronicles) and the analysis of some of his linguistic descriptions (see, e.g., Witzel 1989: 7 fn 11). North-western India, in fact, had a 'pivotal role' as far as the establishment of the Vedic canon is concerned, as Witzel (2011) suggests: the presence of Brahmanism in this place granted the conservation of the texts and their oral transmission.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was based also on the language of Vedic Sacred literature: this is why, along with other texts, it is worth investigating the *R̥gveda* to better understand Pāṇini's linguistic architecture and the reasons behind the formulation of specific rules.

2 The morphologic status of *goghna-*

Before deepening this inquiry on literary and philological grounds, it is essential to summarize the Pāṇinian derivation of the word *goghna-*: according to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* the morphologic derivation from *han-* to *ghna-* is described in two steps:

A 6.4.98 *gamahanajanakhanaghasām lopah kriiti anāni*

The penultimate (89) vowel of the *aṅga* (1) of *gam-* 'to go', *han-* 'to kill', *jan-* 'to generate', *khan-* 'to dig', *ghas-* 'to consume' before affixes having K or Ṇ as IT apart from aṆ is replaced by zero.¹

The penultimate vowel of the verbal root *han-*, that is *-a-*, is replaced with zero (*han-* > **hn-*).

A 7.3.54 *haḥ hanter ṇṇinneṣu*

A velar stop – kU (52) – replaces the phoneme *h* of the *aṅga* of *han-* 'to kill' before affixes having Ṇ or Ṇ as IT or the phoneme *n*.

The grammar provides here for the substitution of the phoneme *h-* (in **hn-*) with the velar stop *gh-* (**hn-* > *ghn-*).²

¹ Unless explicitly stated, the translations are mine.

² As for compounds ending in *-ghna-*, see, e.g., Whitney (1879: 151) and Macdonell (1910: 202).

Then, A 3.2.52–54 teach the correct usage of this ablaut form of the verbal root *han-* (*ghn-*), whose *kṛt* affix is denoted by the technical term *ṬaK*. So:

A 3.2.52 *lakṣaṇe jāyāpatyoṣ ṭak*

The affix *ṬaK* is introduced after *han-* ‘to kill’ (49) co-occurring with the *karman* *jāyā* ‘wife’ or *pati* ‘husband’ in the sense of *lakṣana*.

E.g., *jāyāghnā-* ‘whose omen is that of killing his wife’.

A 3.2.53 *amanuṣyakarṭṛke ca*

The affix *ṬaK* is introduced (52) after *han-* ‘to kill’ (49) co-occurring with a *karman* to denote a non-human *karṭṛ*.

E.g., *patighnī pāṇirekhā* ‘a line on the wife’s palm proper of a husband-killer’.

A 3.2.54 *śaktau hastikapāṭayoh*

The affix *ṬaK* is introduced (52) after *han-* ‘to kill’ (49) co-occurring with the *karman* *hastin-* ‘elephant’ or *kapāṭa-* ‘door’ to denote a *śakti*.

E.g., *hastighnaḥ*, ‘[able] to kill an elephant’. *kapāṭaghnaḥ*, ‘[able] to destroy a door’.

As can be easily realized, these rules provide for the formation of an *upapadaśamāsa* having a *karman* (direct object) as first constituent and *-ghna-* as second constituent. They express, as final denotatum, the *karṭṛ* (agent) of the action of killing/destroying the given *karman*.³

While in A 3.2.52 the idea of *lakṣana* (omen) is introduced as a constraint, A 3.2.52 prevents a human from being connotated as the agent of the compound itself; in A 3.2.54, even if the final denotatum is represented by someone who possesses a given ability, the trait of agency does not refer to the human being: on the contrary, only the given *śakti* can be considered the real agent of the action (as the ability that allows someone to do something). In this sense, the constraint introduced by the previous rule, A 3.2.53, *amanuṣyakarṭṛke*, ‘non-human *karṭṛ*’, is still working in A 3.2.54.

According to A 3.4.67, all the *kṛt* affixes are supposed to denote the *karṭṛ*: the need teaching an exception is the aim of an additional rule:

³ Note that this section of the grammar mainly depends on the governing rule A 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* ‘after a verbal base’ and on A 3.1.93 *kṛd atin* ‘every non *tin* affix after a verbal base (91) is termed *kṛt*’.

A 3.4.73 *dāśagoghna- sampradāne*

dāśa- and *goghna-* are derived in the sense of *sampradāna*.

I.e., these two terms are used as dative cases according to A 1.4.32:⁴ *dāśa-* means ‘the one to whom something is given’ and not ‘giver’;⁵ *goghna-* means ‘someone for whom a cow is killed (a guest)’ and not ‘cow-killer’.

In essence, *dāśa-* and *goghna-* are introduced by Pāṇini as *nipātana* (ready-made forms) denoting the recipients of the action instead of the agents of the action itself: even if endowed with *kṛt* affixes, *dāśa-* and *goghna-* are not supposed to be analysed as the agent of the action of giving (*dāś-*)⁶ and of the action of killing (*han-*).

To sum up, according to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the term *goghna-*, denotes someone who does not act firsthand, i.e., who does not commit any violence (even though he is the recipient of the product of the violent act perpetrated on his behalf).⁷

Sharma (1995: 644) hints at the possibility of reading, in this case, the verbal root *han-* in the sense of *gati* ‘movement’, that is, with the meaning of *jñāna*, *gamana* or *prāpti* (‘knowing’, ‘going’, ‘attaining’). According to Sharma’s explanation, then, the activity in which a *goghna*, i.e., the guest, is involved could be that of ‘attaining’ something: on this account, the scholar refers to the *madhuparka*, a traditional ritual offering composed of *dadhi* ‘curds’, *sarpis* ‘ghee’, *jala* ‘water’, *kṣaudra* ‘honey’ and *sitā* ‘white sugar’. If the *goghna*, i.e., the guest, receives a *madhuparka* and not a killed cow, it has to be assumed that we are facing an evolution from the idea of ‘cow’ to that of ‘cow’s products’.

⁴ The *sampradāna* notion is introduced by rule A 1.4.32 *karmanā yam abhi praiti sa sampradānam* ‘the indirect object, that which is aimed at in connection with a *karman* is termed *sampradāna*’. Patañjali considers A 3.4.73 as an *apavāda* rule, i.e., an exception (see M 2.179 ll. 4–5 ad A 3.4.67).

⁵ To the best of my efforts, I have not been able, by now, to detect a Vedic literary grounding for this rule. As far as I have seen, indeed, no occurrences of *dāśa-* in the Pāṇinian sense ‘giver’ can be found in the RV nor in both the recensions of the AV. The socio-cultural origins of such a precise semantic switch taught by the A are still thought provoking.

⁶ As for the meaning of this stem, I refer to the DhP 1.931 *daśṛ dāne* (see Böhtlingk 1887: 69).

⁷ Also consider in this sense *atithigva* ‘he who offers a cow for the guest’, ‘he who is hospitable’ and the so-called *arghya*-ceremony to honour a respected guest in the proper way (see Bloomfield 1896: cxxiv). Moreover, it is interesting to consider the story of Bhavabhūti, recalled by Chakravarti as follows (1979: 54): ‘Bhavabhūti in his *Uttarāmacarita* (Act IV) describes how the venerable poet Valmiki, when preparing to receive the sage Vasiṣṭha, slaughtered a number of calves for the entertainment of his guest’. The same passage also tells us that, according to the Vedic prescriptions, a *grhamedhin* should perform this kind of sacrifice in honour of a *śrotriya* (a learned Brahmin). The compound *goghna* is not used here to denote Vasiṣṭha.

Srinivasan (1979: 57) underlines that the term *go*, in the context of the Vedic ritual, does not stand only for the animal involved into the oblation, but also for the milk which will be mixed with the *soma*.⁸

In this sense, from a Pāṇinian point of view, rule A 4.3.134 (which provides for the formation of words denoting *vikāra* ‘transformation’) should have been involved to justify the linguistic shift from the denotation of an X item to the denotation of an X-derived item; however, no derivational affix is applied to *go-* in *goghna* as taught in A 3.4.73: this fact may imply that Pāṇini did not consider this possibility.⁹

The *madhuparka* is mentioned in even ŚS X 3.21 and, in a more detailed way, in the *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* (AśvGS I 24, 23ff), where the ‘guest’ is not denoted with the term *goghna-*, it is said that a guest can choose whether to kill or release an offered cow; it is quite puzzling, then, that the passage ends with the following exhortation:

AśvGS I 24.33 *nāmāṃso madhuparko bhavati bhavati*
the *Madhuparka* is actually not without flesh.

3 Pāṇini and the *Rgveda*: A lexical comparison

With respect to Pāṇini’s interpretation of the term *goghna-*, Ambedkar (2020) notes that its use turned out to be ‘pejorative’ during the age of Manu’s Law Code¹⁰ but that its *original* sense was the ‘one for whom the cow is killed’. Can this be true?

To deepen the problem, it seems necessary to look for *Rgvedic* compounds which have *-ghna* as the second constituent¹¹ to understand whether the *sampradāna* trait taught by Pāṇini is attested in the *Samhitā* and if it is possible to detect such a special linguistic feature in analogous compounds.

⁸ Such a transition is also covered by a passage from Yāska’s *Nirukta* (II 5) where, amongst the many senses of the word *gauḥ*, ‘milk’ is also listed as a possible meaning.

⁹ The rule that would have been applied in this specific case is A 4.3.160 *gopayasor yat*, which conveys the sense of cow food-derivates (i.e., *go* + *yaT* > *gavyam* ‘produced from the cow’)

¹⁰ The *Manusmṛti*, whose composition is dated by Olivelle (2005: 25) to around the second-third century CE, features the term *goghna-* twice in the part that exposes the penances for secondary sins which cause the loss of caste (MDh XI 109 and MDh XI 116); both the occurrences of *goghna-* convey the trait of agency. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (III 263) is along the same lines. The term is, again, used in the sense of ‘cow-killer’ in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* (LiPur I 15.9.2, LiPur I 15.29.1, LiPur I 82.118.2), in a section that deals with the expiation of a series of misdeeds. Note that *goghna-* is used along with terms denoting major sins. Despite the teachings of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, literary occurrences after Pāṇini’s age point away from the sense of *sampradāna* for *goghna-* taught by rule A 3.4.73 (see, e.g., R IV 17.32.2, MBh II 38.15; XII 145.18).

¹¹ For a technical survey on the topic, see, e.g., Scarlata (1999: 693).

Here follows the list of the linguistic parallels to *goghna-* that I have found in the RV:

1. *pūruṣaghná-* (RV I 114.10)
2. *ápūruṣaghna-* (RV I 133.6)
3. *vṛtraghná-* (RV I 175.5)
4. *ahighná-* (RV II 30.1)
5. *vṛtraghná-* (RV III 31.14)
6. *nṛghná-* (RV IV 3.6)
7. *dasyughná-* (RV IV 16.10);
8. *vṛtraghná-* (RV V 86.3)
9. *ahighná-* (RV VI 18.14)
10. *asuraghná-* (RV VI 22.4)
11. *pārāvataghná-* (RV VI 61.2)
12. *vṛtraghná-* (RV VI 61.7)
13. *hastaghná-* (RV VI 75.14)
14. *asuraghná-* (RV VII 13.1)
15. *vṛtraghná-* (RV VIII 66.10)
16. *vṛtraghná-* (RV VIII 78.7)
17. *vṛtraghná-* (RV IX 98.10)
18. *parṇayaghná-* (RV X 48.8)
19. *āśvaghná-* (RV X 61.21)
20. *āpatighna-* (RV X 85.44)
21. *sapatnaghná-* (RV X 159.5)

Now, it is crucial to pay attention to the context of each occurrence in order to understand their semantic implications: the term (1) *pūruṣaghná-* probably refers to Rudra's anger (men-killer) and its matching negative form, i.e., (2) *ápūruṣaghna-*, is an attribute referring to Indra's power which kills those who are not-men. In the case of (3) *vṛtraghná-* the agent of the action is probably Indra's exhilaration (the smasher of Vṛtra). (4) *ahighná-*, again, is referred to Indra. In (5) Indra is the *vṛtraghná-*, 'Vṛtra-killer', while as far as (6) is concerned, the *nṛghná-* 'man-killer' is the god Rudra. A non-human agent (*manasā* 'mind') is overtly involved also in the case of (7) *dasyughná-* 'Dasyu-killer'; the whole passage refers to Indra. (8) *vṛtraghná-* is now referred to Indra, who is also the final denotatum of (9) *ahighná-* 'serpent-killer' and (10) *asuraghná-* 'Asura-killer'. (11) *pārāvataghná-* 'foreigners-killer' and (12) *vṛtraghná-* are referred to the overwhelming force of the river Sarasvatī, which happens to be the agent in both compounds. According to Macdonell-Kelley (1912: 60), (13) *hastaghná-*, which denotes an arm-protector used in archery, is a 'word of remarkable and still unexplained formation'; to advance any hypothesis about this difficult term goes beyond the scope of the present study. However, a tentative explanation may involve the sense of striking/beat-

ing proper of the verbal root *han-*: the specific equipment worn by the archer hits, indeed, the forearm instead of the bowstring. The agent, in this case, may consequently be considered the protection itself.

As for (14) *asuraghná-* is this time the god Agni while (15) *ṛtraghná-* ‘Vṛtra-smasher’, is another clear reference to the mythological battle between Vṛtra and Indra; this explanation is valid also for (16) *ṛtraghná-* and (17) *ṛtraghná-*. In this respect, note that two formations derived from a different ablaut of the verbal root *han-* (i.e., ṚV VIII 66.9 *ṛtrahá-* and *ṛtraghná-*) coexist in the same hymn within the distance of a single verse and with the same meaning. The denotatum of the compound (18) *parṇayaghná-* ‘Parṇaya-killer’ is the god Indra¹² while (19) *āśvaghná-* is, according to Sāyaṇa, is one of the names of Manu; it is used in the final praise during the dawn sacrifice. The compound (20) *āpatighna-* ‘not-husband-killer’ is found in the final verse of the famous wedding hymn from ṚV X 85, among the various principles that can ensure a good marriage. The agent is the wife, and the compound is formed according to A 3.2.52. An analogous analysis can also be drawn for (21) *sapatnaghná-* ‘co-wives-killer’: this occurrence is taken from a hymn that celebrates the triumph of a woman (i.e., the agent) over her rival wives.

The compound *goghna-* appears only once in the *Ṛgveda* and likely refers to Rudra’s anger (ṚV I 114.10), i.e., to an *amanuṣya kartṛ*.

ārē te goghnám utá pūruṣaghnám kṣáyadvīra sumnám asmé te astu /

Be far your cow-killer and men-killer (anger?)¹³. Be your benevolence on us, o ruler of men.

To summarise, the following table offers a comparison between the Pāṇinian approach to the compounds ending in *ghna-* and the contents of the ṚV:

<i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i>	<i>Ṛgveda</i>
3.2.52 <i>lakṣaṇe jāyāpatyoṣ ṭak</i>	<i>āpatighna-</i> <i>sapatnaghná-</i> ¹⁴
3.2.53 <i>amanuṣyakartṛke ca</i>	<i>pūruṣaghná-</i> <i>goghná-</i> <i>ṛtraghná-</i> <i>ahighná-</i>

¹² Note the interesting *variatio* of the compounds *karañjahá-* and *ṛtrahátyá-* in the same verse.

¹³ See Jamison-Brereton (2014: 266).

¹⁴ *sapatna-*, meaning ‘co-wife’, is a hyponym of *jāyā-*.

<i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i>	<i>Ṛgveda</i>
3.2.53 <i>amanuṣyakartṛke ca</i>	<i>vrtraghná- nrghná- dasyughná- asuraghná- ápūruṣaghna- pārāvataghná- hastaghná- (?)</i>
3.2.54 <i>śaktau hastikapāṭayoh</i>	–

Table 1. Comparison between the Pāṇinian treatment of *ghna*- compounds and their attestation in the *Ṛgveda*

Table 1 allow us to observe that this brief section of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* fits well the language of the *Ṛgveda*.

Now, there is a crucial parallel between ṚV I 114.10 *ārē te goghnám utá pūruṣaghnám* and ṚV VII 56.17 *ārē gohā nrhā*, where the variant *gohā*- refers to the Maruts. This is a piece of evidence that the *ṛgvedic goghnám*, being used as a synonym of *gohā*, is endowed with the trait of agency and not used in the *sampradāna* sense. It seems noteworthy that in A 3.2.53, Pāṇini uses the constraint *amanuṣyakartṛke*. This teaching matches the language of the ṚV: in fact, the only occurrence of *goghna*- that we have in this text refers to a non-human *kartṛ* (i.e., Rudra's anger?).

As already said above, the constraint also works in A 3.4.73: according to this rule, *goghna*- denotes a human being (i.e., a guest), but not a *kartṛ*. So, when the term *goghna*- is employed in literature to denote a man, the whole linguistic solution happens to be (surprisingly) un-Pāṇinian. Why then did Pāṇini derive the word *goghna*- inconsistently with the ṚV? If we take for granted that the author of rule A 3.4.73 was aware of the agentive meaning of the term *goghna*-, he had the chance to account for this by simply formulating the rule in a different way. In fact, special semantic constraints expressed in the locative case ending have often been adopted in this grammar in order to represent specific literary domains (see Joshi-Bhate 1984: 130–147): namely, e.g., *chandasi* 'in sacred literature', *ya-juṣi* 'in sacrificial formulas', *ṛci* 'in Vedic stanzas', *brāhmaṇe* 'in a *brāhmaṇa* text', *mantra* 'in the *Samhitā* text of the Vedas', *sāmani* 'in the hymns', *nigame* 'in the *mantra* text'; precise constraints are also used to refer to specific geographic contexts: *udicām* 'in the speech of northerners', *prācām* 'in the speech of easterners'.

If the *phenomenon* described by A 3.4.73 was proper to the spoken/ordinary language, the phrasing of the rule should have included the domain constraint *bhāṣāyam* 'in ordinary usage'.

4 A cultural matter?

Joshi and Roodbergen (1994: 90) hypothesize that the sense of *goghna-* taught by Pāṇini may have originated in a somewhat ‘derisory’ attitude, while Jamison (1996: 170), with respect to the non-agentive trait of this compound, advances the suggestion that the term *goghna-* was

regularly formed [...], that the guest was really considered a cow-killer. Though he does not wield the knife, he gives the order, and that is what usually counts.

This possibility is very interesting; nonetheless, the reason why Pāṇini handed down *only* the *sampradana* sense remains still unclear.

Probably, the softer *nuance* taught by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* fits well with the increase in condemnation of animal (and especially cow) sacrifices: according to the textual analysis conducted by Houben (1999: 129), the Brahmanical caste’s approach to violence in Vedic sacrifices can be divided into three historical steps: ‘Period A’, ‘Period B’ and ‘Period C’.

The first one (‘Period A’) basically corresponds to the RV, where there is evidence confirming the acceptance of bloody rituals. During ‘Period B’, the Brahmanical perspective on violence in sacrifices turned into ‘embarrassment’ and ‘stronger rejection’. Houben sets this specific phase during the rising of heterodox spiritual movements such as Jainism and Buddhism and places the *terminus ante quem* around the third century BCE (corresponding to the age of Aśokan edicts). Finally, according to this reconstruction, acts of ritual violence started to be defended again as part of the identity of the Brahmanical caste with ‘Period C’ covering the fifth and seventh centuries CE.

It is worth observing that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was composed during the so-called ‘Period B’, when the problem of accepting violence was starting to emerge. Considering the cultural environment of the Brahmanical society,¹⁵ it seems quite plausible that the author of A 3.4.73 chose to endorse the less deplorable non-agentive trait of *goghna-* to denote high-caste guests even if, of course, the cow was still killed, and the flesh was still ate.

Without taking for granted any assumption, it is possible to hypothesize, at the very least, that the formulation of A 3.4.73 reflects a moment of transition and that its scope was strongly grounded in the social and cultural environment where it was composed.

¹⁵ As Fuller (1992: 88) recalls, a Brahman priest could in fact be degraded if he had perpetrated an act of violence (including animal sacrifice). It was crucial then for a Brahman to ‘completely separate himself from violence’ and, not least, to actually show that he had done so.

5 Conclusions and research perspectives

To better understand the nature of the historical and geographical layers of the Sanskrit language, more studies on the relationship between Pāṇini's rules and the Vedic literary corpus need to be done. As far as the present inquiry is concerned, a series of facts emerge from this brief philological and linguistic analysis:

1. The Ṛgvedic *upapadasāmāśas* ending in *-ghna* are all endowed with the trait of agency: *goghna-* in the ṚV was never used in the sense of a *sampradāna*. The analysis of the context of each occurrence leaves no room for forms ending in *-ghna-* to be considered as semantically different from those ending in *han-*. In fact, they appear to have the same meaning notwithstanding the different ablaut.
2. As far as I have seen, the literature known to Pāṇini does not feature the term *goghna-* used in the same sense taught by rule A 3.4.73; on the contrary, the word is endowed with an agentive meaning even if it does not refer to a human being (a datum which complies with rule A 3.2.53). Despite the specific rule found in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the subsequent literature treats *goghna-* as a noun denoting a precise kind of sinners, i.e., 'killers of cows' and there are no instances of *goghna-* in the sense of 'guest'. Probably, the *phenomenon* described by Pāṇini was part of the spoken language targeted by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and that it stopped to be productive.
3. Even if the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* often employs special constraints to describe linguistic exceptions, the possibility of having *goghna-* as a *nomen agentis* (thereby justifying the Vedic usage) is not taken into account: even if the Ṛgvedic passage featuring this term is correctly described by rule A 3.2.53 (since in the ṚV the agent of *goghna-* is not a human being but Rudra's anger), rule A 3.4.73 excludes any possibility of having *goghna-* as a *kartr̥*. In this case, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* preserves its internal consistency but fails to consistently describe the language of the ṚV.
4. The peculiar teaching of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* regarding the *sampradāna* nature of *goghna-* could be symptomatic of a social and religious environment where vegetarianism and non-violence were taking hold. As such, a highly-respected guest, probably belonging to the Brahmanical caste, should have been considered free from the direct sin of killing. In this sense, probably only the trait of non-agency was worth to be taught by the author of the grammar.

Acknowledgements

A special thanks to Tiziana Pontillo and to the anonymous suggestions and remarks of the two reviewers who firstly read this paper.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Anita Borghero  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1231-6497>

References

Primary sources

- A = Pāṇini. 1987–2003. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Edited and translated by Rama N. Sharma. 6 vols. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- ŚS = Śaunaka. 1960–1962. *Atharvaveda (Śaunaka) with the Padapāṭha and Sāyaṇācārya's Commentary*. Edited by Vishva Bandhu. Hoshiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute.
- AśvGS = Āśvalāyana. 1976. *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtram: With Sanskrit Commentary of Nārāyaṇa, English Translation, Introduction and Index*. Edited by Narendra Nath Sharma. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers.
- KV = Vāmana, and Jayaditya. 1969–1970. *Kasika: A Commentary on Panini's Grammar by Vāmana and Jayaditya*. Edited by Aryendra Sharma and Khanderao Deshpande. Hyderabad.
- LiPur = Vyāsa, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. 1980. *Liṅga Purāṇa of Sage Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa: With Sanskrit Commentary Śivatoṣiṇi of Gaṇeśa Nātu*. Edited by Jagdish L. Shastri. Delhi, Varanasi, and Patna: Motilal Banarsidass.
- M = Patañjali. 1970. *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*. 3 vols. Edited by Franz Kielhorn. Osnabrück: Zeller (Bombay 1880–1885).
- Mbh = Sukthankar, Vishnu S., Shripad K. Belvalkar, and Parashuram L. Vaidya, eds. 1933–1971. *The Mahābhārata. For the First Time Critically Edited*. 19 vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- MDh = Olivelle P. and Olivelle S. (2005).
- Nir = Sarup (1927).
- R = Bhatt, Govindlal H., and Umakant P. Shah, eds. 1960–1975. *The Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*. 7 vols. Baroda: The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Oriental Institute.
- RV = Aufrecht (1968).
- YāSmṛ = Yajñavalkya, Yogisvara. 1949. *Yajñavalkyasmṛiti of Yogisvara Yajñavalkya with the Commentary Mitaksara of Vijñānesvara, Notes, Variant Readings, etc.* Edited by Narayan Ram Acharya. Bombay: Nirnayasagara Press.

Secondary sources

- Agrawala, Vasudeva. 1963. *India as Known to Pāṇini*. Varanasi: Prithvi Prakashan.
- Ambedkar, Bhimrao. 2020. *Beef, Brahmins, and Broken Men: An Annotated Critical Selection from the Untouchables*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Aufrecht, Theodor ed. 1968. *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*. 2 vols. 4th ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bloomfield, Maurice. 1896. 'On the Group of Vedic Words Ending in -gva and -gvin'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 16: xlix–cxl.
- Cardona, George. 1997. *Pāṇini: His Work and Its Tradition*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Cardona, George. 2002. 'The Old Indo-Aryan Tense System'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122: 235–243.
- Chakravarti, Mahadev. 1979. 'Beef-Eating in Ancient India'. *Social Scientist* 7 (11): 51–55.
- Deshpande, Mahadev. 1979. 'Genesis of R̥gvedic Retroflexion: A Historical and Sociolinguistic Investigation'. In *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*, edited by Mahadev M. Deshpande and Peter E. Hook, 235–315. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Deshpande, Mahadev. 2001. 'The Vedic Context of Pāṇini's Grammar' In *Indigenous Grammar Across Cultures*, edited by Hannes Kniffka, 33–51. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Fuller, Christopher. 1992. *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Houben, Jan. 1999. 'To Kill or Not to Kill the Sacrificial Animal (yajña-paśu)? Arguments and Perspectives in Brahminical Ethical Philosophy'. In *Violence Denied: Violence, Non-Violence and the Rationalization of Violence in South Asian Cultural History*, edited by Jan E.M. Houben and Karel Rijk van Kooij, 105–183. Leiden: Brill.
- Jamison, Stephanie. 1996. *Sacrificed Wife/Sacrificer's Wife: Women, Ritual, and Hospitality in Ancient India*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jamison, Stephanie, and Joel Brereton. 2014. *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jhā, Dwijendra. 2002. *The Myth of the Holy Cow*. London and New York: Verso.
- Joshi, Shivram, and Saroja Bhate. 1984. *The Fundamentals of anuvṛtti*. Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class B, 9. Pune: University of Poona.
- Joshi, Shivram Dattatray, and Sureshachandra Dnyaneshwar Laddu, eds. *Proceedings of the International Seminar on Studies in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Publications of the Center of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class E, 9. Pune: University of Poona.
- Joshi, Shivram, and Jouthe Roodbergen. 1994. 'On Pāṇini's 1.4.23 kārake'. In *Festschrift Chatterjee – Cultura Indica Tributes to an Indologist: Pr. Dr. Aśoke Chatterjee Sastri*, edited by Biswanath Banerjee, 82–90. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Katre, Sumitra. 1987. *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 2012. 'Pāṇini, Variation, and Orthoepic Diaskeuasis'. *Asiatische Studien – Études asiatiques* 66 (2): 327–335.
- Kulikov, Leonid. 2013. 'Language vs Grammatical Tradition in Ancient India: How Real Was Pāṇinian Sanskrit? Evidence from the History of Late Sanskrit Passives and Pseudo-Passives'. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 34: 59–92.
- Liebich, Bruno. 1891. *Pāṇini. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der indischen Literatur und Grammatik*. Leipzig: H. Haessel.
- Macdonell Arthur. 1910. *Vedic Grammar*. Strassburg: K.J. Trübner.
- MacDonell, Arthur, and Arthur Barriedale Keith. 1912. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*. London: John Murray.

- Olivelle, Patrick, and Suman Olivelle. 2005. *Manu's Sode of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pokorný, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern: Francke.
- Renou, Louis. 1969. 'Pāṇini'. In *Current Trends in Linguistics. Vol. 5: Linguistics in South Asia*, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok, 481–498. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- Roodbergen, Jouthe. 2008. *Dictionary of Pāṇinian Grammatical Terminology*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Sarup, Lakshman. 1927. *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (Repr. 1984).
- Scarlata, Salvatore. 1999. *Die Wurzelkomposita im Ṛg-Veda*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Schmidt, Hanns. 1968. 'The Origin of Ahimsā'. In *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, 625–655. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Schmidt, Hanns. 1997. 'Ahimsā and Rebirth'. In *Inside the Texts, beyond the Texts: New Approaches to the Study of the Vedas, Proceedings of the International Vedic Workshop, Harvard University, June 1989*, edited by Michael Witzel, 207–234, Cambridge: Harvard University Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies.
- Schmithausen, Lambert. 2000. 'A Note on the Origin of Ahimsā'. In *Harānandalahari: Volume in Honour of Professor Minoru Hara*, edited by Ryutaro Tsuchida and Albrecht Wezler, 253–281. Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler, Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen.
- Sharma, Rama Nath. 1995. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. 3 vols. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Shastri, Jagdish L., ed. and transl. 1951. *Linga Purāṇa*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Thieme, Paul. 1935. *Pāṇini and the Veda: Studies in the Early History of Linguistic Science in India*. Allahabad: Globe Press.
- Tull, Herman. 1996. 'The Killing that is Not Killing: Men, Cattle, and the Origins of Non-Violence (Ahimsā) in the Vedic Sacrifice'. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 39: 223–244.
- von Böhtlingk, Otto. 1887. *Pāṇini's Grammatik*. Leipzig: H. Haessel.
- Whitney, William. 1879. *A Sanskrit Grammar: Including Both the Classical Language, and the Older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana*. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel.
- Whitney, William. 1905. *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*. Translated by William Dwight Whitney. Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Witzel, Michael. 1989. 'Tracing the Vedic Dialects'. In *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes*, edited by Colette Caillat, 97–265. Paris: Collège de France, Institut de civilisation indienne.
- Witzel, Michael E.J., and Goto Toshifumi. 2007. *Rig-Veda: Das heilige Wissen. Erster und zweiter Liederkreis*. Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig: Verlag der Weltreligionen.
- Witzel, Michael. 2011. 'Gandhāra and the Formation of the Vedic and Zoroastrian Canons'. In *Travaux de symposium international Le livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe. Troisième édition – 20 à 24 Septembre 2010. Tome III : La troisième section – études euro- et afro-asiatiques*, edited by Florin Rotaru, Jan E.M. Houben, Julieta Rotaru, and Rodica Pop. 490–532, Bucharest: Bibliothèques de Bucarest.

Václav Blažek 

Masaryk University in Brno, Czech Republic | blazek@phil.muni.cz

Beja Kinship and Social Terminology

Abstract The contribution concentrates on the kinship terminology in Beja, the only representative of the North Cushitic branch of Afroasiatic languages. The first aim is a summarisation of all relevant lexical data including all dialects and from all available authors which recorded them. The second aim is the internal analysis of the studied lexemes from the point of view of word-formation. The third aim focuses on the etymological analysis, discussing their origin in both perspectives, areal and genealogical. The latter perspective concerns the cognates identified in Cushitic languages and more widely in other Afroasiatic branches.

Keywords Afroasiatic, Cushitic, Beja, cognate, borrowing, kinship terminology

The kinship terminology in Beja was analyzed by Morton (1988) from the point of view of ethnography. The main purpose of the present comparative-etymological study, which forms a fragment of a prepared project of *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja*, is to collect all available lexical data covering the semantic field of the kinship and social terminology in Beja, and in those cases when it is possible, to add the internal etymology or external parallels from related Cushitic and other Afroasiatic languages, or to determine probable sources of borrowings.¹

¹ The phonetic correspondences among Cushitic languages are described in Blažek (1997: 172–173; 2007: 125–156), among Afroasiatic branches in Blažek (1999: 231–232); cf. also a detailed discussion in Takács (1999).



Comparative-etymological word-list

adaaba c. ‘widow/er’ (HuB) = **’ádaba** f. ‘Witwe’ (Re) = **ádaba** f. id. (Al)
Borrowed from Ar **ʕazabat** ‘unmarried person, bachelor, spinster’ (Sg 692).

Aadim ‘Adam’ (HuB) = **bani ʔa:dam** ‘humain’ (Vh) = **Adám** m. ‘Adam’, **ad-amée** ‘zum Stamme Adam’s gehörige, Mensch, Person’ (Re) = **ádami**, **ádame** m. ‘Mensch, Person’ (Al) = **admi[b]** ‘Kinder Adams’ (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar **ʔādam** ‘Adam’, **ʔadamiyy** ‘man, human’ (Sg 23), maybe via Ti **ʔāddam** ‘men, people’ (LH 384) = Ti of Beni Amer **ʔadda:m** ‘person’ (Nk).

adaani c. ‘human being’, cf. **adaniib** ‘young, not full grown’ (HuB)
Perhaps a wrongly recorded or modified lw. from Ar **ʔadamiyy** ‘man, human’ (Sg 23).

ad’uraab and **d’uuraab** adj.part. m., **ad’uraat** f. ‘married’ (Wd)
From the verb **di’ir** v. 1 ‘to marry, give in marriage’ (HuB), which is perhaps borrowed from Ar **zaʕara** ‘to lie with’ (Sg 456).

adar’oor m. ‘baby, newborn’, def.sg. **w’adar’oor**, def.p. **y’adar’ar** (Wd) = **adaar’or** ‘child’ (Tl) = **adar or** c., pl. **adar ar** ‘baby’ (HuB)
Consisting of **adar** ‘fair, pale, light red’ (Rp) = **adara** ‘to be red’ (Wd) = **adar[ab]** ‘red’ (Tl) and **’oor** ‘child’ (Rp). R. Hudson mentions that children are born red and gradually become darker.

’ihé f., def. **tə’ihé** ‘grandmother, old woman’ (Rp) = **ahoot** f. ‘grandmother’, def. sg. **tu’ahu**, def.pl. **ti’ahu** (Wd)
Cu: (E) Somali **hooyo** ‘Mutter’ connected with **hooy** ‘home, shelter’ by Reinisch (1902: 213); ?Dullay: Harso **axke** ‘Hausgemeinschaft’, Gollango **ahk-é** (AMS 147, 149, 193), Gawwada **ahk-e** ‘(nuclear) family’ (Tosco 2022: 18).
Be: (S) Awlemidden **éha** in **messíss-n-éha** ‘Familienmutter’, cf. **mááss** ‘Onkel väterlicher Seite’ (Barth).

ahoobaab m. ‘grandfather’, def.sg. **w’ahooba**, def.pl. **y’ahooba** (Wd)
Cf. **ahoot** f. ‘grandmother’, def.sg. **tu’ahu**, def.pl. **ti’ahu** (Wd).

ummaat f. ‘people’, def.sg. **t’umma** (Wd) = **umma** 1. ‘Volk, Leute, Menschen’; 2. ‘Welt, Erde’ (Re) = **úmma** ‘Sammlung (von Menschen)’ (Al) = **ummat** ‘Menschen’ (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar **ʔummat** ‘nation, tribe, family’ (Sg 75; cf. Almkvist 1885: 67).

amna c. 'guest' (HuB) = **amnaab** m. 'guest', def.sg. **w'amna**, def.pl. **y'amna** (Wd) = **amna** c., usually m. 'guest' (Rp) = **amna** m. 'Gast' (Re) = **ámna** m. id. (Al) = **o'amna**, pl. **ye'amne** id. (Mu) = [**wu**]**ámma** id. (Se)

Reinisch (1895: 18) connected it with CCu ***ʔäbən**- (Appleyard 2006: 78) > Bilin **ʔäbən**, Khamtanga **abən**, Khamir **abin**, Qwara **abən** 'Gast' (Re), Khamta **avän**, Kemant **avən** id. (CR) and Awiya **avən**- 'portare notizie di fuori', **avni** 'informazione' (CR); ECu: Afar **abin** id. (Re) = **abeena** (Lb) = **sibina** 'guest' (PaHy) (< CCu) and NOM: Shinasha **ibbà** 'Fremder, Gast' (Lb), Kafa **ibbo** 'guest, stranger' (Habte Mikael); cf. further Mocha **iibbo** id. (Lb); Zayse **imma-çç**, Dache-Gamu **ima-cce**, Wolayta **ima-tta** id. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 288).

amna f. 'lying in woman' (HuB) = **amanaat** f. 'young mother', def.sg. **tu'amana**, def.pl. **ti'amana** (Wd) = **amna** f. 'woman in child-bed' (Rp) = **amna** f. 'Kindbetterin, Wöchnerin; Amme' (Re) = **ámna** f. 'Kindbetterin' (Al) = **amnat** id. (Mu) Eg (Pyr) **mnɿ.t** 'Amme', cf. (D 18) **mnɿ** 'säugen' (Wb. II: 77–78), Copt Sahidic **moone** 'nourrice' < ***ma3na.t** < ***manʕa.t** (Vycichl 1983: 115) or ***māniʕat** (Vergote 1965: 60).

Lit.: Zyhlarz 1933: 168; Beja + Eg.

amorama m. 'companion' (HuB); cf. **amoorama** v. 'to go with' (Wd)
Derived from **ram** v.1 'to accompany' (HuB) = 'to accompany, obey, agree with' (Rp); cf. **ramaam** m. 'company', def.sg. **uramaam** (Wd).

aanda nom., **enda** acc. 'men' (Rp) = **endooa** m. '(own) people; village' (HuB) = **enda** m. pl. 'Männer, Leute, Volk' (Re)—see **da** 'men' (Rp)
Cf. the compound **rabandiit** f. 'manhood', def.sg. **turabandi**, def.pl. **tirabandi** (Wd), where the first component corresponds to the adj. **rabaab** m., **rabaat** f. 'male; big' (Wd).

enda f. 'mother', with art. **too nde**, with poss. **deeroon** 'our mother' (HuB) = **deet** f. 'mother', def.sg. **toondi**, def.pl. **teendi** (Wd) = **enda** and **énde** f., with art. **túu-nde**, shortened **déetuu** 'Mutter' (Re) = **enda** f. id., with art. **túunda**, pl. **táanda**, cf. **éndeeta** 'meine Mutter' (Al) = **endé[t]** 'Mutter', cf. **enda[d]** 'weibliche Kalb' (Mu) = **ntéto(k)** '(deine) Mutter' (Km) = **tonde** 'mother' (Bu) = **to édah** 'mère' (Li), besides **de** f., with art. **túunde**, pl. **táande** 'mother' (Rp) = **dě:-t** 'mère', pl. **dě:-t**, def. **tó:-ndi** (Vh) = **de** f., with art. **teende**, acc. **deet** id. (HuB) = **deet** id. (Mt) = **daatoo** id. (Lucas) = **detôn** '(our) mother' (Se)
Cu: (C) Bilin **adee** 'o Mutter' (Reinisch 1887, 11 derived it from ***ada** + **í** 'Mutter + meine') || (E) Som **hiindo** 'mother' (Luling), 'mamma' (DSI), maybe contracted from ***hooy-indo**, cf. **hooyo** 'Mutter' connected with **hooy** 'home, shelter' by Reinisch (1902: 213); ?Or: Maca, Borana **haada** 'mother' (LVC), Konso **hantoota** 'Ehefrau des Bruders' (Lb) and / or Som **eeddo** 'Schwester des Vaters' (Lb); Or

Wellega **adaadaa** ‘aunt’ (Gg); Kamb **ada(ta)** ‘aunt, maternal’, Had **ada** id., Sid **ada**, **adaada** id. (HG) || (S) ***daaʔawi** > Iraqw **daaʔawi** ‘relation through mother’, Alagwa **daawaʔi** ‘family’ (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 79).

Om (N) Kafa **inde** ‘mother’ (Habte Mikael), Mocha **ʔinde** id. (Ls), Shinasha **índò**, Anfillo **indi**; Yemsa **into**; Kachama **endo**, Koyra, Zayse, Dache, Malo **indo** (Lb), Basketo **inde** (Ce) id. || (S) Ari **indi** id. (Lamberti 1993a, 267);

Se: There are tempting parallels in modern Ethio-Semitic languages: Ty **ʔadde** ‘mother’; Harari **i(n)dōč**, Gurage: Chaha, Muher **adot**, Gyeto **adōt**, Ennemor, Endegen **adōd**, Selti, Wolane **əndāt** ‘mother’ and Chaha **adi**, Ennemor, Gyeto **ādi**, Gogot, Wolane **adde**, Selti **ādde**, Endegen **adōdi**, Chaha, Ennemor **da**, Endegen, Gyeto, Selti **dā** etc. ‘mother!’ (Leslau 1979: 18).

There are at least three etymological approaches:

(1) Leslau (l.c.) speculates about an *enigmatic* connection to Se (Canaanian) ***ʔadān-at** ‘lady’ (Aistleitner 1965: 8; Cohen 1970f: 8).

(2) The shortened variant (Beja, Gurage) is compatible with Ar **dāya**, pl. **-āt** ‘Amme, Hebamme’ (Wr) and Or: Macha **daaye** (LVC), Wellega **daʼee** ‘mother’ (Gg). But the kinship terms of this type are probably *Lallwörter*.

(3) There are interesting NS parallels indicating a possibility of substratal origin: Barea **addaa** ‘Mutter’ (Re) || Nub: Kenzi-Dongola **indí** ‘my mother’ (Murray 1923: 74).

endi or ‘man of position, noble birth’ (HuB) = **enjóor**, pl. **enjär** ‘Adelige’ (Re) = **indjoru** ‘frei, edel’ (Mu)

Reinisch (1895: 21) correctly derived it from ***end-i** ‘óor’ ‘Menschensohn’.

enday c. ‘orphan’—see **naday** id. (HuB) = **nadaay** m. id. (Wd)

insi ‘Mensch’ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar **ʔinsiyy** ‘man’ (Sg 85).

ʼaar m. ‘female relatives not including wife’ (?hidden thing; cf. **aar** ‘hiding’, e.g. ‘treasure’ – see Wd), **uu ʔáari** ‘my women-folk’ (Rp)

Cu: (C) **ʔBilin ranj** ‘husband’ (Appleyard 2006: 86), if it is derivable from ***ʔVram-** (CCu ***ɲ** < Cu ***m** is regular: cf. CCu ***lāja**/***laja** ‘2’ vs. ECu ***lamma** id. etc. – see Appleyard 2006: 141); Awngi **yără** ‘her husband’ (Ht) < **yi-** and ***ara** || (E) Som **oori** ‘wife’ (Luling), **ʔRend oboórri** ‘married women, wives’ (PG), Bayso **oori** ‘wife’ (Hy); further Som **ar-ad** ‘married woman’ (Luling; Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 71 also adds **aroos-** ‘to get married’, but it is borrowed from Ar **ʔr-r-s** ‘to bring the bride home’, **ʔarūs** ‘bridegroom’; cf. Reinisch 1902: 40), **ʔRend eéra** ‘father’s brother’ (PG) or **áram** ‘husband’, **arám** ‘wife’ (PG); HECu ***ar-e** ‘wife’ > Gedeo, Had, Sid **are**, Kamb **ari-ta** vs. ***aroʔo** ‘husband’ > Gedeo, Had **aroʔo**, Kamb, Sid **aroo** (Hudson 1989: 168);

Om: (N) Anfillo **aroo** 'marito' (Ce; Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 71 also quote non-existing 'Kafa' **aroo** vs. **aree** 'husband' vs. 'wife'; it has to be Sidamo, see Cerulli 1951: 403);

?Eg (OK) **iry** 'der Zugehörige, Genosse' (Wb. I: 105), Copt **np** 'compagnon, ami' (Vycichl 1983: 53–54);

?Se: Ug **ary** 'Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied, kinsman' (Aistleitner 1965: 35; Gordon 1965: 366; Segert 1984: 180) = 'fellow, friend, kin' (DUL 108), Ar **ʔarā** 'an derselben Krippe stehen'; Aistleitner l.c. adds the element **ari**, **iri** forming some Old Mesopotamian personal names of West Semitic origin.

Lit.: Ward, *JNES* 20[1961], 32: Eg + Ug (following Albright, 1932).

'oor, pl. **'ār** c. 'child', m. 'boy, son', f. 'girl, daughter', pl. **'ārit** (Rp) = **oor** m. 'boy', def.sg. **w'oor**, def.pl. **y'ar**; **oot** f. 'girl, daughter', def.sg. **tu'oor**, **t'oot**, def. pl. **ti'arit** (Wd) = **ʔo:r**, def. **w-ʔo:r**, pl. **ʔar** 'enfant, garçon', **ʔo:t**, def. **t-ʔo:r** 'fille', pl. **ʔar-it**; **ʔo:r ʔo:r** and **ʔo:t ʔo:r** 'petit-fils', i.e. 'fils du fils' and 'fils de la fille', **ʔo:r-i-t ʔor** and **ʔo:t-i t ʔo:r** 'petite-fille', i.e. 'fille du fils' and 'fille de la fille' (Vh) = **'oor**, pl. **'ar**, **'ār** m. 'Knabe, Sohn', f. 'Mädchen, Tochter', acc. **'oot** (Re) = 'oor 'son', **'oot** 'daughter, girl' (Mt) = **or** c., pl. **aar** 'child, boy', acc. f. **ot** 'girl' (HuB) = **u'oor** 'le garçon' (Va) = **'ōr** 'son' (Mr) = **or** 'son, boy', **o(o)t** 'daughter, girl' (Tl) = **oor**, pl. **ār** 'Kind', **úu oor** 'Knabe, Sohn', **túu oor** and **tóo oor** 'Mädchen, Tochter' (Al) = **o'or**, pl. **ye'er** 'Knabe', **te'or**, pl. **t'or** 'Mädchen' (Mu) = **[te]ohr** 'Kind (Knabe)' (Kc) = **wûr** 'Kind, Knabe', **wuorûn** 'Sohn', i.e. 'unserer Knabe', **toôr** 'Mädchen', **tootôn** 'Tochter', i.e. 'unsere Mädchen' (Se)

Cu: (C) ***ʔər-** (Appleyard 2006: 44) > Bilin **er-t** 'to be pregnant' (Re), Kunfāl **jar** 'child', Awngi **jer** id. (SLE), **-yíri** 'children', Awiya **ira** 'son' || (E) Saho **irro** (Vergari), Afar **úrru** 'children' (PaHy); Som **oori** 'wife' (Luling), ?Rend **oboórri** 'married women, wives' (PG), Bayso **oori** 'wife' (Hy); Elmolo **aruate** 'girl' (He), Arbore **harát** id. (Hy), Dasenech **maartti** id. (Sa) < ***maa ʔartti** (Hayward 1984: 11); Yaaku **aure** 'daughters', pl. to **īta** (He) || Dahalo **ʔóora kudzi** 'male relative, nephew' (Maddieson et al. 1993: 45);

NOM: Bambeshi **ori meri** 'figlio' vs. **peel meri** 'figlia', cf. **mera kunda** 'bambino', **inne meri** 'sorella', **peelli** 'fanciulla' (Gr);

Ch: (C) Musgu **arú**, **arwái**, **arwae**, **ároe** 'Kind, Knabe, Sohn', **aroo munii** 'Tochter' (Lukas 1941: 45) = **àrwày** 'child' (Tx) = Munjuk of Kaykay **àrùwùṅ** 'fils' (Tx);

Be: (S) Awlemidden **aṛəw** 'engendrer, enfanter', **aṛa**, pl. **-tān** 'enfant(ement), descendant, progéniture, fruit' etc., Ayr **aṛṛaw**, pl. **-ān** m. 'garçon', f. 'fille' (Alojaly), Ahaggar **arw** 'enfanter' (√H-r-w), **ara**, pl. **arātān** 'enfant, descendant' (***HarāH**—see Prasse 1974: 229), **arraw**, pl. **-en** 'enfant' (Fc) || (N) Wargla **arw** 'enfanter, accoucher, avoir des enfants', **ara** 'enfant' (Biarnay), Shilh of Tazerwalt **āru** 'zeugen, gebären', **arrāu** 'Kind' (Stumme), Kabyle **arew** 'enfanter', **arraw** 'enfant' (Dallet); (E) Ghadames **ārəw** 'engendrer', **ara** 'progéniture, enfant' (Lf), Augila

érōū ‘partorire, generare’, **irīu** ‘ragazzo, bambino’ (Paradisi), Siwa **iru** ‘enfant’ (La) || (W) Zenaga **ira** ‘naitre’ (RB) = **ərug** ‘engendr’ (Nicolas);

Eg (Pyr) **iwr** ‘(ein Kind) empfangen, schwanger sein; Schwangerschaft, Embryo’ (Wb. I: 56), Copt ωω < ***iō3** ‘concevoir, devenir enceinte’ (Vycichl 1983: 248); Se: Ar **ʔāra** (√**ʔ-y-r**) ‘to have sexual intercourse with a woman’ and **ʔarra** ‘to have connection with a woman’ (Sg 98, 25) and / or Akk **āru(m)** ‘Junges, Jungmann’ (AHw 72).

Lit.: Vycichl 1934: 54: Bilin + Be + Eg + Ar + Hausa **iri**, pl. **iroori** etc. ‘Geschlecht, Nation, Stamm, Art’. The latter word could be of Tuareg origin, cf. Awlemidden **terērt** ‘Nation’ (Barth). Cohen 1947: #19/90: Beja + Bilin + Be + Eg + Akk **arū**, **erū** ‘schwanger sein, empfangen’ (AHw 72), usually connected with Ug **hry** ‘empfangen (geschlechtig)’, Hb **hārā** (Aistleitner 1965: 92). Cohen (l.c.) also adds Som **uur** ‘stomach, belly; pregnancy’ (Luling), but the latter meaning is perhaps secondary (Sasse 1982: 106 compared it with Rend **ur** and Burji **ir-a** ‘stomach’).

araaw m. ‘friend’, def.sg. **w’araaw**, def.pl. **y’araw** (Wd) = **ʔara:w** ‘ami’ (Vh) = **áraw** c., pl. **arauwa** ‘companion, friend’, **arau** adj. ‘honest’, cf. **arausam** v.2 recip. ‘to be friendly, be allies, keep one another company’ (Rp) = **arraauu** m., pl. **arrau** ‘other’ (HuB) = **aráaw** c., pl. **árawa** ‘Freund, -in’ (Re) = **árau** m., pl. **árawa** ‘Freund’ (Al) = **arau** ‘friend’ (Tl) = **ouraok** ‘[thy] friend’ (Bu)

Probably extended from **raw** c. ‘other; companion’, with art. **úuraw**, **óraw** m., **túuraw**, **tóraw** f., pl. **áaraw**, **éraw** (Rp), cf. **rauôn** ‘[unseren] Freund’, **rauôko** ‘er [ist dein] Freund’ (Se). Cf. also **arāwa** m. ‘Nähe, Seite’ (Re).

?Cu: (E) Tsamakko **ʔayra** ‘friend’ (Savà 2005: 219).

?Eg (OK) **iry** ‘der Zugehörige, Genosse’ (Wb. I: 105), Copt ⲙⲣ ‘compagnon, ami’ (Vycichl 1983: 53–54);

?Se: Ug **ary** ‘Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied, kinsman’ (Aistleitner 1965: 35; Gordon 1965: 366; Segert 1984: 180) = ‘fellow, friend, kin’ (DUL 108), Ar **ʔarā** ‘an derselben Krippe stehen’.

araaw m. ‘other’, def.sg. **w’araaw**, def.pl. **y’araw**, **eeraw**; **araawt** f., def.sg. **t’araaw** (Wd) = **arraauu** ‘other, different’ (HuB)—see **raw** ‘other, companion’ (Rp)

askir m. ‘army, soldier, policy’ (HuB) = **asker** m., pl. **áskera** ‘Soldat’ (Re) = **askariib** m. ‘soldier’, def.sg. **w’askari**, def.pl. **y’askari** (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar **ʕaskar**, pl. **ʕasākir** ‘soldier, army, troop, crowd, large number’ (Sg 695).

asalla f. ‘tribe, nationality’ (HuB)

ašoob m. ‘enemy’, def.sg. **w’ašu**, def.pl. **yi’ašu** (Wd)

ašay m. 'position, site where someone lived; remainder', def.pl. **y'ašay** (Wd)

iyáal m., pl. **iyāl** 'Familie, Sippe, Verwandtschaft' (Re) = **iyáal** 'Fmille' (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar **šayyil**, pl. **šiyāl** 'family; who belongs to the household' (Sg 741; cf. Almkvist 1885: 35).

'ayay f. 'relationship'; **ayaytak** m. 'friend' (HuB) = **?aya:y** 'parent' (Vh) = **ayaayt** f. 'relationship', def.sg. **tu'ayaay**, def.pl. **ti'ayay**; **ayaaytak** m. 'male relative', def.sg. **w'ayaaytak**, def.pl. **y'ayayda**, and **ayaaytakat** f. 'female relative', def.sg. **tu'ayaaytakat**, def.pl. **ti'ayaym'a** (Wd) = **a'yay** c., pl. **a'yey** 'relative', cf. **a'yays** v. 2 caus. 'to mediate, conciliate, make peace between' (Rp) = **aiait** 'kinship' (Mt)

(1) Borrowed from EtSe: Ti **?ayay** 'relative, kinsman', Amh **ayaya** 'comrades who are equal in age and status', Gz **?ayaya** 'to make / be equal'; a Semitic cognate outside Ethiopia can be found in Syr **?āwē** ($\sqrt{?}\text{-w-y}$) 'agreeing, in concord' (Leslau 1987: 51).

(2) Cu: (E) Dasaneč **?é**, **?éñ**- 'house'. also 'family' as the suppletive plural to **ḃíl** 'family' (Tosco 2001: 480, 489); Yaaku **ai**, pl. **áiyó** 'house' (He) || (S) ***?aya** > Iraqw **?aya** 'village area', Gorowa **?ayaa** 'neighbourhood area', Alagwa **?aya** 'village area', Burunge **?aya** 'homestead'; Qwadza, Asa **ayo** 'homestead' (Ehret 1980: 288).

(3) Cu: (E) Saho **aay-a** 'der älterer Bruder' (Re) = **ayya** 'elder brother' (Vergari) || Dahalo **?ááji** 'elder brother' (Eh) || (S) Iraqw **aykos** 'his father's wife' (**-kos** 'his'); Qwadza **ayi-bala'a** 'cross-cousin' (Ehret 1980: 288).

(4) Cu: (E) ***?aayy-** > Afar **ayy-a** 'term of address for mother' (PaHy); Som **aay-o** 'stepmother, uncle's wife' (Luling), Boni **aay-ô**, Rend **áy-o** 'mother' (He), Bayso **aay-o** 'mother' (Hy); Or: Wellega **ayy-oo** 'mama; mother-in-law' (Gg), Borana, Orma **aayy-oo** 'mother', Waata **aayy-aa** id. (Stroomer), Konso **aayy-aa**, voc. **-e** 'mother' (Bl); Dullay: Harso, Dobase, Gawwada **yayy-e**, Gollango **yáyayy-e** 'Mutter' (AMS), Tsamakko **?a:i** 'mother' (Kusia and Siebert) = **?ayya** (Savà); Burji **aayy-ée** 'mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife' (Sa), Kamb voc. **iyyo** 'mother!', Had **a(a)yay-a** 'sister' (HG), **ay-minee** 'mater familias' (Sasse 1979: 44; 1982: 22) || Dahalo **jáájo** 'mother' (Eh) = **yááyo** id. (To) and **já:jo:ni** 'parents' (Maddieson et al.) || (S) ***?ayo-** 'mother' (Ehret 1980: 317) > Asa **yeyo** id.; Common Iraqw ***?aayo** ~ ***?aayi** > Iraqw-Gorowa **?aayoo** ~ **?aayi**, Burunge **yaayi**, besides ***?iyóo** > Alagwa-Burunge **?iyóo** 'mother' (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 65, 168).

Om: (N) Zayse **ayee** (Ce), Wolayta **aay**, Malo **?ayo**, Gamu, Dache **aayo** 'mother'; Yemsa **ayi** 'brother', **ee-ta** 'sister' (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 305);

Ch: (W) Hausa **iya** 'female relative of preceding generation, esp. maternal aunt', pl. **iyaaye** 'parents'; Jimbin **iya** 'grandmother' (Sk); Tangale **íya** id. (Jg) || (C) Boka, Gabin, Ga'anda **yă**, Hwona **?iya**, WMargi **?iyà** (Kr); Udlam **íya** (Mc), Muktele **íyà** 'mother' (Rossing); Gude **yaya/i** (Kr); Kotoko: Buduma **yaa-** (Na-

chtigal), Affade (i)ya, Ngala, Shoe ya, Makeri iya id. (Sölken 1967: 309); Zime, Peve ya id. (Kr) || (E) Dangla iya, Migama yàà-tù 'ma mère' (Jg), Bidiya yaa-te 'mère' (AlioJg); Tumak yó id. (Caprile); Mubi iyà id. (Lk).

Be: (N) Ndir Abes **yu** 'mère', Zayan **yu-n-nem** 'ta mère' (Lo);

The EtSe forms as Harari and Zway **āy** 'mother', Soddo **ayyo** 'mother!' are of ECushitic origin (Leslau 1979: 116). Šheri **ey** 'father', coll. **iyó** 'parents' together with Soqotri **?if** 'père' vs. **?éfo** 'parents, famille, gens' (Leslau 1938: 68–69) and Mehri **háyb / ɥawb** 'father', pl. 'parents' (Jh) reflect Se ***ʔabb-** 'father'.

Lit.: Müller 1975: 64: EtSe + ECu + NOm + Kotoko + Mubi + Nilo-Saharan: Nubian: Dair, Midob **iya**, Kenzi **iyōyō** 'my mother' || Nil: (E) Masai **yeeyo**; (S) Suk **iyu**, Nandi **eiyo** || Kuliak: Nyangiya **yoiyao** 'thy mother' ||| CSud: Bagirmi **ia** ||| Gumuz **ioy** || Tabi **ēā** || Maban: Runga **ya** || Fur **iya** || Saharan: Kanuri **ya**, Kanembu **y(i)a**, Daza **aya**; Berti **yo**, Zaghawa **ia** 'mother' (Murray 1923: 45; Greenberg 1963: 102, 142); Skinner 1996: 118: Beja + E+SCu + Ch + Kanuri **ya** 'mother'.

baaba m. 'father', def.sg. **ubaaba**, def.pl. **ibaaba** (Wd) = **baaba** m., pl. **baba** 'father', cf. **baabi endoo** 'own people' (HuB) = **ba:ba** 'père', def. **i-(m)ba:ba** (Vh) = **baaba** 'father' (Mt) = **baaba** m. 'father', pl. 'parents' (Rp) = **báaaba** m. 'Vater' (Re) = **baab**, **bába** m. id. (Al) = **babaab** id. (Tl) = **bab** id., cf. **babie endoa** 'Vaterland' (Mu) = **babú** id. (Se), i.e. ***bab-úuh** 'sein Vater'

Cu: (E) ***baabb-** 'father, daddy' > Arbore **baabbó** 'term of address to ones father', **baabbá** 'polite term of address to an elderly man' (Hy), Dasenech **baab-a** 'father, daddy'; Gawwada **papp-o** (Sasse 1979: 44) || Dahalo **ḡáaḡa** 'father' (To) || (S) ***baabá** 'father' > Iraqw, Gorowa **baabá**, Alagwa, Burunge **baaba** id. (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 67: cf. Swahili **baba**).

Ch: (C) Higi Ghye, Ga'anda **bàba** id. (Kr); Mafa, Uzam **báába**, Mboku **bábay** id. (Mc), Kobocho **bābá** id. (St).

Be: (N) Warsenis **baba**, Snus **bāba**, Sus **bāb** id. (Woelfel 1955: 38); Kabyle **baba** id. (Dallet) || (W) Zenaga **baba** id. (RB) || (S) Ghat **baba** 'my father' (Nehli).

beedib f. 'Zueidi tribe' (HuB)

beḏawi and **biḏawi** adj. 'low-born', **beḏáwīē** and **biḏáwīē** f. sg. 'the language of Haḏandiwa and kindred tribes' (Rp) = **beḏawye** and **bejawye** 1. m. 'des Bed-schavolkes', cf. **ee-beḏawyé-t buur** 'das Land der Bedscha', 2. f. 'Bedschasprache' (Re) = **beḏáawīē** f. 'das Bedawie (die Sprache der Bischari, Ababde)' (Al) = **to beḏawīē** 'der das Bedawie spricht; unterworfen' (Mu)

balawi adj. 'high-born, lord, lady', **baláwīē** 'language other than Beḏawīē, usually Arabic' f. (Rp) = **beláawi** adj. rel. 'Name der angehörigen des Fürstengeschlechtes des Hadendāwa; das Wort bezeichnet genau das was **haḏ'-ēḏāwa**.

Sie leiten sich von Arabien her, daher nennen sie auch häufig einen Araber **beláawi**, sowie sie arabische Sitte, Sprache mit **beláawye** bezeichnen im gegensatze zum einheimischen **beḍawye** (Reinisch 1895: 49) = **balla^{wi}ib** ‘freeborn’, **balla^{wi} f.** ‘language other than Beja’ (HuB) = **balawiit** f. ‘Arabic language’, def.sg. **tubalawi**, def.pl. **tibalawi** (Wd) = **beláawi** ‘frei, edel’ (Al) = **o’belawi** ‘Herr, Adliche’ (Mu)

Probably of EtSe origin, cf. Gz **bəʃla** ‘to be rich, wealthy’, **bāʃl** ‘rich, wealthy, owner, possessor, master, head of family’, **bāʃlāy** ‘rich, wealthy’, Ty **baʃlāyā** ‘to be rich’, **bāʃal**, **baʃal** ‘master’, Ti **bāʃal** id. (Leslau 1987: 84).

bišáari c., pl. **bišáari(a)** ‘Bisharin’, cf. **bišáaray** c., pl. **-a** ‘a tribe of the Haḍanḍi-wa’ [not to be confused with the Bisharin] (Rp) = **bišáari** and **bešáare** ‘der nördlichen Bedscha-Tribus’, with art. **uu-bšáare** ‘ein Individuum davon’, pl. **aa-bšáare** (Re)

Reinisch (1895: 53) connected it with Ar **bašar** ‘homo’, pl. **ʔabšār** ‘homines, gens’ (cf. Sg 125).

da m. pl. ‘men’ (pl. to **tak** ‘man’), with art. **áanda** nom., **énda** acc., indef. **dii(b)** (Rp) = **da** ‘hommes’, with art. **a:nda** ‘les hommes’ (Vh) = **da** ‘Leute’, **enda** m. pl. Männer, Leute, Volk’, coll. **(en)deháay**, with art. **úu-dhaay** ‘die Leute, Einwohnerschaft, Volk’ (while **eṇḍáwa** m. ‘Männerstamm’ < **en-ḍáwa**, cf. **ḍiwa** ‘family’, with art. in acc. **eṇḍiwa** after Rp) (Re) = **dehay** m. ‘people’, def.sg. **oo-dehay**, def.pl. **idehaya** ‘people’ (Wd) = **énda** pl. ‘Leute’ (Al) = **enda[b]** ‘Männer’ (Mu) = **énda** ‘Leute’ (Km) = **[o]déiy** ‘Mensch’ (Se) = **d(ě)ay** m. ‘people, relation’ (HuB)

(a) Cu: (E) ***zat-** ‘person, people’ > Saho **daat** ~ **zaat** ‘Versammlung’ (Re); Som Isaq **dad** (Ab), Jiddu **yed**, pBoni ***dád** (He); Dasenech **-zat** (Sa)—see Sasse 1976: 140; further cf. Rend ***dóo’d** ‘people’ (or: Orma **dadda** ‘people; village’ (Stroomer). Ch: (1) (W) Nbauchi: Tsagu **zafu** ‘man’ (Sk); (C) Kapsiki **za**, Higi Kamale and Nkafa **zà**, Higi Futu and Baza **zù** (Kr); (E) Jegu **já** (Jg), Mubi **njóo** ‘Mensch’ (Lk) or (2) (C) Mboku **du**, **dọ** ‘homme’ (‘homo’), pl. **ḍay**, **ḍahay** ‘gens’, Hurzo **du**, pl. **ḍahay** id., Mofu **ndu**, pl. **ndúhwoy** id., Mafa **ndọ**, pl. **ndọhay** id.; Musgu **dif**, pl. **ḍay** id.; Gidar **dəf**, pl. **dī** id. (Mc)

Eg (OK) **z (*zy)** ‘Mann’, (Pyr) **z.t (*zy.t)** ‘Frau’ (Wb. III: 404–406), Copt ca ‘personne, marchand/e’ (Vycichl 1983: 181; cf. Edel 1955: LXI, § 213).

(b) Vanhove (2017: 30) compares **da**, def. **a:nda** ‘hommes’ with Saho **endá**, deriving both from Ty **ənda**, pl. from **ədan**, corresponding to Geez **ʕəd** ‘homme’. Note: The Beja collective **deháay** can be compared with Ti **dahay** ‘people, tribe, village, surroundings’ (LH 510).

de f. ‘mother’ (Rp) = **dě:-t** ‘une mère’, pl. **dê:-t** (Vh) = **deet** f. id. (Wd)—see **enda** and **énde** f. id. (Re)

de'ar m. 'wedding' (HuB) = **d'ar** m. id., def.sg. **ood'ar**, no pl., and **d'ariit** f., no sg., def.pl. **tid'ari** (Wd) = **dʒir** v. 'marier' (Vh)

Nom. act. from **di'ir** v. 1 'to marry, give in marriage' (HuB), which is perhaps borrowed from Ar **zaʕara** 'to lie with' (Sg 456).

doba 'bridegroom, doll', cf. **doob** v. 2 'to marry', **dobti** f. 'wedding, marriage' (HuB) = **doob** m. 'marriage', no sg., def.pl. **eedoob**, further **doobaab** m. 'bridegroom', def.sg. **udooba**, def.pl. **tidooba**, and **doobaat** f. 'bride', def.sg. **tu-dooba**, def.pl. **tidooba** (Wd) = **do:bá:t** 'une mariée', pl. **dó:ba:t**, def. **ti-do:ba** 'la/les mariée(s)' (Vh) = **dab** 'marriage (as an institution)' (Mt) = **doba** c. 'bride(groom)', cf. **dob** v. 2 'to marry' (Rp) = **doob** c. 'verlobt, Braut, Bräutigam' (Re) = **doob** 'verlobt', **úu-doob** 'der Bräutigam', cf. **doob** 'heiraten', **dóobti** 'Hochzeit' (Al) = **[e]dób[a]** 'Bräutigam', **[te]dób[a]** 'Braut' (Se), cf. **idob** 'marier' (Li) and **t'idooba** 'the husbands' (Mr)

Cu: (E) Saho **dóoba** 'friends' (We) = **zooba** 'mate(s), friends' (Vergari) = **dooba** and **zooba** 'Gesellschaft, Kameradschaft; Genosse', Afar **dooba** 'Genossenschaft, Tribus; die Kameraden' (Re); Som **doobo** 'bachelor' (Ab, Luling) || (S) Asa **dobonok** 'young man' (Ehret 1987: #224: Beja + Som + Asa);

Be: (S) Awlemidden, Ayr **adubān**, pl. **idubānān** 'marriage' (Alojaly), Ahaggar **adūben**, pl. **idūbnawen** and **idūbūnen** 'marriage, relations sexuelles', cf. the verb **duben** 'avoir des relations sexuelles' (Fc).

dha:y, **dhe:y** 'gens' (Vh) = **dehay** m. 'people', def.sg. **oodehay**, def.pl. **idehaya** 'people' (Wd) – see Beja **da** pl. 'men' (Rp)

Cf. **dha:y** 'vers' (Vh)?

?Cu: (S): ***tlaḥay** (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 275) > 'patrilinear clan; outdoor assembly places of elders' > Iraqw, Gorowa, Burunge **tlaḥay**, Alagwa **tlaḥáy** id. One would expect Beja **ḏ-** as the counterpart of SCu ***tl-**.

?**daani 'oor** 'Neffe' (Reinisch 1895: 313), lit. 'son of brother', cf. the parallel formation **kwaati 'oor** 'Neffe' (Re), lit. 'son of sister' (**kwa** 'sister')

Cu: (C) ***zān** / ***zan** 'brother' and ***t-zān-i** (> ***šān-**) 'sister' (Appleyard 2006: 38) > Bilin **dan**, pl. **šan** 'brother' (Pl) = **dan** 'brother', **šani** 'sister' (Ap) = **daan**, pl. **žaan** id., **žaan**, pl. **žaan** 'Schwester', **daan-dəq^wra** 'Neffe / Nichte' (Re), Dembea **zān**, pl. **zānezān** 'Bruder', **šen** 'Schwester' (Re), Kailiña **zān** m., Qwara **zān** m., **šeen** f. (Re), Khamtanga **-zin**, pl. **-s'in** m., **-sin**, pl. **-s'in** f. (Ap), Khamta **isèn**, **izzèn** m. (CR), Khamir **zin**, pl. **-te** / **-taan** m. / f. (Re), Kemant **zān**, pl. **šān** m., **šān**, pl. **šān** f. (CR) = **zān**, pl. **zān-ti** m., **šān**, pl. **šān-ti** f. (ZL), Dembea **zān**, pl. **zānezān** m., **šēn** f. (CR); ?Awngi **sén** m., **séna** f. (Ht), Kurfäl **yesan** f. (Cw) or Agawmeder **da'em** (Re) = **daemb** (Waldmeier; see Conti Rosini 1906: 149) || (S) ?Burunge **danaa** 'friend' (Ehret 1974: 76; the semantic difference is comparable with Eg **sn(y)-w** 'brother; companion; boy-friend, lover'—see Faulkner 230).

?Om: (N) Wolayta **azina** 'husband' (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 297).

Ch: (W) Angas **žan** 'twin boys' (cf. Appleyard 2006: 38); Warji **jinná**, Kariya **jîn** (but cf. Beja **jina** c. 'newly-born infant or animal; embryo' [Rp] < Arabic) || (C) Lamang **uzan**; Gude **uzm**, Bachama **nze**; Balda **ziŋ** etc. 'child / son' (JgIb 2: 76). Be: (N) Shilh **tazzänt**, pl. **tazānin** 'ganz kleines Kind' (Stumme) = **azzan** 'jeune garçon à la mamelle' (Cid Kaoui).

dungúih / dungwi / 'Knecht' (Se)

It resembles the Gurage forms as Chaha, Gyeto **däng'ä** 'boys' (Leslau 1986: 381: Beja + Gurage).

díngal c., pl. **-a** 'junger Mann oder Mädchen der reife nahe' (Re)

Probably borrowed from EtSe: Gz **dəngəl** 'chaste (young man), celibate (monk), virgin', Ti, Ty, Amh, Gur **dəngəl** 'virgin' (Leslau 1987: 137), cf. Ti of Beni Amer **dingil** 'maiden' (Nk), similarly Saho **dingil** 'reifes, heiratsfähiges Mädchen' (Re).

durə c. 'uncle / aunt' (HuB) = **duura** c. 'uncle/aunt; stepfather, -mother' (Rp) = **duuraab** m. 'uncle, def.sg. **uduura**, def.pl. **iduura**; **duuraat** f. 'aunt', def.sg. **tuduura**, def.pl. **tiduura** (Wd) = **du:ra:b** 'oncle', def. **i-dú:ra** 'l'oncle', gen. **du:r-i** gen.sg. 'de oncle', **du:ra:t** 'tante', def. **ti-dú:ra** 'la tante'; **du:ra ?o:r** 'cousin', i.e. 'fils de l'oncle', **du:ra-i-t ?o:r** 'cousine', i.e. 'fille de l'oncle', **díra:-t(-i) ?o:r** 'cousin', i.e. 'fils de la tante', **díra:-t-i-t ?o:r** 'cousine', i.e. 'fille de la tante' (Vh) = **dúu- ra** c. 'Oheim, Tante' (Re) = **duura** 'uncle' : **duurat** 'aunt' (Mt) = **dúri** 'my uncle' (Mr) = **duur(a)** 'Geschwister der Eltern', **ó-duura** 'der Oheim', **túu-duura** 'die Tante', var. **déra** 'Tante' (Al) = **o'duro** 'der Onkel', **te'derato** 'die Tante' (Mu) = **durao** 'cousin' (Bu) = **dúron** '[unseren] Oheim', **dráatón** '[unsere] Tante', **dratitóntôr** 'Nichte', i.e. 'die Tochter der Tante', **dráyanór** 'Vetter', i.e. 'der Sohn der Tante' (Se)

?Cu: (E) (1) ***dur-** 'preceding, previous; be in front' > Som **dur** m. 'Vorderseite'; adv. 'vor, gegenüber' (Re); Or Wellega **dur** adv./adj. 'old, previous, former', **durabuutuu** 'leader' (Gg), Dirayta **tur** 'before, in the past, in front', Konso **tur-** 'before, front', Dirayta **tur** 'before, in the past, in front' (Bl); Burji **dúr-u** 'in front of', **dur-i-kka/-tta** 'front...previous'; Amh **duro** 'formerly' < Or (Sasse 1982: 58) or Cu: (E) (2) Or Wellega **durbii** 'cousin, niece' (Gg); ?Konso **tármašš** 'brother-in-law' (Black).

Se ***dawr-** 'generation' > Hb **dör** 'generation', Aram-Syr **dārā** 'race, generation', Gz **dor** id. (Leslau 1987: 141).

Note: Cf. Kunama (NS) **adōra** 'Schwägerin' (Re).

diwa m. pl. 'family, relatives, people, house, home, wife', with art. **aandīwa** nom., enđiwa acc., cf. the compound **diw'or** 'freeman, of good family', lit. 'son of family', and further the tribal names as **Hađandīwa**, **Kišandīwa** etc. (Rp) = **diwaab** m.

‘family, household’, no sg., def.pl. **eedwa**; cf. the compound **diwaay’oor** ‘noble person’, def.sg. **undīwaay’oor**, def.pl. **y’indīwaay’ar** (Wd) = **ɖiwʔo:r** / **ɖiwʔor** ‘homme honorable’ (Vh); **ɖiwa** ‘famille’, with art. **e:nɖiwa** (Vh) = **ɖā’wa** and **dā’-wa** m. ‘Stamm, Tribus, Ansiedlung, Dorf, Gemeinde’ (Re) = **diwab** ‘family’ (Mt) = **endooɖ** m. ‘(own) people, village’ (HuB) = **éndoa** m. ‘Araber, Beduinen’ (Al) = **o’endoa** ‘Ansiedlung, Familie, Stamm’ (Mu) = **endoá** ‘Stadt’ (Se)
 Perhaps connected with Bilin (CCu) **ciba** ‘Tribus, Stamm, Familie’ (Re). Cf. further Kunfāl **čewa**, Awngi **čwá**, **-čú** ‘mother’, Awiya **yičū** (CR) = **yə-čú** ‘my mother’ (Appleyard 2006: 101).

The records of HuB, Al, Mu and Se indicate a contamination with **enda** ‘Leute, Volk’ (Re).

fagáar m., pl. **-a** ‘junger Mann in kräftigsten Alter’ (Re) = **fagar** m., **fagart** f. adj. ‘good, courageous, strong, brave’ (Wd) = **fágar** adj. ‘clever, stout, smart’ (Rp) = **fagar** ‘bold, brave, daring’ (HuB)

Of the same origin as Ti **fāgra** ‘männlich handeln, auf Raub ausziehen’ (Re) and Bilin **fagar** ‘(auf Raub) ausgehen’ (Re).

fári c. ‘genitor, parent’, **feray** m. ‘offspring’ (Rp) = **farooob** m. ‘parent’, def.sg. **ufari**, def.pl. **ifarooya**; **faraay** m., **faraayt** f. adj.partic. ‘born’ (Wd) = **feráay**, pl. **feráy** ‘Kind, Nachkommenschaft’ (Re) = **feray** ‘well-born, of good family’ (HuB)
 Derived from **firi** v. 1 ‘to give birth; breed; produce offspring, fruit; lay eggs’ (Rp) = ‘gebären, zeugen’ (Re) = ‘to bring forth’ (HuB).

Cu: (C) ***ʔənfər-a** / ***ʔənfär-a** (Appleyard 2006: 36) > Khamtanga **əfára** ‘boy’, **əfára** ‘girl’, Khamta **fär**, **ferä** ‘boy’, Kemant **əmfära** ‘servant, serving boy’.

gabiila f., pl. **gabail** ‘tribe’ (HuB) = **gabiilaat** ‘tribe’ (Tl)

Borrowed from Ar **qabilat**, pl. **qabāʔil** ‘nomadic tribe’ (Sg 818).

ginə c. ‘child’ (HuB)—see **jina** c. ‘newly-born infant or animal; embryo’ (Rp)

Cf. also Gz **ganin** ‘foetus, embryo’—all borrowed from Ar **ġanín** id. (Leslau 1987: 198).

girba m. ‘foreign country’, **gerb-enda** c. ‘people inhabiting any distant country, foreigners’ (HuB) = **gírba** c. ‘stranger’, usually **gírbatak** m., pl. **gírbada** (Rp) = **gírbatak** ‘foreigner’ (Tl) = **gírbénda** ‘Feind’ (Se), cf. [o]gry ‘enemy’ (Bu)
 Almkvist (1885: 25) derived it from **gérīb** ‘(be)siegen’ (Al) = **giriba** v. ‘to conquer’ (Wd) = **gerib** v. 1 ‘to conquer, succeed’ (HuB).

gaw m. ‘house, dwelling, custody, tent’, def.sg. **oogaw**, def.pl. **igawa** (Wd) = **gaw** ‘maison’ (Vh) = **gaw** m., pl. **gáwa** ‘Gehöft, Haus, Familie’ (Re) = **gaʷw**, **gow** m., pl. **-a** ‘house’ (HuB) = **gaw** m., **-a** ‘house’ (Rp) = **gaw** m., pl. **-a** ‘Zelt von Matten,

Haus' (Al) = **ū-gaw** 'the house' (Mr) = **o'gau**, pl. **e'gau** 'Haus' (Mu) = [o]gau id. (Km) = **ah-gau-ah** 'Dorf', i.e. pl. 'houses' (Kc) = [e]gowa 'tent' (Bu) = [o]gáu 'Zimmer, Säbelscheide', **kauhindiy** 'Bauholz', cf. **hínde** 'Holz' (Se)

(1) Cu: (C) Awngi -γo 'house' (Appleyard 2006: 85, 143); (E) Som **góob**, pl. **góóbó** 'place', **góobo** 'circle' (He), Rend **góob** 'clan, village, nomadic settlement' (PG) = **gob**, pl. **gòbáb** 'village, settlement' (Heine 1981: 188: pSam *góób);

Om: (N) Anfillo **gabbó** 'tribù' (Gt);

?Ch: (W) Gera **gaaw-** 'room', Dera **gawa** 'hut'; maybe Hausa **guu** 'place' (if it is not a variant of the synonym **guri**) || (C) ?Nzangi **kwo** 'house' (Skinner 1996: 89: Beja + Bilin **kau** (see below) + Ch);

?Se: Akk **gabbu** 'Gesamtheit, alles, das Ganze' (AHw 272).

(2) Cohen (1947: #222) connected the Beja word with CCu: Bilin **kauu**, Qwara **koo** 'Haus, Familia' (Re) and Se: Hb **gōy** 'nation, people'; cf. further Akk **gā'um**, **gāwum** 'Volk' (AHw 284), Ph **gw** 'communauté, corporation', EpSAr **gw** 'communauté, collectivité, ensemble du peuple' (Cohen 1970f: 107). The Semitic parallels exclude the ECushitic and Anfillo forms with medial **-b-**. The Chadic examples quoted after Skinner seem to be compatible with both the sets of parallels.

ha c. 'Wesen, Person, Mensch' (Re)

(1) Perhaps derived from the verb **ha(i)** 'to be, exist' (Rp), cf. Saho **heaw** 'men' (We) = **heyaw** 'Mensch', lit. 'lebend(ig)', cf. **hay** 'leben' (Re), Afar **heyoo**, pl. **heyaaw** 'Mensch' vs. **hay** 'leben' (Re)

(2) Reinisch (1894: 29–31, §174–176) connected it with **-he-** and **-ho-** forming verbal suffixes of object (**-heeb/a/i** c./ m./f. 'me', **-hook/a/i** c./m./f. 'thee', etc.) and compared it with Copt ⲭⲱ 'ipse', ⲭⲱⲓ 'ego ipse', ⲭⲱⲕ 'tu ipse', ⲭⲱⲓⲥ 'is ipse' (cf. Vycichl 1983: 287–288) which is connected with Eg (Pyr) **ḥṣ** 'flesh', pl. **ḥṣw** 'body' (Faulkner 164) = 'Körper, Leib; (Brust)fleisch; Glieder' (Wb. III: 37–39).

ho f., acc. **hot** 'grandparent' (HuB) = **ho:-t**, def. **t-he:** 'grand-mère' (Vh) = **ahoot** f. 'grandmother', def.sg. **tu'ahu**, def.pl. **ti'ahu** (Wd)—see **hoot** 'grandmother' (Mt).

hooba m. 'grandparent' (HuB) = **hooba** 'grandfather, greatuncle' (Mt) = **ahoo-baab** m. 'grandfather', def.sg. **w'ahooba**, def.pl. **y'ahooba** (Wd) = **ho:ba:-b**, def. **w-ho:ba** 'grand-père', **ho:b-u:n** 'notre grand-père' (Vh) = **hoba** m. 'grandfather', **hóbaybaaba** 'great-granfather', **hóbayhóba** 'ancestor/s' (Rp) = **hoob** m. 'Grossvater' (Re) = **hoobab** m. 'grandparent' (Tl) = **hóoba** m. 'Grossvater (sowohl auf der väterlichen als den mütterlichen Seite)' (Al) = **o'hobo** 'Grossvater' (Mu) = **hobo(k)** '(dein) Grossvater' (Km) = **u hobôn** '[unseren] Grossvater' (Se)

(1) Reinisch (1895: 108) connected **hoob** m. and **hoot** f. with Gz **ʔəmməḥew** / f. **-t** 'ancestor, grand-father/-mother', Amh (**əm**)**mita** 'grandmother', Gafat **əm'itātā** 'grandmother' etc. (Leslau 1987: 23), not explaining the absence of any equivalent of **ʔəmmə-** in Beja.

(2) ?Cu: (E) Som of Maay **awoy**, Jiddu **awó** ~ **uwó** ‘grandmother’ (Banti); Arbore **?áw** ‘maternal uncle’ (Hy); Oromo: Borana **haawani** ‘mothers’, Orma, Waa-ta **haawo(o)ni** id. (Stroomer).

(3) There are interesting South Arabian counterparts: Soqotri **ḥábbēh** ‘maîtresse, grand’mère’, Oman **ḥobbō** ‘grand’mère’, Hadr **ḥabbēh**, Daṭīna **ḥabāba** ‘patronne, grand’mère’, Dhofar **ḥabābiti** ‘ma maîtresse’ (Leslau 1938: 159). But this comparison does not explain apparently related **hoot** ‘grandmother’ (Mt, Re).

(4) Maybe derived from **ha** ‘person’ by the masculine accusative marker **-ob**, similarly as **hoot** ‘Grossmutter’ by the feminine accusative marker **-ot**.

híida m. ‘Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft’ (Re), cf. **hidáab** (obj. pl. of **+híid** or **+híida**) ‘zusammen’ (Al) = **hidda** adv. ‘together with’, **hiddaab** ‘together’, with possessive suff. **hiddook**, **hidday** adv. ‘beside, near, with’ (Wd) = **hib** id. (Mu), **híidai** postp. / prep. ‘neben, an der Seite, along with’ (Al) = cf. extended **hi-dadda** ‘together’ and perhaps **hadaaga** m. coll. ‘family, relatives’ (Rp) = **hiida** m. ‘the being with’, **hiidab** ‘in the company of, together’, **hoodaṇa** ‘together, in one another’s company’ (HuB)

Cu: (E) Tsamakko **?eeda** ‘relative’ (Savà 2005: 219), if **?-** originates from ***h-**, as in **?awne** ‘in the evening’ vs. Somali **habeen** ‘night’, Boni **hawéen-ka** ‘this night’ and Beja **himni** ‘late afternoon’ (Rp) (cf. Blažek 2023: 366); Gedeo **hado** ‘close relative’, ?Sidamo **aydde** id., **aiddé** ‘family’ (HG) || (S) ***heedi** ‘person’, pl. ***hida** > Burunge **heedi** ‘man’, pl. **hida**, Alagwa **hi(i)ru**, pl. **hira**, Iraqw, Gorowa **hee** (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 135–136); Qwadza **hilaku** ‘person’ (Ehret 1980: 307); Ch: (C) Musgoy **hiddi** ‘homme’ (Mc).

Alternatively, the Beja word may be connected with Ecu ***hizz-** ‘root’ (Sasse 1979: 20, 36) > Som **xidid** [hídid] ‘radice; vena, vaso sanguigno; nervo; parentela acquisita’ (DSI), Rend **híy** ‘root; kin, family’ (He).

hadaaga m. sg. or pl. ‘family, relatives’ (Rp)

Perhaps **híida** ‘Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft’ (Re), plus **-ga** ‘a plural (or dual) ending’ (Roper 1928: 183).

haggoit ‘co-wife, lineage’ (Mt) = **haggoi** m. ‘rival, competitor’, f. ‘one of two’ (HuB) = **hággō**, **hüä’g(g)o** f. ‘Nebenbühler, Rivale’ (Re)

Undoubtedly a cultural word of the same origin as Afar **haggo** ‘polygamy, plurality of wives’, **haggoyta** ‘one of many wives, wife of a polygamous marriage’ (PaHy), Saho **hogga** ‘neighbors’ (We) = **haggo** ‘Eifersucht’, **haggoyta** ‘Nebenbühler’ (Re) and Ti **haggoot** ‘id., envy’ (LH).

ham c., pl. **-ḡ** ‘parent-in-law’, cf. **hamayi** ‘related by marriage’ (HuB) = **hamaab** m. ‘in-laws’, no def.sg., def.pl. **yhama**; **hamamt** f. ‘in-law’, def.sg. **tuhamaam**, and **hamaayeet** f. ‘mother-in-law’, def.sg. **tuhamaaya** and **tuhamaayi** (Wd) = **ham**

m. 'father / son-in-law', f. 'mother-in-law' (Mt) = (**w-/t-**)**ham** '(le/la) beau-père, gendre, belle-mère, bru', pl. (**y-**)**ham-a** (also) 'belle-famille' (Vh) = **ham** c., pl. **-a** m. 'father-in-law; son-in-law', f. 'mother-in-law' ('daughter-in-law'), **hamai** f. sg. '-in-laws, relatives by marriage' (Rp) = **hámo** c. 'Schwiegervater, Schwiegermutter' (Re) = **o'hamo** 'der Schwiegervater', **te'hamo** 'die Schwiegermutter' (Mu) Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz, Ti **ham** 'father/son-in-law', Ty **hamu** (and further Ar **ham** 'father-in-law', Šheri **him** 'brother-in-law', Hb **hām** 'father-in-law', Aram **ḥāmā**, Akk **emu**—see Leslau 1987: 235); but it is not excluded that the Ethio-Semitic root could merge with the original Cushitic root, preserved in Beja and further in Dahalo **háme** 'father's brother' (Eh) = **śáme** 'male relative; grandfather' (Maddieson) and (S) Ma'a **hame** 'my uncle' (Ehret 1980: 299); maybe also SO-romo: Orma (**h**)**aammaa** 'mother' (Stroomer). Ultimately, Eg (Pyr) **hym.t** 'Frau' (Wb. III: 76–78), Demotic **hm** 'Ehefrau', Copt ⲭⲓⲙⲉ 'femme' (Vycichl 1983: 300) can also be related.

hamuḍ m., pl. **hamaḍa** 'companion, escort' (HuB)

haraami'or m. 'bastard', def.sg. **wharaami'oor**, def.pl. **yharaami'ar** (Wd)
Cf. **oor** m. 'boy', def.sg. **w'oor**, def.pl. **y'ar** (Wd).

hunkwili or 'boy about the age of puberty' (HuB) = **hankwil** 'youth' (Rp)
Cf. **hankwīli** 'long hair that hangs to shoulders' (Rp).

hoot 'grandmother, great aunt' (Mt) = **ahoot** f. 'grandmother', def.sg. **tu'ahu**, def.pl. **ti'ahu** (Wd) = **ho** f., acc. **hot** 'grandparent', cf. **hootoon** 'Eve', lit. 'our grandmother' (HuB) = **hot** f. indef. 'old woman, grandmother' (Rp) = **hoot** f. 'Grossmutter' (Re) = **hoot** f. 'grandparent' (Tl) = **hóota** f. 'Grossmutter (sowohl auf der väterlichen als auf der mütterlichen Seite)' (Al) = **o'hoto** 'Grossmutter' (Mu) = **hoto(k)** '(deine) Grossmutter' (Km) = **úhotôn** '[unsere] Grossmutter' (Se), cf. Bi **hōta** 'aunt' (Th)
Etymology is discussed apud **hoob(a)** 'grandfather'.
100).

hiyi c., acc. **hiy-ob/-ot** 'husband / wife' (Rp) = **hiyoot** f. 'spouse', def.sg. **tu-hiyu**, def.pl. **tihiyu** (Wd) = **híyo** c. 'Gatte / Gattin' (Re) = **hiu** 'husband', **hiut** 'wife' (Mt) = **hióo** c., pl. **hióo-ya** 'Gatte', with art. **úuhio** m., **túuhio** f. (Al) = **o'hiyo** 'der Gemahl', **te'hiyo** 'die Gemahlin' (Mu)

?Cu: (S) ***ha?áy** 'children' > Alagwa **ha?áy**, Burunge **ya?ay**; ***haywa?a/i** '(grand)children' > Iraqw **haywa?**, Gorowa **haywaa** (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 129, 135)

(1) Eg (OK) **h**, (MK) **hy** 'Gemahl, Gatte' (Wb. II: 475), Copt ⲭⲁⲓ 'mari' (Vycichl 1983: 290: Eg + Se);

?Se $\sqrt{h-w-y}$ > Ug **hwy** 'begehren' (Aistleitner 1965: 86), Ar **hawiya** 'aimer', **haw-wa** 'amour, désir, passion', Mehri **šəhwū** 'aimer' etc., cf. also $\sqrt{h-w-?}$ > Ar **hāʔa** 'tendre à, viser à; se réjouir de', **hawʔ-** 'esprit, but, idée, désir', Lihyanite **hʔ** 's'efforcer de', and $\sqrt{h-y-?}$ > Ar **hāʔa** 'être beau, de belle apparence', **hayyaʔa** 'préparer, disposer, achever, enterrer', **hāyaʔa** 's'entendre, otre, se mettre d'accord avec', **híʔat** 'forme, aspect', Ti **həy**, **həya belä** 'rattraper, rejoindre', Amh **hay hay alä** 'réconcilier' (Cohen 1970f: 386, 382, 398).

Lit.: Cohen 1947: #92: Beja + Eg + Se + ECu: Som **hawo** 'ambizione, desiderio', **hawoo** 'desiderare sessualmente' (DSI); Or Wellega **hawwa** 'to wish, desire', **hawwee** 'marriage after long period of courtship' (Gg), but these forms are apparently borrowed from Arabic.

(2) Roquet (1980: 128–129) proposes a borrowing from late Eg **h3y** 'époux' (/ **hiʔyu**/ > pre-Beja ***hiyyu**).

(3) Cu: Dahalo **háájo**, pl. **hááʔi** 'man, husband' (Eh) || (S) Iraqw **hay** 'kinsfolk, clan' (Eh), besides ***hiyaʔa** > Iraqw **hiyaʔ** 'brother, cousin', Gorowa **hi(i)yaʔ**, Alagwa **heeʔa**, Burunge **hiʔa** id. and ***hiʔoo** 'sister' > Iraqw-Gorowa **hoʔoo**, Alagwa-Burunge **hiʔoo** id. (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 154) and / or ***hawata** > Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa **hawata** 'man, husband' (Ehret 1980: 299; Kiessling and Mous 2003: 150).

jina c. 'newly-born infant or animal; embryo' (Rp) = **jinaab** m. 'child, embryo, infant', def.sg. **oojna**, def.pl. **eejina** (Wd) = **jina** 'baby' (Mr) = **gina** c. 'child' (HuB) Borrowed from Ti **jəna** 'foetus, new-born child' (LH 552), Beni Amer **jina nʔu:ś** 'baby' (Nk), all of Arabic origin: Ar **ğanna** 'geborgen sein (im Mutterleib)', **ğanin** 'foetus, embryo' (Sg 250).

kišia c. 'slave, servant' (HuB) = **kišiyaab** m. 'slave', def.sg. **ukišiya**, def.pl. **ikišiya**; **kišiyaat** f. 'slave', def.sg. **tukušiya**, def.pl. **tikišiya** (Wd) = **kišia** 'slave' (Tl) = **kišia** c. 'slave, negro' (Rp) = **kíšya** and **kíša** c. 'Sklave, Sklavin' (Re) = **kíšya** c. 'Sklave, Diener', with art. **úukišya** 'der Sklave', **túukišya** 'die Sklavin' (Al) = **o'kisha**, pl. **ye'kisha** 'der Sklave', **to'kisha**, pl. **te'kisha** 'die Sklavin' (Mu) = **ekkeschía** 'Sklave', **tekkeschía** 'Sklavin' (Se)

Reinisch (1893: 19, fn. 4) connected it with EtSe: Ti **həsn**, Ty **həśni** 'boy, child' (Leslau 1987: 226), but it is improbable for phonetical reasons.

kwā f. 'sister', **kwāt** 'female' (HuB) = **kʷa**: 'soeur', def. **to:-kʷa** (Vh) = **kwaat** f. 'sister; female', def.sg. **tookwa**, def.pl. **teekwa** (Wd) = **kwa** f. 'sister; female', cf. **haḍayt kwa** 'lioness' (Rp) = **kwa** f. 'Weibchen, weiblich bei Tieren; Schwester' (Re) = **kʷa** f. 'Schwester; weiblich' (Al) = **kwab** 'weiblich' (Mu) = **kwat** 'sister', adj. 'female, feminine' (Mt) = **to cua** 'la soeur' (Li) = **tekuata** (Km) = **tukato** 'the sister' (Bu) = **tukwatook** '(deine) Schwester' (Lucas) = **tôkwatôn** 'unsere Schwester' (Se)

Cu: (C) ***ʔəqi** (Appleyard 2006: 148) > Bilin **ʔəʔi** 'girl'. Is there any relation to the following comparanda: Bilin (**ʔə**)**qʷi**, pl. **ʔəkʷin** 'Weibchen von Tieren' (Re), Awngi -**qá** 'wife' (Ht) and / or Bilin **ʔəxʷina**, pl. **ʔəkʷin** 'Gattin, Ehefrau', Khamir **əwna**, pl. **əkʷən**, Dembea **kwina**, pl. **kwin**, Qwara (**i**)**əwina**, pl. **iəwin** (Re), Kemant **yəwəna**, pl. **yəwən** 'femme', Khamta **equén** 'donna' (CR), Awngi **ɣuna** (Ht), Kunfāl **kuna** 'woman' (Cw) || (E) Yaaku **óqóí**, pl. **oqoinin** 'woman, wife' (He); Ch: (C) Wamdiu **kwà** 'daughter', Hildi **kwā**, Kilba **kwāñi** id., Bura **bẓir n̄kwà** id., where **bẓir** means 'son' (Kr);

Be: (N) Djerba **taḥnaw** 'concubine' (Saada), Kabyle **takna**, pl. **takniwin** 'co-épouse' (Dallet) || (S) Ahaggar **tēkné**, pl. -**wīn** 'concubine' (Fc), etc.;

Se: Akk **kinītu** 'Nebenfrau', Aram **kēnāwātā** 'Genossen' (Rössler 1952: 133, #23: Be + Se).

kwáaya c. 'Kamerad, Genosse, Gefährte, Freund; Freundschaft', cf. **kwaayáa-y-t gibaláay** 'der zweite, der Goldfinger' (Re)

Cu: (C) ***kāw-** (Appleyard 2006: 110, 142) > Bilin **kāw** 'people' (pl. to **ʔək** 'man'), Khamtanga **kiw**, Kemant **kāw**, Kaĩliña **ku**, Qwara **kāw**, **ko** 'village' || (E) Dullay: Gawwada **qaw-ho** 'man; person' (To), Gollango **qaw-hó** 'Mensch', Harso **k'aw-hó**, Dobase **k'aw-hó** and **qaw-hó** 'Mensch, Mann' (AMS), Tsamakko **q'aw-ko** 'man' (Hy, Savà).

Eg (Pyr) **ṭ3j** 'Mann' (Wb. V, 344).

Lit.: Cohen (1947: n. 222: CCu + Eg).

Reinisch' (1895: 154) comparison of Beja **kwáaya** with Gz **kāləʔ** 'other, another, anyone else second, companion, friend' (Leslau 1987: 282) is unconvincing for phonetic reasons.

laamána c., usually m. 'rover, brigand' (Rp)

Extended by the suffix **-ana** forming nom. agentis.

m(ə)ʔa f. pl. 'women' (sg. **takat**) (Rp) = **mʔa** pl. 'femmes' (sg. **takat** 'femme') (Vh) = **ma** f. pl. 'Weiber, Gattinen' (Re) = **mā** f. pl. 'women' (sg. **takat**) (HuB) = **ma** pl. 'Weiber, Frauen' (sg. **takat**) (Al) = **te'ma** 'die Frauen' (Mu)

Cu: (E) Gawwada **miʔay-e** 'child' (To), Gollango **miʔáye**, Harso-Dobase **miʔé** 'child' (AMS); HECu ***meʔaat** 'female' > Kamb **meʔaat**, Sid **mehaa(te)**, **me'ate**, **meyate** id. (Hudson 1989: 62) || (S) Iraqw **maafi** 'mature (for girls), marriageable' (MQK). Ch: (W) ***ʔama** 'woman' (Stolbova 1987: 231) > Warji **ám-ái**, Jimbin **ámá**, Tsagu **óoméy**, Kariya **ám**, Miya **ám** (Sk); Ron: Sha **ʔamuy** (Jg); Ngizim **ámâ** (Schuh).

mʔadam 'personne' (Vh) = **mʔaadamiiib** 'person' (Tl) = **m'aadamiiib** m. 'person, human being', def.sg. **um'aadami**, def.pl. **im'aadami** (Wd)

Probably **ádami** 'Mensch, Person' (Al) with the reciprocal prefix **m-** and the accusative in **-b**.

m'aali c., pl. **-a** 'brother/sister-in-law; rival', cf. **m'ali** v. 1 recip. 'to be rivals, be at loggerhead' (Rp) = **m'aali** /-t 'brother/sister-in-law' (Mt) = (**w**-/t-)**mʔali** 'beau-frère, belle soeur', pl. **mʔali-a** (Vh) = **m(e)ʔali**, pl. **mʔalya** c. 'Schwager, Schwägerin' (Re) = **mall'i** c. 'brother-in-law' (HuB) = **o-malyô** 'brother-in-law' (Th) = **o'mallyo** 'der Schwager' vs. **te'malito** 'die Schwägerin' (Mu)

(1) Perhaps derived from **m'a** 'women, wives' by the productive suffix **-al-**, suggesting the original semantics 'a relative of wives' or by the second component corresponding to ECu: Dullay ***ʔalaw-** > Gawwada **ʔalaw-h-o** 'brother', **ʔalaw-t-e** 'sister', Gollango **alaw-té** 'brother', **alaw-ho** 'sister' (sic!), Tsamakko **ʔalaw-te** 'older sister' (AMS 147; Savà 2005: 218; Tosco 2022: 19); Konso **alawa** m. and **alawta** f. 'sibling; spouse', Dirayta **alawát m.** 'sibling of opposite sex', f. voc. **alawte**, pl. **alawaḍ(ḍ)a** and **alawwa** (Black).

(2) Cu (E): Had **mollo** 'close relative' or Gedeo **melaalle** 'girl' (HG) || (S) Iraqw **maaloo** 'small girls' (MQK).

SOM: Kara **mulʔa** 'family, kin' (Fl);

Ch: (W) ***mu**[**jal** 'brother' (Stolbova 1987: 234: ***maHʷal**) > Angas **mwöl** 'brother', **māl** 'sister' (Foulkes), cf. **mwol-na** 'my brother', **māl-na** 'my sister' (Kr), Montol **lāà-məṽəl** 'brother' (Jg); Bolewa **mol** 'younger brother', **molle** 'younger sister' (Benton), Karekare **málú**, Tangale **mole** 'brother' (Jg) || (C) Gamargu **mēlē** (Ba / Benton) 'elder brother', Glavda **máál** id., Dghwede **mílè** id.; Mofu **məlmá-ŋ** 'brother'; Gidar **mólmu** id. (JgIb 2: 48; cf. Greenberg 1963: 53, #14: Beja + Ch + Mocha **màno** 'brother', **màne** 'sister', cf. also Kafa **mano** / **mane** id., probably of Surma (NS) origin, cf. Masongo **maña** 'fratello'—see Cerulli 1951: 472; Leslau 1959: 41).

Leslau (1987: 382) mentions a connection of the Beja word in EtSe: Gz **nəʕult** 'widow whom the late husband's sister in relation to the wife', Ti **nāʕal** 'husband's sister in relation to the wife' etc.

mehaabu m. 'relatives, people one is connected to' (HuB)

Borrowed from Ar **maḥbūb**, pl. **maḥābīb** 'beloved' (Sg 963) with the final **-b** reinterpreted as the accusative.

maaktak m. 'child', def.sg. **umaaktak**, def.pl. **imaaktaka** (Wd)

Cf. **makay** m. 'being, becoming', def.sg. **umakay**, def.pl. **imakay** (Wd), plus **tak** m. 'man', def.sg. **ootak**, def.pl. **eenda** (Wd).

moor(a)mooyt f. 'company, going with', def.sg. **tumoor(a)mooy**, no pl. (Wd) = **mormi** m. 'companion' (HuB)—see **amorama** id. (HuB)

mišúuši f. 'spinster of any age' (Rp)

Roper (1928: 219) mentioned that 'she wears the **mašša** f., i.e. the hair swept to the sides of the face; a married woman has a fringe or plaits over forehead.'

mitammad c., pl. **-a** ‘person, human being’ (Rp)

Borrowed from Ar **mutamaddin** ‘settled in a town, cultivated, civilized’ (Sg 952).

naday and **enday** c., pl. **nadee** ‘orphan’ (HuB) = **nadaay** m. ‘orphan’, def.sg. **unadaay**, def.pl. **inaday**; **nadaayt** f., def.sg. **tunadaay**, def.pl. **tinaday** (Wd) = **náday** c., pl. **nád’ey** id. (Rp) = **nadáay** c., pl. **naday** ‘Waise, Verwaist’ (Re) = **nadáay** c., pl. **nádey** ‘Waise’ (Al) = **nedai** id. (Mu)

Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz **nadaya** ‘to be poor, deficient’, Ti **nāda**, Ty **nādäya** id. (Leslau 1987: 387).

nekiri f. ‘widow’, **nekraat** ‘widowed’, **seniker** ‘to keep virginity’ (HuB) = **nikkiraat** f. ‘widow’, def.sg. **tunikkira**, def.pl. **tinikkira**, besides **nikraab** m. ‘unmarried person, bachelor’, def.sg. **unikra**; **nikraat** f. ‘unmarried person, spinster’, def.sg. **tunikra**, plus adj. **nikraab** m., **nikraat** f. ‘unmarried’ (Wd) = **níkra** ‘unverheiratet’ (Al) = **te’nekiri** pl. ‘die Wittwe’ (Mu)

Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz **nakara** ‘to separate’, **nakir**, f. **nakkār** ‘strange, foreign, one who is not a relative’, Ti **nākāra** ‘to reject’ (Leslau 1987: 397).

(i-/ti-)rʔi:kina ‘(le/la) cadet(te)’, i.e. ‘propriétaire de devant’ (Vh)

r’adaab m. ‘nuclear family; support; pillar, main pole at the back of a Beja house’, def.sg. **ur’ada**, def.pl. **ir’ada** (Wd)

raba ‘male (in opposition to **kwat** ‘female’), capable, able, skilled’ (Mt) = **ra-baab** m., **rabaat** f. ‘big, male’ adj.; **rabaanaay** m. ‘masculinity’, def.sg. **urabaa-naay**, besides **rabandiit** f. ‘manhood’, def.sg. **turabandi**, def.pl. **tirabandi** (Wd) = Ammar’ar **raba** ‘male; strong man’ (Do) = **raba** ‘male; capable, able’, cf. **rāb-ka** c. ‘majority, most’, **rābagānay** ‘male gazelle’ (Rp) = **rāba** adj. ‘männlich’ (Re) = **rāba** ‘männlich’ (Al) = **reba[b]** ‘männliche Junge von mitterem Alter’; **o rábeh** ‘jeune chameau’ (Li) and **terabie** ‘she-camel’ (Bu) are more probably compatible with **rab’e** ‘young camel between one and two years old’ (Rp) = **rab-bi** c. ‘young camel’ (HuB)

(1) Cu: (E) ***lab-/leb-** ‘male; big’ > Saho **laab** ‘männlich’, coll. **laabahaa** ‘Leute’, indiv. **laabahaayto**, Afar **lab** ‘männlich’, **laba-haytu** ‘Mann’ (Re) = Afar **lab** ‘male’, **labha** ‘men’, **labhàytu** ‘able / clever / strong male’ (PaHy); Som **lab** ‘male’ (Ab), Rend **lábo**; Elmolo **-lēpa** ‘man’ in **mó-lēpa** (Heine 1973: 281) = Dasanech **maliab** ‘uomo’ (da Trento), where **ma-** = **máa** means ‘person, man’ and **yáb** coll. ‘males’ (To); Or **labbi** ‘virilità, età virile’ (Borello), Waata **lab(b)a** ‘young’, cf. **imoolee labaa** ‘young calves’ (Stroomer) and / or Or **luba** ‘sexual parts of man’ (Tu); Gedeo **labba**, Sid **labba** ‘male’ (Dolgoolsky 1973: 229; Sasse 1979: 22 and 1982: 131; Hudson 1989: 96). The difference **r : l** is perhaps comparable with Beja ***rama** ‘2’ in **asa-rama** ‘7’ vs. ECu ***lam-** ‘two’? In Beja the difference

r : l has got a function expressing the augmentative vs. diminutive. Cf. further Burji **rāb-i** ‘uncircumcised person’ (Sasse 1982: 158) || ?(S) Iraqw **lāwālāmo**, pl. **lāwālê** ‘slave’ (Wh).

NOM: Shako **yaab**, Nao **yab**, Dizi **yabu** ‘man’ (Be), cf. Dasanech **yáb** coll. ‘males’ (To), see above.

?Ch: (W) Hausa **lofa** ‘foreskin’ || (E) Mokilko **lōpo** ‘prépuce’ (Jg)—see Skinner 1996: 188.

Lit.: Meinhof 1912: 236: Beja + Som + Hausa.

(2) Cu: (E) ***rib(?)**- ‘to be strong’ > Som **rib**- ‘strong’ (Ab); Konso **rib**- ‘to be strong’ (Bl; Sasse 1982: 159 connects it with Konso **rib-a** ‘tendon of the back-bone’, Mussiya **rip-o** ‘root, vein’, Or **rib-uu** ‘tendon, nerve; string of bow’ > Harso **rip-o**, Gollango **rip-to** ‘string of bow’ and Burji **rib-óo** id.);

Se **√r-b-b** ‘to be big’, cf. Akk **rabû(m)**, **rabā’u(m)** gross sein / werden’, **rabbû(m)** ‘sehr gross’ (AHw 938, 934), Ug **rb** ‘gross; Oberhaupt, Ober-’ (Aistleitner 1965: 287) etc.

réero c. ‘Verwandtschaft, Verwandter’ (Re) = **reer** c. ‘Verwandter’ (Al) = **rero** ‘companion, friend’ (HuB) = **o’réro**, acc. **reerob** ‘Freund’ (Mu) = **reer** m. ‘love, loving’, def.sg. **ooreer**, besides **areeti** m. ‘loving’, **areeyanaab** nom.ag. ‘one who liker, lover’ (Wd) = **reer** ‘amour’ (Vh) = Ammar’ar **reero** ‘beloved’ (Do)

Cu: (E) Som **reer** ‘Sippe, Geschlecht, die weitere Familie, Verwandtschaft, Volk’ (Re) = ‘family household; lineage, clan’ (Luling), Rend **réèr** ‘warriors, people’ (Heine 1981: 196 reconstructs pSam ***réèr** ‘people of one geographical, social or agnatic unit’);

Be: Awlemidden **terērt** ‘Nation’ (Ba).

Lit.: Reinisch 1902: 326: Beja + Som; Dolgopolsky 1973: 171: Beja + Som + Rend.

raw c. ‘other; companion’, with art. **úuraw**, **óraw** m., **túuraw**, **tóraw** f., pl. m. **áaraw**, **éraw**, probably extended in **áraw** c., pl. **arauwa** ‘companion, friend’ (Rp) = **araaw** m. ‘other; friend’, def.sg. **w’araaw**, def.pl. **y’araaw**, **eeraw**; **araawt** f., def.sg. **t’araaw** (Wd) = **raaw** c., pl. **raw** ‘Kamerad, Genosse, Freund; anderer, zweiter’ (Re) = **rau** ‘companion, friend’, **arraauu** ‘other, different’ (HuB)

?Cu: (C) Bilin **ǀāri** ‘other’ (Appleyard 2006: 108).

?Se **√r-w-ſ** > Akk **rū’u**, Ug **rſ**, Hb **reſ** ‘friend, companion’, Aram **rſ**, Gz **raſawa** ‘to join’, Ti **rāwſe** ‘to have intercourse’ (Leslau 1987: 459).

seeb m. ‘clan, family’ (HuB)

Probably borrowed from EtSe: Gz **sab?** ‘persons, men, people, mankind; servants; inhabitants’, Ti **sāb** ‘man’, Gurage **sāb** ‘man, person’ etc.; outside EtSe cf. Mehri **habû** ‘people’ (Bittner), perhaps corresponding to **hābû** ‘(poor man) to go to people every day for food, to drink milk’ (Jh) (Leslau 1979: 531 and 1987: 482). Appleyard (1977: 50) speculates about connection with the ethnical name **Sb?**

'Sabea' (cf. Biela 1982: 323). The EtSe word probably also passed into other Cushitic languages, e.g. Som **sab** 'group of people of low status' (Luling).

sâf m. 'marriage ceremony (grasping the hands of the bride's representative and saying a formula' (HuB) = **saf** m. 'engagement, marriage agreement', def.sg. **oo-saf**, def.pl. **isafa** (Wd)

sama:r 'descendants' (Vh)

san m., pl. **-a** 'brother' (HuB) = **san** m. 'brother', def.sg. **oosan**, def.pl. **isana** (Wd) = **san**, def. **o:-san** 'frère' (Vh) = **san** id. (Mt) = **san** id. (Do, Tl) = **san** m., pl. **-a** 'brother', **sanáay** 'brotherhood' (Rp) = **san** m., pl. **-a** 'Bruder' (Re) = **san** m. id. (Al) = **ssána** id. (Km) = **o senne** id. (Li) = **sanyô** 'my brother' (Mr) = **assanok** '(thy) brother' (Bu) = **lanook** id. (Lucas; l!) = **eszanûn** '(unseren) Bruder' (Se)

?Cu: (C) Bilin **?anšin** 'father-in-law', **tânšini** 'mother-in-law' (Re), Kemant **anšin** 'beau-père, -frère, fils' (CR), Dembea, Qwara **anšin** 'suocero' (CR), Khamtanga **asən** 'in-law' (Ap) {Appleyard 2006: 38, 65; 77: ***?än** 'grandfather' > Bilin **?än**, Khamtanga **-innə**, Kemant **an** id. || Saho **anna** 'aunt' (Vergari); HECu ***anna** 'father' > Gedeo, Hadiya, Kambatta, Sidamo **anna** id.; Burji **anáa** 'husband, father of a family, owner' || Dahalo **?ánno** 'aunt' {Maddieson} = **?ánno** 'father's sister' {To}); ?Awngi **sén** 'brother', **séna** 'sister' (Ht), Kunfāl **yesan** 'sister' (Cw), besides Awiya **yešánšē** 'father-in-law' (CR)}.

(E) ?Dirayta-Mossiya **inšara** 'younger brother' (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 297), if from ***išn**^o or Konso **ašum-a/-ta** 'sister's or aunt's male/female child'; Dullay: Gawwada **?ašin-ko**, pl. **?ašim-me** 'sister's male child', **ašin-te**, pl. **?ašim-me** 'sister's female child' (To), Gollango **ašin-ko** 'nephew', **ašin-te** 'niece', cf. **inan-káayyu/-táyyu** id. vs. **inán-ko/-te** 'son / daughter' (AMS);

Ch: ?(W) Kirfi **launa-šino** 'brother' (Gowers); Tsagu **šân** 'elder brother' (Sk) || (C) Bachama **zinogi** 'my brother' (Meek); Bana **bā sóna** 'Bruder', **bā sónta** 'Schwester' (Lk) || (E) Kera **sé:ní**, Kwang **sèní**; Sumray **shân**, Tumak **hənà**; Sokoro **šintu**; Migama **sín**, Bidiya **sinte**, Dangla **siṅò**; Toram **hin**, Jegu **šin**, Mubi **sìn** 'brother', Birgit **sintù** 'my brother' (JgIb 2: 48–49);

Eg (Pyr) **sn(y)-w** 'brother; companion; boy-friend, lover' (Faulkner 230; Wb. IV: 150–151), **sn.t** 'sister', Copt **can**, **con**, pl. **cnhoγ** 'frère', **cwhi/ε** 'soeur' (Vycichl 1983: 190);

?Se: Ug **š₂n** 'Bruder' (Aistleitner 1965: 321) and / or Ti (**tə**)**sana** 'to be friends', Gz **sən?**(ā) 'peace, agreement' etc., and further Syr **šayyen** 'to pacify', Hb **ša?ānān** 'to be at ease', Akk **šanānu** '(im Lauf) gleichkommen mit, gleichen' (Leslau 1987: 504–505).

(i/ti)-**su:rkina** '(l')aîné(e)', i.e. 'propriétaire de devant' (Vh)

saraṇa (and **sefaraṇa**) f. 'midwife' (HuB)

serriiay f., pl. **serriee** 'female slave, concubine' (HuB)

šiinay f. 'old female of any sort' (HuB)

Derived from **ši** v. 1 'to be old' (HuB) = **š'iya** v. 'to become old' (Wd).

ša^wwaw c. 'neighbour' (Rp) = **šawaw** m. 'neighbour', def.sg. **ušawaw**, no pl. (Wd) = **šáawya** 'Fremd, Genosse, Nachbar' (Re)

Derived from **šawawi** 'to get together; collect' (Rp), besides **šaawa** v. 'to add' (Wd) = **šaawi** 'mengen, vermehren' (Re) respectively.

šwuuy m. 'pregnacy', def.sg. **oošwuuy**, **šiwuyaat** f. id., def.sg. **tušwuya**, from the verb. **šiwiyi** v. 'to be/become pregnant' (Wd) = **šiwī** and **šuwī** 'to be/become pregnant', **šiwúui** 'pregnacy' (Rp) = **šúuya** 'schwanger, trüchtig' (Re) = **šúja** id. (Al) = **shuiya** [b] 'trächtige Kuh' (Mu)

Om: (N) Shinasha **šúw-** 'gebären', Mocha **šuw-**, Anfillo **šuy-**, Kafa **šii-** id. (Cerulli 1951: 491; Lamberti 1993a, 384).

tak 'man', **takat** 'woman' (Mt, Tl) = **tak** m. 'man', def.sg. **ootak**, def.pl. **een-da**, besides **taktak** adv. 'each other'; **takatt** f. 'woman', def.sg. **tutakat**, def.pl. **teem'a** (Wd) = **tak** 'homme' (pl. **da**), **takat** 'femme' (pl. **m?a**) (Vh) = Ammar'ar **tak** 'human being, man, husband' (Do) = **tak** m. 'man', with the suppletive pl. **da**, **tákat** f. 'woman, wife', **takka** indec. 'everybody', **taktak** indec. 'each other, one another' (cf. Yaaku **tuktuk** 'all!') (Rp) = **tak** m. 'Mann, Gatte', pl. ***tíka** reconstructed on the basis **tikée náaka** 'von Leuten welche Menge', besides the suppletive pl. **énda**, **takát** 'Weib, Gattin', **táktak** 'einander' (Re) = **tak** m. 'Mann', pl. **énda** 'Leute', **áanda** 'die Leute', **tákat** f. 'Weib, Frau', pl. **ma**, **táktak**, **téktek** 'einander' (Al) = [ū]**tak** 'man' (Mr) = **o'tekk** 'der Mann', pl. **enda**[b] 'Männer', **te'tekét** 'die Frau' (pl. **te'ma**), **tektek** 'einander' (Mu) = [o]**tak** 'man', [ta]**takat** 'woman' (Bu) = **o teek** 'Mann', the **takat** 'Frau' (Kc) = [o]**ták** 'Mann', [te]**tak-kát** 'Weib' (Se) = **takat** f., pl. **ma** 'woman', **taktak** 'one another' (HuB)

Cu: (S) ***tikay** 'women, wives' > Gorowa **tiyay**, Burunge **tigay** 'women, wives', Alagwa **tikay** 'women' (Kiessling and Mous 2003: 270: ***tigay**; Zaborski 1985[89]: 590, #98: Beja + SCu);

Be: (N) Shilh **takat** 'famille' (Chaker 1984: 223) = Shilh of Tazerwalt **ták(k)ät** 'Familie' (Stumme).

All probably derived from the verbal root attested in SOm: Galila **tík** 'coire' (Fl) and Eg **wtt** 'erzeugen' (old), 'zeugen' (MK) (Wb. I: 381; cf. Zyhlarz 1933: 166, #16: Beja + Eg).

talleeg m. 'friend' (HuB)

tiita c. 'twin' (HuB) = **tiitaab** m. 'twins', def.pl. **itiita**; **tiitaat** f. id., def.sg. **tutiita**, def.pl. **titiita** (Wd) = **tiitaab** 'twins' (Tl) = **tiita** c. 'Zwilling' (Re) = **tiṭa** id. (Mu)

Perhaps derived from **te'i** v.1 'gleich, ähnlich sein', cf. the participle **te'it-a** (Re). A similar formation could be found in Eg (old) **ty.t** 'image; form, shape' (Wb. V, 239), Copt τοι 'tache, signe, modèle' < ***tayya.t** or ***ta3ya.t** (Vycichl 1983: 210) and / or **twt** 'statue; image, figure, likeness, assembled, united' etc. (Faulkner 294–295; Wb. V: 255–257), Copt τoγωτ 'statue' < ***tawāt-iy** (Vycichl 1983: 224).

Survey of cognates in kinship terminology between Beja and other Cushitic branches

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
ʾThe^{Rp} grandmother	Som ^{Re} hooyo mother vs. hooy home Dullay *ʔaxke family			
amna^{Rp} guest	Afar ʕibina id.	*ʔäbən- id.		
ʾaar^{Rp} female relatives not including wife	Som-Bayso oori wife Rend áram / arám husband / wife HECu *are wife, *aroʔo husband	?Bilin raŋ husband < *ram Awngi y-ärá her husband		
ʾoor^{Rp} , pl. ʾär child	Elmolo aruatē girl Arbore harát id. Dasenech maartti id. < *maa ʔartti ; Yaaku aure daughters	Awngi -yírí children cf. Bilin er-t- be pregnant < *ʔər-	ʔóora kudzi nephew	
aiyay^{Rp} relative	*ʔaayy- mother		yááyo^{To} mother	*ʔaayo/*ʔaayi/*ʔiyóo Asa yeyo mother
baaba^{Rp} father	*baabb- father, daddy		ḅááḅa^{To} father	*baabá father
da^{Rp} pl. men def. áanda ^{Rp}	*zat- person, people			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
de ^{Rp} mother def. túunde ^{Rp}	Som eddo sister of father; Or da'ee mother or adaada aunt; HECu *ada id.	Bilin adee oh, mother < *ʔada-i my mother		*daaʔawi relation through mother
doba ^{Rp} bride(groom)	Saho dóoba ^{Ve} friends = zooba ^{Vergari} mate(s), friends; Som doobo ^{Ab} bachelor			Asa dobonok young man
daani ^{Re} 'oor nephew		*zän / *zan brother		Burunge danaa friend
duura ^{Rp} uncle/aunt; stepfather, -mother	Or: Wellega durbii ^{Cg} cousin, niece			
diwa ^{Rp} pl. family, relatives, people		Bilin ciba kin, family ?SCCu *čawa mother		
fári ^{Rp} genitor, parent feray ^{Rp} offspring		*ʔənfara / *ʔənfāra boy or girl		
gaw ^{Rp} house, also family ^{Re}	pSam *góðb village, clan	Awngi -yo house		
hoba ^{Rp} grandfather hoob ^{Re} id. < *haw-ob? hot ^{Rp} grandmother = hoot ^{Re} id. < *haw- ot?	Som of Maay away , Jiddu awó / uwó grandmother; Arbore ʔaw maternal uncle Or: Borana haawani mothers?			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
hiida ^{Re} society hadaaga ^{Rp} family	* hayd- > Tsamakko ?eeda relative; Gedeo hado close relative, Sidamo ayddi id.			* heedi , pl. * hida person Qwadza hilaku id.
ham ^{Rp} father-in-law; son-in-law, mother-in- law	?Oromo: Orma (h) aammaa mother		háme ^{Eh} father's brother	Ma'a hame my uncle
hiyi ^{Rp} husband / wife			háájo , pl. hááʔi ^{Eh} man, husband	* hiyaʔa brother * hiʔoo sister; Iraqw ḥay ^{Eh} clan, kinsfolk
kwa ^{Rp} sister; female		Bilin ?əʔi girl Bilin (?ə) qʷi , pl. ?ək_win female Awngi -qá wife		
kwáaya ^{Re} friend, com- panion	?Dullay * qaw- man	* kāw- people, village		
m(ə) ^a ^{Rp} . pl. women	Dullay * miʔay- child HECu * meʔaat female			Iraqw maaʕi ^{MOK} mature (for girls), mar- riageable
m'aal ^{Rp} brother / sis- ter-in-law < Beja m'a women, wives + counterpart of Dullay *ʔalaw- sibling	Had mollo (close) relative or Gedeo melaalle girl			Iraqw maaloo small girl

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
raba ^{Rp} male; capable	* lab-/leb- male; big			Iraqw láválámo , pl. lávâlé ^{Wh} slave
rééro ^{Re} relative, relationship	Som reer clan, family, Rend réèr warriors, people			
raw ^{Rp} other; companion		Bilin ?äri other		
san ^{Rp} brother	?Dirayta-Mossiya inšara younger brother < * ?išn ^o ?Konso * ?ašum- sister's child ?Dullay * ?ašim- sister's child < ?* ?ašin-m ^o	* ?anšin father / brother-in-law Awngi sén brother, séna sister		
tak ^{Rp} man, tákat ^{Rp} woman taktak ^{Rp} each other	?Yaaku tuktuk all			* tikay women, wives

Statistics

Analyzed lexemes: 91.

Identified borrowings from Arabic: 13.

Identified borrowings from Ethio-Semitic: 8–9.

Inherited terms with probable or possible cognates in other Cushitic branches: 28.

Concretely: East Cushitic 20; Central Cushitic 12; Dahalo 5; South Cushitic 12.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Václav Blažek  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6797-7188>

Abbreviations of languages, dialects and language groups

AA	Afroasiatic	Hdd	Hadandiwa
Akk	Akkadian	IE	Indo-European
Amh	Amhara	Kamb	Kambatta
Ar	Arabic	L	Lowland
Aram	Aramaic	Med	Medical Texts (Egyptian)
BA	Beni Amer	MK	Middle Kingdom (Egyptian)
BD	Book of the Dead (Egyptian)	N	North
Be	Berber	NK	New Kingdom (Egyptian)
Bi	Bisharin	Nub	Nubian
Bib	Biblical	OK	Old Kingdom (Egyptian)
Ch	Chadic	Om	Omoti
Copt	Coptic	Or	Oromo
Cu	Cushitic	p	proto-
D	Dynasty (Egyptian)	Pyr	Pyramid Texts (Egyptian)
Dem	Demotic (Egyptian)	Rend	Rendille
E	East	S	South
Eg	Egyptian (see BD Dem Gr Med MK NK OK Pyr)	Se	Semitic
EpSAr	Epigraphic South Arabian	Sid	Sidamo
Et	Ethiopic	Som	Somali
Gr	Greek and Roman period (Egyptian)	Sud	Sudan
Gz	Geez	Syr	Syrian
H	Highland	Ti	Tigre
Had	Hadiyya	Ty	Tigrinya
Hadr	Hadramawt	Ug	Ugaritic
Hb	Hebrew	W	West

Abbreviations of authors

Ab	Abraham	Ki	Kiessling
Ae	Abebe	Km	Kremer
Al	Almkvist	La	Laoust
AMS	Amborn, Minker, and Sasse	Lb	Lamberti
Ap	Appleyard	Lf	Lanfry
Ba	Barth	Lg	Lafarge
Be	Bender	LH	Littmann and Höfner
BG	Bechhaus-Gerst	Lk	Lukas
Bk	Beke	Lo	Loubignac
Bl	Black	Lp	Lepsius
Bs	Bliese	Lr	Larajasse
Bu	Burckhardt	Ls	Leslau
Ce	Cerulli	LVC	Leus, Van de Loo, and Cotter
Ci	Cifoletti	Mc	Mouchet
Cp	Caprile	Me	Meinhof
CR	Conti Rossini	Mo	Moreno
Cw	Cowley	Mq	Masqueray
Do	Dolgopolsky	MQK	Mous, Qorro, and Kiessling
Ds	Doornbos	Mr	Morin
DSI	Agostini, Puglielli, and Siyaad	Ms	Mous
Eb	Ebert	Mt	Morton
EG	Erman and Grapow	Mu	Munzinger
Eh	Ehret	Ng	Nachtigal
El	Elderkin	Nk	Nakano
Fc	Foucauld	Nw	Newman
Fl	Fleming	Pa	Parker
Fr	Freytag	PG	Pillinger and Galboran
GD	Gaudefroy-Demombynes	Pl	Palmer
Gg	Gragg	RB	René Basset
Gr	Greenberg	Re	Reinisch
Gt	Grottanelli	Rn	Renisio
Hb	Haberland	Rp	Roper
He	Heine	Sa	Sasse
Hf	Hoffmann	Sb	Seignobos
HG	Grover Hudson	Se	Seetzen
Hs	Hess	Sg	Steingass
Ht	Hetzron	Sk	Skinner
HuB	Hudson's Beja field notes rewritten by Blench	St	Strumpell
Hy	Hayward	Th	Thompson
Ib	Ibriszimow	Tl	Thelwall
Jg	Jungraithmayr	Tn	Thiene
JgIb	Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow (1994)	To	Tosco
Jh	Johnstone	Tu	Tutschek
Kc	Krockow	Tx	Tourneux
		Ve	Venturino
		Vh	Vanhove

Vi	Viterbo	Wr	Wehr
Wb.	Erman and Grapow (1971)	Wt	Watson
We	Welmers	ZL	Zealelem Leyew

The less usual grammatical abbreviations

Art.	article	v. 1	verb of the first (prefixal) conjugation
c.	genus communis		
coll.	collective	v. 2	verb of the second (suffixal) conjugation
obj.	objective case		

References

- Abraham, Roy Clive. 1962. *Somali-English Dictionary*. London: University of London Press.
- Abraham, Roy Clive. 1967. *English-Somali Dictionary*. London: University of London Press.
- Agostini, Francesco, Annarita Puglielli, and Ciise Moxamed Siyaad, eds. 1985. *Dizionario Somalo-Italiano*. Roma: Gangemi.
- Andreu, Guillemette, and Sylvie Cauville. 1977. 'Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (I)'. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 29: 5–13.
- Andreu, Guillemette, and Sylvie Cauville. 1978. 'Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (II)'. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 30: 10–21.
- AHw = Soden, Wolfram von, and Bruno Meissner. 1965–1981. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. III vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Aistleitner, Joseph. 1965. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. 2nd ed. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Albright, William Foxwell. 1918. 'Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology'. *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 34: 81–98, 215–255.
- Alio, Khalil. 1986. *Essai de description de la langue bidiya du Guéra (Tchad)*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Alio, Khalil, and Herrmann Jungraithmayr. 1989. *Lexique bidiya*. Frankfurt: Klostermann.
- Allison, Sean. 2005. *Makary Kotoko Provisional Lexicon, Cameroun*. S.I.: SIL.
- Almkvist, Herman. 1881–1885. *Die Bischari-Sprache Tū-Beḏāwīe in Nordost-Afrika*. 2 vols. Uppsala: Druck der Akademischen Buchdruckerei, Edv. Berling.
- Alojaly, Ghoubeid. 1980. *Touareg-français*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Amborn, Hermann, Gunter Minker, and Hans-Jürgen Sasse. 1980. *Das Dullay*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Amha, Azeb. 2001. *The Maale Language*. Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies at Universiteit Leiden.
- Appleyard, David L. 1977. 'A Comparative Approach to the Amharic Lexicon'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5 (2): 43–109.
- Appleyard, David L. 1984. 'The Internal Classification of the Agaw Languages: A Comparative and Historical Phonology'. In *Current Progress in Afroasiatic Linguistics. Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by James Bynon, 33–67. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Appleyard, David L. 1987. 'A Grammatical Sketch of Khamtanga, II'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50: 470–507.
- Appleyard, David L. 1989. 'Agaw and Omotic Links: The Evidence of the Lexicon'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.

- Appleyard, David L. 1991. 'The Vowel System of Agaw: Reconstruction and Historical Inferences'. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by Hans G. Mukarovskiy, 2: 13–28. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 41. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Appleyard, David L. 2006. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Arvanites, Linda. 1990. *The glottalic phonemes of Proto Eastern Cushitic*. PhD thesis, Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles.
- Banti, Giorgio, and Saalim Aliyow Ibraaw. 1996. *Jiddu: An Extended Basic Word List*. Roma (draft version).
- Barth, Heinrich. 1858. *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1855. Band V. Anhang IV: Wörterbuch des Dialektes der Auelimiden*. Gotha: Perthes, 673–714.
- Basset, André. 1925. 'Le nom du "coq" en berbère'. In *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à J. Vendryès par ses amis et ses élèves*, edited by Louis Renou, 41–58. Paris: Champion.
- Basset, André. 1929. *Études de géographie linguistique en Kabylie (sur quelques termes berbères concernant le corps humain)*. Paris: Leroux.
- Basset, André. 1959. *Articles de dialectologie berbère*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Basset, René. 1895. 'Les noms des métaux et des couleurs en berbère'. *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 9: 58–91.
- Basset, René. 1909. *Mission du Sénégal. I. Étude sur le dialecte zénaga*. Paris: Leroux.
- Bechhaus-Gerst, Marianne. 1984. 'Sprachliche und historische Rekonstruktionen im Bereich des Nubischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Nilnubischen'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 6: 7–134.
- Beeston, Alfred F.L., M.A. Ghul, Walter W. Müller, and Jacques Ryckmans. 1982. *Dictionnaire sabéen*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters (Beyrouth: Librairie du Liban).
- Beke, Charles Tilstone. 1845. 'On the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries to the South'. *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 2 (23): 89–107.
- Belova, Anna. 1989. 'Isoglosses yéménites-couchitiques'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.
- Belova, Anna. 1991. 'Sur la reconstruction du vocalisme afroasiatique: quelques correspondances égypto-sémitiques'. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by Hans G. Mukarovskiy, 2: 85–93. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 41. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 1971. 'The Languages of Ethiopia: A New Lexicostatistic Classification and Some Problems of Diffusion'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 13 (5): 165–288.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 1975. *Omotic: A New Afroasiatic Language Family*. University Museum Series 3. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 1988. 'Proto-Omotic Phonology and Lexicon'. In *Cushitic-Omotic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages (Cologne, January 6–9, 1986)*, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 121–159. Hamburg: Buske.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 1994. 'Aroid (South Omotic) Lexicon'. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 38: 133–162.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 2003. *Omotic Lexicon and Phonology*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University.
- Bender, M. Lionel. 2020. *Cushitic Lexicon and Phonology*, edited by Grover Hudson. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Biarnay, Samuel. 1908. *Dialecte berbère (Ouargla)*. Paris: Leroux.
- Biberstein-Kazimirski, Albert de. 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. 2 vols. Paris: Maisonneuve.

- Biella, Joan Copeland. 1982. *Dictionary of Old South Arabic. Sabaean Dialect*. Harvard Semitic Studies 25. Chico: Scholars Press.
- Black, Paul David. 1974. 'Lowland East Cushitic: Subgrouping and Reconstruction'. PhD Thesis, New Haven: Yale University.
- Blažek, Václav. 1989a. 'Omotic Lexicon in Afroasiatic Perspective: Body Parts Cognates'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, November 1989.
- Blažek, Václav. 1989b. 'A New Contribution to Comparative-Historical Afrasian Linguistics'. *Asian and African Studies* 24: 203–222.
- Blažek, Václav. 1990. 'A Comparative-Etymological Approach to Afrasian Numerals'. In *Proceedings of the 5th International Hamito-Semitic Congress: Held at the University of Vienna, 27th September – 2nd October 1987*, vol 2., edited by Hans G. Mukarovský, 29–44. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Blažek, Václav. 1997. 'Cushitic Lexicostatistics: The Second Attempt'. In *Afroasiatica Neapolitana. Studi Africanisti*, edited by Alessandro Bausi and Mauro Tosco, 171–188. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Blažek, Václav. 1999. 'Egyptian Numerals'. In *Afroasiatica Tergestina. Papers from the 9th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics, Trieste, April 1998*, edited by Marcello Lamberti and Livia Tonelli, 229–264. Trieste: Unipress.
- Blažek, Václav. 2003. 'Beja Language'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, 1:519–521. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Blažek, Václav. 2002 [2004]. 'Toward the Berber Kinship Terminology in the Afroasiatic Context'. In *Articles de linguistique berbère : Mémoial Werner Vycichl*, edited by Kamal Nait-Zerrad, 103–135. Paris, Budapest, and Torino: L'Harmattan.
- Blažek, Václav. 2005a. 'Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology in Beja Lexicon (Fragment of a Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja), I'. In *Memoriae Igor M. Diakonoff*, edited by Leonid E. Kogan, Natalia Koslova, Sergey Loesov, and Serguei Tishchenko, 365–407. Babel und Bibel 2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Blažek, Václav. 2005b. 'Cushitic and Omotic Strata in Ongota, a Moribund Language of Uncertain Affiliation from Southeast Ethiopia'. *Archiv orientální* 73: 43–68.
- Blažek, Václav. 2006. 'Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology in Beja Lexicon (Fragment of a Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja), II'. In *Annual of Ancient Near Eastern, Old Testament, and Semitic Studies*, edited by Leonid E. Kogan, Natalia Koslova, Sergey Loesov and Serguei Tishchenko, 383–428. Babel und Bibel 3. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Blažek, Václav. 2007. 'Beja Historical Phonology: Consonantism'. In *Omotic and Cushitic Language Studies. Papers from the Fourth Cushitic Omotic Conference (Leiden, April 2003)*, edited by Azeb Amha, Maarten Mous, and Graziano Savà, 125–156. Köln: Köppe.
- Blažek, Václav. 2008. 'A Lexicostatistical Comparison of Omotic Languages'. In *Hot Pursuit of Language in Prehistory. Essays in the Four Fields of Anthropology*, edited by John D. Bengtson, 57–148. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Blažek, Václav. 2013a. 'Cushitic Year'. In *Sounds and Words through the Ages: Afroasiatic Studies from Turin*, edited by Alessandro Mengozzi and Mauro Tosco, 65–79. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Blažek, Václav. 2013b. 'Beja Lexicostatistics'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 55: 21–35.
- Blažek, Václav. 2014. 'Beja versus Nilo-Saharan: On the Lexical Witness of Mutual Contacts'. *Folia Orientalia* 51: 319–336.
- Blažek, Václav. 2020. 'An Excerpt from the "Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja: Anatomical Lexicon"'. *Folia Orientalia* 57: 25–125.

- Blažek, Václav. 2021. 'Flora in Beja Lexicon'. *Folia Orientalia* 58: 39–63.
- Blažek, Václav. 2023. 'An Excerpt from the "Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja: Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology"'. *Folia Orientalia* 60: 329–428.
- Bliese, Loren F. 1970. 'The Lexicon—a Key to Culture; with Illustrations from Afar Word Lists'. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 8 (2): 1–20.
- Borelli, Jules. 1890. *Éthiopie méridionale*. Paris: May Motterot.
- Borello, Mario P. 1995. *Dizionario Oromo-Italiano*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Sasse and Paolo Tablino. Hamburg: Buske.
- Brenzinger, Matthias. 1995. 'The Bayso Communities and Their Languages'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 26: 5–32.
- Brockelmann, Carl. 1950. *Abessinische Studien*. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse 97,4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Büchner, Hanspeter. 1964. 'Vokabulare der Sprachen in und um Gava (Nordnigerien)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 48: 36–45.
- Burckhardt, John Lewis. 1819. *Travels in Nubia*. London: Murray.
- Calice, Franz. 1936. *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung*. Wien: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Institutes der Universität.
- Caprile, Jean-Pierre. 1975. *Lexique Tumak-Français (Tchad)*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1929. 'Note su alcune popolazioni Sidama dell'Abissinia meridionale, II. – I Sidama dell'Omo'. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 12: 1–70.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1936. *Studi etiopici. I. La lingua e la storia di Harar*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1938a. *Studi etiopici. II. La lingua e la storia dei Sidamo*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1938b. *Studi etiopici. III. Il linguaggio dei Gangerò ed alcune lingue Sidama dell'Omo (Basketo, Ciara, Zaissè)*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1951. *Studi etiopici. IV. La lingua Caffina*. Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente.
- Cerulli, Enrico. 1961. 'Etiopico'. In *Linguistica semitica: Presente e futuro*, edited by Giorgio Levi Della Vida and Henri Cazelles, 139–159. Roma: Centro di studi semitici, Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, Università di Roma.
- Chaker, Salem. 1984. *Textes en linguistique berbère : introduction au domaine berbère*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- Cifoletti, Guido. 1986. 'I fabbri di Kassala: contributo alla conoscenza del lessico begia'. *Incontri Linguistici* 11: 79–93.
- Cifoletti, Guido. 1987. 'Terminologia marittima araba e begia in Sudan'. In *Atti della 4a giornata di Studi camito-semitici e indoeuropei*, edited by Giuliano Bernini and Vermondo Brugnatelli, 73–76. Milano: Unicopli.
- Cifoletti, Guido. 1994. 'Un'inedita grammatica begia di fine ottocento'. In: *Sem Cam Iafet: Atti della 7a giornata di studi camito-semitici e indoeuropei*, edited by Vermondo Brugnatelli, 57–62. Milano: Centro Studi Camito-Semitici.
- Cifoletti, Guido. N.d. *Note linguistiche sulla tribu' Halanga (Sudan)*. Ms.
- Clark, W.T. 1938. 'Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Northern Bega'. *Sudan Notes and Records* 21 (1): 1–29.
- Cohen, David. 1970f. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Paris and La Haye: Mouton.
- Cohen, Marcel. 1947. *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*. Paris: Champion.

- Colombel, Véronique de. 1997. *La langue ouldémé (Nord-Cameroun). Précis de grammaire, texte, lexique*. Paris: Les Documents de Linguistique Africaine.
- Conti, Giovanni. 1990. 'Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue eblaita, II: glossari'. *Quaderni di semitistica* 17: 63–220.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1904. 'Appunti sulla lingua khamta dell'Averghellé'. *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 17: 183–242.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1905. 'Appunti sulla lingua awiya del Danghal'. *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 18: 103–194.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1912. *La langue des Kemant en Abyssinie*. Schriften der Sprachenkommission IV. Vienna: Hölder.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1925. 'Sui linguaggi dei Naa e dei Ghimirra (Sce) nell'Etiopia meridionale'. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche filologiche* VI (1): 612–636.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1936. 'Contributi per la conoscenza della lingua haruro'. *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche filologiche* VI (12): 621–671.
- Cortade, Jean-Marie. 1967. *Lexique français-touareg*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale de France.
- Cowley, Roger W., Birru Teqebba, and Adal Zena. 1971. 'The Kunfāl People and Their Language'. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 9: 99–106.
- Cyffer, Norbert. 1994. *English-Kanuri Dictionary*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Dallet, J.-M. 1982. *Dictionnaire kabyle-français*. Paris: SELAF.
- Destaing, Edmond. 1914. *Dictionnaire français-berbère (Dialect des Beni-Snous)*. Paris: Leroux.
- Diakonoff, Igor M. 1965. *Hamito-Semitic Languages*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Diakonoff, Igor M. 1988. *Afrasian Languages*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 1988. 'The Lexical Reconstruction of Proto-Nilotic: A First Reconnaissance'. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 16: 5–67.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. [Dolgopol'skij, Aron B.]. 1966. 'Materialy po sravnitel'no-istoričeskoj fonetike kušitskix jazykov: Gubnye i dental'nye smyčnye v načal'nom položenii'. In *Jazyki Afriki. Voprosy struktury, istorii i tipologii*, edited by B.A. Uspenskij, 35–88. Moskva: Nauka.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. 1972. 'La permutation des *m et *b initiaux dans les racines couchitiques'. In *Congrès international des africanistes, 2e session. Dakar, 11–20 décembre 1967*, 225–234. Paris: Présence africaine.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. [Dolgopol'skij, Aron B.]. 1973. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika kušitskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. 1983. 'Semitic and East Cushitic: Sound Correspondences and Cognate Sets'. In *Ethiopian Studies: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday, Nov. 14th, 1981 by Friends and Colleagues*, edited by Stanislav Segert and András J.E. Bodrogligeti, 123–142. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. 1986. 'Semitic nomina segolata in Ethiopic'. In *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14–17 April, 1980*, edited by Gideon Goldenberg, 71–90. Rotterdam and Boston: Balkema.
- Dolgopolsky, Aron B. 1999. *From Proto-Semitic to Hebrew. Etymological Approach in a Hamito-Semitic Perspective*. Milano: Centro Studi Camito-Semitici.
- Doornbos, Paul, and Bender M. Lionel. 1983. 'Languages of Wadai-Darfur'. In *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies*, edited by M. Lionel Bender, 42–79. East Lansing: African Studies Center.
- DRS = Cohen, David. 1970f. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Paris and La Haye: Mouton.

- DUL = Olmo Lete, Gregorio del, and Joaquín Sanmartín. 2003. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Ebert, Karin H. 1976. *Sprache und Tradition der Kera (Tchad)*, III: *Lexicon/Lexique*. Berlin: Reimer.
- EDE = Takács, Gábor. 1999–2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*. III vols. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1974. *Ethiopians and East Africans. The Problem of Contacts*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1979. 'On the Antiquity of Agriculture in Ethiopia'. *The Journal of African History* 20 (2): 161–177.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1980. *The Historical Reconstruction of Southern Cushitic Phonology and Vocabulary*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1987. 'Proto-Cushitic Reconstruction'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 8: 7–180.
- Ehret, Christopher. 1994. 'The Consonants of Proto-Eastern Cushitic'. Paper presented at the 3rd International Congress of Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Berlin, 17–19 March 1994.
- Ehret, Christopher. 2001. *A Historical-Comparative Reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan*. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 12. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Ehret, Christopher, Edward Derek Elderkin, and D. Nurse. 1989. 'Dahalo Lexis and Its Sources'. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 18: 5–49.
- Ehret, Christopher, and Mohamed Nuuh Ali. 1984. 'Soomaali Classification'. In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies, University of Hamburg, August 1–6, 1983: Linguistics and Literature*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 201–269. Hamburg: Buske.
- Ember, Aaron. 1912. 'Notes on the Relation of Egyptian and Semitic'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 50: 86–90.
- Faulkner, Raymond O. 1981. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute. Reprint.
- Fedry, Jacques. 1971. *Dictionnaire Dangaléat (Tchad)*. Lyon: Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1964. 'Baiso and Rendille: Somali Outliers'. *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 20: 35–96.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1965. 'The Age-Grading Cultures of East Africa: A Historical Inquiry'. PhD thesis, University of Pittsburgh.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1969a. 'Asa and Aramanic. Cushitic Hunters in Masai-Land'. *Ethnology* 8: 1–36.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1969b. 'Classification of West Cushitic Within Hamito-Semitic'. In *Eastern African History*, edited by Daniel F. McCall, Norman R. Bennett, and Jeffrey Butler, 3–27. New York, Washington and London: Praeger.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1971. *Wordlists of Dasenech, Doko, Galila, Ganjule, Gofa, Malo, Oyda, Ubaner*. Unpublished field notes.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1974. 'Omotic as an Afroasiatic Family'. *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement* 5: 81–94.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1976a. 'Omotic Overview'. In *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, edited by M. Lionel Bender, 222–231. East Lansing: African Studies Center.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1976b. 'Kefa (Gonga) Languages'. In *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, edited by M. Lionel Bender, 351–376. East Lansing: African Studies Center.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1988. 'Mao's Ancestor. Consonant Phonemes of Proto-Mao. Stage One'. In *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Ethiopian Studies: Moscow, 26–29 Au-*

- gust 1986, edited by Anatoly Gromyko, 35–44. Moscow: Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences.
- Foucauld, Charles De. 1951–1952. *Dictionnaire touareg-français: Dialecte de l'Ahaggar*. 4 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale de France.
- Foulkes, H. D. 1915. *Angass Manual*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- Freytag, Georg Wilhelm. 1830–1837. *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. Halis Saxonum: Schwetschke et filium.
- Fronzaroli, Pelio. 1964. 'Studi sul lessico comune semitico, II. Anatomia e fisiologia'. *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 8. *Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 19 (7–12): 243–280.
- Fronzaroli, Pelio. 1988. 'Materiali per il lessico eblaita, 1'. *Studi eblaiti* 7: 145–190.
- Funaioli, U., and A.M. Simonetta. 1985. *Nomi vernacolari degli animali in Somalia e denominazioni corrispondenti in latino, inglese ed italiano. Vernacular Names of Somali Animals with Correspondent Latin, English and Italian Denominations*. Firenze: Istituto agronomico per l'oltremare.
- Gamta, Tilahun. 1989. *Oromo-English Dictionary*. Addis Ababa: AAU Print. Press.
- Gardiner, Alan. 1988. *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice. 1907. 'Documents sur les langues de l'Oubangi-Chari'. In *Actes du 14e Congrès international des orientalistes, Alger 1905. 2ème Partie, Section IV*, 172–330. Paris: Leroux.
- Gordon, Cyrus H. 1965. *Ugaritic Textbook (Glossary, Indices)*. *Analecta Orientalia* 38. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Gouffé, Claude. 1975. 'Notes de lexicologie et d'étymologie soudanaises: II, III'. *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 16 (1971–1972): 101–119, 155–173.
- Gragg, Gene B. 1982. *Oromo Dictionary*. East Lansing: African Studies Center.
- Gravina, Richard. 2014. *The Phonology of Proto-Central Chadic. The Reconstruction of the Phonology and Lexicon of Proto-Central Chadic, and the Linguistic History of the Central Chadic Languages*. Utrecht: Landelijke Onderzoekschool Taalwetenschap.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963a. 'The Mogogodo, a Forgotten Cushitic People'. *Journal of African Languages* 2: 29–43.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963b. *The Languages of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Grottanelli, Vinigi L. 1940. *Missione etnografica nel Uollega occidentale, I. Mao*. Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia.
- Grottanelli, Vinigi L. 1941. 'Gli Scinascia del Nilo-azzurro ed alcuni lessici poco noti della loro lingua'. *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 1: 234–270.
- Haberland, Eike. 1966. 'Zur Sprache der Bodi, Mursi und Yidenič Südwest-Äthiopien'. In *Neue Afrikanistische Studien*, edited by Johannes Lukas, 88–99. *Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde* 5. Hamburg: Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung.
- Haberland, Eike, and Marcello Lamberti. 1988. *Ibaaddo ka-Ba'iso: Culture and Language of the Ba'iso*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Habte Mikael, Habte Wolde, and J.N. Zwarthoed. 1989. *English Kaffinya Dictionary*. Addis Abeba: Lazarist School.
- Hailu, Berhanu, Dereje Sisay, and Klaus Wedekind. 1995. 'Khamir—the People [ximra] and Their Language [xim'ana]'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 23: 1–8.
- Halévy, J. 1869. 'Études sur les idiomes de l'Afrique: de la place de la langue hadendoa'. *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* 3: 175–208.

- Hannig, Rainer, and Petra Vomberg. 1999. *Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1978. 'The Qawko Dialects and Yaaku'. *Abbay* 9: 59–70.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1979. 'Bayso Revisited: Some Preliminary Linguistic Observations II'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42: 101–132.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1981. 'Nominal Suffixes in Dirayta (Gidole)'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44: 126–144.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1982. 'Notes on the Koyra Language'. *Afrika und Übersee* 65: 211–268.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1984. *The Arbore Language*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1988. 'Remarks on the Omotic Sibilants'. In *Cushitic-Omotic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, January 6–9, 1986*, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 263–299. Hamburg: Buske.
- Hayward, Richard J. 1989. 'Comparative Notes on the Language of the S'aamakko'. *Journal of Afroasiatic Linguistics* 1: 1–53.
- Heine, Bernd. 1973. 'Vokabulare ostafrikanischer Restsprachen, I: Elmolo'. *Afrika und Übersee* 56 (4): 276–283.
- Heine, Bernd. 1975. 'Notes on the Yaaku Language (Kenya)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 58: 27–61, 119–138.
- Heine, Bernd. 1976. 'Notes on the Rendille Language (Kenya)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 59: 176–223.
- Heine, Bernd. 1978. 'The Sam Languages. A History of Rendille, Boni and Somali'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 6 (2): 23–115.
- Heine, Bernd. 1980. 'Elmolo'. In *The Non-Bantu Languages of Kenya*, edited by Bernd Heine, 173–218. Language and Dialect Atlas of Kenya 2. Berlin: Reimer.
- Heine, Bernd. 1981. 'Some Cultural Evidence on the Early Sam-Speaking People of Eastern Africa'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 3: 169–200.
- Heine, Bernd. 1982. *Boni Dialects*. Language and Dialect Atlas of Kenya 10. Berlin: Reimer.
- Hess, Johann J. 1917–1918. 'Bemerkungen zu einigen arabischen Wörtern des abessinischen Glossars'. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 31: 26–32.
- Hess, Johann J. 1919. 'Geographische Benennungen und Pflanzennamen in der nördlichen Bischari-Sprache'. *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* 9: 209–225.
- Hetzron, Robert. 1969. *The Verbal System of Southern Agaw*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hetzron, Robert. 1976. 'The Agaw Languages'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 3 (3): 31–74.
- Hetzron, Robert. 1978. 'The Nominal System of Awngi (Southern Agaw)'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 41: 121–141.
- Hetzron, Robert. 1980. 'The Limits of Cushitic'. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 2: 7–126.
- Heuglin, Theodor von. 1860. 'Reise in Nordost-Afrika und längs des Rothen Meers im Jahre 1857'. *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie* 6: 326–358.
- Hodge, Carleton T. 1976. 'An Egypto-Semitic Comparison'. *Folia Orientalia* 17: 5–28.
- Hoffmann, Carl. 1963. *A Grammar of the Marga Language*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hofman, Inge, Herbert Tomandl, and Michael Zach. 1984. 'k3rm.t – Armband aus Elefantenhaut?' *Göttinger Miszellen* 74: 7–9.
- Holma, Harri. 1911. 'Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen'. Leipzig: s.n.
- Huber, Otto. 1898. *Elementi di grammatica bisciarina*. Ms. Roma.
- Hudson, Grover. 1989. *Highland East Cushitic Dictionary*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Hudson, Richard. 1976. 'Beja'. In *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, edited by M. Lionel Bender, 97–131. East Lansing: African Studies Center.

- Hudson, Richard. 1996. 'Beja Lexicon'. Unpublished field notes rewritten and distributed by Roger Blench.
- Illič-Svityč, Vladislav M. 1966. 'Iz istorii čadskogo konsonantizma: labial'nye smyčnye'. In *Jazyki Afriki. Voprosy struktury, istorii i tipologii*, edited by B.A. Uspenskij, 9–34. Moskva: Nauka
- Illič-Svityč, Vladislav. 1971. *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskix jazykov*. Vol. I. Moskva: Nauka.
- Illič-Svityč, Vladislav. 1976. *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskix jazykov*. Vol. II. Moskva: Nauka.
- Illič-Svityč, Vladislav. 1984. *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskix jazykov*. Vol. III. Moskva: Nauka.
- Jaggat, Philip J. 1988. 'Guruntum (*gârdâng*) (West Chadic-B): Linguistic Notes and Wordlist'. *African Languages and Cultures* 1: 169–189.
- Johnstone, Thomas M. 1977. *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English-Ḥarsūsi Wordlist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1961. 'Beobachtungen zur tschadohamitischen Sprache der Jegu (und Jonkor) von Abu Telfan (République du Tchad)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 45: 95–123.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1963. 'Die Sprache der Sura (Maghavul) in Nordnigerien'. *Afrika und Übersee* 47: 8–89, 204–220.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1964. 'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Chip, Montol, Gerka und Burrum (Südplateau, Nordnigerien)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 48: 161–182.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1970. *Die Ron-Sprachen: Tschadohamitischen Studien in Nordnigerien*. Glückstadt: Augustin.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1981. 'Über die Mawa (Guera, Tschad) – Ethnographische und linguistische Notizen'. In *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von P. Anton Vorbichler. I. Teil*, edited by Inge Hofmann, 47–70. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 11. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann. 1990. *Lexique Mokilko: Mokilko-français et français-mokilko (Guéra, Tchad)*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, and Dymitr Ibrizimow. 1993. 'Chadic Lexical Roots – Wege zum Urtschadischen'. In IX. *Afrikanistentag. Beiträge zur afrikanischen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 16. – 24. September 1992, edited by Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig, Siegmund Brauner, and Herrmann Jungraithmayr, 129–148. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, and Dymitr Ibrizimow. 1994. *Chadic Lexical Roots*. 2 vols. Berlin: Reimer.
- Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, and Kiyoshi Shimizu. 1981. *Chadic Lexical Roots. II: Tentative Reconstruction, Grading and Distribution*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Kiessling, Roland, and Maarten Mous. 2003. *The Lexical Reconstruction of West-Rift Southern Cushitic*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Klein, Ernest. 1987. *A Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*. New York and London: Macmillan.
- Kossmann, Maarten. 1999. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Kraft, Charles. 1981. *Chadic Wordlists*. 3 vols. Berlin: Reimer.
- Krebernik, Manfred. 1983. 'Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil 2'. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 73: 1–47.
- Kremer, Alfred von. 1863. *Aegypten*. Vol. I. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Krockow von Wickerode, Carl Graf. 1867. *Reisen und Jagden in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. II. Berlin: Duncker.
- Kusia, Dinote (Shenkere), and Ralph Siebert. 1994. 'Wordlists of Arbore (Irbore), Birayle (Ongota) and Tsamay (Tsamaho)'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 20: 4–12.
- Lacau, Pierre. 1970. *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique*. Paris: Klincksieck.

- Lamberti, Marcello. 1984a. 'Review of *An Etymological Dictionary of Burji* by Hans-Jürgen Sasse, 1982'. *Anthropos* 79 (4-6): 720-721.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1984b. 'The Linguistic Situation in the Somali Democratic Republic'. In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies: University of Hamburg, August 1-6, 1983*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 155-200. Hamburg: Buske.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1986. *Die Somali-Dialekte*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1987. 'Some Konsoid Etymologies'. *Anthropos* 82: 529-541.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1988. *Kuliak and Cushitic: A Comparative Study*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1993a. *Die Schinascha Sprache*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Lamberti, Marcello. 1993b. *Materialien zum Yemsa*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Lamberti, Marcello, and Roberto Sottile. 1997. *The Wolayta Language*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Lane, Edward William. 1863-1893. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.
- Lanfry, Jacques. 1973. *Ghadamès: II. Glossaire*. Fort-National: Fichier.
- Laoust, Emile. 1920. *Mots et choses berbères: Notes de linguistique et d'ethnographie – Dialectes du Maroc*. Paris: Challamel.
- Laoust, Emile. 1931. *Siwa. I*. Paris: Leroux.
- Larajasse, Evangeliste. 1897. *Somali-English and English-Somali Dictionary*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Lebeuf, Jean-Paul. 1942. 'Vocabulaires Kotoko: Makari, Gulfei, Kousséri, Afadé'. *Bulletin de l'institut français d'Afrique Noire* 4: 160-174.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1938. *Lexique soqotri (sudarabique moderne): avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1945. 'The Parts of the Body in the Modern South Arabic Languages'. *Language* 21: 230-249.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1959. *A Dictionary of Moča (Southern Ethiopia)*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1963. *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1979. *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1980. 'Proto-**Sidamo *z*'. *Afrika und Übersee* 63: 119-129.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1982. 'North Ethiopic and Amharic Cognates in Tigre'. *Supplemento n. 31 agli ANNALI* 42,2. Istituto Orientale di Napoli: Napoli.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1986. 'Cushitic Loanwords in Gurage'. In *Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14-17 April, 1980*, edited by Gideon Goldenberg, 373-387. Rotterdam and Boston: Balkema.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1987. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1988. 'Observations on Sasse's Vocabulary of Burji'. *Afrika und Übersee* 71: 177-203.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1990. 'Analysis of the Ge'ez vocabulary: Ge'ez and Cushitic'. *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 32 (1988): 59-109.
- Leus, Ton, Joseph Van de Loo, and George Cotter. 1992. *An Oromo-English Vocabulary*. Debre Zeit: Bole Press.
- Linant de Bellefonds Bey, L.M.A. 1868. *L'Etchaye, pays habité par les Arabes Bicharieh: géographie, ethnologie, mines d'or*. Paris: Arthus Bertrand.
- Littmann, Enno, and Maria Höfner. 1962. *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Loubignac, Victorien. 1924-1925. *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Zaïan et Aït Sgougou*. 2 vols. Paris: E. Leroux.

- Lucas, Louis. 1876. 'On Natives of Suakin and Bishareen Vocabulary'. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 6 (2): 191.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1936. *Die Logone-Sprache im Zentralen Sudan*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 21,6. Leipzig: Kraus.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1937. *Zentralsudanische Studien*. Hamburg: Friedrichsen, de Gruyter and Co.
- Lukas, Johannes. 1941. *Deutsche Quellen zur Sprache der Musgu in Kamerun*. Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 24. Berlin: Reimer, Hamburg: Friedrichsen.
- Luling, Virginia. 1987. *Somali-English Dictionary*. Wheaton: Dunwoody Press.
- Maddieson, Ian, Sinisa Spajić, Bonny Sands, and Peter Ladefoged. 1993. 'Phonetic Structures of Dahalo'. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 36: 5–53.
- Majzel', Solomon S., and Aleksandr J. Militarev, eds. 1983. *Puti razvitija kornevogo fonda semitskix jazykov*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Masqueray, Émile. 1893–1895. *Dictionnaire français-touareg (dialecte des Taitoq)*. Paris: Leroux.
- Matsushita, Shuji. 1972. *An Outline of Gwandara Phonemics and Gwandara-English Vocabulary*. Tokyo: Tokyo Press.
- Meeks, Dimitri. 1977. *Année lexicographique: Égypte ancienne*. Vol. 1. Paris: Cybele.
- Meeks, Dimitri. 1978. *Année lexicographique: Égypte ancienne*. Vol. 2. Paris: Cybele.
- Meeks, Dimitri. 1979. *Année lexicographique: Égypte ancienne*. Vol. 3. Paris: Cybele.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1912. *Die Sprache der Hamiten*. Hamburg: Friedrichsen.
- Meinhof, Carl. 1919. 'Sprachstudien im ägyptischen Sudan. D. Eine Hamitensprache: 44. Bedauey'. *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen* 9: 246–255.
- Meyer-Bahlburg, Hilke. 1972–1973. Texte im Musgu von Girdivik (Norkamerun). *Afrika und Übersee* 56: 61–71.
- Militarev, Aleksandr J. 1988. *Berber Word Lists*. Offered to the author.
- Militarev, Aleksandr J. 1991. 'Livijsko-guančskie jazyki'. In *Jazyki Azii i Afriki IV.2*, edited by Igor M. Ďjakonov and G.Š. Šarbatov, 148–267. Moskva: Glavnaja redakcija vostočnoj literatury.
- Militarev, Alexander. 2022. 'Reconstructing a Cultural Lexicon for Pre-History: Berber Zonyms of Afrasian (Afro-Asiatic) Origin'. *Asian and African Studies* 31 (1): 1–41.
- Militarev, Alexander, and Sergei Nikolaev. 2020. 'Proto-Afrasian Names of Ungulates in Light of the Proto-Afrasian Homeland Issue'. *Journal of Language Relationship* 18 (3): 199–226.
- Morin, Didier. 1995. *Des paroles douces comme la soie : introduction aux contes dans l'aire couchitique (bedja, afar, saho, somali)*. Paris: Peeters.
- Morton, John. 1988. 'Beja Kinship Terminology'. *Northeast African Studies* 10: 140–149.
- Mouchet, Jean. 1950. 'Vocabulaires comparatifs de quinze parlers du Nord-Cameroun'. *Études camerounaises* 3 (29–30): 5–74.
- Mouchet, Jean. 1953. 'Vocabulaires comparatifs de sept parlers du Nord-Cameroun'. *Études camerounaises* 6 (41–42): 137–199.
- Mous, Maarten. 1992. 'A Grammar of Iraqw'. PhD thesis, Leiden: Leiden University.
- Mous, Maarten, Martha Qorro, and Roland Kießling. 2002. *Iraqw-English Dictionary with an English and Thesaurus Index*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1981. 'Wo steht das Saharanische?' *Afrika und Übersee* 64: 187–226.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1987. *Mande-Chadic Common Stock. A Study of Phonological and Lexical Evidence*. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 32. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Mukarovsky, Hans G. 1989. 'On the Relations of Cushitic, Omotic and Chadic Languages'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.

- Müller, W. Max. 1896. 'Altafrikanische Glossen'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 10: 203–211.
- Müller, Walter W. 1975. 'Beiträge zur hamito-semitischen Wortvergleichung'. In *Hamito-Semitic: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held by the Historical Section of the Linguistics Association (Great Britain) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on the 18th, 19th and 20th of March 1970*, edited by James Bynon and Theodora Bynon, 33–50. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- Munzinger, Werner. 1864. *Ostafrikanische Studien*. Schaffhausen: F. Hurter.
- Murray, George W. 1923. *An English-Nubian Comparative Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Nachtigal, Gustav. 1879. *Sahara und Sudan*. Vol. 1. Berlin and Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Nachtigal, Gustav. 1881. *Sahara und Sudan*. Vol. 2. Berlin and Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Nachtigal, Gustav. 1889. *Sahara und Sudan*. Vol. 3. Berlin and Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Naït-Zerrad, Kamal. 1998f. *Dictionnaire des racines berbères (formes attestées)*. 3 vols. Paris and Louvain: Peeters.
- Nakano, Aki'o. 1976. *Basic Vocabulary in Standard Somali*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Nakano, Aki'o, and Yoichi Tsuge Y. 1982. *A Vocabulary of Beni Amer Dialect of Tigré*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Nehilil, Mohammad. 1909. *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Newman, Francis William. 1887. *Kabail Vocabulary*. London: Trübner.
- Newman, Paul. 1964. 'A Word List of Tera'. *Journal of the West African Languages* 1: 33–50.
- Newman, Paul. 1977. 'Chadic Classification and Reconstructions'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5 (1): 1–42.
- Newman, Paul, and Roxana Ma. 1966. 'Comparative Chadic: Phonology and Lexicon'. *Journal of African Languages* 5: 218–251.
- Nicolas, Francis. 1953. *La langue berbère de Mauritanie*. Dakar: Mémoire de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 33.
- Nicolas, Francis. 1957. 'Vocabulaires ethnographiques de la Tamajeq des Iullemmeden de l'est, VI–VII'. *Anthropos* 52: 49–64, 564–580.
- Nishio, Tetsuo. 1994. *The Arabic Dialect of Qift*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Ongaye Oda, Orkaydo. 2013. *A Grammar of Konso*. Utrecht: Landelijke Onderzoekschool Taalwetenschap, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.
- Orel, Vladimir, and Olga Stolbova. 1995. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden: Brill.
- Palmer, Frank Robert. 1958. 'The Noun in Bilin'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21: 377–391.
- Paradisi, Umberto. 1960. 'Il berbero di Augilo'. *Rivista degli studi orientali* 35: 157–177.
- Parker, Enid M., and Richard J. Hayward. 1985. *An Afar-English-French Dictionary*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Petrollino, Sara. 2016. *A Grammar of Hamar: A South Omotic Language of Ethiopia*. Köln: Koeppe.
- Pillinger, Steve, and Letiwa Galboran. 1999. *A Rendille Dictionary: Including a Grammatical Outline and an English-Rendille Index*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Plazikowsky-Brauner, Herma. 1964. 'Wörterbuch der Hadiya-Sprache'. *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 20: 133–182.
- Pokorny, Julius. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern and München: Francke.

- Prasse, Karl-G. 1969. *À propos de l'origine de h touareg (tähäggart)*. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske meddelelser 43,3. København: Munksgaard.
- Prasse, Karl-G. 1972–1974. *Manuel de grammaire touaregue (tähäggart)*. 8 vols. Copenhague: Akademisk Forlag.
- Rabin, Chaim. 1981. 'Ron-Semitic Etymologies'. In: *The Chad Languages in the Hamitosemitic/Nigritic Border Area*, edited by Herrmann Jungraithmayr, 24–31. Berlin: Reimer.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1874. *Die Barea Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Sändig.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1879. *Die Nuba Sprache. II: Nubisch-deutsches und deutsches-nubisches Wörterbuch*. Wien: Braumüller.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1884. *Die Chamirsprache in Abessinien*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 106,4. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1885. *Die Quarasprache in Abessinien*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 109,1. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1886. *Die 'Afar-Sprache*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 113,26. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1887. *Die Bilin-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Wien: Hölder.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1888. *Die Kafa-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 116,4. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1890a. *Wörterbuch der Saho-Sprache*. Wien: Hölder.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1890b. *Die Kunama-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. III. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 122,5. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1893. *Die Beɗaɗye-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 128,7. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1894. *Die Beɗaɗye-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. III. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 130,7. Wien: Gerold.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1895. *Wörterbuch der Beɗaɗye-Sprache*. Wien: Hölder.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1902. *Die Somali Sprache. II: Wörterbuch*. Südarabische Expedition 2. Wien: Hölder.
- Reinisch, Leo. 1911. *Die sprachliche Stellung des Nuba*. Schriften der Sprachkommission 3. Wien: Hölder.
- Renisio, Amédé. 1932. *Étude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair*. Paris: Leroux.
- Roper, E.-M. 1928. *Tū Beɗawie: An Elementary Handbook for the Use of Sudan Government Officials*. Hertford: Herts.
- Roquet, Gérard. 1980. 'Sur quelques emprunts du Bedaûye à l'égyptien'. *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 17 (1972–1973): 125–136.
- Rössler, Otto. 1952. 'Der semitische Charakter der libyschen Sprache'. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 50: 121–150.
- Rössler, Otto. 1964. 'Libysch-Hamitisch-Semitisch'. *Oriens* 17: 199–216.
- Rössler, Otto. 1979. 'Berberisch--tschadisches Kernvokabular'. *Africana Marburgensia* 12 (1–2): 20–32.
- Rössler, Otto. 1983. 'Äthiopisch und Hamitisch'. In *Ethiopian Studies: Dedicated to Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday, Nov. 14th, 1981 by Friends and Colleagues*, edited by Stanislav Segert and András J. E. Bodrogligeti, 330–336. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Salt, Henry. 1816. *Voyage en Abyssinie*. Paris: Imprimerie de Demonville.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1973. 'Bemerkungen zum "Language Survey of Ethiopia"'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft* 123: 117–128.

- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1974. 'Notes on the Structure of Galab'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37: 407–438.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1975. 'Galla /š/, /s/ und /f/'. *Afrika und Übersee* 58: 244–263.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1976. 'Weiteres zu den ostkuschitischen Sibilanten'. *Afrika und Übersee* 59: 125–142.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1979. 'The Consonant Phonemes of Proto-East-Cushitic (PEC): A First Approximation'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 7 (1): 1–67.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen. 1982. *An Etymological Dictionary of Burji*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Savà, Graziano. 2005. *A Grammar of Ts'amakko*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Schlee, Günther. 1978. *Sprachliche Studien zum Rendille*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Schuh, Russell G. 1981. *A Dictionary of Ngizim*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schuh, Russell G. 1984. 'West Chadic Vowel Correspondences'. In *Current Progress in Afroasiatic Linguistics. Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by James Bynon, 167–221. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Schweinfurth, Georg. 1869. 'Pflanzenamen der Bega-Sprache zwischen Suekin und Berber'. *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 4: 334–339.
- SED I = Militarev, Alexander, and Leonid Kogan. 2000. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. I: Anatomy of Man and Animals*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- SED II = Militarev, Alexander, and Leonid Kogan. 2005. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. II: Animal Names*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Seetzen, Ulrich Jasper. 1816. *Proben Deutscher Volks-Mundarten: Dr. Seetzen's linguistischer Nachlaß, und andere Sprach-Forschungen und Sammlungen, besonders über Ostindien*. Edited by Johann Severin Vater. Leipzig: Bei Gerhard Fleischer dem Jüngern.
- Segert, Stanislav. 1984. *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Seignobos, Christian, Henry Tourneux. 1984. 'Note sur les Baldamu et leur langue (Nord-Cameroun)'. *Africana Marburgensia* 17 (1): 13–30.
- Sethe, Kurt. 1923. 'Die Vokalisation des Ägyptischen'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 77: 145–207.
- Shimizu, Kiyoshi. 1978. 'The Southern Bauchi Group of Chadic Languages'. *Africana Marburgensia* 11 (2): 5–49.
- Siebert, Ralph, Lydia Hoeft, and Matthias Brenzinger. 1994. 'Languages of the Abbaya/Chamo Area: Baiso, Ganjawle, Gats'ame, Koorete, Zayse and Zergulla Wordlists'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 21: 11–22.
- Siebert, Ralph, Klaus Wedekind, and Charlotte Wedekind. 1994. 'Languages of the Begi/Asosa Area: Hozo and Seze Wordlists'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 15: 10–18.
- Sim, Ronald J. 1977. 'A Linguistic Sketch: Phonology and Morphology of the Word in Konso'. MA dissertation, Nairobi.
- Simeone-Senelle, Marie-Claude, and Antoine Lonnet. 1991. 'Lexique soqotri: Les noms des parties du corps'. In *Semitic Studies: In Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1991*, edited by Allan S. Kaye, 2: 1443–1487. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Siyad, Isse Mohamed. 1984. 'A Semantic Field: The Camel'. In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 287–297. Hamburg: Buske.
- Skinner, Neil. 1977. 'The Northern Bauchi Chadic Languages: Common Root'. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 4 (1): 1–49.
- Skinner, Neil. 1992. 'Body Parts in Hausa—Comparative Data'. In *Komparative Afrikanistik: Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von H.G. Mukarovsky*

- anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags*, edited by Erwin Ebermann, Erich R. Sommerauer, and Karl É. Thomanek, 345–357. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 44. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Skinner, Neil. 1996. *Hausa Comparative Lexicon*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Sölken, Heinz. 1967. *Seetzens Áffadéh. Ein Beitrag zur Kotoko-Sprachdokumentation*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Starkey, Janet. 2004. *Amarar Lexicon*. Ms. University of Durham.
- Steingass, Francis. 1988. *Arabic-English Dictionary*. Jalandhar City: Gaurav.
- Stolbova, Ol'ga V. 1987. 'Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja fonetika i slovar' zapadnočadskix' jazykov. In *Afrikanskoe istoričeskoe jazykoznanie*, edited by Viktor Porxomovskij, 30–268. Moskva: Nauka.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 1996. *Studies in Chadic Comparative Phonology*. Moscow: Diaphragma.
- Stolbova, Olga V. 2016. *Chadic Etymological Dictionary*. Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija – Russkaja akademija nauk.
- Stroomer, Harry. 1987. *A Comparative Study of Three Southern Oromo Dialects in Kenya*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Stroomer, Harry. 1995. *A Grammar of Boraana Oromo (Kenya)*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Stroomer, Harry. 2001. *A Concise Vocabulary of Orma Oromo (Kenya): Orma – English, English – Orma*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Strümpell, Kurt. 1911. 'Vergleichendes Wörterverzeichnis des Heidensprachen Adamauas'. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 42: 444–488.
- Strümpell, Kurt. 1923. 'Wörterverzeichnisse der Heidensprachen des Mandara-Gebirges (Adamaua)'. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 13: 47–75, 109–149.
- Stumme, Hans. 1899. *Handbuch des Schülischen von Tazerwalt*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Takács, Gábor. 1996. 'Some Berber Etymologies'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 38: 43–59.
- Takács, Gábor. 1997a. 'Selected New Egypto-Afrasian Correspondences from the Field of Anatomical Terminology'. In *Afroasiatica Neapolitana. Studi Africanisti*, edited by Alessandro Bausi and Mauro Tosco, 225–250. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Takács, Gábor. 1997b. 'The Common Afrasian Nominal Class Marker *h'. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 2: 241–273.
- Takács, Gábor. 1997c. 'Aegyptio-Afroasiatica XII'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 39: 93–98.
- Takács, Gábor. 1997d. 'Observations on the Phonetic Value of Some Egyptian Hieroglyphic Signs'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 39: 99–103.
- Takács, Gábor. 1999. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian: Vol. I: A Phonological Introduction*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill.
- Tanaba, Wolde-Gebriel, Bekele, Zewde Cheru, and Klaus Wedekind. 1994. 'On the Wordlists of Diraasha (Gidole) and Muusiye (Bussa)'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 19: 3–17.
- Thelwall, Robin E.W. 1970. *Linguistic Investigations in the Sudan: Beja Wordlist*. Ms. Khartoum.
- Thiene, Gaetano da. 1939. *Dizionario della lingua galla*. Harar: Vicariato Apostolico.
- Thompson, R. Campbell. 1910. 'Some Hadendoa Words Hitherto Unpublished'. *Man* 95: 164–167; 99–100: 180–182.
- Tosco, Mauro. 1989. 'The Classification of Dahalo: Another perspective'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.
- Tosco, Mauro. 1991. *A Grammatical Sketch of Dahalo*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Tosco, Mauro. 2001. *The Dhaasanac Language: Grammar, Texts and Vocabulary of a Cushitic Language of Ethiopia*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Tosco, Mauro. 2022. *A Gawwada Dictionary: A Cushitic Language of Sout-West Ethiopia*. Köln: Köppe.

- Tourneux, Henry. 1990. 'Place du masa dans la famille tchadique'. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by Hans G. Mukarovsky, 2: 249–260. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 41. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Tourneux, Henry, Christian Seignobos, and Francine Lafarge. 1986. *Les Mbara et leur langue (Tchad)*. Paris: SELAF.
- Tutschek, Charles. 1844–1845. *Dictionary of the Galla Language*. München: Lorenz Tutschek.
- Vanhove, Martine. 2000. 'Dire et les propositions subordonnées à valeur finale : un cas de grammaticalisation en bedja. Paper presented at the 30th Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics, Leiden, August 2000.
- Vanhove, Martine. 2001. 'Y a-t-il des mi-nasales en bedja?'. Paper presented at the 31st Colloquium on African Languages and Linguistics, Leiden, August 2001.
- Vanhove, Martine, Mohamed-Tahir Hamid Ahmed, and Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed-Tahir. 2017. *Le bedja*. Leuven and Paris: Peeters.
- Venturino, Bartolomeo. 1973. *Dizionario Borana-Italiano*. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.
- Vergari, Moreno, and Roberta Vergari. 2003. *A Basic Saho-English-Italian Dictionary: With an English-Saho Index and Grammatical Notes by Giorgio Banti and Moreno Vergari*. Asmara: Sabur.
- Viterbo, Ettore. 1887. 'Vocabolario della lingua oromonica'. In *Da Zeila alle frontiere del Caffa*, edited by Antonio Cecchi, 3: 269–398. Roma: Loescher.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1934. 'Hausa und Ägyptisch: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Hamitistik'. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 37 (3): 36–116.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1953. 'Das persönliche Fürwort im Bedja und im Tigré [corr. Tigrinya]. Eine Studie zur Grammatik und Religionsgeschichte der Bedja Stämme'. *Muséon* 66: 157–161.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1958. 'Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichen'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo* 16: 367–405.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1960. 'The Beja Language Tū Bedawiye: Its Relationship with Old Egyptian'. *Kush* 8: 252–264.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1978. 'L'état actuel des études chamito-sémitiques'. In *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semitica: Firenze, 16–19 Aprile 1974*, edited by Pelio Fronzaroli, 63–76. Quaderni di Semitistica 5. Firenze: Istituto di Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali, Università di Firenze.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1983. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*. Leuven and Paris: Peeters.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1988. 'Beja – A Language with Seven Seals'. In *Cushitic-Omotc: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Cologne, January 6–9, 1986, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 411–430. Hamburg: Buske.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1989. 'Études de phonétique et d'étymologie berbères'. In *Journée d'études de linguistique berbère: Samedi 11 Mars 1989 à la Sorbonne*, 1–18. Paris: Publications Langues'O.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1990. *La vocalisation de la langue égyptienne. I. La phonétique*. Bibliothèque d'étude 16. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- Vycichl, Werner. 1992. 'Die pharyngalen Laute 'Ayin und Ḥa im Berberischen'. In *Komparative Afrikanistik: Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von Hans G. Mukarovsky anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags*, edited by Erwin Ebermann, Erich R. Sommerauer and Karl É. Thomanek, 383–386. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 44. Wien: Afro-Pub.

- Wahrmund, Adolf. 1898. *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache*. II vols. Giessen & Ricker. Reprint, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1985.
- Watson, Charles Moore. 1888. *Languages Spoken at Suakin: Arabic, Hadendoa, Beni-Amer*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Wb. = Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. 1971. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (1st ed.: Leipzig 1928–1931).
- Wedekind, Charlotte, and Klaus Wedekind. 1995. 'A Survey of Awngi'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 28: 1–22.
- Wedekind, Klaus. 1995. 'The Wordlists of Amuru – Boro of Bulen – Boro of Wombera'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 29: 4–7.
- Wedekind, Klaus, Charlotte Wedekind, and Abuzeinab Musa. 2007. *A Learner's Grammar of Beja (East Sudan): Grammar, Texts and Vocabulary (Beja-English and English-Beja)*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Wedekind, Micha. 1995. 'A Survey of Boro (Shinasha)'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 25: 33–52.
- Wehr, Hans. 1958. *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Welmers, William E. 1952. 'Notes on the Structure of Saho'. *Word* 8: 145–162, 236–251.
- Wölfel, Dominik Josef. 1965. *Monumenta Linguae Canariae*. Graz: Akademische Verlag.
- Wölfel, Dominik Josef. 1955. *Eurafrikanische Wortschichten als Kulturschichten*. Acta Salamanticensia, Filosofía y letras 9,1. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- Yilma, Aklilu. 1994. *Wordlists of Sheko, Nao and Dizi*. Ms.
- Zaborski, Andrzej. 1986. *The Morphology of Nominal Plural in Cushitic Languages*. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 28. Wien: Afro-Pub.
- Zaborski, Andrzej. 1989. 'Der Wortschatz der Bedscha-Sprache—eine vergleichende Analyse'. In *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag: Vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg*, edited by Einar von Schuler, 573–591. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Zaborski, Andrzej. 1992. 'Traces of dual in Beja?'. In *Komparative Afrikanistik: Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von H.G. Mukarovskij anlässlich seines 70. Geburtstags*, edited by Erwin Ebermann, Erich R. Sommerauer, and Karl É. Thomanek, 423–430. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 44. Wien: Afro-Pub 1992.
- Zealelem Leyew. 1998. *Kemant Wordlist*. Ms.
- Zealelem, Leyew. 2003. *The Kemantney Language: A Sociolinguistic and Grammatical Study of Language Replacement*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1930. 'Das meroitischen Sprachproblem'. *Anthropos* 25: 409–463.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1933. 'Ursprung und Sprachcharakter des Altägyptischen'. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 23: 25–45, 81–110, 161–194.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1934–1935. 'Die Sprachreste der unteräthiopischen Nachbarn Altägyptens'. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 25: 161–188, 241–261.
- Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1956. 'Die Fiktion der "kuschitischen" Völker'. *Kush* 4: 19–37.

Reviews

Jastrow, Otto, Shabo Talay, and Nikita Kuzin. 2024. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Midyat (Midyoyo). Band II: Glossar. Semitica Viva 64. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. XVIII, 408 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-39468-0.*

This volume 64 of the series ‘Semitica Viva’ is part of a set describing the ʿTuroyo dialect of Midyat [Midyaḏ]. It is the necessary companion to volume 59 (Jastrow and Talay 2019), which contains the texts of which the work under review now presents the vocabulary. A third volume, containing the grammar, is in preparation.

Ideally, the glossary should be used in conjunction with the texts to which it provides the lexical key. There are, however, certain advantages in reading the book independently. This is especially so in the present case since the work under review is much more than a glossary to a particular collection of texts; it also has a programmatic aim and is intended to serve as a model for the future lexicography of ʿTuroyo. The volume consists of an introduction explaining the guiding principles of the work (IX–XVII), the glossary itself (1–340), a list of verbs (341–361) and a German-Midyoyo vocabulary (363–407).

A great deal of thought has gone into the composition of this book, and the result is highly successful. Not only is the method of presentation excellent, but the lexical contents themselves are also of great interest. This is particularly true of the vocabulary illustrating various aspects of traditional life in Aramaic-speaking ʿTur ʿAbdin.

The ʿTuroyo speech of ʿTur ʿAbdin, while pretty homogeneous, is by no means uniform. The Midyoyo dialect treated here differs slightly from forms of the language described elsewhere, most especially the dialect of Miḏin, with which many readers will be familiar from the well-known and much-used *Laut- und Formenlehre*



des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Midin im Tūr ‘Abdīn of Jastrow (1993), one of authors of the present work. A few dialectal differences may be mentioned here.

When the open medial syllable of the infinitive *q̄tolo* is closed to form the nomen vicis (**q̄tol-to*), the shortened vowel in the now closed syllable may take on various qualities (Ritter 1990: 58). In the dialect of Midin the vowel is *a*: *q̄tal-to* (Jastrow 1993: 172–173). In the Midyat dialect attested here, at least in Ily roots, the nomen vicis may have the vowel *i*: **q̄yimto**¹ ‘resurrection > uproar’, **syimto** ‘manufacture’ (fem. of **syomo**). For the infinitive III, against the Midin form *taq̄tolo* (Jastrow 1993: 116), the present dialect has *tiq̄tilo*, e.g. **tidmixo** ‘to put to sleep’, with further examples on p. 295. The root **m̄ty** III ‘to bring’ usually appears as **nty** ~ **nty** III (*m̄t* > *nt*). Instead of the general Turoyo innovated *-oṭe* ending of the fem. pl., Miḍwoyo typically retains the more original *-oṭo* (< *-āṭā*). Some of the dialectal differences are of a lexical kind. An interesting case occurs s.v. **zarzāmine**, lit. ‘basement, cellar’. This word is used metaphorically to mean ‘a loss, a ruin’, i.e. financially ‘rock bottom’. A certain speaker, however, did not use this word but **nuqro**¹ ‘hole, ditch’ instead. It is then explained that in the villages for **nuqro** in this meaning they say **gurto**. But **nuqro**² (in Bissorino) also means ‘frying-pan’, and for **nuqro** in this sense ‘we’ say **ṭaḡno**.

Each entry is illustrated by at least one concrete example from the corpus published in the text volume.² The examples are all translated and references given to the places of their occurrence in the text volume. The entries are accompanied by short bibliographical references to further literature and by etymological information.

References are frequently given to the unfinished, posthumous *Wörterbuch* of H. Ritter (1979), certainly the most significant predecessor of the present *Glossar*. The two works, however, are very different. Ritter’s *Wörterbuch* is devoted primarily to the noun (with textual references, but without actual examples), whereas the *Glossar* under review covers all areas of the vocabulary, including the verbs. The nouns are presented in alphabetical sequence (**ḥalwo** ‘milk’, **ḥlowo** ‘milking’), while the verbs are listed according to their root consonants (**ḥlw** ‘to milk’). Many of the nouns listed here are not recorded in Ritter’s *Wörterbuch* (this is often pointed out). On the other hand, a great deal of lexical information regarding Turoyo (including Miḍwoyo) verbal roots and verb formation is given in Ritter’s *Grammatik* (1990), which is of a prominently lexical character. For reasons not explained, Ritter’s extensive description of the Turoyo verb, replete with details of morphology and richly illustrated with examples, is not referred

¹ Words in **bold** font indicate entries in the Glossary.

² Exceptions are rare. Meaning (1) of **āṣās** ‘basis’ is unexemplified, as against the adverbial usage ‘basically’ of meaning (2). Meaning (1) of **sawko** ‘hair of the head’ has just the gloss, whereas meaning (2) ‘branch’ is illustrated by an example. For the relation between ‘hair’ and ‘branch’ see Mutzafi (2006: 91–93).

to in the present work. For many of the verbal roots listed here, a pointer in the direction of Ritter would have been very helpful. For example, the very first two entries of the *Glossar*, the highly irregular verbs **ʾb** ‘to wish’ and **ʾby/hw** ‘to give’, would have gained considerably by references to Ritter, *Grammatik* 730ff. and 586ff. respectively; further **mṭy** ~ **nṭy** Ritter 382ff.

The contents of the present *Glossar* are richer and more varied than is customary in most works of this kind, not only by inclusion of particles (**-ste** ~ **-stene**), proper names (**Aḥlah**, **Anḥil**, **Mirde** (= Mardin), **Qamišlo** [sic], **Slayman** ~ **Sleman**) and a colourful array of interjections (**ā** ^{““““} **aww**, **āy āy āy**, **āy w ūy**,³ **čī**, **čzzzz**, **didididi**, **hīhīhīī**, **lam**, **ššššš**, **tātātātā**, **ūūūū**, **xrrppp**), but also by many idiomatic usages, especially of common nouns (**ido**, **lebo**, **rišo**), verbs (**ʿty**, **hwy**, **hwy-l**, **mḥt**, **mḥy**, **nfl**, **nfq**, **nṭy**, **qym**,⁴ **sym**, **šql**) and prepositions (**al**, **b**, **l**, **m**, **qum**). There is also a good deal of grammatical information, often indicated by the symbol ⊗.

Grammar

The grammatical details are particularly welcome, for they both clarify and supplement the information available in other works of reference, e.g. the phonemic status of vowel length and consonant gemination, usually correlating with Aramaic vs. Arabic etymology: **ʿam** ‘with’ vs. **ʿām** ‘general’ (< عَام); **ʿamo** ‘people’ vs. **ʿammo** ‘paternal uncle’ (< عَم). The gemination in Arabic words, however, is not always retained. For example, in **ḡamo** ‘anguish’ the *mm* of the Arabic source *ḡamm* has been simplified as in comparable native Aramaic words (cf. **ʿamo** ‘people’ < *ʿammā*), so that the *a*-vowel of **ḡamo**, now in an open syllable, comes to be pronounced long. The phonemic contrast *l* : *ḷ* is revealed by pairs such as **milla** ‘community’ vs. **milla** ‘she said’ (e.g. s.v. **ʾmr**); **mkafalle** ‘he wound in a shroud’ (**kfn**²) vs. **mkafalle** ‘he polished’ (**kfr**).

Neo-Aramaic languages are always of interest from the point of view of historical Aramaic grammar. In Classical Syriac the plural of **ʿammātā** ‘paternal aunt’ is, as expected, **ʿammātā**, the form which has its (almost) regular continuation in Miḏin Ṭuroyo **ʿammote** (Jastrow 1993: 220; cf. below n. 27). In Miḏyoyo, however, the pl. of **ʿamto** is **ʿamtoṭo**, in which the *t* of the sg. fem. ending is treated as the 3rd radical, to which the suffix of the fem. pl. is then added. This phenomenon, with its variations, has a long history in Aramaic and the *Glossar* produces further instances. To the Miḏin examples in Jastrow (1993: 220)⁵ add: **gurto** ‘ditch’

³ This and **ōōōwīh** ‘oh weh’ bear a curious resemblance to the frequent Hebrew exclamation אוי ואבוי (based on Proverbs 23:29).

⁴ Section 5 of the entry **qym** concerns the grammaticalized (i.e. mostly uninflected) ingressive usage of the root in the sense ‘dann, daraufhin’ (Ritter 1990: 562–563). On this feature, in Ṭuroyo and more generally, see Contini (1997: 154–157).

⁵ See on this feature also Tezel (2003: 213 n. 65).

> **gurtoto**,⁶ **qalto** ~ **qalto** ‘dunghill’ > **qaltoto**, **sisto** ‘mare’ > **sistoto**. The older forms still exist beside these innovated *-toto* plurals: **hapto** ‘a grain’ > **hap-poto**, and sometimes the two alternate: **qalto** ~ **qalto** > **qalote/o** ~ **qaltoto**.

The *Glossar* also provides further material for the history of various verbal roots. As is well known, Neo-Aramaic as a whole often shows drastic developments in this area, developments which are apt to throw light on processes in earlier Aramaic (and other Semitic languages). One may mention e.g. **rkb** ‘to ride’, which appears here both with its original sequence of radicals as **rkw** III and also metathesized as **rwk** I and III (in stem III original *markawle* and innovated *marwaxle* alternate).⁷ Much more complicated are cases of weak roots such as ‘to give’ (**yhb**), for which it is no longer possible to give a discreet root; in the present work forms of ‘to give’ are listed on the first page under **’by/hw** and the imperative separately under **haw**.⁸ Following the fluctuation already present in older Aramaic (**rbb**, **rw/yb**, **rby**, **yrb**), the verbal notion ‘to be big’ appears here as **rby** (**rby**) and **yrb** (**yrb**) while the adjective is **rabo** (**rbb**). The Aramaic root **slq** ‘to rise’ continues to appear in its old form **slq**, but also has an alternant **ysq**. The preterite of **’zl** ‘to go’, usually *azzé*, *azzá*, has the variants **zile**, **zila**. Shifting roots occur in nouns too. Noteworthy are a few instances of agglutination of the article, resulting in the reassignment of familiar old Semitic roots to new places in the dictionary. Thus, the Miḏyoyo words for ‘roof’ (**’gr**, Syriac *eggārā*) and ‘excrement’ (**xr’**) appear in the *Glossar* under N: **niḡore** and **niḥre** respectively.

Among the valuable data provided on grammatical topics we may single out pronouns and copulas etc. (**hat**, **-hat**, **hatu**, **-hatu**, **kitwe**, **kitwo**, **kityo**, **latwo**, **latyo**, **layt**, **-no**, **-we**, **-wi**, **wux**, **-yo**), the optative use of the preterite (**ḥaru**, **raḥiq**), the preposition **l-** marking the agent of the ‘ergative’ preterite conjugation (**l-**, section 5),⁹ the ethic dative (**’ty** + **l**, **’zl** + **l**, **nyḥ** + **l**, **qrš** + **l**), and some unusual combinations of prepositions with their pronominal suffixes (**bōx**, **būno**, **lōx**, **lūno**).

It is particularly useful to have indications of the passive conjugations of various verbs (**’xl**, **b’ḡ**, **čyk**, **mḥt**, **mly**, **nql**, **nqw**, **qwr**, **qyt** III, **rḏy** III, **twr**). The existence of a passive conjugation is one of the hallmarks of Ṭuroyo (as opposed to other Neo-Aramaic dialects) and it is important to have the details, particularly as some of the active and passive forms coincide, e.g., s.v. **mḥt** *maḥit* is both active present ‘he places’ and passive preterite ‘it was placed’. The glossary lists a small number of old **maqṭal*, **maqṭalā* verbal nouns (here sometimes called

⁶ Jastrow (1993: 215 n. 1) considered this a Kurdish word.

⁷ Tezel (2003: 198) mentions a third variant: *rxw*.

⁸ On this root in Aramaic dialects see Fox and Fassberg (2020).

⁹ It is not only the nominal subject/agent which can be marked in this way, but also the pronominal; see the entries **lōx** and **lūno**. Another example of **lūno** in this function is quoted in the entries **bāla** and **maḥit b-əqdolo**.

‘infinitives’) of the kind **mahwo** ‘to be ~ be born’ (*hwy*), **mamro** ‘speaking’ (*mr*), **matyo** ‘to come’ (*ty*), **muklo** ‘food’ (sic, with *k*; √I *xl*, III *kl*). This closed list, examples of which are restricted to various types of weak roots (Jastrow 1993: 115, 192), is of interest from several points of view. The underlying noun patterns and their roots are not always easily identifiable. **mahwo** ‘to be (born)’ is here referred to **hwy**. But the word also means ‘to give’, in which sense (Ritter 1990: 610–611, 628—not occurring in the *Glossar*) it belongs to the historical root *yhb*, whose Miḏyoyo reflexes, as mentioned, are entered here under **by/hw** and **haw**.

Etymology

A notable feature of the *Glossar* are the etymologies, covering both the native Aramaic stock and the many loanwords, in particular from Kurdish, Turkish and Arabic.

Etymologies are in principle offered for every word, even when the matter is in doubt or it is uncertain by which of several possible routes the word reached Miḏyoyo (e.g. **bāla** pp. XI, 37). References to published etymological discussions could occasionally have been more generous—e.g. the relationship between **nux-royo** ‘betroted’ and classical *mḵirā* is treated at length by Tezel (2003: 103–105), who on pp. 248–249 also discusses the mysterious **u’dō** ‘now’. In many cases the compilers indicate that the etymology is unclear (**fuḡo**, **knfl**, **tfk**) or unknown (**twy**). Sometimes, no etymological information is offered at all (**čalkoyo**, **sīfoqo**, **šlbṭ**, **u’dō**, **xid**), even in cases where the source of a word seems pretty clear or a reasonable suggestion can be made, e.g. **haqqa** ‘so much’ (**hal qadr* vel sim.—cf. **miqqa**, **qādar**); **kliča** ~ **kiliča** ‘a type of sweetmeat’ (Turkish *küliçe* and Persian *koluče* ~ *keliče*);¹⁰ **l-qul** ‘before’ (Aramaic *l-qbl*); **sāwāl** ‘flocks’ (Kurdish *sewal* < Arabic سواد); **sefo** ‘lap’ (Syriac *seppā* ‘threshold’, like **lebo** ‘heart’ < **leb-bā* etc.); **suglo** ‘grape’ (ܡܫܥܠܐ, Targumic סגולה);¹¹ **šayro** ‘bracelet’ (ܫܝܪܐ, Hebrew שִׁירָה [†Isaiah 3:19], Arabic سوار = Kinderib *swāra*); **šeno** ‘cliff’ (Syriac *šennā* lit. ‘tooth’); **tamo** ‘there’ (ܬܡܐ); **tanuro** ‘oven’ (ܬܢܘܪܐ); **ṭayro** ‘eagle, large bird’ (ܬܝܪܐ, Arabic طائر / طير and Anatolian *ṭayr*).

šdoqat ‘gefüllte Innereien’, a favourite dish in the region, corresponds to e.g. J. Zakho *sijoqe*, Syrian Arabic *sdjāqq* (Barthélemy 1935ff. 335), all derived from Turkish *sucuk*. The proximate etymon of **zābaš** ‘watermelons’ is Arabic. Ritter (quoted here) records this item as *jābāš* (= [žabaš]) and with initial ج it can be found in many Arabic dictionaries: Berggren (1844) s.v. ‘Melon’, Dozy (1881), Barthélemy (1935ff.), Wehr (1985) etc. For the variations in the form of the word see Behnstedt and Woidich (2011: §177) ‘Wassermelonen’ and for the *s-j*

¹⁰ The word also occurs other Neo-Aramaic dialects (Sabar 2002: 186; Khan 2008: 1084, 1313) and in Arabic (Dozy 1881 1: 482; Barthélemy 1935ff.: 724).

¹¹ For Aramaic ܡܫܥܠܐ etc. = Hebrew שִׁירָה see Bauer (1935: 168).

etc. dissimilations involved in the words **šdoqat** and **zābaš** cf. **dōzdān** ‘purse’ < Turkish *ciizdan* (< Persian).

The Aramaic etymons are given according to their form in the western pronunciation of Classical Syriac. This has both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the heritage language of Miḏyoyo (and Ṭuroyo in general) is western Syriac, whose forms often provide the exact etymon; on the other hand, western (Jacobite) Syriac has obscured certain historical distinctions of pronunciation, rendering this tradition in some ways less original than the eastern (Nestorian) variety. For purposes of etymological clarity, a historical, philological transcription would sometimes have been helpful, e.g. *passatā* (rather than *fasto* as given) would have made it clear that the root of **fasto** ‘rag’ is *pss* and that its *t* is the feminine ending.¹² In some cases the Miḏyoyo forms recorded in the present work align more clearly with the eastern than with the western pronunciation of Classical Syriac. There are several cases in which the western shift of closed *ē* > *ī* is not observed in the modern Miḏyoyo equivalents. While in **‘ito** ‘church’ and **rišo** ‘head’ the western Syriac and Miḏyoyo vowels coincide, this is not the case with **‘eḏo** ‘festival’, **kefo** ‘stone’ and **reḥo** ‘smell’. These cases are pointed out in the relevant entries.

In nouns of the CvCC- pattern Miḏyoyo quite often has a stem vowel *a* where the old language has *e*: **aḏno** ‘ear’, **naqwo** ‘hole’, **raḡlo** ‘foot’, **tawno** ‘straw’, **zawlo** ‘dung’; in some cases these *a*-forms match eastern, not western Syriac: **halxo** ‘going’, **raqḏo** ‘dance’. This *qaṭlo* ~ *qeṭlo* alternation continues an old trait in Syriac (Nöldeke 1898: §§45, 94A, B). While some of these may show the shift **ī*CC > *ā*CC,¹³ the **i/e* vowel is often retained: **‘inwe** ‘grapes’, **mišḥo** ‘butter’, **nišro** ‘eagle’, **šimšo** ‘sun’. There are even cases where the Ṭuroyo/Miḏyoyo *a*-form seems not to continue a Syriac precedent at all: **danwo** ‘tail’ does not correspond to Syriac *dunbā* (= **dumbā*), but reflects a more original pattern along the lines of the Targumic ܕܢܒܐ recorded in e.g. Dalman (1922; cf. ܕܢܒ. ܕܢܒ. etc.).¹⁴

Such small details raise the question of the ancestry of Ṭuroyo and its position within the huge variety of Aramaic dialects. For example, the word **femo** ‘mouth’ is equivalent to classical ܦܡܡܐ *pummā* (given here on p. 74 in western Syriac form as *fumo*), but cannot be a direct descendant of it. Ṭuroyo **femo** is a reflex of **pimmā* (like **emo** ‘mother’ < **immā*, **lebo** ‘heart’ < **libbā* etc.), a shape of the word associated rather with Palestine. A number of Ṭuroyo features seem to point westwards to Palestine rather than eastwards to Syriac. One may mention the entry **admo** ‘blood’. The eastern Aramaic dialects (particularly significant here is

¹² In this case the eastern pronunciation would also have simplified the gemination: *pastā*. As indicated here, the word means ‘palm of hand’, but the sense ‘rag’ is already present in the literary sources and widespread in Neo-Aramaic dialects.

¹³ This shift (= Philippi’s Law) certainly occurs in Ṭuroyo, but is of very uneven application; see Fassberg (2013: 98–99).

¹⁴ Further cases of Syriac **quṭlā* > Ṭuroyo *qaṭlā* are mentioned by Tezel (2003: 107).

Syriac) overwhelmingly have forms of the word opening with *d*: ܕܡܐ *dmā*, NENA *damma* etc., whereas western (Palestinian) varieties consistently show the addition of initial ܐ: ܐܕܡܐ, ܐܕܡܐ. Such prosthetic forms appear in Galilean, Samaritan, Christian Palestinian and in Western Neo-Aramaic (*eḏma*) and they find an exact parallel in Țuroyo/Miḏyoyo **admo** (sic, with plosive *d*, showing the secondary status of the initial *a*-).¹⁵ Țuroyo has a tendency to add secondary, prosthetic vowels to etymologically biradical nouns; thus not only **admo**, but also e.g. **abro** ‘son’, pl. **abne** and **išmo** ‘name’. These words likewise have western affinities, both old (CPA) and modern (WNA *ebra*, *e/ušma*). The dialectal distribution, however, is complicated, for forms such as *ebra* ‘son’ also turn up in the east (Hertevin, Christian Sanandaj and Neo-Mandaic).

The non-coincidence of the given Syriac etymons with the actual Miḏyoyo forms is noticeable in the matter of *bgdkpt*, a somewhat elusive topic on which a good deal of work remains to be done. The situation was, of course, by no means uniform or stable in Classical Syriac, where hesitation often obtains between plosive and spirant alternant.¹⁶ In Miḏyoyo too there are minor *bgdkpt* fluctuations: **katfo** ~ **kaṭfo** ‘shoulder’,¹⁷ **qalto** ~ **qaṭto** ‘dunghill’. Neo-Aramaic dialects, such as Țuroyo, can often shed light on the history of these things, for the shapes of the modern words are not necessarily direct reflexes of what happens to be attested in the classical language(s). The Syriac ancestors given in the book may accordingly sometimes be slightly at variance with those which actually lie behind the Miḏyoyo entries. The most frequent cases are those in which the posited etymon contains plosive *b*, whereas the Miḏyoyo equivalent clearly goes back to a spirant, viz. **ḥ* > *w*: ‘inwe ‘grapes’,¹⁸ **dahwo** ‘gold’, **danwo** ‘tail’, **garwono** ‘leprous’, **gawro** ‘man’, **ḥalwo** ‘milk’, **ḥawlo** ‘rope’, **ḥawro** ‘friend’, **karsʿwono** ‘lopped vine branch’, **kayiwo** ‘sick’, **malḥowo** ‘winnowing-fan’, **nagiwo** ‘dry’, **naqwo** ‘hole’, **qaqwinto** ‘partridge’,¹⁹ **qariwo** ‘near/godfather’, **qariwuṭo** ‘godfatherhood’, **ruʿo** ‘quarter’, **sowo** ‘old (man)’, **šawʿo** ‘seven’, **tawno** ‘hay’, **zawlo** ‘dung’. Some of these cases may be of a merely typographic nature caused by the omission of the diacritical mark, i.e. *b* for *ḥ*. Cases of the opposite phenomenon, viz. the etymon contains spirant *ḥ*,

¹⁵ As opposed to the spirant *d* of **adno** ‘ear’ (ܐܕܢܐ, **ʾδn*), where the opening vowel was always present.

¹⁶ Cf. Rudolf and Waltisberg (2020: 30–31).

¹⁷ *katfo* with plosive *t* may (also) reflect the influence of Anatolian Arabic (Kinderib *kaṭaf*; Jastrow 2005: 121).

¹⁸ Classical Syriac has sg. *ʿenbatā*, pl. *ʿenḥe* with expected distribution of *b* vs *ḥ*. In Țuroyo a new sg. *ʿunwo* (Ritter 1979: 24) has been formed after the pl. The same seems to have happened in the case of **naqwo** ‘hole’. Such adaptations are clearly old and attest to different schools of pronunciation within Syriac. For example, Bar Hebraeus gives the antecedent of **naqwo** as *neqbā* (plosive), whereas the (eastern) tradition reflected by the Urmia OT of 1852 has *neqbā* (spirant) following the pl. *neqḥe*.

¹⁹ ܩܩܩܝܬܐ. This word has a variant spelling ܩܩܩܝܬܐ.

whereas modern Miḍyoyo has a plosive *b*, are rare. **yabibto** ‘pipe’ (Syriac *abbuḫtā*) may reflect assimilation **b...ḫ > b...b*. In the light of Syriac *zabnā* and the regular *zona*-type equivalents in NENA dialects, **zabno** ‘time’ is very unexpected; perhaps one should consider the influence of *zmn*, whether from Aramaic (which, according to dialect, has both *zbn* and *zmn*—Syriac has *zbn* for the noun, but *zmn* for the verb) or Arabic; beside **zabno** Miḍyoyo also has Arabic *zāmān* ~ *ḡāmān*, and elsewhere in Turoyo the expected *zawno* occurs. The reflexes of **b* and **ḫ* are far from simple.²⁰ For **ṣubḥo** (*ṣubḥā*) see below n. 22.

For other *bgdkpt* letters a few interesting features may be mentioned. The spirant *ḏ* of **raqḏo** ‘dance’ goes against the plosive *d* of its etymon *reqdo* (eastern *raqdā*), having been adapted to the verbal root **rqḏ** ‘to dance’, where the spirant is fully in order. Similarly, **halxo** ‘going’ < Syriac *helko*, eastern *halkā*) with spirant *k/x* has been drawn into the phonology of the matching verbal root **hlx**. The plosive *t* of **firto** ‘bran’ and **katfo** ‘shoulder’ (~ **katfo**) is not present in the Syriac source, which in both words shows a spirant (*farto* [parrʔtā] and *katfo* [katpā])

In some cases, the contrast between Classical Syriac and Turoyo (Miḍyoyo) is morphological. The **faʕūl* pattern of **raḥuqo** ‘distant’²¹ does not match the **faʕūl* pattern of the suggested etymon *raḥiqo* and similarly **yaquro** (Jastrow 1993: 231 n. 2). The equivalent of **yaroqo** ‘green’ (**yarrāq*) in literary Syriac is *yurrāq* (Nöldeke 1898: §117); the forerunner *yoruqo* (= eastern *yāroqā*) given here is expressly marked by Brockelmann as Neo-Syriac.

Languages in contact

Perusal of this *Glossar* throws up many interesting data for the study of languages in contact—in fact, the field of Neo-Aramaic as a whole provides a classic stage for investigations of this kind. In many respects, Turoyo participates in an areal Sprachbund, in which various features are shared across linguistic boundaries. Thus, echo-constructions with *m*-, well known in Turkish, are found throughout Anatolia, including Miḍyoyo: ‘**ammo-mammo** ‘uncles and all’, **qar‘o mar‘o** ‘heads and the like’.

The interaction of Miḍyoyo with Arabic, its Semitic neighbour, is of particular interest. The inherited Semitic roots shared by Turoyo and Arabic are in principle separate from each other, each belonging to a particular language and having a particular meaning, but geographical proximity, varying degrees of bilingualism and shared Semiticity mean that there is a considerable degree of overlap and

²⁰ The reading tradition and vernacular pronunciation do not necessarily go together, resulting in doublets of the kind *zawno* ~ *zabno* ‘time’ and *ḥawro* ~ *ḥabro* ‘friend’ (Tezel 2003: 21 n. 7).

²¹ For the fem. of Miḍyoyo **raḥuqo** one expects **raḥuqto** rather than **raḥiqto** (= [rāḥeq-to]?) as given in the entry; cf. **xaṣuno** ‘coarse’, fem. **xaṣunto** etc.

interpenetration. This subject has been studied by S. Tezel, *Arabic Borrowings in Šūrayt/Ṭūrōyo within the Framework of Phonological Correspondences* (2011).

The symbiosis of the two languages comes to the fore in matters related to the above-mentioned *bgdkpt*. For example, in the borrowed noun **‘āmade** ‘baptism’ the plosive *d* of Arabic عمادة is pronounced with the spirant *ḏ* of the corresponding Ṭuroyo verbal root **‘md** ‘to baptize’. The verbal forms derived from the Aramaic root **‘md** show, as expected, spirant *ḏ*; the noun **ma‘modiṭo** ‘baptism’, on the other hand, has plosive *d*. The verb **šlw** ‘to crucify’ has *w* < **b* according to expectations; the noun ‘cross’, on the other hand, is **šlibo** with plosive *b* as in the Arabic equivalent *ṣalīb*. Similarly, the noun **šubho** ‘praise’ has *b* as in Arabic as against the spirant *ḥ* of its Aramaic etymon.²²

These *bgdkpt* fluctuations work in subtle ways, not always easily understood. For example, for the verbs ‘to enter’ and ‘to break’ the Syriac roots *‘br* and *tbr* are given as etymons. From the similar shape of the two *Ilb* roots one would expect the modern descendants to have symmetrical reflexes. But it is not so. The present tense of ‘to enter’ in Miḏyoyo is **‘obir** with plosive *b* (s.v. **‘br**), whereas that of ‘to break’ is **towir** with *w*, i.e. < spirant **ḥ* (s.v. **twr**). Various factors, internal and external, are at work here. The unexpected *b* of **‘obir** (**qāṭil*) may be due to generalization of *b* of the intransitive preterite **‘abir** (**qāṭil*), where *b* (< **bb*) is perfectly in order. On the other hand, the plosive *b* of Anatolian Arabic *‘br* ‘to pass/enter’ may well have been a contributory factor. As for the transitive Aramaic root **tbr*, the *b* was never doubled; nor is there a functional Arabic counterpart of similar form and meaning which could have exerted an influence. The root ‘to break’ is therefore **twr** throughout the paradigm. The verbal root **‘wd** ‘to do’ < *‘bd*, somewhat unexpectedly, has plosive *d* throughout the conjugation,²³ whereas the noun ‘work’ fluctuates **wodo** ~ **wodo**. Sometimes *bgdkpt* phenomena are accompanied by semantic differences too: native **brx** ‘to bless’ does not have the same semantics as **brk** < Arabic.

An interesting pair is **mamläke** ‘homeland’ and **mamlaxto** ‘kingdom’, a doublet of the ‘same’ word. While **mamläke** is evidently Arabic (< مملكة, no doubt helped by Turkish *memleket*), the identity of **mamlaxto** is less clear-cut. The two spirants *xṭ* point to Aramaic, but no genuine Aramaic noun מַמְלַחָה* has yet been discovered.²⁴ The Ṭuroyo word is a hybrid, an Arabic noun having been given Aramaic phonology.

²² Neither eastern nor western Syriac had plosive *b* in the word عَصَا; the former apparently pronounced *šuxā*, the latter *šubho* (Rudolf and Waltisberg 2020: 28).

²³ This may be due to generalization of the *d* of preterite *‘widle*, where the blocking of spirant **ḏ* before *l* would conform to certain Neo-Aramaic patterns; similarly with *t/t*: *manḥatle* s.v. **nḥt** III ‘to take down’, *nkitle* s.v. **nkt** ‘to bite’. Note, however, spirant forms such as *mawqaḏle* s.v. **yqḏ** III ‘to ignite’, *mamiṭle* s.v. **myṭ** III ‘to put to death’. Some such instances of unexpected plosive *d/t* may be due to Arabic influence, e.g. *ḥsidle* ‘he harvested’ s.v. **ḥṣḏ** (in this case the whole root may belong to حصد rather than Syriac حصد).

²⁴ Ostensible examples occurring sporadically in Samaritan and Mandaic are of Hebrew and/or Arabic origin.

At first blush, it seems that similar adaptations to native Aramaic phonology may occur with Turkish words too. Long ago in the western pronunciation of Syriac the plosive ~ spirant alternation $p \sim \bar{p}/f$ had been neutralized in favour of f . The natural preference for f over p has been extended to the Turkish (< Slavic) word *şapka* ‘cap’, which in Miḍyoyo appears as **şafqa**. One could be tempted to think that the spirant f in this word is of Aramaic origin. But the matter is not so simple. This pronunciation also occurs in Anatolian Arabic *şafqa* (Kinderib) and Kurdish, whereas Aleppo Arabic, on the other hand, has a plosive: *şabqa* (Barthélemy 1935ff.: 376). Since there are wider areal implications, it is likely that Miḍyoyo adopted the pronunciation **şafqa** ready-made from outside. This fq combination may belong to the phenomenon seen in **taxtōr** ‘< doctor’ and **waxt** ‘time’, viz. *stop + stop * kt, qt > spirant + stop xt . The entry **naqdo** ‘Brautgeld’ has a variant *naxdo* (Jastrow 1993: 170).

The Arabic loanwords do not always appear in their conventional forms, but frequently show smaller or greater phonological differences, e.g. the acquisition of emphasis in **āṣāṣ** ‘basis, basically’ (via Turkish *esas*). The shift ʾ > ʿ in **aw-wil** ~ **awwil** ‘first’ has a parallel in the not infrequent occurrence of h in place of etymological ʾ or h . This takes places in independent Arabic words: **makrūḥ** ‘loathsome’, **mūkafāḥa** ‘remuneration’, **qahwe** ‘coffee’, as well as in Arabic roots integrated into Miḍyoyo: **qhīroyo** ‘furious’. The Miḍyoyo root for ‘to speak’ is **ğğl**, derived from Arabic *šgl*, in which neither the phonology (*šgl* > *jgl*) nor the meaning (‘work’ > ‘speak’) are what an Arabist would expect.

In the linguistic melting-pot of Anatolia it is often difficult to identify the source of such changes. Some of them will already have been present in the donor language, i.e. Anatolian Arabic; others may have developed later within Ṭuroyo itself. Often a Kurdish intermediary, viz. Arabic > Kurdish > Ṭuroyo, must be considered, e.g. **hāyam** ‘epoch’, in which Arabic (ʿ)*ayyām* lit. ‘days’ has acquired an initial h -. In other cases, Anatolian Turkish may have served as intermediary.

The Arabic loanwords in Ṭuroyo often supply indirect testimony to the Anatolian Umlaut-*imāla*: **dēlye** ‘grape vine’, **ğehil** ‘young person’, (**mirğane** > pl.) **mīreğin** ‘corals’, **šīwerib** ‘moustache’, **telit** ‘third’. The entry **čēz** ‘dowry’ with $\bar{e}$ differs from *čāz*, the Anatolian Arabic cognate adduced, in which no *imāla* occurs. Both forms derive from Arabic جهاز. It would seem that of the two old Arabic variants *jahāz* ~ *jihāz*²⁵ the Anatolian *čāz* (thus Kinderib) reflects **jahāz*, whereas Miḍyoyo **čēz** harks back to an Arabic dialect which continued **jihāz* and therefore exhibits the expected *imāla*.

The symbiosis of the two languages finds expression also in the realm of morphology. The pl. ending *-īye* (< Arabic *-īyya*) is characteristic of the *nisba* ending

²⁵ In Classical Arabic *jahāz* is preferred; *jihāz* is considered substandard. A third variant *juhāz* is also recorded.

-i, e.g. **ḥārami** ‘thief’ > pl. **ḥāramiye**. By extension it may be applied to nouns which terminate in -i of different origin: **mištīri** ‘customer’ (Arabic *šry* VIII) > pl. **mištīriye**. The pl. pattern *fa‘ā’il* is productive outside its traditional limits: **qışsa** > **qışayiṣ** ‘stories’, (**šiqqa* >) **šiqayiq** ‘pieces’ (both without *imāla*). There are semantic differences too. For example, the phenomenon of an Arabic plural becoming a singular (not unusual in Turkish and other languages of the area) is also observable in Miḍyoyo: **ğī/irān** ‘neighbour’, **üşūl** ‘custom’ (the formal Arabic sg. **aş’l** ‘Ursprung’ has a separate entry).

The Arabic elative pattern *af‘al* may be extended to non-Arabic words. Thus, the comparative of Kurdish **pīs** ‘bad’ is **apyas** ‘worse’²⁶—both words have their own entries in the *Glossar*. The Arabic participle *xālī* ‘empty’ (**qāṭil*) has been given a new Țuroyo morphology: **xalyo**, f. **xliṭo**, pl. **xalye**, just like native **halyo**, f. **hliṭo**, pl. **halye** ‘sweet’ (**qatīl*). In a similar way Arabic *xašīn* ‘rough’ (**qatīl*) has been slotted, it would seem, into the Țuroyo adjective pattern **qattūl*: **xašuno** with matching Aramaic inflections; likewise **fisoro** ‘explanation’ shows Arabic *fsr* II (*tafsīr*) transferred to a Țuroyo *pa‘el* noun pattern (**quttālā*).

Țuroyo is possessed of a highly composite vocabulary. The core lexicon, predominantly Aramaic, has been amplified by a large accretion of loanwords. Many of these are Arabic. When two cognate roots, Aramaic and Arabic, exist side by side, it may happen that the Arabic form is preferred over its Aramaic equivalent. For ‘to scrape, card (cotton)’ the Syriac root *ḥrg* ܚܪܓ was presumably available. It did not, however, survive and was superseded by the related Arabic *ḥlj* ܚܠܝ instead; the Miḍyoyo root for this idea is therefore **hlğ**.

Sometimes cognate Aramaic and Arabic words are in competition for the same semantic slot. The word for ‘paternal aunt’ appears both in Aramaic and in Arabic form: **‘amto** ~ **‘amme**. In this root *‘mm* the etymological and semantic match is audible and transparent. This allows mutual influences to take effect, so much so that it may be hard to say to which language a given form belongs. The masc. form of our word, viz. **‘ammo** ‘paternal uncle’, shows how complicated things actually are (and always have been). The ending -o of **‘ammo** and the pl. suffix of **‘ammone** suggest an Aramaic derivation. This, however, does not go well with geminate *mm*—in western Syriac gemination has been simplified and in Țuroyo is typical of Arabic loans; moreover, *‘ammā* in the meaning ‘paternal uncle’ can hardly be said to exist in Aramaic. Accordingly, the authors posit Arabic *‘amm* عم as the primary etymon of **‘ammo**. This is in all likelihood correct. But this **‘ammo** ‘paternal uncle’, of Arabic origin, is also given as the masc. counterpart of fem. **‘amto** ‘paternal aunt’, thus implying an etymological m./f. unit, the aunt being derived from the uncle by addition of the fem. ending (like m. **ḥolo** ‘maternal uncle, *avunculus*’ vs. **hilito** ‘maternal aunt, *matertera*’ and عم vs. عمة). Functionally this may be so; derivationally it arouses doubts. The sg. ending -to of **‘amto** and

²⁶ As in Anatolian Arabic (Jastrow 2005: 23).

its pl. **amtoṭo** (Midin *‘ammote*)²⁷ make a very Aramaic impression, an impression reinforced by the existence in Syriac of *‘ammātā* ‘paternal aunt’. It may be, however, that **ammo** and **amto** were never a morphological m./f. pair derived from a single root within Aramaic. It is noticeable that while the fem. ‘paternal aunt’ *‘ammātā* is well attested in Classical Syriac, the masc. **‘ammā* ‘paternal uncle’ has not (yet?) been found there.²⁸ The masc. form *‘ammā* is of course a familiar word in Syriac, but it is used in the wider collective meaning ‘kinsmen’, i.e. ‘people, nation’. This *‘ammā* developed naturally in Aramaic and is listed in the *Glossar* as **amo**, i.e. ungeminated [‘āmo] ‘Leute, Volk, Bevölkerung’ (cf. Syriac *šattā* ‘year’ > Midyoyo *šato* etc.). Against this, in Aramaic as a whole *‘ammā* meaning ‘paternal uncle’ is utterly marginal and probably intrusive. Along the Syriac-Ṭuroyo spectrum it seems that the fem. **amto** ‘paternal aunt, *amita*’ continues older Syriac usage, whereas the vacant masc. slot **‘ammā* ‘paternal uncle, *patruus*’ was filled by other means: Syriac used *dādā* (continued by Mlaḥsô *dozo*) to express this, while Ṭuroyo adopted the Arabic word. Lack of etymological symmetry, lexical variation etc. in kinship terms such as these is well known in many languages (see, e.g. Nöldeke 1904: 97; 1910: 77–78). The present case is further complicated by the existence of various *amo*- forms in Kurdish.

While in **amma** and **amto** the etymological Aramaic-Arabic kinship is transparent, it is somewhat less so in the case of native **ḥašo** ‘back, loins, side’ vs. loaned **xašra** ~ **xasra** < خاصرة, both being reflexes of the Semitic root *xšr*, albeit with semantic differences. Semantic differences also characterize the pair **tny** vs. **ṭny**; the former (Aramaic) means ‘repeat, answer’, while the latter (Arabic) seems restricted to the agricultural context of the second ploughing. A more sharply differentiated split pair is shown by the much-travelled word for ‘pepper’, which appears in Midyoyo both as **bibar** (< Turkish) and **flēfle** (< Arabic). It also happens that an Arabic loan coincides with a native root, producing a homophonous pair: **dikle** ‘he ground’ derives from Aramaic *dq* (**dyq**¹), but **dikle** ‘he tasted’ comes from Arabic *ḍwq* (**dyq**²); **šy**¹ ‘to send’ is of Arabic origin (*šy*) but **šy**² ‘to smear’ is Aramaic (*šw*^c ~ *š*^c); further: **kyf**, **qyr**. Homophony of various kinds of course already exists within the native lexicon: **tarfo**¹ ‘leaf’ vs. **tarfo**² ‘fingernail’ (**ṭpr*); **ṭw**¹ ‘to bake the Eucharistic host’ vs. **ṭw**² ‘to fall asleep’, and in rare cases may also result from the meeting of Aramaic and Turkish: **ysq**¹ I ‘to come up’ (**slq*) vs. **ysq**² II ‘to prohibit’ (< Turkish *yasak*).

The word **warzo** ‘melon field’ provides an interesting example of language contact and channels of borrowing in the area. For the etymology of **warzo** Anatolian Arabic *warz* or Kurdish *werz* are here mentioned. This may well be so; *warz* has long been current in Arabic. The fact that Saadia Gaon in 10th century Iraq has the n. agentis *warrāz* ‘husbandman, farmer’ shows that the underlying *warz*

²⁷ The geminate *mm* is due to analogy with the masc. *‘ammone*.

²⁸ The mention of this meaning in Manna (1900: 547) probably reflects Neo-Aramaic usage.

must have been common. The term is also widespread in Kurdish. This Iranian word (in one form or another) also travelled to Aramaic (Mandaic **uarza**), including Syriac. Bar Bahlul (10th cent.) records it in the form *barzā* ܒܪܙܐ, glossed (ed. Duval, col. 428) as *مشاراة الزرع* ‘bed of sown seed’.²⁹ In view of the Persian fluctuation *برز ~ ورز* (and cf. *مرز*), it may be that Ṭuroyo **warzo** is in fact a descendant within Aramaic of the word recorded by Bar Bahlul.

A few trifling observations:

p. XIII: The item referred to as CSD did not appear in 1957, but in 1903. It is desirable to give the date of the original publication, not that of the reprint. Similarly, on p. XV for Barthélemy’s *Dictionnaire* the date 1969 refers only to the *Fascicule complémentaire*, not to the dictionary itself, which was compiled and published in installments decades before.

The item DKF = Nezan (2017) is missing from the bibliography on p. XVI.

pp. XVI–XVII: Sokoloff’s dictionaries of Jewish Palestinian (2017) and Babylonian Aramaic (2020) exist in later expanded editions.

p. 47: The word **boriye** ‘reed’ and its plural **boriyat** are fairly clearly Arabic. To the proposed Turkish etymon *boru* add Arabic *بارية* ‘reed mat’. This word, in various forms, has long been established in Arabic (references and Judaeo-Arabic data in Blau [2006: 41]) and is still in use in the area (Barthélemy 1935ff. 68 s.v. *bērye*). It has an Aramaic ancestry: Syriac ܒܪܝܐ and Jewish Babylonian ܒܘܪܝܐ.

p. 50: **buqto** ‘bundle’. This word is very widespread and occurs in many forms, the relations between which await clarification. To the Arabic *bāqa* mentioned here add, e.g. Turkish *bohça ~ bokça*, Persian *boqče ~ boxče*, with representatives in Kurdish and many Arabic and Neo-Aramaic dialects (Tezel 2003: 93). The word has even reached Israeli Hebrew in the form *búxta*.

p. 93: **gāt** ‘dish’, which also occurs in Aleppo (Barthélemy 1935ff. 100), seems to have been borrowed into Arabic from French *jatte*.

pp. 108–109: A rare typesetting error has occurred here in the layout of the two columns (entry **ḥalwⁿniṭo**). A similar mishap has occurred at the bottom of p. 134.

p. 130: The Arabic etymon of **imān** ‘belief’ should be *ʾimān*.

p. 139: For **kibāt ~ kibayāt** ‘stuffed intestines’ similar Turkish and Persian words are mentioned. It could be worth considering an ultimately Semitic origin; cf. Hebrew קֶבֶה ‘stomach’ and the discussion in Nöldeke (1910: 155).

p. 144: The word **kosani** ‘beardless’ is of interest. The Kurdish and Turkish *kose* and *köse* are adduced in the etymological section. The Arabic *nisba* ending of **kosani** suggests an Arabic source. This word, in one form or another, has been around in Arabic for a very long time (Ullmann 1970: 436–437 s.v. *kawsaj*) and is widely travelled.

²⁹ *مشاراة* also has an interesting multilingual history; see Krotkoff (1985: 124–125).

p. 148: In addition to Arabic *kutla* ‘Klumpen’, Miḏyoyo **kutlo** ‘gefüllte Grießtaschen’, a classical dish of the area (e.g. Jewish Zakho *kutēle*), has an Aramaic cognate in JBA כּוּתְלָא.

The primary Syriac etymon of **kyf**¹ ‘to bend down’ is perhaps *kpp/kff* rather than *kwf*. Syriac has a doublet *kpp* ~ *kwp*. Likewise, on p. 286 s.v. **šy**² ‘to smear’ **š**^{cc} could be added to **šw**^c.

p. 152: The Arabic lying behind **lašān** ~ **lašan** ‘because’ is more likely to be ‘*alā ša’n*’ (cf. ‘**āšan**’).

p. 159: A closer cognate/etymon for **lūwaše** ‘thin bread’ would be Kinderib Arabic *lāwāše* (Turkish *lāvaş*, Persian *lavāš*).

p. 161: Both **ma’d** ‘Gesundheitszustand, Stimmung’ and its Kurdish parallel derive from Arabic *mi’da* ‘stomach’.

p. 167: Rather than the analytical ‘*amro d-‘eze*’, the proximate etymon of **mar‘eze** ‘goathair’ is rather along the lines of the synthetic st. cstr. ܡܪܥܝܐ = ܡܪܥܝܐܐ (Brockelmann 1928: 405b = Sokoloff 2009: 837a).

p. 170: The transcriptions are sometimes inconsistent, e.g. here we have Arabic *mawqī*^c followed a little later by *mausim*.

p. 173: The etymology of **meḥo** ‘brain’ is tricky from several points of view: the root (ܡܚܝܐ ~ ܡܚܝܐ), the stem vowel and the final consonant. The Miḏyoyo form with *e* (Turoyo also has *muḥo*) can hardly derive directly from the Syriac *muḥo* with which it is here compared. On the other hand, **meḥo** with *e* is rather like Hebrew מֶחָה *meaḥ* ‘bone marrow’. But Hebrew also has מֹחַ *moaḥ* meaning ‘brain’ as in Syriac. The Arabic cognate, meaning both ‘brain’ and ‘bone marrow’, has a stable vowel *u*, but the final consonant wavers between *ḥ* and *x*: *muḥḥ* ~ *muxx*.

p. 182: The usual form of the Turkish word for ‘tap’ (> Miḏyoyo **misliq**) seems to be *musluk*.

p. 183: ‘Arab. *zwǧ IV*’ is improbable here. Cf. Barthélemy (1935ff. 129 bott.).

p. 186: The identity of the verb in *am* = *maye knuṣli* ‘das Wasser tropft ab’ is not evident; it appears here under both **mṣl** and **mṣy**. As far as *knuṣli* is concerned, a root *nṣl* (cf. Arabic *nṣl* ‘to fall to the ground’) would fit well, but does not match other occurrences of the paradigm. Perhaps one could think of **m-ṣly* (cf. Maclean 1901: 193; Khan 2008: 1176; Khan 2016 3: 231)?

p. 187: If **mšaḥno** ‘heated’ is the participle of *šḥn* II, one would expect its fem. to be *mšaḥanto* rather than **mšaḥn^oto** (?) as given here (cf. **mdaglo**, f. **mdagalto** etc.).

p. 189: The Arabic form behind **mustaqbil** ‘future (subst.)’ is surely *mustaqbil*.

p. 210: **pāstiq** derives from Italian *pasticca* (Barthélemy 1935ff. 47, s.v. *baṣṭiq*).

p. 225: For the root **qld** ‘to clarify butter’ Arabic *qilda* is compared. It may be that Arabic *qīṣda* ~ *qīṣta* ‘cream’ belongs here too; cf. Steiner (1977: 95–98).

pp. 227–228: It seems that within the entry **qrš** there should be a distinction between **qrš**¹ and **qrš**² as practised throughout the book.

pp. 233–234: The Syriac source of **qušro** ‘castle’ is given as *qastro*. This is closer to the further etymon (Latin *castra* > Greek κάστρα), but Syriac also has *qašra*, which is closer to the Miḏyoyo headword.

pp. 236–237: §5 of the entry **qyt** = ‘Feuer fangen, brennen’ (also IIIp[assive] ‘angezündet werden’) invites comparison with the entry **yqd**, the familiar Semitic root in a similar meaning.

p. 264: Despite the headword ܣܒܐ *sʿb* in Syriac dictionaries, for **syw** ‘to grow old’ it would be better to give the primary etymon *syb*.

p. 265: The derivation of **šābahīye** ‘morning marriage meal’ from Arabic *šabāḥī* seems not quite correct. This word is not like m. **tirki** ‘Turkish’, f. **tirkiye**, i.e. the f. of a nisba adjective, but rather composed of *šabāḥ* + the abstract ending *-īyya*. Cf. Dozy (1881 1: 814); Barthélemy (1935ff. 425).

p. 266: s.v. **šaye**: The expression *bi=šaye d-* ‘through the auspices of, thanks to’ derives from Persian *sāye* ‘shade, protection’ and as well as the Turkish *saye(sinde)* given here is also used in Kurdish and Arabic (Blanc 1964: 152).

p. 287: The noun **tāʿadda** ‘attack, massacre’ certainly belongs to Arabic *ʿdw* V, but is hardly derived from the infinitive *taʿaddin*. Cf. Persian/Turkish nouns such as *tamannā/temenna* ‘wish, salutation’ (also Ṭuroyo [Ritter 1979: 511]) < Arabic *mny* V and *tamāšā/temaša* ‘spectacle’ < Arabic *mšy* VI.

p. 288: Read: Arab. *tābūt*.

p. 296: Read: *tešrəyoṭo*.

p. 306: **ṭir** ~ **ṭr** as in **ṭr-owe** ‘let it be’ belongs to **ṭry** ‘to leave, let’ and has its parallel in other Neo-Aramaic dialects, e.g. Jewish Zakho *štāwe* < *šud hāwe* (< *šbq d-hwy* [Sabar 2002: 295]).

p. 314: Arabic ܐ is here transcribed *ḏ* (*waḏīfa*) but the notation normally used in the book is *ṣ*.

p. 315: Rather than *waraq*, the fem. n. unitatis *waraqa* would be a closer etymon for **waraqto**.

This excellent glossary is very much more than suggested by its title. Firstly, although designed to serve a particular corpus of texts, it is on a scale that allows it be regarded as a preliminary dictionary of Ṭuroyo, here represented by the Miḏyoyo dialect of Midyat [Miḏyaḏ]. Secondly, it serves as a model for the future lexicography of the language. Thirdly, it provides a great deal of interesting information on various topics: the internal history of Aramaic, the synchronic description of Miḏyoyo, the languages of Anatolia, the mutual influences between them etc. The volume under review marks a great step forward in the lexicography of an important Neo-Aramaic and Semitic language. It is a pleasure to congratulate the three authors on a first-class performance.

References

- Bar Bahlul, Hassan. 1888–1901. *Lexicon Syriacum: Voces Syriacas Graecasque cum glossis Syriacis et Arabicis complectens e pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit Rubens Duval*. Paris: Leroux.
- Barthélemy, Adrien. 1935ff. *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie : Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Bauer, Hans. 1935. 'Etymologica II'. *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 10: 165–171.
- Behnstedt, Peter, and Manfred Woidich. 2011. *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte. Band I: Mensch, Natur, Fauna, Flora*. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1: The Near and Middle East 100/1. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Berggren, J. 1844. *Guide français-arabe vulgaire des voyageurs et des francs en Syrie et en Égypte : avec carte physique et géographique de la Syrie et plan géométrique de Jérusalem ancien et moderne*. Upsal: Leffler et Sebell.
- Blanc, Haim. 1964. *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Blau, Joshua. 2006. *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts*. Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language.
- Brockelmann, Carl. 1928. *Lexicon Syriacum*. 2nd ed. Halis Saxonum: Niemeyer.
- Contini, Riccardo. 1997. 'Alcuni casi di grammaticalizzazione (e degrammaticalizzazione) in tūrōyo'. In *Afroasiatica Neapolitana: Contributi presentati all'8° Incontro di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-Semitica), Napoli, 25–26 Gennaio 1996*, edited by Alessandro Bausi and Mauro Tosco, 151–168. Napoli: Istituto universitario orientale.
- Dalman, Gustaf. 1922. *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*. 2nd ed. Frankfurt am Main: Kauffmann.
- Dozy, Reinhart P.A. 1881. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. 2 vols. Leyde: Brill.
- Fassberg, Steven E. 2013. 'Two Biblical Hebrew Sound Laws in the Light of Modern Spoken Semitic'. In *Nicht nur mit Engelszungen: Beiträge zur semitischen Dialektologie. Festschrift für Werner Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Renaud Kutu, Ulrich Seeger, and Shabo Talay, 95–100. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Fox, Samuel Ethan, and Steven E. Fassberg. 2020. 'The Verb Yhb in Aramaic'. *Aramaic Studies* 18 (2): 268–278.
- Jastrow, Otto. 1993. *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Midin im Tūr 'Abdin*. 4th ed. Semitica Viva 9. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jastrow, Otto. 2005. *Glossar zu Kinderib (Anatolisches Arabisch)*. Semitica Viva 36. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jastrow, Otto, and Shabo Talay. 2019. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Midyat (Midyoyo). Band 1: Texte*. Semitica Viva 59. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 2008. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar*. 3 vols. Handbook of Oriental Studies 96. Leiden: Brill.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 2016. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*. 4 vols. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 86. Leiden: Brill.
- Krotkoff, Georg. 1985. 'Studies in Neo-Aramaic Lexicology'. In *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, edited by Ann Kort and Scott Morschauer, 123–134. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Maclean, Arthur John. 1901. *A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, North-West Persia and the Plain of Moṣul*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Manna, Abbé Jacques Eugène. 1900. *Vocabulaire chaldéen-arabe*. Mossoul: Imprimerie des pères dominicains.
- Mutzafi, Hezy. 2006. 'On the Etymology of Some Enigmatic Words in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic'. *Aramaic Studies* 4 (1): 83–99.
- Nezan, Kendal. 2017. *Dictionnaire kurde-français*. Paris: Riveneuve Editions.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. 1898. *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Tauchnitz.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. 1904. *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. 1910. *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Ritter, Hellmut. 1979. *Ṭūrōyo. B: Wörterbuch*. Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Ritter, Hellmut. 1990. *Ṭūrōyo. C: Grammatik*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Rudolf, Stefanie, and Michael Waltisberg. 2020. 'Phonologie und Transkription des Syrischen'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 170 (1): 19–46.
- Sabar, Yona. 2002. *A Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dictionary*. Semitica Viva 28. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Sokoloff, Michael. 2009. *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Sokoloff, Michael. 2017. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. 3rd ed. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.
- Sokoloff, Michael. 2020. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. 2nd ed. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press.
- Steiner, Richard C. 1977. *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic*. American Oriental Series 59. New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society.
- Tezel, Aziz. 2003. *Comparative Etymological Studies in the Western Neo-Syriac (Ṭūrōyo) Lexicon: With Special Reference to Homonyms, Related Words and Borrowings with Cultural Signification*. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 18. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Tezel, Sina. 2011. *Arabic Borrowings in Šūrayt/Ṭūrōyo within the Framework of Phonological Correspondences: In Comparison with Other Semitic Languages*. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 27. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Ullmann, Manfred. 1970. *Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Wehr, Hans. 1985. *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart. Arabisch – Deutsch*. 5th ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Simon Hopkins

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel | simon.hopkins@mail.huji.ac.il

In Memoriam

Professor Leszek Bednarczuk (1936–2025)

On 2 November 2025, Professor Leszek Bednarczuk, an eminent linguist and Indo-Europeanist, passed away in Kraków. He was one of the most important figures in Polish linguistics in the second half of the 20th and early 21st centuries. His scholarly achievements have become a permanent part of the history of Polish humanities.

Leszek Bednarczuk was born on 30 May 1936, in Vilnius, into a Polish family. His mother was a schoolteacher in Kobylnik (in present-day Belarus). His father participated in the defence of Polish Lviv in 1918 and then served as an officer in the Polish army, a commander of the Strzelec Riflemen's Association. In retirement he was employed in the Narocz forest district. In 1938 the family moved to Hoża, near Grodno, which saved his father from execution during World War II and the remaining family members from deportation to Kazakhstan. The residents of Hoża expressed solidarity with the Polish family, and no one betrayed the Polish army officer.

During the war, Soviet partisans burned every town in their path, so the Bednarczuk family saved themselves by evacuating towards Vilnius. They settled down in Nowa Wilejka, near Vilnius, and then in Kolonia Górańska.

At the end of the war the Bednarczuk family made efforts to emigrate to Poland and left the Vilnius region in April 1945. Recalling that day, Professor Bednarczuk states: 'It was raining, as if Vilnius were crying for us' (Ingielewicz-Citak 2018). He saw Vilnius again only 20 years later, in 1966, when he travelled to Lithuania as part of a trip (during the communist era, foreign travel of any kind was significantly limited). Recalling his time in Lithuania, he notes that quite a few people spoke Polish on the streets of Vilnius, but Russian was the dominant language (Ingielewicz-Citak 2018).



From Kaunas they hitchhiked to Kėdainiai, searching for traces of the Radziwiłł family. It was during this trip that important contacts were established with Lithuanian professors, particularly Vytautas Juozapas Mažiulis (1926–2009), a Lithuanian Balticist and an expert in the Old Prussian language and Indo-European languages, and the famous Lithuanist Jonas Palionis (1924–2012). Professor Bednarczuk maintained good contacts with the Lithuanian academic community. In particular, he reviewed E. Vaitkevičiūtė's doctoral dissertation on Józef Albin Herbaczewski (1976–1944), a Lithuanian poet writing in Lithuanian and Polish, and the founder of Lithuanian expressionism, defended at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas. At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, as part of a campaign to support Poles in the Vilnius region, he participated in delivering parcels of gifts to Lithuania. He also actively participated in academic meetings and conferences, most recently in 2014 at a conference commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Vilnius.

After arriving in Poland in 1945, the family settled in his mother's hometown, Nowy Sącz. He completed primary school in Tęgoborze (1945–1949) and then attended Jan Długosz High School No. 1 in Nowy Sącz (1949–1953).

His dream of writing poetry led him to Polish philology. In 1953, he arrived in Kraków and began his studies at the Pedagogical University (now the University of the National Education Commission), majoring in Polish philology (1953–1957). His choice of university was dictated solely by financial considerations, as the Pedagogical University of Kraków offered scholarships, while at the time this was difficult at Jagiellonian University. The Marxism in that part of Europe at the time, prevalent in the humanities, including literature. This fueled reluctance to choose literature as a direction for a future academic career and influenced his desire to deepen his knowledge in linguistics. Upon arrival in Poland everyone mocked his so-called Vilnius dialect, which prompted him to work diligently on perfecting his Polish over the next few months. In later years, these memories returned frequently and, over time, sparked his academic fascination, particularly inspiring him to study Vilnius Polish (Ingielewicz-Citak 2018).

Nevertheless, Adam Mickiewicz remained close to him academically. When Professor Bednarczuk was in his third year of master's studies, the centenary of Adam Mickiewicz's death was being celebrated, and on this occasion, he wrote his first article on the language of 'Ballads and Romances'. A fascination with Mickiewicz's language was therefore present among his research interests from the beginning of his studies. In subsequent years, it resulted in, among other things, an article on the Belarusian language in the poet's work. Within this framework, Professor Bednarczuk researched, in particular, the etymology of the name Telimena, as well as the term *dziady*, introduced by the poet into the Polish language and literature. The themes of Mickiewicz and Vilnius were close to his heart from the start.

After earning his master's degree in Polish philology from the Pedagogical University (1957), he continued his linguistics studies at Jagiellonian University, where he majored in Slavic philology (1957–1960). In 1960 he defended his master's thesis, written under the supervision of Professor Tadeusz Milewski (1906–1966). In 1964, after returning to the Pedagogical University, he defended his doctoral thesis, 'Polish Paratactic Conjunctions', also written under the supervision of Tadeusz Milewski. It was published in 1967. He focused his further research and habilitation on Indo-European languages. In 1971 he obtained the degree of doctor habilitated, based on his habilitation thesis 'Indo-European Parataxis', and on 1 April 1987, he was awarded the title of full professor.¹

As a linguist, Professor Bednarczuk was a student and follower of Professor Tadeusz Milewski's linguistic school. Another well-known student of Tadeusz Milewski was Karol Wojtyła, who knew, respected, and befriended Professor Bednarczuk, and later Pope John Paul II gave him a private audience at the Vatican.

As a researcher and teacher, he worked at the Pedagogical University of Kraków (1960–2004), then at the Jan Grodek State University in Sanok (until 2010), and simultaneously at the Polonia Academy in Częstochowa. He was a member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences from 1991 (Committees: Slavic culture, media studies, Slavic studies), the Polish Academy of Sciences (Committees: Oriental studies, communication ethics, linguistics, Slavic studies), and a member of the scientific councils of several linguistic journals, including *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, *Studia Linguistica (Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis)*, *Lingua Posnaniensis*, *Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia*, *Studia Albanica*, and others. He was also a member of the international scholarly society *Fides et Ratio*.

Professor Bednarczuk was the author of over ten books and nearly 250 articles and reviews, published in Poland and abroad, in approximately ten languages. These works covered the fields of Indo-European linguistics, Polish, Slovak, Celtic (Welsh, Irish), Balkan and other languages. Many of them are now considered classic positions in Polish linguistics. He was one of the few researchers in the world, and the only one in Poland, to know and study the extinct Celtic Gaulish language. Since the 1990s he co-organized and co-created the scientific and research community of Celtologists in Częstochowa.

In addition to the above-mentioned fields, such as Indo-European linguistics, especially Slavic, Baltic and Celtic, he also published works in such areas as: Finno-Ugric, Tocharian, Albanian and Iranian linguistics, and Proto-Indo-European languages (Proto-Celtic and Italic), the so-called Old European languages (Mediterranean substrate—Etruscan, Iberian, Pelasgian—in Indo-European), the Nostratic language, Balto-Slavic, Balto-Slavic-Finno-Ugric, Slavic-Albanian, Slavic-Germanic, Slavic-Romance, Italo-Celtic, Celto-British-Romance and other lan-

¹ 'prof. dr hab. Leszek Bednarczuk'. Nauka Polska. Accessed 11.02.2026. <https://archiwum.nauka-polska.pl/#/profile/scientist?id=6948&k=jodk81>.

guage contacts, Polish dialects (in Lithuania, the *Sądecczyzna* and Sanok regions), professional dialects (including the language of raftsmen), issues of the so-called Newspeak (*Nowomowa*), the language of transcendence (the Word of God and the language of angels), the ethnogenesis of the Slavs and Balts (especially Poles, Lithuanians and Belarusians), toponymy, anthroponymy and ethnonymy (Slavic, Baltic and Celtic), etymology (including several articles on the origin of the word *pan* in Polish and its borrowings in other languages), syntax in Indo-European languages (especially Slavic, Baltic, Germanic and Celtic), phonology, morphology and morphosyntax (both in a comparative approach and in language theory), the methodology of linguistic research, the history of linguistics in Poland and in individual centres (including Kraków, Vilnius, Lviv and Częstochowa).

A special place in his work was occupied by research on the linguistic contacts and ethnogenesis of the peoples of central and northern Europe. His publications contributed to a better understanding of the processes shaping contemporary Slavic languages.

Speaking on the most important function of language, Professor Bednarczuk referred to the perception of language as a community, distinguishing between genetic (blood), labour, culture, scientific communication and political communities—understood as state and nation. He further noted that the role of language can be both positive, when it serves to communicate or express feelings, and negative, when it becomes an instrument used not only for combat but also for propaganda and humiliation.

Professor Bednarczuk recalled his memories of starting school in Belarus, in the territories then under German occupation, and hearing from both Germans and Belarusian nationalists: ‘Stop barking in Polish’. These words clearly illustrate how language can be used to destroy, humiliate, and discredit a person. Nevertheless, it’s worth remembering that language can be used to express the deepest feelings and thoughts, and sometimes ‘a word can be the seed of action’. In summary, then, among the functions of language are communication, the expression of feelings and influencing others. The phatic function, which involves establishing and maintaining contacts between interlocutors, or ending a conversation, should also be mentioned.

When asked about the role of language as an element of human identity, especially in terms of its importance for members of national minorities, Professor Bednarczuk spoke of familial, ethnic and national identification. In his opinion, the native language is essential for maintaining national identity, because without language there is no nation, community or dialect. Ireland is perhaps the exception, where only a small group of people speak Irish daily. Sometimes, despite language loss, national identity can be preserved; here, my interlocutor points to multilingual countries such as Belgium or Switzerland. Nevertheless, as he notes, such situations can be a source of various linguistic conflicts. At the end of our fascinating conversation, Professor Bednarczuk emphasized that ‘language is an

indispensable component of national and ethnic identity’, a point particularly evident in the case of Poles from the Vilnius region.

Childhood memories influenced Professor Bednarczuk’s research interests, which led him to later research the history of the Home Army in the Vilnius region. In particular, he compiled a timeline of events and accounts of resistance members, later published in the article ‘From Narocz to the Neman: The Accounts of the Partisans of Kmicic, Łupaszka, and Ronin of the Home Army in the Vilnius Region, March 1943 – July 1944’. He further developed this topic in a book under the same title, co-written with Monika Tomkiewicz. He appeared as an expert in the 2000 documentary *Łupaszka* by the Film Agency for Polish Television, depicting the activities of Major Zygmunt Szendzielarz.

His scientific achievements were recognized both in Poland and abroad. Many young researchers continued the lines of research he had begun on the languages and cultures of Europe.

Professor Bednarczuk’s passion for research, erudition and commitment to the advancement of science will remain a lasting legacy for future generations of linguists.

Works of Leszek Bednarczuk

Books

- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1967. *Polskie spójniki parataktyczne* [*Polish Paratactic Conjunctions*]. Kraków, Warszawa, and Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1971. *Indo-European Parataxis*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1978. *Języki świata* [*Languages of the World*]. Kraków: S.n. [typescript].
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1993. *Języki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* [*Languages of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*]. Wilno: The Polish University in Vilnius.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1999. *Stosunki językowe na ziemiach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* [*Linguistic Relations in the Lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Edukacja.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2000. *Essais de linguistique comparative*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Edukacja.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2007. *Zwiazki i paralele fonetyczne języków słowiańskich* [*Phonetic Connections and Parallels of Slavic Languages*]. Warszawa: Instytut Slawistyki PAN.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2010. *Językowy obraz Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Millenium Lithuaniae MIX–MMIX* [*The Linguistic image of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Millenium Lithuaniae MIX–MMIX*]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Lexis [2nd ed. 2024].
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2011. *Język – kultura – edukacja* [*Language—Culture—Education*]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2012. *Esquisses de linguistique comparative*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności.
- Бэднарчук, Лешэк. 2014. *Спадчына Вялікага княства Літоўскага ў беларускай мове* [*Heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Belarusian Language*]. Люблін: Беларускі

- Інститут Навуки і Мистецтва, Польская Академія Мистецтва, Університеті Марії Кюрі-Склядоўскай.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2016. *Celtic and Other Indo-European Languages*. Częstochowa and Kraków: Lexis.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2018. *Początki i pogranicza polszczyzny* [The Beginnings and Borderlands of the Polish Language]. Kraków: Lexis.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2020. *Sporne problemy językoznawstwa porównawczego* [Debated Issues in Comparative Linguistics]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UP.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2022. *Języki celtyckie* [Celtic Languages]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Lexis.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, and Monika Tomkiewicz. 2022. *Od Naroczy do Niemna. Relacje partyzantów Kmicica – Łupaszki – Ronina Armii Krajowej na Wileńszczyźnie III.1943–VII.1944* [From Narocz to the Neman: The Accounts of the Partisans of Kmicic, Łupaszka, and Ronin of the Home Army in the Vilnius Region, March 1943 – July 1944]. Toruń: Oficyna Wydawnicza Kucharski.

Edited books

- Bednarczuk, Leszek, and Jan Zaleski, eds. 1976. *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Z. 58, Prace Językoznawcze 3*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, and Andrzej Czapkiewicz, eds. 1983. *Studia indo-iranica. Thaddaeo Pobożniak 70-genario ab amicis collegis sodalibus animo oblatum gratissimo*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, et al. eds. 1985. *Nowo-mowa. Materiały z sesji naukowej poświęconej problemom współczesnego języka polskiego odbytej na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w dniach 16 i 17 stycznia 1981* [Newspeak: Papers from the Scholarly Conference on Problems of Contemporary Polish, Held at the Jagiellonian University on 16–17 January 1981]. London: Polonia.²
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, ed. 1988. *Języki indoeuropejskie* [Indo-European Languages]. 2 vols. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo: Naukowe PWN.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, Krystyna Pisarkowa, and Jolanta Rokoszowa, eds. 1991. *Józef Reczek, Polszczyzna i inne języki w perspektywie porównawczej* [Józef Reczek, Polish and Other Languages in a Comparative Perspective]. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, Wiesław Banyś, and Krzysztof Bogacki, eds. 1992. *Etudes de linguistique romane et slave. Hommages à Stanisław Karolak à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, Wiesław Banyś, and Stanisław Karolak, eds. 1999. *Studia lingwistyczne ofiarowane profesorowi Kazimierzowi Polańskiemu na 70-lecie Jego urodzin* [Linguistic Studies Dedicated to Professor Kazimierz Polański on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday]. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, Wiesław Boryś, and Jerzy Rusek, eds. 2002. *Dzieje Słowian w świetle leksyki. Pamięci profesora Franciszka Sławskiego. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Sesji Naukowej, Kraków, 17–18 maja 2001 r.* [The History of the Slavs in the Light of Lexicon: In Memory of Professor Franciszek Sławski: Papers from the International Scholarly Confer-

² The timing of the publication necessitated the inclusion of the disclaimer: 'published without the authors' knowledge or consent'. This disclaimer was intended to protect the authors from repression by the Security Service.

- ence, Kraków, 17–18 May 2001]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, Halina Kurek, and Janina Labocha, eds. 2004. *Studia linguistica Danutae Wesołowska oblata*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, Wojciech Smoczyński, and Maria Wojtyła-Świerzowska, eds. 2008. *Językoznawstwo historyczne i typologiczne: w 100-lecie urodzin profesora Tadeusza Milewskiego* [Historical and Typological Linguistics: On the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Professor Tadeusz Milewski]. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, Halina Chodurska, and Anna Mażulis-Frydel, eds. 2014. *Polono-Slavica in honorem Maria Wojtyła-Świerzowska*. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza Impuls.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, and Mariola Jakubowicz, eds. 2017. *Witold Mańczak, Polski słownik etymologiczny* [Witold Mańczak, Polish Etymological Dictionary]. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, et al. eds. 2017. *Linguistique romane et linguistique indo-européenne: mélanges offerts à Witold Mańczak à l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek, and Mieczysław Rokosz, eds. 2018. *Fenomen milczenia w kulturze i języku: materiały interdyscyplinarnego sympozjum poświęconego pamięci Profesor Jolanty Rokoszwowej zorganizowanego przez Wydział I Filologiczny PAU* [The Phenomenon of Silence in Culture and Language: Papers from an Interdisciplinary Symposium Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Jolanta Rokoszowa, Organised by the First Philological Faculty of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Lexis.
- Bednarczuk Leszek, Wiesław Boryś, and Marek Stachowski, eds. 2021. *Księga pamiątkowa profesora Stanisława Urbańczyka w 110. rocznicę urodzin*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Lexis.

Articles and chapters in books (selection)

- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1970. 'Stanowisko składni w obrębie nauk badających wypowiedź językową' ['The Position of Syntax within the Disciplines Studying Linguistic Expression']. *Prace Językoznawcze* 1: 5–13.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1973. 'Zagadnienie przedślawiańskiej hydronimii Karpat' ['Issues of the Pre-Slavic Hydronymy of the Carpathians']. *Prace Językoznawcze* 2: 19–30.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1974. 'Z północno-wschodniej peryferii polszczyzny' ['From the Northeastern Periphery of the Polish Language']. *Język Polski* LIV: 326–332.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1975. 'Le problème des langues pré-indo-européennes de l'Europe'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 41: 21–28.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1976. 'Stosunki etnolingwistyczne w przedhistorycznej Europie północno-wschodniej' ['Ethnolinguistic Relations in Prehistoric Northeastern Europe']. *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Językoznawcze* 3: 87–95.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1977. 'Finno-Ugric loans in Baltic'. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 8 (2): 99–104.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1979. 'Pozita e shquipes në kuadër të gjuhëve indoevropiane' ['The Position of Albanian within the Indo-European Languages']. *Seminari (Prishtinë)* 6: 147–149 [in Albanian].
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1980. 'Kontakty zewnętrzne języków sławiańskich w epoce przedhistorycznej' ['External Contacts of Slavic Languages in the Prehistoric Era']. In *Etnogenez a i topogeneza Słowian*, edited by Irena Kwilecka, 43–52. Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1982–1983. 'The Ethnolinguistic Situation in Prehistorical North-East Europe'. *Annali del Seminario di Studi dell'Europa Orientale. Sezione Linguistico-Filologica* 1: 69–83.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1983. 'Najstarsze zapożyczenia litewskie w języku polskim' ['The Oldest Lithuanian Loanwords in Polish']. *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Językoznawcze* 4: 37–42.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1984. 'O języku flisaków wilejskich' ['On the Language of the Vileyka Raftsmen']. *Język Polski* 64 (1/2): 24–34.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1985. 'Nowo-mowa. Zarys problematyki i perspektywy badawcze' ['Newspeak: Outline of the Issues and Research Perspectives']. In *Nowo-mowa. Materiały z sesji naukowej poświęconej problemom współczesnego języka polskiego odbytej na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w dniach 16 i 17 stycznia 1981*, edited by Leszek Bednarczuk et al., 27–41. Londyn: Polonia.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1986. 'Pochodzenie i kariera przyrostka -ol' ['The Origin and Development of the Suffix -ol']. *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Językoznawcze* 5: 143–150.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1988. 'Wprowadzenie' ['Introduction']. In *Języki indoeuropejskie*, edited by Leszek Bednarczuk, 1: 7–49. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1988. 'Indoeuropejskie języki Bałkanów' ['Indo-European Languages of the Balkans']. In *Języki indoeuropejskie*, edited by Leszek Bednarczuk, 1: 469–513. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1988. 'Języki celtyckie' ['Celtic Languages']. In *Języki indoeuropejskie*, edited by Leszek Bednarczuk, 2: 645–731. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1988. 'The Italo-Celtic Hypothesis from the Indo-European Point of View'. In *Proceedings of the first North American Congress of Celtic Studies held at Ottawa from 26th–30th March, 1986*, edited by Gordin W. MacLennan, 175–189. Ottawa: Chair of Celtic Studies, University of Ottawa.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1989. 'Structural Similarities between Brittonic Celtic and West Romance Languages'. *Olldogas* 1–2: 35–59.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1992. 'Wspólnota komunikatywna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego' ['The Communicative Community of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania']. In *Wilno – Wileńszczyzna jako krajobraz i środowisko wielu kultur*, edited by Elżbieta Feliksiak, 19–30. Białystok: Towarzystwo Literackie im. Adama Mickiewicza, Oddział Białostocki, Filia Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1993. 'Communauté linguistique du Grand Duché de Lituanie'. *Linguistica Baltica* 2: 5–13.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1994. 'Podręcznik „Gramatyki polskiej” z ogólnojęzykoznawczego punktu widzenia' ['The Textbook of "Polish Grammar" from a General Linguistic Perspective']. *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Językoznawcze* 8: 29–33.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1995. 'Substrat et théorie des contacts linguistiques'. *Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensia* 1: 75–88.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1996. 'W co wierzyli Prasłowianie?' ['What Did the Proto-Slavs Believe in?']. *Kieleckie Studia Filologiczne* 10: 25–32.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1996. 'Convergences entre les langues balto-slave et finno-ougriennes'. In *Contacts des langues et de cultures dans l'aire baltique: mélanges offerts à Fan-ny de Sivers*, edited by M. M. Jocelyne Fernandez and Raimo Raag, 49–62. Uppsala: Uppsala Multiethnic Papers.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1996. 'Nazwiska i przezwiska etniczne mieszkańców Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. 1: Utworzone od etnonimów bałtyckich. 2: Polszczyna Kresowa'

- [‘Ethnic Surnames and Nicknames of the Inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. 1: Derived from Baltic Ethnonyms. 2: Borderland Polish’]. In *Wilno i Kresy Północno-Wschodnie, materiały II Międzynarodowej Konferencji w Białymstoku 14–17 IX 1994*, edited by Elżbieta Feliksiak, 7–41. Białystok: Towarzystwo Literackie im. Adama Mickiewicza Oddział Białostocki.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1997. ‘A Typological Contribution to the Disappearance of *p* in Common Celtic’. *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 49–50: 43–49.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1997. ‘Kategorie słotwórcze rzeczowników przedrostkowych wobec przyimków’ [‘Word-formation Categories of Prefix Nouns and Prepositions’]. *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny. Prace Językoznawcze* 9: 33–42.
- Бэднарчук, Лешэк. 1998. ‘Аб этнагенезе беларусаў’ [‘On the eEthnogenesis of Belarusians’]. *Паланістыка. Зборнік навуковых артыкулаў па актуальных пытаннях польскай мовы* (Мінск): 6–24 [in Belarusian].
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1998. ‘Transcendencja i transkomunikacja’ [‘Transcendence and Transcommunication’]. *Prace Filologiczne* 43: 71–81.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 1999. ‘Germanic and Northern Indo-European’. In *Vielfalt der Sprachen: Festschrift für Aleksander Szulc zum 75. Geburtstag*, edited by Maria Kłańska und Peter Wiesingen, 37–50. Wien: Praesens.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2001. ‘Wokół etymologii wyrazu pan’ [‘On the Etymology of the (Polish) Word “pan”’]. In *Wokół archeologii słów i ich funkcjonowania. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Andrzejowi Bańkowskiemu*, edited by Stanisław Podobiński and Maria Lesz-Duk, 29–33. Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2002. ‘Prehistoric Migrations of the Slavs in the Light of Vocabulary’]. In *Dzieje Słowian w świetle leksyki. Pamięci profesora Franciszka Sławskiego*, edited by Witold Mańczak, 45–58. Kraków: Universitas.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2002. ‘Uwagi o pochodzeniu gwary muszyńskiej’ [‘Notes on the Origin of the Muszyń Dialect’]. *Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Linguistica* 1: 513–519.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2002. ‘Etymologia Profesora Sławskiego’ [‘Etymology in the Work of Professor Sławski’]. In *Dzieje Słowian w świetle leksyki. Pamięci profesora Franciszka Sławskiego*, edited by Jerzy Rusek, Wiesław Boryś, and Leszek Bednarczuk, 29–35. Kraków.
- Бэднарчук, Лешэк. 2002–2003. ‘Аб мове вiлійскiх плытагонаў – пераклад А.М. Ушакевіча і С.А. Важніка’ [‘On the Language of the Viliyka Plitagon—Translation by A. M. Ushakevich and S. A. Vazhnik’]. *Паланістыка*, 7–23.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2003. ‘The Ethnolinguistic Relationship in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania’. In *Convergence and Divergence in European Languages. Studies in Eurolinguistics* 1: 305–319.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2003. ‘Consonant Lenition in Iranian’. In *Iranica Selecta. Silk Road Studies. Studies in Honour of Professor Wojciech Skalmowski*, edited by Alois van Tongerloo, 1–13. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2004. ‘Za Niemen, zaniemeński’ [‘Beyond the Neman’]. *Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis* 19. *Studia Linguistica* 2: 13–18.
- Бэднарчук, Лешэк. 2004. ‘Аб этнагенэзе беларусаў’ [‘On the Ethnogenesis of Belarusians’]. *Наша слова* 48 (536), 49 (537), 50 (538).
- Бэднарчук, Лешэк. 2004–2005, ‘Кроўніка Трафіма Сутры і Юрыя Трубніцкага як дакумент мовы і звычаяў Магілёва ў XVII–XVIII стст. [пераклад з польскай мовы А. М. Ушакевіча]’ [‘Kroynika” by Trofim Sutra and Yuri Trubnitsky as a Document

- of the Language and Customs of Mogilev in the 17th–18th Centuries (translated from Polish by A. M. Ushakevich)']. *Паланістыка*, 9–23.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2006. 'Rozszczepienie *μ*-, *i*-, *s*- w ormiańskim, grece i albańskim na tle indoeuropejskim' ['Bifurcation of the Initial *μ*-, *i*-, *s*- in Armenian, Greek, Albanian and Other Indo-European Languages']. In *In the Orient where the Gracious Light...*, *Satura Orientalis in Honorem Andrzej Pisowicz*, edited by Anna Krasnowolska, Kinga Maciuszak, and Barbara Mekarska, 1–12. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
- Bednarczuk Leszek. 2007. 'Najstarsze polskie słowa. Słownik chronologiczny języka polskiego do końca XIII wieku' ['The Oldest Polish Words: A Chronological Dictionary of the Polish Language to the End of the 13th Century']. In *Amoenitates vel lepores philologiae*, edited by Roman Laskowski and Roman Mazurkiewicz, 17–29. Kraków: IJP PAN, Lexis.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2009. 'Pogranicze językowe polsko-ruskie na ziemi sanockiej' ['The Polish-Ruthenian Linguistic borderland in the Sanok region']. In *Podkarpacie. Język – literatura – kultura*, edited by Halina Kosętko, Anna Chudzik, and Renata Gadamska-Serafin, 17–42. Sanok: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Jana Grodka.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2009. 'Morphemes grammaticaux et mots fonctionnels'. In *Language, Science and Culture. Essays in Honor of Professor Jerzy Bancerowski on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, edited by Piotr Lobacz, Piotr Nowak, and Władysław Zabrocki, 63–74. Poznań: UAM.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2010. 'Językoznawstwo polskie i językoznawstwo ogólne' ['Polish Linguistics and General Linguistics']. In *Człowiek – Słowo – Świat*, edited by Jolanta Chojak, Tomasz Korpysz, and Krysytyna Waszakowa, 18–24. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo UW.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2010. 'Nazwy Wilna i jego mieszkańców w dokumentach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (WKL)' ['The Names of Vilnius and Its Inhabitants in the Documents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania']. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis Studia Linguistica* 5: 3–18.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2011. 'Dzjady Adama Mickiewicza w kontekście belaruskim kanteheksce' ['Adam Mickiewicz's *Dzjady* in the Belarusian Context']. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Russologica* 4: 8–14.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2011. 'Relations between Germanic and other North Indo-European Languages'. In *"Ich war immer zwischen Ost und West ...". Grenzüberschreitende Beiträge zur Sprache und Literatur: Gedenkschrift für Ina Meiksinaitė zum 90. Geburtstag*, edited by Vaiva Žeimantienė, 36–47. Vilnius: Universitätsverlag Vilnius.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2012. 'Geografia wyrazów z historycznej Litwy w „Słowniku gwar polskich” Jana Karłowicza w ujęciu Elżbiety Koniusz' ['Geography of Words from Historical Lithuania in Jan Karłowicz's "Dictionary of Polish Dialects" as Presented by Elżbieta Koniusz']. In *W przestrzeni języka. Prace ofiarowane profesor Elżbiecie Koniusz z okazji Jej jubileuszu*, edited by Marzena Marczeńska and Stanisław Cygan, 57–62. Kielce: Instytut Filologii Polskiej UJK.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2012. 'Językoznawstwo indoeuropejskie w Polsce w drugiej połowie XX i na początku XXI wieku' ['Indo-European Linguistics in Poland in the Second Half of the 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century']. In *Językoznawstwo w Polsce. Kierunki badań i perspektywy rozwoju*, edited by Maciej Grochowski, 47–64. Warszawa: PAN.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2013. 'Беларуска-ўкраінскія моўныя сувязі на землях ВКЛ' ['Belarusian-Ukrainian Language Ties in the Lands of Grand Duchy of Lithuania']. In *Prace dedykowane Profesorowi Świetłanowi Musijenko*, edited by Anna Janicka, Grzegorz Kowal-

- ski, and Łukasz Zabielski, *Colloquia Orientalia Bialostocensia* 3: 255–268. Białystok: Książnica Podlaska im. Łukasza Górnickiego.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2013. 'Z południowej peryferii polszczyzny' ['From the Southern Periphery of the Polish Language']. In *Mundus verbi. In honorem Zofia Cygal-Krupa*, edited by Małgorzata Pachowicz and Krystyna Choińska, 50–61. Tarnów: Wydawnictwo PWSZ.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2014. 'Tabliczki z Podeblócia w świetle inskrypcji greckich na Rusi Kijowskiej' ['Tablets from Podeblócie in the Light of Greek Inscriptions in Kievan Rus']. *Studia Wschodniosłowiańskie* 14: 143–150.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2017. 'Z historii składni polskiej'. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Linguistica* 12: 20–23.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2018. 'Językowe drogi chrystianizacji Polski' ['Linguistic Paths of Christianization of Poland']. *Poznańskie Spotkania Językoznawcze* 35: 7–24.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2018. 'Z południowo-wschodniej peryferii polszczyzny' ['From the Southeastern Periphery of the Polish Language']. In *Języki ruskie w rozwoju historycznym i w kontaktach z polszczyzną*, edited by Lilia Citko, 9–52. Białystok: Publikacja Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, Wydział Filologiczny.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2021. 'Koncepcje składniowe naszych mistrzów' ['The syntactic Concepts of Our Masters']. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Linguistica* 16: 5–10.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2015. 'Non-Indo-European Features of the Tocharian Dialects'. In *Words and Dictionaries. A Festschrift for Professor Stanisław Stachowski on the Occasion of His 85th Birthday*, edited by Elżbieta Mańczak-Wohlfeld and Babara Podolak, 55–67. Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2015. 'Północnokresowe i białoruskie nazwy jałowca na tle słowiańskim' ['Northern Borderland and Belarusian Names of Juniper against the Slavic Background']. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Linguistica* 10: 9–14.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2017. 'Kontakty językowe w przedhistorycznej Europie środkowo-wschodniej' ['Language Contacts in Prehistoric Central and Eastern Europe']. *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 73: 175–194.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2017. 'Językowe pogranicza polszczyzny' ['The Linguistic Borderlands of the Polish Language']. *Gwary Dziś. Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk* 9: 85–158.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2017. 'Z historii składni polskiej' ['From the History of Polish Syntax']. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Linguistica* 12: 20–23.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2019. 'Koldras Lacki na Turbaczu' ['Koldras Lacki on Turbacz']. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Linguistica* 14: 20–23.
- Bednarczuk, Leszek. 2025. 'Pagan Dialects from Narew'. *Rocznik Slawistyczny* 74: 7–24.

References

- Ingielewicz-Citak, Milena. 2018. 'Profesor Leszek Bednarczuk – o pasji do języków indoeuropejskich i o źródłach fascynacji tematyką mickiewiczowsko-wileńską'. *Rocznik Stowarzyszenia Naukowców Polaków Litwy* 18: 427–437.