POLSKA AKADEMIA NAUK — ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE
KOMISJA ORIENTALISTYCZNA

FOLIA ORIENTALIA

VOL. 60

2023

Editor-in-Chief
Arkadiusz Płonka (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Deputy Editor-in-Chief
Maciej Klimiuk (Free University of Berlin, Heidelberg University, 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 Siemieniec-Gołaś (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, CNRS, France)
Emanuela de Blasio (Tuscia University, Viterbo, Italy)
Michael Knüppel (Liaocheng University, China)
Mena B. Lafkioui (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, CNRS, 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

Print run 150 copies
ISSN 0015-5675

Prepress
Logoscript Sp. z o.o.
ul. Dembowskiego 4/54, 02-784 Warszawa
tel. +48 693 699 709
www.logoscript.pl

Printed by
Agencja Wydawniczo-Poligraficzna GIMPO
ul. Transportowców 11, 02-858 Warszawa
tel. +48 501 076 031
e-mail: gimpo@poligrafia.waw.pl

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)

Contents

Articles

Michael Knüppel
Hui-muslimische Spender-Verzeichnisse im Ramaḍān und zum ʿĪd al-Fiṭr. . . 5

Małgorzata Sulich-Cowley
From *nivṛttapadārthaka* to *āropa*: The Turning Point in the Interpretation of Negation in the Eyes of Vaiyākaraṇas. 15

Stefan Bojowald
Der Vergleich des Geliebten mit einem Wolf im Akkadischen und Ägyptischen. 33

George Hatke
'May He and His Kin Be Eradicated and Uprooted …': Curse Formulae in Aksumite Royal Inscriptions 41

Andrea Maria Negri
The Narration of the *maqāmāt*: A Reading of ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd's *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya* (1715) through Propp 99

Gerardo Barbera
The Cannibal Sister: Linguistic Annotation of a South Bashkardi Folktale . . . 145

Assaf Bar-Moshe
The Prefix Vowels of the Prefix-Conjugation in the Jewish Arabic Dialect of ʿĀna: A Chain of Innovations 189

Najla Kalach and Muntasir Fayez Al-Hamad
A Corpus-Based Analysis of Verbal Prefixes and the Progressive Aspect Marker *gāʕid* 'sitting' in Qatari Arabic 207

Letizia Cerqueglini
Ya ṛaḅḅú! Tanṭīni binéːt!: Ǧbēne in the Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye 227

Wiktor Gębski
Between Analogy and Language Contact: A Case Study of Grammatical Change in Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic Dialects. 277

Miscellanea

Arshin Adib-Moghaddam
The 'Eastern' Origins of 'Western' Philosophy: Against Eurocentricism 311

Václav Blažek
An Excerpt from the 'Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja: Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology' 329

Reviews

Lohwasser, Angelika, und Anne Sörgel. 2020. *Ein Zeugnis des frühen kuschitischen Königtums. Die Stele SNM 1851 vom Jebel Barkal* (by Stefan Bojowald) 429

Gill, Ann-Katrin, und Mark Smith. 2023. *Transforming the Dead in Graeco-Roman Egypt: The Spells of P. Louvre N. 3122 and P. Berlin P. 3162* (by Stefan Bojowald) 432

Bawardi, Basilius. 2019. *The Magazine Shiʿr and the Poetics of Modern Arabic Poetry: A Textual Study* (by Arkadiusz Płonka) 435

Nader El-Bizri. 2022. *On Being and Time: The Section on Heidegger in Charles Malik's 1937 Harvard Thesis* (by Franck Salameh) 439

Bobzin, Katharina. 2022. *Arabisch – Schritt für Schritt: Sprachkurs für das moderne Standard-Arabisch* (by Emna Labidi) 443

Shachmon, Ori. 2022. *Tēmōnit: The Jewish Varieties of Yemeni Arabic* (by Maciej Klimiuk) 448

Jastrow, Otto. 2022. *Der arabische Dialekt der Christen von Kaʿbīye (Diyarbakir)* (by Volkan Bozkurt) 454

Seeger, Ulrich. 2022. *Wörterbuch Palästinensisch – Deutsch: Teil 1: ʔ – Š, Teil 2: Ṣ – Y* (by Maciej Klimiuk) 462

Newman, Paul. 2022. *Comprehensive Bibliography of Chadic and Hausa Linguistics* (by Sergio Baldi) 466

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148417

Articles

Michael Knüppel
Liaocheng University, China | michaelknueppel@gmx.net

Hui-muslimische Spender-Verzeichnisse im Ramaḍān und zum ʿĪd al-Fiṭr

Hui Muslim Donor Lists in the Ramaḍān and to the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr

Abstract In this article, the Hui Muslim tradition of posting the names of donors during Ramaḍān and ʿĪd al-Fiṭr is illustrated with an example from the city of Liáochéng in 2019. In the past, these notices were posted on the perimeter walls of the mosques of Chinese Muslims on the eve of the festival of breaking the fast, which is a custom not otherwise found in the Islamic-influenced world, shows Chinese influence, and fulfilled a number of functions for the communities concerned. In the meantime, this tradition is no longer practised and, according to people who can confirm this, has been stopped by the authorities as part of some campaign against religious propaganda.

Keywords Hui Muslims, Ramaḍān, ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, Muslims customs in China, Chinese influence of sino-muslim traditions

1 Einführung

Wie vom Vf. schon bei anderen Gelegenheiten ausgeführt, ist die Kultur der Hui-Muslime (*Hui* [回] ~ *Huízú* [回族]) Chinas[1] ständigen Einflüssen durch die sie umgebende nicht-muslimische Mehrheitsgesellschaft ausgesetzt.[2] Die Hui-Muslime sind eine sino-phone muslimische Gemeinschaft mit komplexer Ethno-

[1] Zu den Hui-Muslimen allgemein cf. Gladney (1996) und Dillon (1999).
[2] Knüppel 2020: 229.

© 2023 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.

genese, die sich heute als muslimische Hàn-Chinesen verstehen und von der übrigen chinesischen Gesellschaft auch so wahrgenommen werden, obgleich sie eine Vielzahl unterschiedlicher chinesischer Dialekte sprechen und teilweise auf nicht-chinesische Einwanderer (seit dem 7./8. Jh.) zurückgehen. Heute sind sie in nahezu allen Provinzen der V.R. China anzutreffen und ihre Gesamtzahl beläuft sich auf 10.595.946 Personen (Census 2010).[3] Innerhalb des „Reichs der Mitte" befinden sich die Hui-Muslime nahezu überall von der erwähnten Mehrheitsgesellschaft umgeben. Kompakte Siedlungsgemeinschaften hingegen finden sich nur in „traditionellen" Siedlungsgebieten in West-China (hier in den Provinzen Qīnghǎi, Níngxià, Gānsù, Yúnnán und Shǎnxī). Darüber hinaus finden sich chinesisch-muslimische Gemeinschaften auch außerhalb Chinas – etwa die Dunganen, bei denen es sich um chinesische muslimische Auswanderer (überwiegend aus Yúnnán, Gānsù und Shǎnxī), welche im 19. Jh. im Zuge von kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen (den sogenannten „Dunganen-Aufständen", aber auch anderen Erhebungen in West- und Zentral-China) nach West-Turkistān ausgewichen sind, handelt, in Kasachstān, Kirgistān, Usebekistān und Taǰikistān,[4] die chinesischen Muslime in Myanmar (überwiegend Auswanderer aus Yúnnán), Thailand, Malaysia,[5] Indonesien (hier Gemeinschaften, die teilweise auf Gründungen des chinesischen Seefahrers und Entdeckers Zhèng Hé [鄭和 / 郑和] zurückgehen),[6] Singapur[7] und Taiwan sowie in chinesischen Überseegemeinden.

2 Einflüsse chinesischer Kultur

Die erwähnten Einflüsse, die mitunter kaum bemerkbar sind, z. T. aber auch einen durchaus wahrnehmbaren Kulturwandel mit sich gebracht haben, sind keinesfalls neu und noch weniger eine in sich geschlossene oder zusammenhängende Erscheinung.[8] Infolge der Ausbreitung der Hui-Muslime aus ihren angestammten Siedlungsgebieten im Westen des Landes von der Yuán- und Míng-Zeit an gelangten sie im gesamten Reichsgebiet in eine Lage, in der sie eine religiöse Minderheit wurden, welche von einer nicht-muslimischen Gesellschaft mit Gebräuchen, Glaubensvorstellungen und Ritualen umgeben war, deren Wurzeln in eine sehr viel tiefere Vergangenheit zurückreichte als ihre eigene Kultur und die

[3] Knüppel 2021–2022a: 233, Anm. 1.

[4] Cf. zu den Dunganen beispielsweise Džon (1986), Gladney (1998), Allès (2005), Ding (2005), M. D. Savurov und M. M. Savurov (2018).

[5] Knüppel 2021–2022b; im Erscheinen a.

[6] Knüppel 2021–2022c.

[7] Knüppel im Erscheinen b.

[8] Zu den verschiedenen Aspekten des Kulturwandels bei den Hui-Muslimen cf. Knüppel (2020).

gesamte Gesellschaft dieser Mehrheit durchdrang – und somit zwangsläufig immer wieder auch nachhaltig in die Lebenswelt der Hui hineinwirkte. Es bedarf daher schon eines genaueren Blickes, diese Einflüsse als solche zu erkennen. So werden von den meisten Hui (und chinesischen Muslimen insgesamt[9]) innerhalb wie außerhalb Chinas heute die chinesischen Feste gefeiert. Natürlich entfällt die Teilnahme an den religiösen Komponenten, die diese Feste zumeist beinhalten, d.h. den Aspekten, die im eindeutigen Widerspruch zum Islam stehen. Sie werden ausgelassen oder in einem mit der Lehre des Propheten kompatiblen Sinne umgedeutet, eine Teilnahme erfolgt aber grundsätzlich.[10] Auch kommen rituelle Verbrauchsgüter, wie Räucherstäbchen[11] oder „Himmels-", „Geister-" oder „Höllenbankgeld"[12] geradezu selbstverständlich zum Einsatz, werden aber auch hier in einen anderen Kontext gestellt: so wird Räucherwerk abgebrannt, jedoch aus Gründen des „Wohlgeruchs" und selbstverständlich nicht zu Ehren der Geister der Verstorbenen oder irgendwelcher Gottheiten, was sich ja auch kaum mit dem Islam vertragen würde.[13] Nun ist die Verwendung von Räucherwerk für sich genommen noch nicht zwingend ein Ausdruck von kultureller Anpassung, wohl aber die Umstände, d.h. die Überführung in einen spezifisch muslimischen Kontext. So finden sich Weihrauchspender mit arabischen Aufschriften und es kommen Räucherstäbchen selbst in den Gebetsräumen der Moscheen zum Einsatz,[14] was sich sonst ja nur in wenigen Kulturen der in religiöser Beziehung vom Islam dominierten Welt findet (etwa in Iran).

Natürlich sind nicht alle Aspekte von Kulturwandel das Resultat möglicherweise jahrhundertewährender Prozesse. Auch finden sich Veränderungen, die sich sehr abrupt vollzogen haben und auch solche aus der jüngsten Vergangenheit. So wurde bereits vor einigen Jahren der Gebetsruf (*Aḏān* [أَذَان]) in der Öffentlichkeit (zumindest im Osten des Landes) untersagt[15] (für die erwähnten kompakten Siedlungsgebiete der Hui mag dies vielleicht nicht zutreffen?) und auch die Anbringung arabischer Schrift im öffentlichen Raum wurde durch die Behörden in-

---

[9] Es lassen sich grob zwei Gruppen chinesischer Muslime unterscheiden: (1.) die Hui-Muslime, deren Vorfahren seit Jahrhunderten der Lehre des Propheten folgen und (2.) die Konvertiten, die erst in jüngerer Vergangenheit (etwa innerhalb muslimischer Mehrheitsgesellschaften wie jenen Südostasiens) zum Islam übergetreten sind (cf. hierzu Knüppel [2021–2022a: 233]).

[10] Cf. hierzu beispielsweise Knüppel (2020: 248–249), hier Bemerkungen zum Laternenfest; Knüppel (2021–2022b: 246–247).

[11] Knüppel 2019a; 2020: 241–242; 2022.

[12] Knüppel 2019b; 2020: 243–245.

[13] Knüppel 2021–2022b: 247.

[14] Knüppel 2020: 241–242; 2022: 345–347.

[15] Knüppel 2020: 253–254.

zwischen weitgehend unterbunden.[16] Veränderungen, die für eine muslimische Gemeinschaft nicht gerade unerheblich sind und möglicherweise weitreichende Folgen haben können – man denke hier nur an die Umstellung des Gebetsrufs vom Arabischen auf das Türkische oder die Schriftreform in der kemalistischen Türkei. Im vorliegenden Beitrag nun soll auf eine Veränderung, die in einem Zusammenhang mit den erwähnten Maßnahmen steht, eingegangen werden: die Abschaffung der hui-muslimischen Spender-Verzeichnisse, welche im Fastenmonat Ramaḍān (拉马丹斋月 [*lāmǎdān zhāiyuè*] oder 穆斯林斋月 [*mùsīlín zhāiyuè*]) und zum ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (开斋节 [*kāizhāi jié*]) an den Umfassungsmauern von Moschee-Arealen für alle Mitglieder der Gemeinden sichtbar aufgehängt wurden.[17]

3 Die Spender-Verzeichnisse

Die erwähnten Spender-Verzeichnisse fanden sich in den Jahren 2018–2019 noch ganz selbstverständlich an den Außenmauern zahlreicher (wenngleich auch nicht aller) Moschee-Areale, d.h. nicht an den Wänden der Gotteshäuser selbst, sondern vielmehr an den Mauern, welche die jeweiligen Gelände umgeben. Auf diesen Verzeichnissen, die zumeist auf großen roten Papierbögen niedergeschrieben wurden (nicht immer waren es rote Bögen – so konnte der Vf. in der Stadt Línqīng auch weiße resp. graue Bögen vorfinden), waren die Namen der Spender vermerkt, welche für die Speisung in den Moscheen im Ramaḍān nach Sonnenuntergang und vor allem zum ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, Geld- oder Sachspenden übergeben haben. Gegebenenfalls wurden auch die Geldbeträge und / oder Mengen der gestifteten Lebensmittel und Zutaten für die Beköstigung der Gläubigen nach Sonnenuntergang sowie das Backen des traditionellen Gebäcks, 油香 (*yóu xiāng*), (siehe Abbildung 1), welches hierbei an die Gläubigen, vor allem aber an die Unterstützer während des Fastenmonats, verteilt wird,[18] mit angegeben. Die Besonderheit dieser Spender-Verzeichnisse bestand nun darin, dass solche eine spezifisch hui-muslimische Tradition bildeten, welche ihre Wurzeln in der chinesischen Gesellschaft hatte. Diese „spezifisch chinesische Tradition“ reicht von den Bekanntgaben der Namen und Verdienste einzelner Mitglieder der Gemeinden, über die Namenslisten der erfolgreichen Prüflinge der Examina für die Beamtenlaufbahn im Alten China bis hin zu den Wandzeitungen im maoistischen Reich. Vergleichbare Traditionen finden sich weder im arabischen noch im persischen Bereich, wo die Spender der Almosen (auch während des Ramaḍāns oder zum

[16] Cf. hierzu Knüppel (2020: 240, Anm. 22): „So konnte der Vf. beispielsweise in Liáochéng keinerlei Bögen, in grüner Farbe vorfinden. Diese waren im Jahre 2019 nur noch in der Stadt Línqīng anzutreffen, allerdings Ende des Jahres im Zuge irgendeiner Kampagne gegen arab. Schrift in der Öffentlichkeit weitgehend entfernt worden.“

[17] Sun und Knüppel 2018: 51.

[18] Sun und Knüppel 2018: 51.

ʿĪd al-Fiṭr) geradezu „geheim“ bleiben – es ist eine Angelegenheit zwischen dem spendenden Gläubigen und ʾAllāh selbst, nicht hingegen zwischen dem Spender und der übrigen Gemeinde. Bei den Hui sind die chinesischen Einflüsse auch hier unverkennbar – einerseits war der Aushang zugleich eine Aufforderung an die übrigen Mitglieder der Gemeinde ebenfalls etwas zu geben, andererseits (etwa für die aufgeführten Geschäfte, die ja zumeist größere Beträge gespendet haben) auch eine Art Werbung.

Abbildung 1. Sachspenden für Gebäck (M. Knüppel)

Der Vf. selbst hatte am 5.6.2019 zum ʿĪd al-Fiṭr die Gelegenheit, an den Feierlichkeiten in der sogenannten „West-Moschee“ (清真西寺 [*qīngzhēn xīsì*]) oder „großen Moschee“ (大礼拜寺 [*dà lǐbàisì*]) in Liáochéng (in der Provinz Shāndōng)[19] teilzunehmen resp. den Ablauf der Feierlichkeiten sowie in den vorausgegangenen Tagen die Vorbereitungen zu selbigen zu beobachten und hat an diesem Tag auch die photographische Aufnahme eines solchen Spender-Verzeichnisses an der Umfassungsmauer des Moscheegeländes angefertigt (Abbildung 2). Dieses Verzeichnis wurde während des Ramaḍāns, also zu einem Zeitpunkt als noch Spenden eingegangen sind, angefertigt und zum Ende des Fastenmonats aufge-

[19] Cf. hierzu Knüppel (2018: 47–49).

hängt. Während der Anfertigung der Aufnahme waren einige Gläubige noch mit der Niederschrift eines weiteren Verzeichnisses, welches wohl erst im Verlaufe des Tages des ʿĪd al-Fiṭr angebracht wurde, beschäftigt.

Abbildung 2. Spenderverzeichnis an der Umfassungsmauer der Moschee (M. Knüppel)

Das Verzeichnis trug die Überschrift 开斋节 乜贴款 [*Kāizhāijié niè tiē kuǎn*] „ʿĪd al-Fiṭr – das Fest des Ramaḍāns“ (siehe Abbildung 2) und zeigte in drei Kolumnen die Aufstellung der Namen der Spender und der gespendeten Beträge:

开斋节 乜贴款 [*Kāizhāijié niè tiē kuǎn*]		
武阿訇 [*Wǔ Āhōng*] 100.	蒋振亭 [*Jiǎng Zhèntíng*] 50.	张波 [*Zhāng Bō*] 50.
金庆其 [*Jīn Qìngqí*] 100.	王建保 [*Wáng Jiànbǎo*] 50.	沙启良 [*Shā Qǐliáng*] 100.
白喜巍 [*Bái Xǐwēi*] 100.	杨忠信 [*Yáng Zhōngxìn*] 20.	福瑞康食品有限公司 [*fú Ruìkāng shípǐn yǒuxiàngōngsī*] 1000.
阿力肉孜 [Ālì Ròuzī] 50.	于萌 [*Yú Méng*] 100.	杨树军 [*Yáng Shùjūn*] 100.
柴文忠, 热水器两套 [*Chái wénzhōng, Rèshuǐqì liǎngtào*] 4300.	杨成英 [*Yáng Chéngyīng*] 100.	金萍 [*Jīn Píng*] 100.
窦延文 [*Dòu Yánwén*] 50.	张涛 [*Zhāng Tāo*] 100.	张永训 [*Zhāng Yǒngxùn*] 1000.
窦余更 [*Dòu Yúgèng*] 100.	窦余洪 [*Dòu Yúhóng*] 50.	许怀敏 [*Xǔ Huáimǐn*] 100.
蒋顺普 [*Jiǎng Shùnpǔ*] 200.	王孟磊 [*Wáng Mèngěi*] 100.	展延歧 [*Zhǎn Yánqí*] 50.
杨增新 [*Yáng Zēngxīn*] 100.	聊城福润有限公司 [*Liáochéng fú rùn yǒuxiàngōngsī*] 500.	周正岭 [*Zhōuz Hènglǐng*] 50.
马东拉 [*Mǎ Dōnglā*] 50.	马金柱 [*Mǎ Jīnzhù*] 100.	王秀凯 [*Wáng Xiùkǎi*] 50.
东关李家羊肉包 [*Dōngguān lǐjiā yáng ròubāo*] 100.	蒋家超 [*Jiǎng Jiāchāo*] 50.	马振胜 [*Mǎ Zhènshèng*] 50.
马奴刚 [*Mǎ Núgāng*] 20.	高伟 [*Gāo Wěi*] 100.	陆广忠 [*Lù Guǎngzhōng*] 50.
武共奎 [*Wǔ Gòngkuí*] 50.	窦延举 [*Dòu Yánjǔ*] 100.	陆广臣 [*Lù Guǎngchén*] 50.
蒋立怀 [*Jiǎng Lìhuái*] 200.	刘义 [*Liú Yì*] 100.	张桂田 [*Zhāng Guìtián*] 50.
蒋振岭 [*Jiǎng Zhènlǐng*] 200.	窦立华 [*Dòu Lìhuá*] 100.	陈荣国 [*Chén Róngguó*] 50.
李振 [*Lǐ Zhèn*] 100.	杨红旗 [*Yáng Hóngqí*] 50.	王京贵 [*Wáng Jīngguì*] 50.

Von einigem Interesse ist hier die Aufführung des Namens des Imāms als Spender (an erster Position), die Verwendung des Hui-Namens in nur einem einzigen Fall (Ālì Ròuzī)[20] sowie das erwartungsgemäß relativ häufige Erscheinen von als „typisch“ hui-muslimisch aufgefassten Namen (z. B. *Dòu* und *Mǎ*).

4 Neuere Entwicklungen

Im Mai 2023 konnte der Vf. bereits an keiner der Moscheen in der Stadt noch entsprechende Aushänge finden und in den Moscheen auch nicht nach dem Grund dafür fragen, da es inzwischen Ausländern nicht mehr erlaubt ist, in der Provinz Shāndōng (und wohl auch im gesamten Osten des Landes) muslimische Einrichtungen, vor allem aber Moscheen und die sie umgebenden Areale, aufzusuchen.

Von den Einwohnern des muslimischen Viertels der Stadt war nur noch in Erfahrung zu bringen, dass es diese Verzeichnisse „nicht mehr gebe“. Näheres wollten sie nicht mitteilen und auch nicht mit Ausländern in der Nähe der Moscheen gesehen werden. Aus sehr vagen Andeutungen war allenfalls noch zu entnehmen, dass die Behörden „religiöse Propaganda“ (als welche die Spender-Verzeichnisse offenbar betrachtet wurden) nicht mehr gestatten. Natürlich ist dies in einen breiteren Kontext eingebunden, zu dem auch das erwähnte Verbot des Gebetsrufs und die ebenfalls bereits angesprochene Verbannung der arabischen Schrift aus dem öffentlichen Raum gehören, und bedarf einer gründlicheren Behandlung.

Es ist natürlich keinesfalls so, dass den Hui oder Muslimen in China in Gänze die Religionsausübung verboten wäre oder auch nur eingeschränkt werden soll – Religionsfreiheit ist in der chinesischen Verfassung verankert. Es geht bei all diesen Maßnahmen letztlich darum, eine entsprechende Präsenz des Islams in der Öffentlichkeit zu unterbinden, da diese als „religiöse Propaganda“ eingestuft wird und solche wiederum untersagt ist. Während dies in der Vergangenheit – vor allen in den 1990er Jahren und den frühen 2000er Jahren – eher „liberal“ gehandhabt wurde, hat es hier inzwischen einige Veränderungen gegeben und es werden die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen stringenter angewandt.

Für die Hui-Muslime stellen diese Einschränkungen in Gänze allerdings durchaus einen ganz erheblichen Einschnitt dar, gehört das sichtbare resp. nach außen gekehrte Bekenntnis zum Islam doch zu ihrem kulturellen und religiösen Selbstverständnis. Zwar wirkt sich das Verbot des Gebetsrufs (hierfür wird „Lärmbelästigung“ geltend gemacht) nicht auf das Gebet an sich aus und es ist die Anbringung arabischer Schriftzüge an Privathäusern, sofern diese sich nicht gerade

[20] Die Hui führen gemeinhin zwei Namen: 1.) ihren chinesischen Namen und 2.) ihren „Hui-Namen“, *jīng míng* (经名). Während die chinesischen Namen die offiziellen Namen sind, die in Dokumenten, Pässen usw. erscheinen, entstammen die „Hui-Namen“ einem religiösen Kontext und werden nur innerhalb der Familie, bisweilen auch innerhalb der muslimischen Hui-Gemeinschaft benutzt (cf. Sun und Knüppel [im Erscheinen]).

in Hauptstraßen befinden, über Wohnungstüren in Mietshäusern und in allen anderen Bereichen des Privaten natürlich weiterhin gestattet, jedoch geht mit den Maßnahmen auch eine graduelle Verdrängung muslimischer Präsenz, die sich durchaus auf die Kunst (man denke hier bloß an die arabische Kalligraphie, die nun nur noch eingeschränkt „benötigt" resp. „angefordert" wird) auswirken mag, einher. Das Verschwinden der Spender-Verzeichnisse reiht sich hier ein – ist doch das Almosengeben ein Grundpfeiler der Religion und sind gerade Ramaḍān und ʿĪd al-Fiṭr besondere Anlässe, zu denen gespendet wird, und die Bekanntgabe der Namen der Spender bei den chinesischen Muslimen Ausdruck des Bekenntnisses derselben zur Gemeinschaft. Natürlich wird das Spenden durch das Verschwinden der Aushänge außerhalb der Moscheen ebenso wenig beeinträchtigt, wie die Religionsausübung eingeschränkt, aber auch hier hat eine Maßnahme – gerade auch im Verbund mit den übrigen Anordnungen – Auswirkungen auf die huimuslimische Kultur, waren doch die Spender-Verzeichnisse in den Straßen ein nach außen, für alle Vorübergehenden sichtbarer Ausdruck des Selbstverständnisses der Gemeindemitglieder und ein Aufruf zur Unterstützung der Gemeinden.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Michael Knüppel https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6348-5100

Bibliografie

Allès, Elisabeth. 2005. „The Chinese-Speaking Muslims (Dungans) of Central Asia: A Case of Multiple Identities in a Changing Context". *Asian Ethnicity* 6 (2): 121–134.

Dillon, Michael. 1999. *China's Muslim Hui Community: Migration, Settlement and Sects*. Richmond: Curzon.

Ding Hong. 2005. „A Comparative Study on the Cultures of the Dungan and the Hui People". *Asian Ethnicity* 6 (2): 135–140.

Džon, Ali Alievič. 1986. *Material'naja kul'tura Dungan: Poselenie, usad'ba, žilišče (konec XIX–XX v.)*. Frunze: Ilim.

Gladney, Dru C. 1996. *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*. 2. Aufl. Harvard East Asian Monographs 149. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.

Gladney, Dru C. 1998. „Nations Transgressing Nation-States: Constructing Dungan, Uygur and Kazakh Identities across China, Central Asia and Turkey." In *Post-Soviet Central Asia*, herausgegeben von Touraj Atabaki und John O'Kane, 301–323. London: Tauris Academic Studies.

Knüppel, Michael. 2019a. „'Rituelle Verbrauchsgüter' bei den Hui-Muslimen Shāndōngs". *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 28: 295–302.

Knüppel, Michael. 2019b. „Zur Verbreitung von ‘Himmelsgeld’ bei Muslimen Chinas“. *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten* 54, 303 (Mai): 154–158.

Knüppel, Michael. 2020. „Zum Kulturwandel bei den Hui-Muslimen im Osten Chinas“. *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 32: 229–256.

Knüppel, Michael. 2021–2022a. „Chinesisch-muslimische Gemeinschaften in Südostasien – einige allgemeine Bemerkungen“. *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 33: 233–234.

Knüppel, Michael. 2021–2022b. „Die chinesischen Muslime Kuchings“. *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 33: 241–249.

Knüppel, Michael. 2021–2022c. „Die chinesischen Muslime Jakartas – ein kurzgefaßter Überblick“. *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift zur Kultur Asiens* 33: 235–240.

Knüppel, Michael. 2022. „Räucherwerk und Räuchergefäße bei den Hui-Muslimen“. *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 31: 345–348.

Knüppel, Michael. Im Erscheinen a. „Die chinesischen Muslime Kuala Lumpurs“. *Journal of Oriental and African Studies*.

Knüppel, Michael. Im Erscheinen b. „Die chinesischen Muslime Singapurs“. *Deutsche China-Gesellschaft. Mitteilungsblatt*.

Savurov, Mane Daurovič, und Mansur Maneevič Savurov. 2018. *Iz ėtnografii Dungan Central’noj Azii*. Taškent: Izdatel’stvo Nacional’noj biblioteki Uzbekistana imeni Ališera Navoi.

Sun Mengyao, und Michael Knüppel. 2018. „Die Hui-Muslime der Stadt Liaocheng“. *Deutsche China-Gesellschaft. Mitteilungsblatt* 61: 46–54.

Sun Mengyao, und Michael Knüppel. Im Erscheinen. „Remarks on Hui Muslim Anthroponomastics“. In *4th World Conference of Chinese Studies. Conference Proceedings*, herausgegeben von Martin Woesler.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148418

Małgorzata Sulich-Cowley
University of Warsaw, Poland | m.sulich@uw.edu.pl

From *nivṛttapadārthaka* to *āropa*: The Turning Point in the Interpretation of Negation in the Eyes of Vaiyākaraṇas

Abstract Negation was analysed by Indian grammarian-philosophers from the very beginning of the linguistic thought in India. Over the centuries its understanding developed from purely formal to more semantically and pragmatically oriented analysis. Some of this analysis was influenced by concepts developed by other philosophical schools, which led to the change in the interpretation of negation in the school of Vyākaraṇa. The article first presents the early interpretations of negative expressions in the school of Sanskrit grammarians and then discusses the semantic shift that took place around the 11th century CE in the meaning of negation, especially the implicative (*paryudāsa*) type. It analyses the passages from various grammatical and philosophical commentaries which introduce the concept of *āropa* (superimposition) to interpret negation.

Keywords negation, superimposition, *āropa*, Vaiyākaraṇa, *paryudāsapratiṣedha*, *nañsamāsa*, *nañartha*

1 Introduction

The importance of negation in describing and defining the surrounding world was noted at a very early stage in the Indian thought. A brief look at the passages in the earliest Vedic hymns shows that negative statements were frequently used to describe the state our world emerged from, which could not be otherwise described or expressed. Therefore it comes as no surprise that Sanskrit grammarians, etymologists and philosophers studied the notion of negation, both sentential and nominal, from the very beginning of the development of Indian intellectual thought. When discussing negation in Sanskrit, a number of factors should be taken into account. Firstly, it is the division into *prasajya-* and *paryudāsa-pratiṣedha*, traditionally explained as sentential (non-implicative) and nominal

© 2023 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.

(implicative) types of negation.[1] This division was accepted not only within the school of Sanskrit grammarians (*vyākaraṇa*), but by all the other philosophical schools in India. Secondly, it is the actual meaning of negation, more precisely the negative particle; whether it is expressive only of absence (non-existence) or perhaps it encompasses other meanings, such as opposition, difference etc. The preponderance over the semantic aspect of negation is closely linked to the discussion across philosophical and linguistic schools in India as to whether particles can be considered meaning carriers; whether they are expressive (*vācaka*) or merely suggestive (*dyotaka*) of a meaning. Consequently, if the negative particle (or other particles not formally negative but exhibiting negative polarity) is not expressive, how is the negative meaning achieved and understood? Finally, it is the evolution the notion of negation that went over centuries. Throughout the history of linguistic and philosophical development in India we can observe how the interpretation of the meaning of negative expressions, the meaning assigned to the negative particle, changed; how it evolved from pure morphological analysis to context driven explication. The development is particularly noticeable in the grammarians' analysis of nominal negation and constructions they term negative compounds (*nañsamāsa*). The turning point in the interpretation of such constructions seems to be around the 10th–11th century CE. In various grammatical and philosophical commentaries composed around that time we find the concept of *āropa* (superimposition) used to explain the *paryudāsapratiṣedha* in *nañsamāsa*s. This article aims to discuss this interpretational shift based on the excerpts from relevant texts of that period in the tradition of the Vaiyākaraṇa school.

The school of grammarians, which originated with Pāṇini and his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the 4th century BCE[2] at a certain point diverged and kept developing its more formal analytical branch alongside the one more philosophically, epistemologically and ontologically, oriented. Despite different focus, commentaries composed in both these branches discussed topics covered by Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (A) either explicitly or implied by the structure of the *sūtra*s. In this article, I am focusing on the discussion regarding mostly, albeit not exclusively, *paryudāsapratiṣedha* (implicative, nominal negation) expressed by negative compounds (*nañsamāsa*), which incorporates the concept of superimposition into the interpretation of the meaning of negation and the cognitive process behind it. I am analyzing the relevant passages from the Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* (Pr, c. 11th century CE)—the commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (VMBh, c. 2nd century BCE), Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* (Ny, c. 9th century CE) and Haradatta's *Padamañjarī* (PM, c. 11th century CE)—both commentaries on the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (KV, Jayāditya and Vāmana, c. 7th

[1] Cardona 1967: 34; Staal 1962; Timalsina 2014.

[2] This statement is a simplification. Linguistic tradition existed before Pāṇini's time in India as evidenced from the names of grammarians he himself mentions in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, as well as the complexity of the system he created.

century CE), as well as Helārāja's *Prakīrṇaprakāśa* (PP, c. 980 CE)—the commentary on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* (VP, c. 5th century CE). The commentaries under discussion represent both branches of the school of grammarians, thus demonstrating that formal linguistic topics often merged with epistemological issues creating a unique school of philosophy of language in India.

2 Early interpretations

The discussion on the types of negation and the meaning behind a variety of negative statements is limited at an early stage of Sanskrit grammatical thought. Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (c. 4th century BCE) does not discuss those topics; the only rule that shows how negation should be interpreted to an extent is the rule where he introduces negative *tatpuruṣa* compounds, P. 2.2.6 *nañ* ('[The negative particle] *nañ* [combines with a syntactically connected nominal *pada* to form a *tatpuruṣa* compound]').[3] This rule specifies that the negative particle *nañ*, despite being an indeclinable,[4] is part of compounds of *tatpuruṣa* type. This further means that the relation within such a compound is of *viśeṣya-viśeṣaṇa* (qualificand-qualifier) character, and it bears particular morphological consequences. It is the latter member of a compound that determines the number and gender of the entire formation. Negative *tatpuruṣa* compounds represent, in the majority of cases, *paryudāsa* negation; they point to the difference of the object rather than pure absence, thus implying a positive object in itself albeit expressed in a negative manner.[5]

It was Yāska (the author of the *Nirukta*, Nir, 5th century BCE) who provided a more semantic approach to negation by mentioning two meanings that a negative particle can express.

> *neti pratiṣedhārthīyo bhāṣāyām | ubhayam anvadhyāyam | nendraṃ devam amaṃsate | iti pratiṣedhārthīyaḥ | purastād upācāras tasya yat pratiṣedhati | durmadāso na surāyām | ityupamārthīyaḥ | upariṣṭād upācāras tasya yenopamimīte |* (Nir 1.4)
>
> The word *na* has the sense of negation in common language, and both (i.e. the sense of negation and comparison) in Vedic Sanskrit: thus in the passage, 'They did not

[3] Translation Katre: A(1): 128. P. 2.2.6 stands for the second *adhyāya*, second *pāda* and sixth *sūtra* in the A.

[4] Indeclinables can also form compounds in Sanskrit, the *avyayībhāvasamāsa*s. They are of adverbial type with the second member serving to specify the former.

[5] The fact that negative compounds possess a positive, external, referent was the subject of discussion within the school of Vyākaraṇa starting with Patañjali. It was also picked up by Bhartṛhari in the VP and the commentators of the later period. For some discussion of the potential types of negative compound classification see Timalsina (2014) and Sulich-Cowley (2021).

> recognize Indra as a god,' it has the sense of negation. The established use is [to place it] before that which it negates. In the passage 'Like hard drinkers of wine,' it has the sense of comparison. The established use is [to place it] after that which it compares.[6]

Contrary to the description provided by Pāṇini, Yāska concentrates on negation standing alone (that is, not compounded) in a sentence and emphasises the distinction between the Vedic and common language. He seems to be limiting the semantic distinction into negation proper (*pratiṣedha*) and comparison (*upamā*) expressed (or indicated)[7] by the particle *na* to the Vedic language, thus implying that common Sanskrit does not differentiate into these two aspects of negation. It seems, however, that this dual semantic aspect of negation, despite proper definitions and terminology (namely later used *prasajya* and *paryudāsa*), was clear to Indian grammarians, etymologists and philosophers already at that early stage of the development of Indian linguistic thought.[8]

The earliest detailed analysis of negation in the school of grammarians is found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. He uses the terms *prasajya* and *paryudāsa* in his commentary in various contexts, and discusses the difference in their interpretation. His commentary on P 2.2.6 is of particular importance, because Patañjali's interpretation of negative compounds (and of compounds in general) was the initial turning point in the understanding of negation by grammarians and later grammarian-philosophers. Although stemming from a very formal analysis of Pāṇini, his interpretation concentrated on the semantic aspect of compounds by introducing the notion of headedness (*prādhānya*); thus from this perspective the negative compounds would be considered *tatpuruṣa* because the head of a compound lies at the end (*uttarapadārthaprādhānya*). Such an approach of the author of the MBh can be viewed as a transition stage between the formal classification proposed by Pāṇini in the A and more context dependent interpretations.[9]

---

[6] This is a modified translation of Sarup (Nir I: 7–8), who translates *bhāṣā* as 'classical' and *anvadhyāya* as 'Vedic' language.

[7] Sanskrit linguistics divides the types of words (*padajāta*) into expressive (*vācaka*) and suggestive (*dyotaka*) depending whether they are independently meaningful or serve only to illuminate the meaning inherent in accompanying words. Vaiyākaraṇas are of the opinion that particles (*nipāta*) are suggestive.

[8] The analysis of negation used by Pāṇini in his rules shows that he was well aware of the distinction between *prasajya* and *paryudāsa*, even though he never defined them. There are negative rules which prohibit the application of an operation (*prasajya*) and others which exclude certain elements from the domain of a given operation (*paryudāsa*). See Cardona (1967) for more details.

[9] Pāṇini uses various criteria to classify compounds, they are not purely semantic as proposed in the commentatorial literature (see e.g. Wujastyk [1982: 181]). An important feature of

In his commentary on P 2.2.6 Patañjali discusses two examples of *nañsamāsa*s, namely *abrāhmaṇa* (lit. 'a non-Brahmin' or 'a bad Brahmin') and *aneka* (lit. 'not one', 'many'). Despite their superficial similarity, they are not tackled in the same manner by Patañjali. In the passage discussing *abrāhmaṇa*, its similarity to and difference from regular *tatpuruṣa* compounds, Patañjali says:

> *athavā punar astūttarapadārthapradhānaḥ | nanu coktam abrāhmaṇam ānayety ukte brāhmaṇamātrasyānayanaṃ prāpnoti | naiṣa doṣaḥ | idaṃ tāvad ayaṃ praṣṭavyaḥ – atheha rājapuruṣam ānayety ukte puruṣamātrasyānayanaṃ kasmān na bhavati? asty atra viśeṣaḥ | raja viśeṣakaḥ prayujyate tena viśiṣṭasyānayanaṃ bhavati | ihāpi tarhi nañ viśeṣakaḥ prayujyate tena viśiṣṭasyānayanaṃ bhaviṣyati | kaḥ punar asau? nivṛtta-padārthakaḥ |* (VMBh_2: 669.3–670.2)
>
> Alternatively, let it be that [a compound] has the latter member as predominant. But has it not been said that when [a sentence] 'Fetch a non-Brahmin' is uttered, it would result in fetching just a Brahmin. This is not a fault. This is indeed what he should be asked—in this case then, when [a sentence] 'Fetch a king's man' is uttered, how come just a man is fetched? Here is the difference. [The word] *rājan* is used as a qualifier so there is fetching [of a man] qualified by it. Here as well then *nañ* is used a qualifier and there will be fetching [of a Brahmin] qualified by it. What is that? It is [a Brahmin] whose object-meant/meaning has been removed.

In this case, the second member (*uttarapada*) stands for a positive entity specifying the meaning to be denied. If, however, we take a word to stand for a collection of qualities (such as birth, ascetism and proper conduct in the case of a Brahmin),[10] negation will serve the purpose of excluding only some of them, not the entirety of an entity. Or to put it differently, it will bring to our attention the absence of some qualities necessary for the designation of *brāhmaṇa* to be obtained. Patañjali gives an example of a person who is mistakenly taken for a Brahmin due to their impeccable behaviour and ascetic nature. What the person lacks, however, is the birth right; this mistake in the designation is rectified by the usage of a negative form *abrāhmaṇa*. Here again Patañjali refers to the removal (*nivṛtti*) of the original meaning but he says that this removal is caused by the person's descent:

---

those criteria is the notion of *upasarjana* ('a subordinate element'), the identification of which allows us to decide the type of compound.

[10] *tapaḥ śrutaṃ ca yoniś cety etad brāhmaṇakārakam | tapaḥśrutābhyāṃ yo hīno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ ||* (VMBh_1: I 411.16–17 / VMBh_2: 673.3–4) 'Asceticism, learning and descent make a Brahmin; without asceticism and learning he is nothing but a Brahmin by birth.', translated by Bronkhorst (2016: 114 ft 16).

> *jātihīne sandehād durupadeśāc ca brāhmaṇaśabdo vartate | sandehāt tāvat – gauraṃ śucyācāraṃ piṅgalaṃ kapilakeśaṃ dṛṣṭvādhyavasyati brāhmaṇo 'yam iti | tataḥ paścād upalabhate nāyaṃ brāhmaṇo 'brāhmaṇo 'yam iti | tatra sandehāc ca brāhmaṇaśabdo vartate, jātikṛtā cārthasya nivṛttiḥ |* (VMBh_2: 674.6–675.2)
>
> In the case of a person of low birth the word *brāhmaṇa* is used as a result of a mistake or wrong instruction. [Let us see the example of it being] a result of a mistake first—having seen a person that is light (skinned?), of pure conduct, having red and brownish hair, a person determines that 'this is a Brahmin'. Then afterwards they realise that it is not a Brahmin, [they say,] 'this is a non-Brahmin'. Therefore, as a result of a mistake the word *brāhmaṇa* is used and the cessation of this meaning is caused by a [person's] descent.[11]

In both these cases Patañjali explains that the word loses its original meaning; in the latter case the role of cognitive errors is emphasised. This error can be ours or can be caused by others, but it is the foundation for the usage of negation in the first place. There is no discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* as to how this error actually occurs; what happens when a non-Brahmin is mistaken for a Brahmin. As we will see, this process will be explained by later commentators through the mechanism of superimposition (*āropa*) starting with the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries.

Interestingly, his analysis of the compound *aneka* does not follow similar lines of *paryudāsa*, the option that is considered by Kaiyaṭa, but he suggests that what we are observing in this case is *prasajyapratiṣedha*.

> *kathaṃ punar ekasya pratiṣedhena dvibahūnāṃ saṃpratyayaḥ syāt? prasajyāyaṃ kriyāguṇau tataḥ paścān nivṛttiḥ karoti |* (VMBh_2: 676.1–2)
>
> How again should we get the comprehension of two and many by the negation of one? Having established the possibility of an action or a quality [first], he then, subsequently, removes [it].[12]

There is no reference to a mistake made or wrong instructions, and we do obtain the meaning of 'many' associated with *aneka* yet it is not done as in the cases of *paryudāsa* discussed earlier. The problem that seems to occur in this line of interpretation is how to get the positive meaning out of pure negation, which *prasajya* is. If *paryudāsa* implies the existence of another object different from, yet still similar in some aspects to, the one that is negated, where does the implication

---

[11] The passage continues to describe an example of a person being wrongfully instructed; I omit it here because the structure of an argument and conclusions are identical.

[12] Joshi and Roodbergen 1973: 107 (in [Lowe and Benson 2022: 63]).

come from in the cases such as *aneka*. Patañjali does not elaborate on that but Kaiyaṭa points out that every action and every quality need to have a substratum (*āśraya*) and in this case a substance is implied with an undetermined number (*aniyatasaṃkhyadravya*). This implication allows us to comprehend other numbers (i.e. two or more) in *aneka* when the number one is negated.

3 Superimposition (*āropa*)

As we can see, the earliest discussions on negation concentrated on the meaning of denying, removal or absence without explaining in detail how the process happened. What we read in the MBh is that the removal of the meaning is natural and is revealed by the particle *nañ*. The representatives of later Vaiyākaraṇa school seemed to have been dissatisfied to an extent with Patañjali's approach. They went further in explaining not only what happens, namely there is a cognitive error that needs to be rectified, but also what the process looks like. There is a visible shift in interpretation of the passages discussed above occurring around the end of the 10th and 11th centuries CE. The group of commentators flourishing at that period, whose passages I am analysing below, begin to resort to the concept of *āropa* (superimposition) rather than limiting themselves to *nivṛtti* as the meaning of negative compounds; this notion of superimposition which was not explored often in earlier grammatical texts.[13]

3.1 Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa*

Let us start with Kaiyaṭa's commentary on MBh. Kaiyaṭa begins with commenting on the three options related to headedness in *nañsamāsa*s, namely whether it is the former (*pūrvapada*), latter (*uttarapada*) or external (*anyapada*) element that is predominant. His stand on this is flexible, as he claims that they are all equally possible because despite the meaning not being taught, it is still understood based on the power of denotation. The reason why Patañjali opts for *uttarapadārthaprādhānya* is that it is the least problematic solution.[14] Kaiyaṭa explains the conundrum of the expression *abrāhmaṇam ānaya* ('Fetch [me] a non-Brahmin') by treating *nañ* as a qualifier, which does not serve to destroy a particular quality but is there to explain the quality that is undetermined:

---

[13] This is not entirely precise. The concept of *āropa*, *adhyāsa*, *adhyāropa* can be found in earlier grammatical texts, for example in the VP of Bhartṛhari (VP III.3.39–41, the chapter on relations—*sambandhasamuddeśa*, see Houben (1995: 257–262). It is not, however, used with reference to negation and is not developed further.

[14] *yadyapīhārtho na nirdiṣṭas tathāpy abhidhānaśaktisvābhāvyāl labhyate* | […] *evaṃ pakṣatrayasambhāve 'lpaprativid̲heyapakṣam āśrayitum āha – uttarapadārthapradhāna iti* | (VMBh_2: 667. 5–7).

> *ihāniyataguṇasya guṇaviśeṣapratipādanāya viśeṣaṇaṃ pravartate na tadupaghātāya* | (VMBh_2 667.7–8)[15]
>
> Here (i.e. in a language), a qualifier functions to explain a particular quality of an object whose quality is undetermined, not to destroy it.

Negating the meaning of *brāhmaṇa*, however, leads to the said meaning being entirely absent, which consequently, questions its predominance in a compound. So, the word is meaningless because it fails to express the difference and what we might observe is the synonymity between both *brāhmaṇa* and *abrāhmaṇa*. Yet, Kaiyaṭa still claims that such a compound which is formed of partly meaningful and partly meaningless elements is valid, because its explanation has been provided[16].

In response to Patañjali's removal of the original meaning of the stem (*padārthasya nivṛttiḥ*) Kaiyaṭa resorts to the notion of superimposition.

> *nañviśiṣṭasyeti* | *āropitabrāhmaṇyasya kṣatriyāder ity arthaḥ* | *kaḥ punar asāv iti* | *bhāvābhāvayor virodhān nañviśiṣṭo brāhmaṇārtho nopapadyate iti bhāvaḥ* | *nivṛttapadārthaka iti* | *nivṛttaḥ padārtho mukhyaṃ brāhmaṇyaṃ yasmin sa kṣatriyādir arthaḥ* | *sādṛśyādinādhyāropitabrāhmaṇyo nañdyotitatadavastha ity arthaḥ* | (VMBh_2: 670.5–8)
>
> [Let's explain:] of [the word] qualified by *nañ*. The meaning is this: of a *kṣatriya* etc. on whom Brahminhood has been superimposed. What is it then? The meaning *brāhmaṇa* qualified by *nañ* is not possible due to the contradiction between existence and non-existence—such is the meaning. It is [a Brahmin] whose object-meant/meaning has been removed. This is the meaning a *kṣatriya* etc. in whom the meaning, the primary [meaning] of Brahminhood, has been removed. And that state of Brahminhood being superimposed due to similarity is revealed by *nañ*—this is the sense.

As Kaiyaṭa finds it difficult to accept that non-existence (*nañ*) can qualify existence (*brāhmaṇa*) due to their contradictory character, he suggests that there is a secondary underlying meaning in the stem (*kṣatriya*) on which Brahminhood was superimposed, and the condition—of not being a Brahmin by birth—is revealed by the accompanying particle. Kaiyaṭa also refers to the metaphorical meaning (*upacāra*) when explaining how negative compounds of *abrāhmaṇa* type

---

[15] Cf. Haradatta's KV 2: 105.13–15 and his explanation below in 3.3. This and following Kaiyaṭa's comments are almost identical to Haradatta's. On two authors' relative chronology see Pathak (1931).

[16] See also Joshi and Roodbergen (1973: 76).

are understood. What he means is that while using the word *brāhmaṇa*, a primary notion of a Brahmin is created, as per acknowledged usage, and this—wrongful in this case—notion is subsequently removed with the help of *nañ*.

> *ayam atrārthaḥ – kevalo brāhmaṇaśabdaḥ prayujyamānaḥ prasiddhavaśān mukhya eva brāhmaṇārthe pratyayam ādadhāti, nañprayoge tu nivṛttapadārthakatā brāhmaṇaśabdasya pratīyate* | (VMBh_2: 671.9–10)
>
> This is the meaning here—the word *brāhmaṇa* used alone signifies only the primary [meaning] according to acknowledged usage, and creates the notion of the meaning of a Brahmin; but when *nañ* is used, it is understood that the word *brāhmaṇa* has its meaning removed.

When it comes to the example *aneka* analysed above, which could be interpreted along the lines of *prasajya* or *paryudāsa* negation, what Kaiyaṭa is saying is that in both cases the secondary meaning of 'many', rather than pure negation, is feasible. When *aneka* is treated as *prasajyapratiṣedha* and when number one is negated, the understanding of two etc. arises as it is impossible to have an action or quality without a substratum:

> *nirāśrayoś ca tayor asaṃbhavād aniyatasaṃkhyadravyākṣepe saty ekapratiṣedhād bahūnāṃ pratītir ity arthaḥ* | (VMBh_2: 676.9–10)
>
> It is impossible to have these two (i.e. action and quality) without a substratum; when there is the rejection of the substance of the undetermined number due to the negation of [the number] one, there is the understanding of many—such is the sense.

When *aneka* is interpreted as *paryudāsa*, however, its meaning is connected to the numbers other than 'one', and the process which allows us to comprehend that meaning involves superimposition, not simple negation. Kaiyaṭa notices that there is no difference in how we analyse *abrāhmaṇa* and *aneka*; in this latter case the notion of oneness (*ekatva*) is superimposed on two etc. and subsequently negated. Just as Brahminhood is wrongly superimposed on a *kṣatriya* to be eventually corrected.[17] The example of *aneka* is particularly interesting because it allows us to observe the semantic division in interpretation between negation

[17] *paryudāse tu dvyādisaṃkhyāyukta evānekaśabdasyārthaḥ* | *yasmād dvyādiṣv ekatvam āropya pratiṣidhyate yathā kṣatriyādau brāhmaṇatvam* | *tato yathā – abrāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyādir ucyate tathānekaśabdena saṃkyāntarayuktaḥ* | (VMBh_2: 676.11–13).

of *prasajya* and of *paryudāsa* types, where the former is limited to the negation of an action, later explained with *abhāva*, and in the latter case the notion of *āropa* (the superimposition of wrongful ideas) is resorted to.

3.2 Helāraja's *Prakīrṇaprakāśa*

Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* was heavily influenced by Helārāja's commentary on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*. Helārāja refers to Patañjali's *nivṛttapadārthaka* concept in numerous places, but he also employs the notion of *āropa* in his explanation of *nañsamāsa*s. The concept of superimposition used by the commentators from the 10th century CE onwards can be traced to Bhartṛhari's 'ideas' in his explanation of mistaken cognition underlying the use of negative compounds, *abrāhmaṇa* in this case.

> *kṣatriyādau padaṃ kṛtvā buddhiḥ sattāntarāśrayā* |
> *jātyā bhinnāṃ tataḥ sattāṃ prasaktām apakarṣati* || VP 3.14.262
>
> An idea based on some other existence is first applied (by mistake) to *kṣatriya* and the like and [when the negative particle is used], it removes the existence applied to something different from that based on a universal.[18]

Helārāja explains that the reason for the usage of the word *brāhmaṇa* is an error through which an idea of a Brahmin is applied to a *kṣatriya*; this error of the mental effort (*mithyādhyavasāya*) upon whose realisation the negative particle is used to correct it.

> *brāhmaṇasattāviṣayā buddhir yadā kutaścid bhrāntikāraṇāt kṣatriye pravartate tadā brāhmaṇaśabdas tatra prayujyate* | *so 'yaṃ mithyādhyavasāyo yadā tattvajñānān nivartate tadā nañaḥ prayoga ity ayaṃ viṣayo nañsamāsasya* | (VP_1: 274.1–4)
>
> When an idea whose scope is the existence of a Brahmin is employed to a *kṣatriya* on account of some mistake, then the word *brāhmaṇa* is used in that case. When after realising the truth that this is the error of the mental effort one corrects it, then [the particle] *nañ* is used; this is the scope of a negative compound.

Bhartṛhari uses the notion of *upacārasattā* here, metaphorical or figurative existence; a thing is perceived by the mind regardless of its actual existence in the real world. Superimposition that Helārāja resorts to is an entirely intellectual process (*buddhistha*). What superimposition requires is, explained yet again—similarity of objects.

---

[18] This is a modified translation of S. Iyer as given in VP_2.

> *nāyaṃ brāhmaṇo mithyā tv evam avasitas tatsadṛśo 'brāhmaṇo 'yam iti, sadṛśaḥ kṣatriyādir eva samāsārthaḥ sampadyate na loṣṭādi(ḥ), samāropanibandhanasya sādṛśyāder abhāvāt* | (VP_1: 274.5–7)
>
> This is not a Brahmin, but he has been thus wrongly understood; *abrāhmaṇa* is someone similar [to a Brahmin]. And the meaning of a compound is that what is similar is a *kṣatriya* etc. only, not a lump and such, due to the lack of similarity being the cause of superimposition.

The meaning that is conveyed by the word is secondary. Words are capable of containing both aspects (existence and non-existence) and the only way in which we are able to discern which aspect is meant is by using negation.[19]

The argument is repeated in the section of the VP that elaborates on *uttarapadārthaprādhānya* in a compound. In his comment on the *kārikā* 280[20] Helārāja points out that negation should not be the only meaning expressed by negative compounds; we use those constructions not only to negate the superimposed object (*pratiṣedhamātropakṣayatve tu nañsamāsasyātrāsādhanaḥ samāsārthaḥ syād iti na samāropitarūpapratiṣedhamātre 'sya vyāpāraḥ* | [VP_1: 281.3–4]). When a *nañsamāsa* is used, the notion of superimposition should also always be followed; and the reason why the latter member of a compound gets predominance is because it shows an object/word used metaphorically that is to be negated (*sarvatra prasiddhe nañsamāse samāropo 'nugantavyaḥ* | *upacāritapadārthapratiṣedhena hy uttarapadārthapradhāno nañsamāsa ity* | [VP_1: 281.5–6]). This seems to imply that superimposition is one of the meanings of the particle *nañ*, the idea that will be later discussed by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in the 17th century CE.

As mentioned above, Kaiyaṭa follows Helārāja's interpretation and we find in the PP the similarity between the case of *abrāhmaṇa* and *aneka*, both explained with the help of superimposition following Bhartṛhari's *upacārasattā*. What Helārāja says is that numbers other than 'one' are understood from the form *aneka* by resorting to *sādṛśya* (similarity). So yet again, there is a mistaken superimposition of 'oneness' onto other numbers and this mistake needs to be rectified (*tatra cādhyāropito durupadeśādinā nimittenottarapadārtha iti sarvatra samānam* | [VP_1: 283.12–13]).

The possibility of interpreting *aneka* along the line of *prasajya* as well as *paryudāsa pratiṣedha* was discussed in the VP by Bhartṛhari, but it is worth point-

---

[19] Chaturvedi 2001: 86.

[20] *asamyagupadeśād vā nimittāt saṃśayasya vā* |
śabdapravṛttir na tv asti loṣṭādiṣu viparyayāt || (VP 3.14.262)
'Either through faulty instruction or through some cause of doubt, a word is applied to a wrong object. It is not applied to a clod of earth and the like because of the non-existence (of the above two circumstances).'

ing out that despite the differences in the subject of negation when in a sentence versus in a compound, the word *eka* follows its own properties in both cases (*tasmān naño viṣayapraklṛptyartham ekaśabdaḥ prayujyamānaḥ pradhānārtha iti svadharmān anuvartate vṛttivākyayor aviśeṣeṇety āha* | [VP_1: 283.20–21]). Both in a *vākya* as well as *samāsa*, it does not have to abandon its own number in order to stand for other numbers (i.e. two etc.). In spite of the fact therefore that Sanskrit grammarians distinguish between *prasajyapratiṣedha* expressing (or suggesting) mere negation, the negation of an action or existence, and *paryudāsapratiṣedha* implying the existence of a different, yet similar enough, object, in the case of *aneka* the result is actually the same. Whether we opt for implicative or non-implicative interpretation of negation, the expression is still able to convey the positive implication of secondary numbers.

3.3 Haradatta's *Padamañjarī*

Interestingly, KV itself does not elaborate on the *sūtra* P 2.2.6; it merely states that a negative compound is of *tatpuruṣa* type and gives a couple of examples. *Kāśikā*'s commentators investigate the matter much further quoting extensively from earlier sources, both Kaiyaṭa's Pr and Bhartṛhari's VP. Haradatta, following Patañjali, discusses the three options of interpreting headedness in *nañsamāsa*s and similarly to other commentators of the later (post-Bhartṛhari) period, especially Kaiyaṭa, perceives all three views as equally acceptable from the semantic perspective and the preference for *uttarapadārthaprādhānya* seen as rooted in morphology. In his *Padamañjarī*, he addresses the problem of the particle *nañ* being a qualifier in a compound, whose role is to specify the quality an object possesses but not to destroy it. So, if the meaning of *brāhmaṇa* is entirely to be negated by the use of *nañ*, how is it possible to assume the predominance of a non-existing element in a compound?[21] And if the *uttarapada* (in *abrāhmaṇa*) should be considered predominant, that would render *nañ* useless; as a consequence, despite the correctness of forming a compound of both meaningful and meaningless units, wouldn't we face the problem of fetching a Brahmin, instead of a non-Brahmin, in the already quoted and analysed example *abrāhmaṇam ānaya*?[22] In his response to these issues, Haradatta follows Kaiyaṭa; he brings in the loss of original meaning and the role of superimposition, but also mentions that in the process a secondary meaning of the word emerges.

---

[21] *kathaṃ nañ nāma syāt, aniyataguṇasya guṇaviśeṣapratipādanāya hi viśeṣaṇaṃ pravarttate, na tadupaghātāya | nañā ca brāhmaṇārthaḥ sarvātmanā pratiṣidhyamānāḥ pratiṣidhyata iti katham asataḥ prādhānyaṃ syat* | (KV 2: 105.8–11).

[22] *tasmād uttarapadārthaprādhānyam icchatāsmin viṣaye nañ anarthakaḥ, anvākhyanasāmarthyāt tusādhutvam evaṃbhūtasyārthavadanarthakāvayavasya samāsyeti vācyam, tataś ca brāhmaṇamātrasyānayanaṃ prapnoti* | (KV 2: 105.11–14).

> *naiṣa doṣaḥ, nivṛttapadārthako 'tra brāhmaṇaśabdaḥ, sā ca nivṛttiḥ svābhāvikī naṇā dyotyate, ko 'rthaḥ? kevalo brāhmaṇaśabdaḥ prayujyamānaḥ prasiddhivaśān mukhyam eva brāhmaṇam ācaṣṭe; nañprayogeṇa tu kṣatriyādau sādṛśyādinā nimittenādhyāropitaṃ brāhmaṇyaṃ na tāttvikam iti dyotyate | tad evaṃ mukhyo brāhmaṇaśabdasyārtho nivṛtto jātaś cāmukhyaḥ kṣatriyādir iti na brāhmaṇamātrānayanam, nāpi na kasyacidānayanam iti siddham* | (KV 2: 105.15–20)
>
> This is not a fault. Here the word *brāhmaṇa* has its meaning removed; and this removal being natural is revealed by *nañ*. What is the meaning [then]? The word *brāhmaṇa* used alone signifies only the primary [meaning] that is a Brahmin according to acknowledged usage. By the use of *nañ*, however, superimposed Brahminhood onto a *kṣatriya* etc. as a result of similarity is revealed, not the real one. In such a way, the primary meaning of the word *brāhmaṇa* is removed and a non-primary one of a *kṣatriya* emerges. [Thus the instruction *abrāhmaṇam ānaya*] will not result in fetching only a Brahmin or not fetching anyone—this is achieved.

What Haradatta seems to be saying here is that the word *brāhmaṇa* has the potential, or contains, both a primary and secondary meaning. When used alone, it is only the main meaning that is understood; the secondary meaning arises (*jāyate*) when Brahminhood is superimposed on a *kṣatriya* triggered by a mistaken judgment. This emergence of a non-primary meaning allows for the instruction *abrāhmaṇam ānaya* to result in fetching a person that is different than a Brahmin. This superimposition takes place only on a linguistic level, of course, not in reality, but it allows for the correct interpretation of the negative compounds, such as *abrāhmaṇa*.

To support his line of argumentation Haradatta quotes the *kārikā* from the VP

> *prāk samāsāt padārthānaṃ nivṛttir dyotyate naññā* |
> *svabhāvato nivṛttānāṃ rūpābhedād alakṣitā* || VP 3.14.250
>
> Before entering into the compound the negative particle indicates (*dyotyate*) the non-existence of things which had naturally ceased to be but which had not been noticed because of identity of form.

He thus emphasises that despite the loss of the primary meaning, the usage of the latter member in the *abrāhmaṇa* compound is essential in order to specify the meaning that is being removed.

Haradatta adopts a similar approach when discussing the form *aneka* ('not one, many'), which he again analyses through superimposition. In the case of *aneka*, oneness is superimposed on other numbers, such as two etc, and the primary meaning ('one') is subsequently negated; this—again—allows for the retaining of the predominance of the latter member of a compound.

> *ihāneko jana āgata iti dvyādiṣv ekatvam āropitaṃ pratīyate, mukyaṃ tu pratiṣidhyate, kṣatriyādāv iva brāhmaṇyam ity ekavacanam eva bhavati dvyādisaṃkhyā pratīyate | tad evam uttarapadārthapradhāna iti sthitam* | (KV 2: 106.11–13)
>
> In this case, [in the expression] *aneko jana āgata* ('Many people have come'), it is understood that oneness was superimposed on two etc., and the primary [meaning] is negated. Just like in the case of a *kṣatriya* etc. Brahminhood is used, the single number only is used [here, but] the number two etc. is understood. In such a way, it is established that [the compound *aneka*] has the latter member as predominant.

Not only does Haradatta use superimposition here again, but he also suggests the process of the primary meaning disappearing and the secondary one emerging. In such a way he is able to explain both the semantic shift we are observing in *aneka* from one to many while retaining the grammatical form conforming to the original stem.

3.4 An odd commentary—Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa*

The case of KV and its commentaries is very helpful to us to observe the influence, or the lack thereof, of various external philosophical trends on the school of grammarians. Jinendrabuddhi is said to have lived around the 8th–9th century CE[23] and his analysis of P. 2.2.6 differs from the interpretations presented above belonging to the period two centuries later. Jinendrabuddhi closely follows what Patañjali states in the *Mahābhāṣya*:

> *yady evam – abrāhmaṇam ānayety ukte brāhmaṇamātrasyānayanaṃ prapnoti? atha nivṛttipadārthako 'yaṃ brāhmaṇaśabdaḥ; sā ca nivṛttiḥ svābhāvikī nañā dyotyata iti matam, evaṃ ca saty abhāva evāsyārtha ity abrāhmaṇam ānayety ukte na kasyacid ānayanam prapnoti? naiṣa doṣaḥ, sarvaṃ hi padaṃ svārthe prayujyamānaṃ prayogapratijñānam apekṣate | tathā coktam – 'ātmā buddhyā sametyārthān mano yuṅkte vivakṣayā'*[24] *iti* | (KV 2: 104.28–106.24)

---

[23] Hayes 1983: 709, 716 fns 26–27. Hayes refers to Scharfe and his suggestion that Jinendrabuddhi could be placed as late as the 11th century. If that were the case, that would make his commentary even more interesting as the one disregarding the notion of *āropa* in the interpretation of negation when contrasted with all the others composed around the same time. That seems unlikely, however, given the number of various authors quoting Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* (see Pathak [1931: 247]).

[24] This is a quote from the *Pāṇinīyaśikṣa* (PŚ 3ab) and the entire passage refers to the speech production. PŚ postdates Pāṇini but was composed before Bhartṛhari's VP. See Cardona (2014: 108 fn. 63) and Kulkarni (2021: 487).

> If this is so—when it is said 'Fetch a non-Brahmin', does fetching only a Brahmin not result? Then the word *brāhmaṇa* is one whose meaning has been removed;[25] this removal is natural and is revealed by *nañ*—this is the view. If this is so, its (i.e. the particle's) meaning is absence (*abhāva*) only, and when it is said 'Fetch a non-Brahmin', would it not result in fetching no one? This is not a fault, because every word used in its own meaning is expected to assert of usage. Thus it is said—'The soul, having collected the meanings through the intellect enjoins the mind with the desire to speak.'[26]

He goes on to explaining the basis for using negative compounds such as *abrāhmaṇa* and emphasises the role of a mistake in the process. According to Jinendrabuddhi, *mithyājñāna* is the reason why we need to correct our statement—with the help of *nañ*. So, what Jinendrabuddhi, following Patañjali, is saying that we make a mistake (as a result of our senses being misled—*duṣṭendriyahetuka*) and then correct it, thus removing the original meaning from the statement. This mistake is based on similarity between two objects, which is crucial for the error to occur, hence the term *abrāhmaṇa* referring to a *kṣatriya*. There is no mention of superimposing of one notion onto another of any sort. Jinendrabuddhi thus states that there are two factors enabling the creation of a negative compound, namely the initial cognitive error and the similarity of mistaken objects. He does hint as to the process that occurs in our minds but does not elaborate on it and does not view it as superimposition.

The concept of superimposition was further developed by the philosophers and grammarians of the later period, such as Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Vaiyākaraṇamatonmajjanakārikā* or Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa*, including its abridged versions;[27] its development culminates in the works of Nāgeśa in the 17th century CE.[28] Although the very term *āropa* was quite evidently borrowed from external sources, it seem that Vaiyākaraṇas adjusted it to their own semantics and epistemology, thus creating a unique concept. Further investigation into mutual relations and the transfer of ideas between those schools of thought which utilise the concept of superimposition in their philosophy would definitely prove to be a worthy endeavour.

---

[25] The text read *nivṛttipadārthaka* but it seems to be a mistake; the former member of the compound should not be an action noun (*nivṛtti*) but rather a past passive participle (*nivṛtta*) defining *padārtha*.

[26] The translation of the PS passage after Kulkarni (2021).

[27] For detailed analysis and translation of the *Naññirṇaya* in the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* in Japanese see Ogawa (1984)

[28] For the edition, translation and analysis of the treatment of negation in *Paramalaghumañjūṣā* see Lowe and Benson (2022).

4 Concluding remarks

The majority of analysed passages contain references to the concept of superimposition (*āropa*) in their analysis of negative compounds and the meaning they assign to negation. They use it to interpret the natural (*svābhāvika*) loss of the original meaning of the word (*padārthasya nivṛttiḥ*); the interpretation of *paryudāsa* proposed by Patañjali. The texts analysed above seem to have refined further the distinction between the *paryudāsa* and *prasajya* types of negation; they still retained the concept of *nivṛttapadārthaka* but interpreted it via *āropatva* in the case of compound formations.

We can observe that the term *āropa* starts to appear in this context only around the 11th century CE. This is not to say that it had not been known before; we can find references to the erroneous cognition and resulting from it superimposition of the wrong concept onto the correct one already in the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari in the 3rd *kaṇḍa* in the section devoted to relation.[29] These passages, however, are very scarce and do not refer to the topic of negation.[30] All the commentaries composed c. 11th century CE exhibit the same feature and seem to understand the original statements in the same way sometimes even quoting one another almost verbatim. The concept of superimposition did not seem to have entered the school of grammarians much before that time, which can be evidenced by Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* and his analysis of the passage in question. He follows Patañjali's line of argumentation very closely and elaborates on the types of cognitions that people have, but does not mention *āropa* and the transfer of concepts at any point. Given the date of Jinendrabuddhi and the relative chronology of Haradatta and Kaiyaṭa, we can assume that the concept of superimposition could not have been used by the grammarians in the context of negation before the second half of the 10th century. We can also see that despite referring to the same, employed in a relatively new way, concept, all commentators belonging to the 11th century CE approach the subject slightly differently. It is only in the following centuries that grammarian-philosophers will establish the role of superimposition for explaining *paryudāsapratiṣedha* and even consider it one of the meanings of the particle *naÑ*.[31]

---

[29] See fn. 12 above.

[30] As mentioned above, Bhartṛhari explains negation through the notion of *upacārasattā* (secondary/metaphorical existence). The term *āropa* is never used in this context. It is only Helārāja who explains the secondary existence, secondary meaning via superimposition.

[31] There have not been many studies on negation in the later grammatical tradition in India. Two studies devoted to two philosophical treatises are Ogawa's treatment of the *NaÑnirṇaya* of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* (Ogawa 1984) and a recent edition, translation and analysis of the section on negation in Nāgeśa's *Paramalaghumañjūṣā* by Lowe and Benson (2022).

It seems that the concept of erroneous cognition was not only adopted by the grammarians, but it was also adapted and extended to fit their concept of negation. The idea of a mistake underlying the use of negative statements was already expressed by Patañjali while discussing *nañsamāsa*s and *paryudāsapratiṣedha*, but the adoption of *āropa* not only allowed for a more thorough analysis of semantics of negation, but also added a cognitive dimension to this analysis by explaining how said error occurred; or to be more precise, what the process of making a mistake looked like.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

The research which forms the basis for this article was funded by the National Science Centre, Poland. This article is the result of the project on negation in the school of Indian grammarians (number DEC-2017/26/D/HS1/01112).

ORCID

Małgorzata Sulich-Cowley https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8589-9136

References

Primary sources

A(1) Pāṇini. 1989. *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Edited and translated by S. M. Katre. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

A(2) Pāṇini. 1997. *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. 2 vols. Edited and translated by Ś. C. Vasu. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

A(3) Pāṇini. 2002. *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. 6 vols. Translated by R. N. Sharma. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

KV 1985. *Kāśikā-vṛtti of Jayāditya-Vāmana along with Commentaries Vivaraṇa-pañcikā Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi and Padamañjarī of Haradatta Miśra*. 6 vols. Edited by Śrīnārāyaṇa Miśra. Varanasi: Ratna Publications.

Nir Yāska. 1998. *The Nighaṇṭu and The Nirukta*: *The Oldest Indian Treatise on Etymology, Philology and Semantics*. Edited and translated by L. Sarup. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (1st edition: 1920–1927, New Delhi).

VMBh_1 Patañjali. 1986 (1880). *The Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*. 3 vols. Edited by F. Kielhorn. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

VMBh_2 Patañjali. 1962–1963. *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya of Patañjali with the Commentary Bhāṣya-pradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and the Super Commentary Bhāṣya-pradīpôddyota of Nāgoji Bhāṭṭa*. 5 vols. Edited by Vedavrata. Gurukula Jhajjar (Rohatak): Haryāṇā Sāhitya Saṃsthāna.

VP_1 Bhartṛhari. 1995. *The Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari with the vṛtti of the Paddhati of Vṛṣabhadeva*. Edited by K. A. S. Iyer. Pune: Motilal Banarsidass.
VP_2 Bhartṛhari. 1974. *The Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari, Chapter III, Pt. ii*. Edited and translated by K. A. S. Iyer. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Secondary sources

Bronkhorst, Johannes. 2016. *How the Brahmins Won: From Alexander to the Guptas*. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 2: South Asia 30. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
Cardona, George. 1967. 'Negations in Pāṇinian Rules'. *Language* 43 (1): 34–56.
Hayes, Richard P. 1983. 'Jinendrabuddhi'. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (4): 709–717.
Cardona, George. 2014. 'Pāṇinian Grammarians on Agency and Independence'. In *Free Will, Agency and Selfhood in Indian Philosophy*, edited by Matthew R. Dasti and Edwin F. Bryant, 87–111. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Chaturvedi, Mithilesh. 2001. *Vṛttisamuddeśa of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya. A Study*. Delhi: Shivalik Prakashan.
Houben, Jan E. M. 1992. *The Saṃbandha-samuddeśa (Chapter on Relation) and Bhartṛhari's Philosophy of Language: A Study of Bhartṛhari Saṃbandha-samuddeśa in the Context of the Vākyapadīya, with a Translation of Helārāja's Commentary Prakīrṇa-prakāśa*. Groningen: E. Forsten.
Joshi, S. D., and J. A. F. Roodbergen. 1973. *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya tatpuruṣāhnika (P. 2.2.2–2.2.23): Edited with Translation and Explanatory Notes*. Poona: University of Poona.
Kulkarni, Malhar. 2021. 'Introducing Fresh Terminology to Cognitively Explain Sentence Meaning in the Pāṇinian Grammatical Tradition'. *Studi Classici e Orientali* 67 (1): 487–495.
Lowe, John J., and James W. Benson. 2022. 'A Grammarian's View of Negation: Nāgeśa's Paramalaghumañjūṣā on Nañartha'. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 51 (1): 49–75.
Ogawa, Hideyo. 1984. 'Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa on the Meaning of the Negative Particle *nañ*'. *The Hiroshima University Studies, Faculty of Letters* 44: 75–97 (in Japanese).
Pathak, K. B. 1931. 'Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta'. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 12 (3): 246–251.
Staal, J. F. 1962. 'Negation and the Law of Contradiction in Indian Thought: A Comparative Study'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25 (1–3): 52–71.
Sulich-Cowley, Małgorzata. 2021. 'How Are Negative Compounds Possible in Sanskrit?'. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 94 (3–4): 191–105. https://doi.org/10.19272/202103804012.
Timalsina, Sthaneshwar. 2014. 'Semantics of Nothingness. Bhartṛhari's Philosophy of Negation'. In *Nothingness in Asian Philosophy*, edited by JeeLoo Liu and Douglas L. Berger, 25–43. New York: Routledge.
Wujastyk, Dominik. 1982. 'Bloomfield and the Sanskrit Origin in the Terms "Exocentric" and "Endocentric"'. *Historiographia Linguistica* 9 (1–2): 179–184. https://doi.org/10.1075/hl.9.1-2.19wuj.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148419

Stefan Bojowald
University of Bonn, Germany | stefan.bojowald@t-online.de

Der Vergleich des Geliebten mit einem Wolf im Akkadischen und Ägyptischen

The Comparison of the Beloved with a Wolf in Akkadian and Egyptian

Abstract In this contribution, a further parallel between the Akkadian and Egyptian literature is highlighted. The comparison between the lover and a wolf will be of crucial importance. The material consists of one Akkadian example and three Egyptian examples. The radius of the Egyptian formulation then expanded to include other examples.

Keywords Akkadian literature, Egyptian literature, comparison of the lover with a wolf

In diesem Beitrag wird eine weitere motivgeschichtliche Verwandtschaft zwischen der akkadischen und ägyptischen Literatur herausgearbeitet. Die Bemerkungen werden dabei dem Vergleich des Geliebten mit einem Wolf gelten. Das Schrifttum der beiden Völker greift gleichermaßen auf dieses charakteristische Phänomen zurück. Die Parallele scheint der bisherigen Aufmerksamkeit entgangen zu sein.

Der Einstieg in die Diskussion gelingt am besten mit dem akkadischen Material. Die jetzige Kenntnis des Autors beschränkt sich dort auf ein einziges Beispiel.[1] Die Basis kann vielleicht in Zukunft von assyriologischer Seite erweitert werden. Die Episode auf Tafel VI des Gilgemesch-Epos, wo in Verbindung mit dem gescheiterten Verführungsversuch der Ischtar von der Verwandlung des Gilgamesch in einen Wolf gesprochen wird, muss jedenfalls aus anderem Blickwinkel betrachtet werden, da dort die Hirtenthematik mehr im Vordergrund steht. Die hier untersuchte Vorstellung ist aber auch so hinreichend gut abgesichert. Das dabei interessierende Beispiel gehört zu den ŠÀ.ZI.GA-Texten, deren früheste Erwähnung aus altbabylonischer Zeit stammt. Der Inhalt setzt sich aus Anrufun-

[1] Die Situation beim Hund sieht insgesamt etwas positiver aus, vgl. CT 23 10f.III 26ff//4: 9ff; Wilcke (1985: 201); Zisa (2021: 328).

© 2023 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.

gen zusammen, die von weiblichen Personen rezitiert wurden. Das Corpus wurde aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach im 14. Jhdt. während der Kassitenzeit festgelegt. Die Texte sind bis auf die Abschriften aus Bogazköy/Bogazkale in die neuassyrische und neubabylonische Zeit zu datieren. In den folgenden Worten wirbt eine Sprecherin um die Gunst des Geliebten:

> [x x x (x)] ÁD.DA ra-am UR.BAR.RA ra-man-ni[2]
> […] … Make love to me with the love-making of a wolf

Der Wolf dient hier offenbar als archetypischer Besitzer eines aktiven Liebeslebens. Die Worte lassen sich wohl eindeutig in diesem Sinn verstehen. Die weibliche Protagonistin, die ihren unkeuschen Gedanken solcherart freien Lauf lässt, hat den Vergleich mit Sicherheit nicht ohne Grund gewählt. Der entsprechende Aspekt wird dabei auf die menschliche Ebene transponiert. Der Wolf war übrigens im alten Mesopotamien nicht nur unter diesem Gesichtspunkt bekannt. In die akkadische Literatur hat er vielmehr auch wegen anderer Merkmale Einzug gehalten. Die Würde und Wildheit des Tieres scheinen dabei u. a. eine besondere Rolle gespielt zu haben.[3] Was jedoch den sexuellen Faktor angeht, so ist er auch in der ägyptischen Literatur zu belegen.

Die Überlegungen konzentrieren sich dort auf die Verbindung „wnš didi“ „lüsterner Wolf“, für die mehrere Nachweise existieren. Die folgende Auswahl kann dafür als repräsentativ bezeichnet werden. Die Interpretation wird dadurch etwas erschwert, dass sich die Art des „wnš“-Tieres zoologisch nicht exakt bestimmen lässt.[4] Die Frage hängt im Wesentlichen von der jeweils möglichen Entscheidung für Wolf, Schakal oder Fuchs ab. Im Einklang mit den Autoren des Wörterbuches[5] sowie in Anbetracht der Lage beim koptischen Nachfolger der Wurzel[6] erhält hier die erste Option den Vorzug. Der „wnš“-Canide ist vielleicht mit dem Canis lupus lupaster zu identifizieren, der in der neueren zoologischen Diskussion in der Tat für einen Wolf gehalten wird.[7]

Der locus classicus für die Verbindung „wnš didi“ in Bezug auf den Geliebten begegnet in P. Harris 500 vs. 2, 2, dessen Inhalt zur Gattung der Liebeslieder zählt. Der Papyrus stammt aus der 19. Dynastie und wurde offensichtlich im thebanischen Ramesseum gefunden. Im dortigen Kontext wendet sich das Mädchen mit den Worten:

---

[2] Biggs 1967: 3.

[3] Wasserman und Zomer 2022: 144, 298, 304, 350; zum Wolf im alten Zweistromland vgl. auch Devecchi (2016–2018: 124–126).

[4] Leitz 1994: 108 n. 34; Darnell 1995: 88 n. 215; Vernus und Yoyotte 2005: 61, 119f.

[5] WB I, 324, 16–18.

[6] Cerný 1976: 214; Crum 1939: 485; Westendorf 1965–1977: 274.

[7] Churcher 2008: 11.

bw nʿ.t = i ib = i n p3ii = k mrw.t
p3ii = i ṯ3 n wnš didi
p3ii = k tḫ.w n iw = i r ḫ3ʿ = f[8]

an den Jungen, für die sich die Übersetzung:

Ich habe mein Herz noch nicht an deiner Liebeskunst befriedigt,
mein lüsternes Wolfjunges.
Dein Rausch, ich will nicht von ihm lassen.

anbietet. In diesem Fall ist ebenfalls die Gleichsetzung des Geliebten mit einem Wolf zu erkennen. Das entsprechende Gedicht spiegelt nach Derchain[9] die Ablehnung des Mädchens der von seinen Eltern arrangierten Heiratspläne wider. Die Deutung leuchtet allerdings nicht so richtig ein. Der Text selbst enthält hierauf jedenfalls nicht den leisesten Hinweis. Die Worte legen eher eine wesentlich delikatere Interpretation nahe.

Die Verbindung „wnš didi" „lüsterner Wolf" ist derweil auch außerhalb der Liebespoesie dokumentiert. Die beiden folgenden Beispiele wirken dabei besonders markant:
Das erste Beispiel findet sich in der Zeile

Imn.w-Rʿ.w nśw-nṯr.w
p3 k3 [n] Km.t. …].t n ḥr nb Imn.w mi m ir ḫ3ʿ = i
ntk p3ii = i wnš didi,[10]

die sich durch

Amonrasonther, du Stier Ägyptens… aller Leute.
Amun, komme, verlass mich nicht.
Du bist der/mein lüsterner Wolf.

wiedergeben lässt. Im dortigen Fall hat man es mit einem Gebet an den Gott Amun zu tun. Der Gott Amun, dessen Einfluss im Mittleren Reich lokal begrenzt war und sich zunächst auf den thebanischen Raum beschränkte, hatte sich im Neuen Reich als eine der ranghöchsten Gestalten des ägyptischen Pantheons etabliert.[11] Die Datierung in das Neue Reich trifft auch auf dieses Beispiel zu.

---

[8] Fox 1985: 371; vgl. auch Vernus (1992: 179 n. 62); Mathieu (2008).
[9] Derchain 1975: 79f.
[10] Fischer-Elfert 1997: 121.
[11] Gabolde 2018: passim.

Das zweite Beispiel begegnet auf oDeM 1038 rto 12- vso 1, wo ein Amunhymnus zu lesen ist. Die relevanten Worte lauten „šdi=k idnw Ḥ3y mntf p3ii=k wnš didi i-iri=f ꜥ3.wi m … ḳnḳn rwrw nti m ẖnw=ś“[12] und sind mit „Mögest du den idnw Hay retten, er ist dein lüsterner Wolf, der groß ist beim … zerschlagen der Höhle, die im … sind“ zu übersetzen. Das Beispiel kann wiederum in das Neue Reich datiert werden. Im Falle des „idnw“ hat man es mit einer höheren Beamtenbezeichnung zu tun. Die Hintergründe des Bildes gehen aus der dortigen Textstelle nicht eindeutig hervor. Umso klarer scheint jedoch zu sein, dass sich „wnš didi“ „lüsterner Wolf“ auf Hay bezieht. Wenn es nach Bohms[13] ginge, wird auch hier der Liebhaber mit einem Wolf gleichgesetzt. In ihren Augen sucht er Aufnahme in die Gemächer der Angebeteten, hinter denen sich eine sexuelle Anspielung verbergen soll. In Anbetracht des zerstörten Kontextes muss hinter diese Interpretation ein Fragezeichen gesetzt werden. Die Möglichkeit einer religiösen Verbindung zwischen den letzten beiden Beispielen ist stattdessen nicht kategorisch ausgeschlossen. Die Plausibilität der Vermutung wird dadurch erhöht, dass man es eben in beiden Fällen mit Texten über den Gott Amun zu tun hat. Die etwaigen Interdependenzen wären daher immerhin gut vorstellbar. Die durchaus interessante Problematik verlangt nach einer ausführlicheren Behandlung, die hier nicht geleistet werden kann. Die Diskussion soll vielleicht bei späterer Gelegenheit fortgesetzt werden.

Die Lüsternheit des Wolfes hat sich im Ägyptischen offenbar zu einem geflügelten Wort entwickelt. Die Häufigkeit, mit der die zitierte Verbindung vorkommt, legt diesen Schluss durchaus nahe. Die Datierung aller Beispiele in das Neue Reich fällt dabei besonders auf. Der Überlieferungszufall ist in solchen Fällen aber immer mit einzukalkulieren, so dass man sich vor voreiligen Schlussfolgerungen hüten muss. Die besagte Eigenschaft wurde daneben in der ägyptischen Literatur auch auf das Weibchen des Wolfes übertragen. In der gegenwärtigen Situation kann dafür auf ein konkretes spätes Beispiel verwiesen werden.

Das betreffende Beispiel tritt in GEMF 16 (PDM/PGM XIV) = Magischer Papyrus London-Leiden auf, bei dem es sich um eine Art Liebesbeschwörung aus dem späten 2. Jhdt. n. Chr. handelt. Im dortigen Kontext haben sich die folgenden Zeilen erhalten:

> ḥ3.ṯ=y pḏ, p3y(=y) ḥ3.ṯ mr p3 (?) wḫ3e iw ḫr ire im(y).t iy=f r im(y)-mw, wḫ3e iw ḫr ire wnše.t iy r wnše, wḫ3e iw ḫr ire wḥr.t iy.ṯ=f r wḥr…my ire mn r-mś mn iy=f r mn r-mś mn[14]

[12] Dorn 2011: 190.

[13] Bohms 2013: 316.

[14] Faraone und Torallas Tovar 2022: 260.

In der zitierten Textausgabe werden sie auf diese Weise übersetzt:

> My heart yearns, my heart loves. The (?) desire which (?) a she-cat does for a tom-cat, desire which a she-wolf feals for a wolf, desire a bitch feels for a dog…may NN, whom NN bore, feel it for NN, whom NN bore.

Die Wölfin wird hier neben Katzendame und Hündin als Paradebeispiel für einen ausgeprägten Geschlechtstrieb genannt. Die Eigenschaft wird im selben Moment auf den menschlichen Akteur projiziert. Die Annahme ist wohl nicht verfehlt, dass bei Wolf und Hund auf das sog. „Hängen" angespielt wird. In dessen Fall handelt es sich um ein besonderes Paarungsverhalten, bei dem die Genitalien während der Kopulation extrem anschwellen und nicht mehr voneinander zu lösen sind. Der Akt als solcher kann zwischen wenigen Minuten und fast einer Stunde dauern. Die Natur sorgt so klug dafür, dass die Konkurrenz durch andere Rüden während dieser Zeit ausgeschaltet ist. Die einzige ägyptische Parallele für diesen besonderen Aspekt tritt m. W. im frühptolemäischen pJumilhac XVI 15–17 hervor, wo das „Hängen" des Hundes zur Sprache kommt.[15] Der gesteigerte Geschlechtstrieb der Caniden wurde aber auch sonst bewusst wahrgenommen, wie sich an der Schilderung einer intimen Beziehung zwischen zwei männlichen Wölfen in oDeM 1598, I zeigen lässt.[16]

Die Auswertung ergibt folgendes Fazit: Die Parallele lässt an Deutlichkeit nichts zu wünschen übrig. Der Vergleich des Geliebten mit dem Wolf lässt sich in beiden Literaturen nachweisen. Der Gedanke an eine direkte oder indirekte Abhängigkeit der Texte untereinander ist durch Nichts begründet. Das Wissen um jene Besonderheit wurde vielmehr in beiden Kulturen durch exakte Naturbeobachtung selbstständig erworben. Die Fähigkeit der altorientalischen Völker auf diesem Gebiet wurde von der modernen Forschung bereits mehrfach registriert. Die gleichen oder ähnlichen Voraussetzungen haben demnach zu einem gleichen Resultat geführt. Die Erklärung selbst orientiert sich darüber hinaus an den Vorgaben von Röllig,[17] der bei gleichen altorientalischen Motiven mit Nachdruck für einen separaten Ursprung plädiert. Die Gemeinde der Anhänger der Lehre von der getrennten Entstehung der gleichen Motive beginnt neuerdings immer mehr zu wachsen. Die Ansicht wird so etwa auch von Smith, Zima, Leder und Wikander vertreten,[18] um nur vier Namen herauszugreifen. Die Menge mag für das Erste genügen, die allgemeine Tendenz in diese Richtung zeichnet sich klar und deutlich ab. Das vorliegende Beispiel fühlt sich nun dieser Tradition ganz und gar

---

[15] Vandier n.d.: 15–17; zu dieser Stelle vgl. Leitz (1994: 104); Derchain (1990: 24d); zur Datierung vgl. Quack (2008: 206).

[16] Fischer-Elfert 1997: 160ff.

[17] Röllig 1978: 21–22.

[18] Zima 2008: 372; Smith 2014: 45; Wikander 2014: 15; Leder 2021: 283.

verpflichtet. Die gemeinsame naturkundliche Entdeckung des Babyloniers und Ägypters stellt dabei nur die eine Seite der Medaille dar. Die andere, vielleicht noch wichtigere Seite besteht darin, dass die so gewonnene empirische Erkenntnis von allen fünf antiken Autoren literarischen oder halbliterarischen Zwecken dienstbar gemacht wurde.

Die Vorstellung des Liebhabers als Wolf hat davon abgesehen auch in der späteren Geistesgeschichte Spuren hinterlassen. Die folgenden Beispiele mögen dies verdeutlichen: Der griechische Roman Daphnis und Cloe des Dichters Longos wird zuerst als Vergleich herangezogen, in dem sich Dorkon in Wolfsgestalt Cloe zu nähern versucht. Der Gegensatz zwischen dem unschuldigen jungen Mädchen und dem sexuell aktiven Mann ist dabei besonders relevant. Die Erwähnung des Rotkäppchen-Märchens darf an dieser Stelle ebenfalls nicht fehlen,[19] dessen Inhalt vor dem gleichen Hintergrund zu sehen ist. Das Motiv hat demnach eine breite Wirkung entfaltet. Das akkadische und ägyptische Gut bildet nach jetzigem Stand den ältesten Vertreter dieser Vorstellung. Die gezielte Suche würde wohl noch weitere Funde ans Tageslicht bringen.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Stefan Bojowald https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6947-1685

Bibliografie

Beckett, Sandra L. 2008. *Red Riding Hood for All Ages: A Fairy-Tale Icon in Cross-Cultural Contexts*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Biggs, Robert D. 1967. *ŠÀ.ZI.GA, Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations, Texts from Cuneiform Sources*. New York: J. J. Augustin.

Bohms, Ingrid. 2013. *Säugetiere in der altägyptischen Literatur*. Ägyptologie 2. Berlin: LIT-Verlag.

Cerný, Jaroslav. 1976. *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Churcher, Charles S., Maxine R. Kleindienst, Marcia F. Wiseman, und Mary M. A. McDonald. 2008. 'The Quaternary Faunas of Dakhleh Oasis, Western Desert of Egypt'. In *The Oasis Papers 2. Proceedings of the Second International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, herausgegeben von Marcia F. Wiseman, 1–24. Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 12. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Crum, Walter E. 1939. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

[19] Orenstein 2002: passim; Beckett 2008: passim.

Darnell, John C. 1995. „Hathor Returns to Medamud“. *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 22: 47–94.

Derchain, Philippe. 1975. „Le Lotus, la mandragore et le perséa“. *Chronique d'Egypte* 50: 65–86.

Derchain, Philippe. 1990. „L'auteur du Papyrus Jumilhac“. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 41: 9–30.

Devecchi, Elena. 2016–2018. „Wolf (Werwolf). A. In Mesopotamien“. In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, Fünfzehnter Band, Waschung A – Zypresse, Ausgewählte Nachträge, Index*, herausgegeben von Michael P. Streck, 124–126. Berlin und Boston: de Gruyter.

Dorn, Andreas. 2011. *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige. Ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 23. Basel: Schwabe Verlag.

Faraone, Christopher A., und Sofía Torallas Tovar, Hrsg. 2022. *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies: Text and Translation, Vol. I*. California Classical Studies Number 9. Berkeley: California Classical Studies.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner. 1997. *Lesefunde im literarischen Steinbruch von Deir el-Medineh*. Kleine Ägyptische Texte 12. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fox, Michael V. 1985. *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Gabolde, Luc. 2018. *Karnak, Amon-Rê : La genèse d'un temple, la naissance d'un dieu*. Bibliothèque d'Etude 167. Le Caire: Institut français.

Leder, Stefan. 2021. „The Literary Use of the *Khabar*: A Basic Form of Historical Writing“. In *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, Vol. 1: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, herausgegeben von Averill Cameron und Lawrence I. Conrad. Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1. 277–316. Berlin: Gerlach Press.

Leitz, Christian. 1994. „Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Baba und Thot“. In … *Quaerentes Scientiam. Festgabe für Wolfhart Westendorf zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, überreicht von seinen Schülern*, herausgegeben von Heike Behlmer, 103–117. Göttingen: Hubert & Co.

Mathieu, Bernhard. 2008. *La poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne : Recherches sur un genre littéraire au Nouvel Empire*. Paris: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Orenstein, Catherine. 2002. *Little Red Riding Hood Uncloaked: Sex, Morality, and the Evolution of a Fairy Tale*. New York: Basic Books.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich. 2008. „Corpus oder membra disiecta? Zur Sprach- und Redaktionskritik des Papyrus Jumilhac“. In *Diener des Horus, Festschrift für Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag*, herausgegeben von Wolfgang Waitkus, 203–228. Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia 1. Gladbeck: PEWE-Verlag.

Röllig, Wolfgang. 1978. „Die altorientalischen Literaturen, Einleitung, Der Alte Orient, Raum und Geschichte“. In *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. Altorientalische Literaturen*, herausgegeben von Wolfgang Röllig, 9–24. Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion.

Smith, Mark S. 2014. *Poetic Heroes: Literary Commemorations of Warriors and Warrior Culture in the Early Biblical World*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Vandier, Jacques. N.d. *Le papyrus Jumilhac*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

Vernus, Pascal. 1992. *Chants d'amour de l'Égypte antique*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.

Vernus, Pascal, und Jean Yoyotte. 2005. *Le bestiaire des pharaons*. Paris: Librairie académique Perrin.

Wasserman, Nathan, und Elyze Zomer. 2022. *Akkadian Magic Literature: Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian Incantations: Corpus – Context – Praxis*. Leipziger Altorientalische Studien 12. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Westendorf, Wolfhart. 1965–1977. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag.

Wikander, Ola. 2014. *Drought, Death, and the Sun in Ugarit and Ancient Israel: A Philological and Comparative Study*. Coniectanea biblica. Old Testament Series 61. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Wilcke, Claus. 1985. „Liebesbeschwörungen aus Isin". *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75: 288–309.

Zima, Peter V. 2008. „Komparatistik". In *Metzler Lexikon Literatur und Kulturtheorie*, herausgegeben von Ansgar Nünning, 369–374. Stuttgart und Weimar: Metzler Verlag.

Zisa, Gioele. 2021. *The Loss of Male Sexual Desire in Ancient Mesopotamia: Niš libbi-Therapies*. Medical Traditions 5. Berlin und Boston: de Gruyter.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148420

George Hatke
University of Vienna, Austria | george.hatke@univie.ac.at

May He and His Kin Be Eradicated and Uprooted … Curse Formulae in Aksumite Royal Inscriptions

Abstract A common feature of ancient Near Eastern written tradition is the curse formula, i.e. a threat issued against an individual or group of individuals who might commit some infraction, be it the violation of a treaty, an armed rebellion against an overlord, or the removal and/or destruction of an inscription or other monument. Typically, curse formulae invoke a divine force or forces as the agent(s) that would, if need be, carry out the punishment of anyone guilty of committing any of the aforementioned infractions. Although curse formulae from various ancient civilizations have been the subject of multiple studies over the years, one civilization that has been overlooked is the kingdom of Aksum that dominated northern Ethiopia from around the turn of the Common Era to the seventh century. This article seeks to rectify this situation by systematically presenting and analysing all known curse formulae in Aksumite inscriptions and pointing out analogies with other ancient societies in which curse formulae are attested, as well as, where relevant, ethnographic analogies with modern societies. Aksumite curse formulae are limited to royal inscriptions and are concerned exclusively with the destruction of monuments erected by kings. Their thematic content, however, sheds light on concepts of crime and collective guilt in Aksumite society more broadly.

Keywords curse formulae, Aksum, inscriptions, divine punishment, religious ideology, Ethiopian society

© 2023 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.

1 Introduction[1]

The fourth and sixth centuries CE are by far the best-documented periods in the history of Aksum, a kingdom based in northern Ethiopia that, at its height, controlled parts of present-day Yemen and sent its armies as far as Sudanese Nubia. A number of lengthy royal inscriptions, dating from both of these centuries, provide essential information on Aksumite political history, more specifically the military campaigns waged by Aksumite kings. One aspect of this epigraphic corpus that has yet to receive much attention from scholars, however, is the issuing of curses at the end of several inscriptions. These curse formulae, as we shall call them for the purpose of this article,[2] speak of the harm that would befall anyone who might attempt to damage an inscription or remove it from its place. Curse formulae have a very long history in the ancient Near East and have been the subject of a number of studies pertaining to Mesopotamia,[3] Egypt,[4] Syria-Palestine,[5] and South Arabia.[6] The use of curse formulae in Aksumite inscriptions represents a very late stage in this Near Eastern tradition, one which survived the transition to Christianity in the mid-fourth century and which is attested as late as the sixth. However, despite their late date, relative to inscriptions from those regions of the ancient Near East that bear similar formulae, curse formulae in Aksumite inscriptions provide evidence for concerns with the sanctity of the written word and its

---

[1] This article is loosely based on a power-point presentation, *Curse Formulae in Aksumite Royal Inscriptions: A Comparative Perspective*, that the author had intended to present at a conference in honour of the late Dutch Semitist Abraham J. Drewes that was scheduled to be held at the University of Hamburg in March of 2020. Although this conference never took place due to the outbreak of COVID-19—a curse indeed!—the author nevertheless wishes to thank Alessandro Bausi of the University of Hamburg for his very kind invitation to give a presentation, as well as for sending the author a copy of Drewes' posthumously published *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite* (Drewes 2019). It was Bausi's invitation that ultimately spawned the idea for this article. A PDF of the power-point can be viewed at the author's web-page on the Academia site (https://academia.edu/42225040/Curse_Formulae_in_Aksumite_Royal_Inscriptions_A_Comparative_Perspective). The author also wishes to thank the two anonymous reviewers of this article for providing their invaluable feedback. Finally, the author thanks Michael Davis of the Princeton Theological Seminary for commenting on this article and for drawing his attention to some interesting references, as well as Maya Rinderer of the University of Vienna for sharing her thoughts on an earlier draft and for bringing to his attention Karen Radner's monograph *Die Macht des Namens: Altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung* (Radner 2005). Any remaining errors are the author's.

[2] The designation 'curse formula' is an old one (see, e.g. Blank 1950–1951) and has become well established in the field of ancient Near Eastern studies.

[3] Radner 2005: 73, 79, 173, 253, 254–258; Kitz 2014 passim.

[4] Morschauser 1991; Colledge 2015.

[5] Crawford 1992; Baranowski 2012; Kitz 2014; Ramos 2016.

[6] Maraqten 1998.

preservation, along with the importance of kin, children, and household, which are very much at home in other, earlier cultures. For this reason, the systematic study of Aksumite curse formulae presented here seeks to contribute to the discussion among scholars of the ancient Near East regarding the power of writing and the role of monumental culture in society, as well as to foster greater dialogue between Assyriologists, Egyptologists, Levantinists,[7] and South Arabianists on the one hand and Ethiopianists on the other. In addition to drawing attention to one of Aksum's commonalities with the better-known cultures of the ancient Near East,[8] this study also seeks to shed light on issues more specifically related to Aksumite society on which the use of curse formulae sheds light. Particularly important in this regard are the role of clan-based groups and notions of collective guilt, as well as the use of language regarding would-be defacers of royal monuments that recall the language used to describe enemies defeated in battle. In what follows, we will examine eight Aksumite inscriptions containing curse formulae, along with one that, while not containing a curse formula per se, contains a number of thematic elements found in curse formulae and is therefore useful for comparative purposes. The relevant portions of each of these inscriptions will be treated in chronological order, after which the broader implications for Aksumite society and culture will be discussed, including the contexts in which the inscriptions in question were erected. The article will then conclude with some thoughts regarding written curse formulae in post-Aksumite Ethiopia.

2 Theoretical background

Before proceeding, some preliminary observations on curse formulae and curses more broadly, as well as on scholarly treatments of the subject, are in order. To begin with, curses constitute a form of speech that is not a human universal, in the way that other forms like prayer and swearing are.[9] Indeed, the use of curses can at times mark ethnic and/or social boundaries between those who curse and those who do not. Thus, for example, the Maasai people of East Africa regard cursing as a specialty of both blacksmiths and the Okiek, the latter a Southern Nilotic group based in southern Kenya.[10] As defined by Brenda Danet and Bryna Bogoch, curses are 'a genre of *verbal control*' that aims 'to control the behaviour

[7] To coin a term that includes archaeologists and epigraphers working on Syria-Palestine, alongside Biblical scholars.

[8] Of which Aksum can arguably be regarded as an extension, culturally speaking at least, while still remaining a sub-Saharan African civilization.

[9] Kratz 1989: 637. Thus, for example, while curses seem to be a salient oral genre in African and Middle Eastern societies, fairly exhaustive ethnographies of Central and North American societies never mention them (Danet and Bogoch 1992: 134).

[10] Kratz 1989: 642, 650.

of others, to invoke supernatural powers, and, in certain cases, even to alter the forces of nature."[11] Lexically, curses belong to the category of routine formulae that occur as fixed or semi-fixed expressions, such as *Guten Appetit* or *bon appétit*.[12] Unlike other types of bad language, curses are regarded as a more serious speech act on account of the perceived power of the words uttered.[13] Another feature typically, though not universally, shared by curses is an implicit disparity in power between the parties involved. Thus, the elderly enjoy power of seniority over the young, a deity divine power over his creations, the king political power over his subjects, and the community collective power over its constituent individual members[14]—all factors that become salient if and when the power-holder issues a curse, or when one appeals to a power-holder to effect a curse. Curses, then, are generally unidirectional, top-down affairs that differ from other expressions of opprobrium or exclusion like insults and swearing, which can be bi- or even multi-directional,[15] and which, again, are human universals.[16] The general purpose of cursing is broadly the same across all societies where the tradition exists, though the thematic elements and patterns of expression within curses are region specific.[17] While the present study is concerned with curses in written form, the example of cursing in a historically non-literate society in East Africa cited above illustrates the fact that curses are often, indeed more commonly, issued orally. In fact, it is in oral tradition that the curse formulae attested in written form are likely to have first emerged.[18] When it comes to written curses, the most thorough study of curse formulae to date is Anne Marie Kitz's 2014 monograph *Cursed Are You! The Phenomenology of Cursing in Cuneiform and Hebrew Texts*. Although that volume focuses on Mesopotamian and Levantine material, many of Kitz's observations are broadly applicable to other parts of the ancient world, not least Aksumite Ethiopia. Referring to ancient Near Eastern views of curses, Kitz writes:

> It cannot be denied that Ancient Near Easterners viewed curses differently than present day societies. For them, a curse did not necessarily constitute offensive language or even an insult. Rather, it was a much more serious affair. Simply put, maledictions solicit a deity or deities to do harm to a person, place or thing. Since curses are wishes, they are, therefore, petitionary prayers to the deities.[19]

---

[11] Danet and Bogoch 1992: 134 (emphasis theirs).

[12] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 360.

[13] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 360.

[14] Baye Yimam 2013: 411.

[15] Baye Yimam 2013: 412.

[16] On the universality of swearing, see n. 9. On the universality of insulting, see Conley (2010); Mateo and Yus (2013).

[17] Baye Yimam 2013: 415.

[18] Danet and Bogoch 1992 passim.

[19] Kitz 2007: 616.

Here again, the invocation of supernatural powers is identified as a key element of curses. As we shall see, a recurrent theme throughout Aksumite curse formulae is divine punishment, be it by the pagan gods of Aksum or, from the mid-fourth century on, the Christian god. Kitz further identifies several themes shared by curse formulae:

> (i) divine judgement; (ii) the arousal of divine wrath; (iii) separation from the deities; (iv) separation from society; (v) and finally, if left unforgiven[,] separation from life.[20]

That divine wrath is invoked in Aksumite curse formulae has been noted above. As we shall also see, separation, often couched in terms of banishment, is another theme that is commonly attested in such formulae. The aim of such separation, as Kitz argues in the context of ancient Near Eastern curse formulae, is 'to establish a division between oppositional forces in an effort to restore divine order.'[21] A similar idea of separation as punishment for wrongdoing, when brought into effect through a curse, is noted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in his classic ethnographic study of religion among the Nuer people of South Sudan. So powerful are curses seeking to achieve this effect, Evans-Pritchard states, that they need not even be uttered aloud to take effect. Thus, for example, if a man is killed by his wife's brother and the wife laments his death, her 'curse of the heart' (*biit loac*) will be heard by the deity, who will then 'cause the slayer to become a wanderer on the face of the earth and to die in the midst of his wanderings'[22]—separated, in other words, from his kith and kin in a very physical sense, as well as from divine aid in a superphysical sense. At their most basic level, these ideas of separation are linked to concepts of space and the concomitant guarding of boundaries against potential dangers caused by wrongdoing. The role of such conceptions of space has received attention in, among other publications, studies of the Jewish community of Qumrān. In reference to the role of cursing in this community, Russell Arnold states that

> curses solidify the perception of the enemy and maintain clear insistence that members of the community must stay away from the enemy, and guard against following the enemy's ways.[23]

In a similar vein, Andrew R. Krause stresses the negative impact of separation on those at Qumrān who were judged to have entered into that community's

---

[20] Kitz 2007: 618.

[21] Kitz 2007: 619.

[22] Evans-Pritchard 1956: 170–171.

[23] Arnold 2006: 164.

covenant insincerely and were consequently expelled, stating that 'permanent expulsion is the harshest punishment meted out by the community, as it effectively removes the individual from God's election.'[24] It goes without saying that the context in which Aksumite curses were issued differs markedly from the context in which curses were issued—or still *are* issued, in the case of modern ethnographic parallels—in the examples cited above. One salient quality that Aksumite curse formulae do, however, share with older Near Eastern counterparts, in addition to certain thematic elements, is their use of quasi-legal language, aiming to deter damage to a public monument through statements issued in a casuistic (if … then …) format.[25] Since the oral component of Aksumite society obviously cannot be accessed, our sole insight into the role of cursing in that society is provided by what relevant written evidence survives. Whatever the differences between Aksumite curses and those of other cultures, divine intervention and the idea of the separation of the individual targeted in the curse are important shared themes.

As for the targets themselves, curse formulae in Aksumite inscriptions are directed exclusively at those who might overturn or in some other way damage a royal monument. To date, no Aksumite inscription has come to light that issues curses against those who might renege the terms of a treaty, for example.[26] This might, however, reflect nothing more than the fact that no written Aksumite treaties survive—in stark contrast to the Bronze- and Iron-Age Near East, where such texts are common.[27] Where Aksumite curse formulae do bear similarities to those of other cultures, be they in oral or written form, it is in their invocation of the divine and their emphasis on the cutting off of a potential offender from social or familial ties, even if these components of the curse are given a peculiarly Aksumite cast. In terms of structure, all known Aksumite curse formulae fall into the category of what Brenda Danet and Bryna Bogoch have labelled 'whoever' curses, so called because they begin with a phrase 'whoever does X', specifying the acts which the speaker wishes to prevent, after which they refer to a future state in which supernatural forces will cause harm to the offender(s).[28] Within this basic framework, there are a set number of elements from which the authors of Aksumite royal inscriptions choose for inclusion in curse formulae. These

---

[24] Krause 2018: 225.

[25] The author wishes to thank Michael Davis for making this point.

[26] In the Gəʿəz account of his Nubian campaign in 360, ʿEzānā says of the Noba people then occupying the Middle Nile valley: 'Twice and thrice did they break their pledges […], spending the winter season killing neighboring communities, as well as the envoys and messengers whom I had sent to them to inquire into their plundering' (*wa-ʾamāsana kaʿəba wa-śəls la-maḥalāhu ʾakrimo yəqattəl ʾagwārihu wa-tanbālāna wa-ḥawārəyāna za-*[*fannaw*]*ku lotu yəsməʿəwwo hedomu*) (RIÉth 189/11–12 [Drewes and Schneider 1991: 263]). At no point in the inscription, however, are curses issued against the Noba for having broken their pledges.

[27] See, e.g. Fensham (1962) and Hillers (1964).

[28] Danet and Bogoch 1992: 136–138, 157.

are: (1) physical harm done to the offender, his extended kin, and his children; (2) the removal, uprooting, or eradication of the offender from the land; (3) the offender being led to ruin; (4) the eradication of the offender's name from the land of the living; (5) generic eradication of the offender and his kin; and (6) the overthrowing, removal, or overturning of the offender after the manner in which he has removed or overturned the monument. Obviously, there is a certain degree of overlap between some of these thematic elements and, as we shall see, a few of them appear more frequently in curse formulae than others. In terms of their perceived function, Aksumite curse formulae conform to what Anne Marie Kitz labels 'display curses', i.e. 'curses incised on the objects they protect or on markers that specifically identify what it is they safeguard.'[29] In the case of Aksumite 'display curses', it is the stones on which inscriptions are carved and/or the thrones with which they were set up that are safeguarded, the belief being that the curse would be realized through divine agency.

Although this article is the first systematic study of curse formulae in Aksumite inscriptions, it should be noted that the phenomenon of curses in a broader Ethiopian context has been the subject of a handful of earlier studies. Noteworthy among these is Baye Yimam's 2013 paper 'The Imagery of Cursing in Four Ethiopian Languages'.[30] In it, Baye Yimam analyses various types of curses used by speakers of Amharic, Oromo, Wolayitta, and Nuer. Of these languages, the first three belong to the Afroasiatic macro-family and are classified within the Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic branches respectively. The language of the Nuer, whom we have encountered above in connection with Evans-Pritchard's research in South Sudan, but who also inhabit parts of southwestern Ethiopia, is a Nilotic tongue belonging to the East Sudanic branch of the Nilo-Saharan macro-family.[31] Dividing curses into endocentric (self-cursing) and exocentric (cursing of others) categories, Baye Yimam concludes that the evidence 'strongly showed that the speakers of the three Afroasiatic languages had a greater degree of convergence of both perceptual and linguistic features than did the Nuer of their Nilo-Saharan neighbours.'[32] He attributes this to the peripheral position of the Nuer in modern Ethiopian society, on account of their being one of the groups most recently incorporated into the modern nation-state of Ethiopia.[33] Convergence in cursing traditions between the aforementioned Afroasiatic-speaking groups, he argues,

---

[29] Kitz 2014: 254.

[30] Baye Yimam 2013.

[31] As a caveat, the existence of a Nilo-Saharan macrofamily, first proposed by the American linguistic anthropologist Joseph Greenberg (Greenberg 1963), is not accepted by all linguists, though few would dispute the validity of East Sudanic as a linguistic category.

[32] Baye Yimam 2013: 395. Although the Afroasiatic membership of Omotic has been questioned by some (e.g. Theil 2006), it is currently accepted by most scholars (Blench 2006: 143; Amha 2012: 427).

[33] Baye Yimam 2013: 396.

'may indicate the level of contact and historical interaction among the groups, more than retentions of common linguistic phenomena.'[34] Endocentric curses often express wishes for some misfortune, such as death, to happen to oneself as a consequence of guilt felt.[35] Exocentric curses, on the other hand, play on a more diverse range of themes, such as denial of resources or bodily necessities, banishment, termination of lineage, or ill health.[36] While some of the curses treated are statements of the sort made by one person to another, others, as among the Boorana Oromo, are public affairs in which a council of elders issues a curse before an assembled crowd against an individual who committed some wrong, such as denying some of his fellow clansmen access to a well.[37] A curse of the latter type can, however, be lifted if the offending individual asks for forgiveness and, should this be granted, sacrifices a bull to the council of elders.[38] Similar public cursing, at times involving the church, is also documented among the Amhara of North Wällo.[39]

Another noteworthy study of cursing in an Ethiopian context is a paper by Fekede Menuta and Ruth Vatvedt Fjeld from 2016, entitled 'Social and pragmatic rules of cursing and other routine formulae in Gurage and Norwegian culture'.[40] Like Baye Simam, the authors of the paper note the phenomenon of self-cursing among the Gurage people of central Ethiopia, something done to encourage children to perform some task, to express condolences, to bid someone farewell, or to swear an oath, among other situations.[41] They further observe a gender difference in self-cursing, as men seldom utter such a curse, as compared to women, who do so frequently.[42] Among the Gurage, exocentric cursing may target either individuals or groups. In the former case, no audience is needed, as it is assumed that spirits, divine beings, or forces of nature are listening.[43] In the latter, an individual who is suspected of having committed some misdemeanour, but does not admit the truth, is judged by a council of elders to be worthy of public cursing.[44] Curses issued may express wishes that whatever the accused sows will never grow, or that an evil identical to the one he is alleged to have committed be visited on his descendants for up to seven generations.[45] Similar to the Boorana Oromo, the

[34] Baye Yimam 2013: 396, 416.
[35] Baye Yimam 2013: 397.
[36] Baye Yimam 2013 passim.
[37] Baye Yimam 2013: 398.
[38] Baye Yimam 2013: 399.
[39] Baye Yimam 2013: 399–401.
[40] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016.
[41] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 365–373.
[42] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 371.
[43] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 374.
[44] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 377.
[45] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 377–378.

Gurage believe that such a curse can be lifted if the accused confesses and participates in a cleansing ceremony that entails a ritual and some kind of payment to the victim(s).[46] Group cursing of this sort fulfils a valuable function in Gurage society in that it maintains social order over the course of multiple generations.[47] In other contexts, group cursing is regarded as directed at an individual believed to bear the evil eye, in which case it is thought to weaken that individual's power to cause harm to animate beings and inanimate objects.[48]

Ethiopian traditions of cursing have been addressed in other studies, though usually in a tangential manner, as in the context of health. Thus, in their study of perceptions of health and illness among the Cushitic-speaking Konso of southwestern Ethiopia, Tebaber Workneh, Guday Emirie, Mirgissa Kaba, Yalemtsehay Mekonnen, and Helmut Kloos note that curses issued by elders are believed to cause illness.[49] Rafael Youngman, Sara Minuchin-Itzigsohn, and Miriam Barasch discuss similar beliefs regarding curses among the members of the Ethiopian Beta

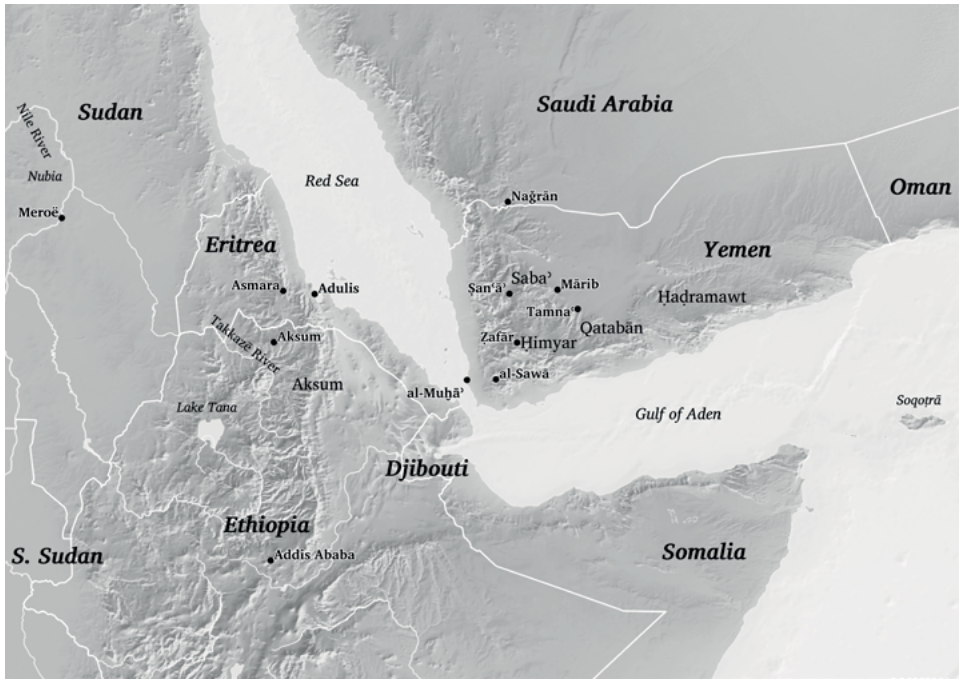

Figure 1. Northeast Africa and South Arabia in Late Antiquity
(map by Matthias Adelhofer, made with *Natural Earth*)

[46] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 378.
[47] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 378.
[48] Fekede Menuta and Fjeld 2016: 376.
[49] Tebaber Workneh et al. 2018: 4.

ʾƎsrāʾel immigrants to Israel, stating that curses, like the casting of the evil eye, are believed by that community to be placed on individuals by someone who hates or envies them, or by traditional healers endowed with magical powers.[50] The Beta ʾƎsrāʾel also lay great emphasis on honouring their parents and the elders of the community, in part out of fear that such individuals might curse them, and thereby cause illness, if they feel in any way dishonoured.[51] As we shall see, elements of modern Ethiopian cursing traditions, particularly such themes as banishment, collective guilt, and the meting out of misfortune equivalent to the crime committed, are also encountered in Aksumite curse formulae.

3 Representative Aksumite inscriptions

This study of Aksumites curse formulae[52] is based on the following inscriptions, all of them erected at the town of Aksum (14°7′16.68″N, 38°43′42.6″E), capital of the similarly named kingdom: RIÉth 185 I + II, RIÉth 185 bis I + II, RIÉth 270 bis, RIÉth 188, and RIÉth 189 from the reign of ʿEzānā (ca. 330–370); RIÉth 191 from the reign of Kāleb (ca. 510–540); and RIÉth 192 from the reign of Kāleb's son and successor Wāʿzeb (ca. 540–560). Except for a single Greek text, RIÉth 270 bis, all of the aforementioned inscriptions are in Gəʿəz, an Ethiosemitic language that served as the lingua franca of the kingdom of Aksum. Although Gəʿəz died out as a spoken language after the collapse of Aksum sometime in the seventh century, it has enjoyed the practically unchallenged status as the sole written language of Christian Ethiopia down to the nineteenth century, and has remained the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Tawāḥədo Church down to the present.[53] Of the Gəʿəz inscriptions that we shall examine, only two (RIÉth 188

[50] Youngman et al. 1999: 53.

[51] Youngman et al. 1999: 53, 57.

[52] In this article, transliterations of Gəʿəz material follow the system of transliteration used by Wolf Leslau in his *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Leslau 1991). In the case of the Aksumite inscriptions that constitute the main corpus of written material treated here, it should be noted that the morphology of the Gəʿəz employed differs at times from that of Classical Gəʿəz. In fully vocalised inscriptions, the author presents the Gəʿəz text as it appears in the inscriptions. In the case of consonantal Gəʿəz inscriptions, the consonantal text is provided, at times together with its equivalent in vocalised Classical Gəʿəz. In terms of scope, it must be stressed that the author's approach in this article is to examine a single thematic element in Aksumite inscriptions, rather than to attempt a detailed epigraphic survey of said inscriptions. For the latter, he directs the reader to such works as Littmann (1950); Marrassini (2014); and Drewes (2019). Except where otherwise noted, all translations of Gəʿəz and Ancient South Arabian inscriptions in this article are the author's.

[53] Aside from the numerous titles, names, and basic vocabulary of Amharic origin that appear in mediaeval Gəʿəz texts, some eleven songs in Old Amharic praising the power and courage of several mediaeval kings—namely ʿAmda Ṣəyon (r. 1314–1344), Yəsḥaq (r. 1414–1429), Zarʾa Yāʿəqob (r. 1434–1468), and Galāwdewos (r. 1540–1559)—have been preserved in writ-

and RIÉth 189) are written in the fully vocalised *fidal* script, i.e. the syllabic writing system devised for Gəʿəz sometime around the 340s[54] and currently used to write such Ethiosemitic languages as Amharic, Tigrinya, and Tigre. Two other inscriptions (RIÉth 185 I and RIÉth 185 bis I) are written in an earlier, consonantal form of *fidal* that preceded the development of the syllabary. The remainder (RIÉth 185 II, RIÉth 185 bis II, RIÉth 191, and RIÉth 192) are written in the consonantal *musnad* script of South Arabia, a writing system on which *fidal* is based, but which differs from the latter in a number of respects, most notably in the form and orientation of its graphemes, along with the presence of graphemes which, owing to the phonological peculiarities of Ethiosemitic, were not adopted in *fidal*. Since none of the aforementioned inscriptions was found in situ, their original context remains uncertain. Two of the inscriptions that we shall examine, RIÉth 188 and RIÉth 189, state that they were erected in an area of the town of Aksum called Śado. Although this area cannot be located, it was presumably a public place in which the inscriptions and the monuments with which they were associated could be viewed by a large number of people. The significance of this Śado shall be addressed in detail in the section treating RIÉth 188[55] and in *Discussion and conclusions*.[56]

The corpus of texts that shall be treated in this study is admittedly a very small one, and when one takes into consideration the fact that several of these inscriptions are effectively duplicates (RIÉth 185 I and RIÉth 185 II; RIÉth 185 bis I and RIÉth 185 bis II), while one inscription (RIÉth 192) contains no curse formula at all but rather a final clause that draws on a number of the thematic elements found in curse formulae, the corpus of relevant material becomes smaller still. That said, it must be borne in mind that the corpus of Aksumite royal inscriptions is already quite circumscribed to begin with. Thus, after the well-documented

---

ten form (Littmann 1914). The songs were originally composed to be performed, most probably by the (usually male) singers known as *azmāris*, on the occasion of a king's return home from a victorious battle (Littmann 1914: 7–8; Richter 1997: 545). Later on, as part of their promotion of Catholicism at the expense of the Ethiopian Tawāḥədo Church, the Portuguese used Amharic, the lingua franca of Ethiopia that, as a spoken language, had a certain resonance with the common folk in ways that the rather arcane Gəʿəz language did not (Haberland 1992: 729). When, however, the Portuguese were expelled during the reign of Fāsiladas (1632–1667), all Amharic materials produced by the Portuguese were summarily destroyed and, though it remained the chief spoken language, Amharic was deemed too guilty by association with Portuguese missionary efforts to be a worthy literary language, such that the use of Gəʿəz for that purpose was revived (Fellman 1993: 124). Not until the reign of Tewodros II (1855–1868) was Amharic resurrected as a literary language, to the point that it would later permanently replace Gəʿəz in that capacity (Fellman 1993: 124).

[54] On the development of the *fidal* syllabary, see §3.3.

[55] §3.3.

[56] §4.

reign of ʿEzānā we enter an obscure period of Aksumite history that lasts until the reign of Kāleb in the first half of the sixth century. No royal inscriptions dating from this interim period have (yet) been discovered, and for the time being our sole sources of information on the kings who reigned between ʿEzānā and Kāleb are the coins that they minted.[57] In view of the thematic and stylistic continuities between fourth- and sixth-century inscriptions, including the use of curse formulae, it is not implausible to posit that fifth-century royal inscriptions also existed, and contained curse formulae, but have simply not yet been discovered. Also worth mentioning is the fact that a number of royal Aksumite inscriptions have come to light outside Ethiopia, namely RIÉth 286 and RIÉth 286 A, two inscriptions in Greek from Meroë in northern Sudan,[58] and a series of Gəʿəz inscriptions erected in Yemen, most probably in the aftermath of Kāleb's invasion of Ḥimyar in 525: RIÉth 263,[59] RIÉth 264,[60] and Ẓafār 08–773[61] from Ẓafār; RIÉth 195 I + II[62] from Mārib; and RIÉth 265[63] and RIÉth 266[64]—these last two being of unknown provenance.[65] Since, however, all of the Aksumite inscriptions erected abroad survive in very fragmentary condition, it is not possible to determine whether any of them originally contained curse formulae. Consequently, they will not be treated in this article.

Of the other known Aksumite royal inscriptions, one may note RIÉth 186,[66] a Gəʿəz inscription in *musnad* erected (most probably) by ʿEzānā's brother and predecessor Ousanas;[67] RIÉth 187, a Gəʿəz inscription in fully vocalised *fidal* dating from ʿEzānā's reign;[68] and RIÉth 190, a Gəʿəz inscription in *musnad* also dat-

[57] On the kings who reigned during this period, see Munro-Hay (1999: 33–39); Hahn (2005a); Fiaccadori (2005), but see Hahn (2001) for an alternative reading of the name Eōn as Nōe, i.e. Noah; Fiaccadori (2007); Fiaccadori (2010); Fiaccadori (2014a); and Fiaccadori (2014b). In addition, several issues of anonymous coins can also be assigned to the period between ʿEzānā and Kāleb (Munro-Hay 1999: 33–34, 35–36, 37, 38). For a detailed treatment of Aksumite numismatics overall, see Hahn and Keck (2020).

[58] Bernand 1991: 385–387. For a discussion of the historical context of these two inscriptions, see Hatke (2013: 71–77).

[59] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 350–351; Müller 2012: 13–17.

[60] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 351; Müller 2012: 17–19.

[61] Müller 2012: 10–13.

[62] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 284–288.

[63] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 351–352.

[64] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 353.

[65] For a discussion of the Gəʿəz corpus from Yemen from the perspective of religious ideology, see Hatke (2022).

[66] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 250–254; trans. Drewes 2019: 208–209.

[67] On the identification of the ruler associated with RIÉth 186, whose name is only partially preserved, see Hatke (2013: 70); Drewes (2019: 209).

[68] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 255–258; trans. Drewes 2019: 216–217.

ing from ʿEzānā's reign.[69] Here too, since the portions of text that might have originally contained curse formulae are not preserved, these inscriptions will not be treated here. Two further royal Aksumite inscriptions, in Greek, that bear mentioning are RIÉth 271[70] and RIÉth 277 (=Monumentum Adulitanum II).[71] The first dates from the Christian phase of ʿEzānā's reign and documents that king's invasion of Nubia, a campaign also documented in the Gəʿəz inscriptions RIÉth 189 and RIÉth 190. Since, however, only the initial portion of RIÉth 271 survives, it is not clear whether the original text contained a curse formula. As for RIÉth 277, this inscription was erected at the Aksumite trading centre of Adulis in northern Eritrea sometime around the turn of the third century, most likely in the reign of Gədura,[72] an Aksumite ruler who is known from Sabaic inscriptions from Yemen[73] and is also mentioned in a short inscription in consonantal Gəʿəz engraved on a bronze object from ʿĀddi Galamo in northern Ethiopia.[74] Although the original inscription at Adulis has never been found by modern archaeologists, it was copied ca. 518 by the merchant-turned-Christian apologist Cosmas Indicopleustes, who reproduced the main bulk of the text in his *Christian Topography*.[75] RIÉth 277 documents a series of military campaigns waged by the Aksumites over a vast area extending from the Eastern Desert (located to the north of Aksum, between the Nile and the Red Sea) to northern Somalia, along with an attack on the Red Sea coast of Arabia.[76] As with other Aksumite royal inscriptions, it ends with a reference to its having been erected as part of a throne, in this case dedicated to Arēs,[77] the Greek god of war with whom the Aksumite god Maḥrəm is identified in Greek Aksumite inscriptions.[78] As we shall see below, Aksumite kings had a unique tradition of erecting symbolic stone thrones on the occasion of

---

[69] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 268–274; trans. Drewes 2019: 242–244.

[70] Bernand 1991: 371–372.

[71] Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography* §2.60.1–§2.63.12 (=Bernand 1991: 379–380); trans. Wolska-Conus 1968 [I]: 372–378.

[72] Speidel 2016: 291.

[73] Gl 1223/11.12.14 (Solá Solé 1964: 53); Gl 1222/9–10.13 (Solá Solé 1964: 52); Gl 1224/11.12.14 (Solá Solé 1964: 54); Gl 1330/10.11.13 (Solá Solé 1964: 56).

[74] RIÉth 180 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 219–220).

[75] Regrettably, the opening of the inscription, and along with it the name of the king who erected it, are missing in Cosmas' copy, perhaps because that portion of the text had suffered damage and was illegible in Cosmas' time.

[76] For a general treatment of the military campaigns recorded in RIÉth 277, along with the identification of the peoples and places mentioned in the inscription, see Bowersock (2013: 49–53). On the Eastern Desert campaign and the campaign against the land of Sasu in western Ethiopia, see Hatke (2013: 44–57). On the Arabian campaign, see Cuvigny and Robin (1996: 708–711); Speidel (2016 passim); and Cuvigny and Robin (2021: 406–409).

[77] Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography* §2.63.11–12 (=Bernand 1991: 380); trans. Wolska-Conus 1968 [I]: 378.

[78] Marrassini 2010: 11.

a military victory, and the inscriptions—whether in Greek or Gəʿəz—that recorded these victories formed part of said throne. At no point in RIÉth 277, however, does the Aksumite king so much as allude to his having entrusted his monument to divine protection, much less does he issue a threat against anyone who might damage or remove it—at least not according to the copy of the inscription made by Cosmas Indicopleustes.[79] For this reason, RIÉth 277 will likewise be excluded from the discussion.

3.1 RIÉth 185 I + II and RIÉth 185 bis I + II

This group of inscriptions documents ʿEzānā's campaign against the Beğa people inhabiting the Eastern Desert.[80] RIÉth 185 I + II are carved on the same face of a single granite stele, found in a garden by the entrance of the town as one approaches from the east, that measures 247 cm in height, 98 cm in width, and 21–22 cm in thickness. The first text is written in the *musnad* script and the second in consonantal *fidal*. Despite the use of different scripts, both texts are in Gəʿəz, though RIÉth 185 I employs certain Ancient South Arabian features alien to Gəʿəz, such as mimation,[81] vocabulary like *bn* 'son' (= Gəʿəz *wald*) and *mlk* 'king' (= Gəʿəz *nəguś*).[82] On the other side of the stele, we find the Greek account of ʿEzānā's campaign, known by the siglum RIÉth 270. Although the English diplomat and antiquarian Henry Salt copied RIÉth 270 as early as 1805,[83] it was not until 1893 that another English traveller, Theodore Bent, took squeezes of the two Gəʿəz texts. These were first published the following year by the Austrian Semitist David Heinrich Müller.[84] Then, in 1906, the Deutsche Aksum-Expedition led by the German Semitist and epigrapher Enno Littmann took further squeezes, as well as photographs, of RIÉth 185 I + II and RIÉth 270, publishing these

[79] Judging from thematic and stylistic commonalities with other Aksumite royal inscriptions, Cosmas Indicopleustes' copy of RIÉth 277 would appear to be accurate. Possibly relevant is RIÉth 269 (Bernand 1991: 362–363), an Aksumite inscription in Greek from the town of Aksum that alludes to a Red Sea crossing, perhaps associated with the attack on the Red Sea coast of Arabia described in RIÉth 277 (Hatke 2011: 43). On the other hand, there is some evidence that the Aksumites invaded Ḥimyar during the early fourth century (Hatke 2022a), in view of which RIÉth 269 could potentially date from that period.

[80] On this campaign, see Rodinson (1981) and Sima (2003).

[81] I.e. the addition of a suffixed *-m* to a substantive to mark indefiniteness, adverbs, and certain proper names in languages of the Ancient South Arabian branch of Semitic. This feature is alien to Gəʿəz, and when used in Gəʿəz inscriptions in *musnad*, it often appears in contexts where it never would in an Ancient South Arabian inscription.

[82] For a detailed discussion of Ancient South Arabian—specifically Sabaic—features in ʿEzānā's inscriptions, see Sima (2003–2004). On the political and ideological background, see Hatke (2022a).

[83] Mountnorris 1809: III: 179–192.

[84] Müller 1894.

in 1913.[85] Abraham Drewes and Roger Schneider published an updated edition of the two Gəʿəz texts in 1991,[86] while Siegbert Uhlig published an edition of RIÉth 185 bis I + II with German translations twenty years later.[87] Most recently, Drewes' French translation of, and commentary on, RIÉth 185 I was published posthumously in 2019.[88] As they invoke the pagan Aksumite deities Maḥrəm, ʿAstar, and Bəḥer, these three inscriptions can be dated to the period before ʿEzānā's conversion to Christianity, an event that Wolgang Hahn dates to the second half of the 340s.[89] RIÉth 185 I, the first inscription in this group that we shall examine, consists of twenty-six lines of text, the relevant portion of which reads as follows:

> [17]*w-ʾb*[18]*.[n]*[m] *l-mḥrm*[m] *ḏ-wldn*[m ʾk]*t*[m] *ms*[1]*l ḏ-wrq*[m] [19]*w-z-brwr* [ʾ]*ḥd*[m] *w-z-ṣrq*[m] *s*[2]*ls*[1]*t*[m] *w-ṣḥfn zt* [20]*.ṣḥft*[m] *w-s*[2]*mn w-ʾb*ʾ*n*[m] *l-*ʿ*s*[1]*tr*[m] [*w-*][21]*.l-bḥr*[m] *w-*[*l-mḥrm*[m] *z-wldn*[m] *w-l-*]ʾ*m-b*[m] *ḏ-*ʾ[22]*.ms*[1]*n l-z-*ʾ*bn* [*ṣll*[m] *w-nk*]*t*[m] *l-ykwn*[m] *w-*[23]*.zmd*[m] *w-wld*[m] *w-*ʾ*m-bḥr*[m] *l-ys*[2]ʾ[m] [24]*.w-*ʾ[*ms*[2]*w l-ytb*] *tk w-b-km* [25]*.ḏ s*[2]*ymn-h*[m] [*l-ḏ-*ʾ*bn*][m] *l-*[*y*]*dlw*[26]*.n*[m] *w-*[*l-*]*h*[*grn*[m] *l-zlf*][m][90]
>
> [17].And we have offer[18].ed to Maḥrəm who begat us, out of gratitude, a statue of gold [19].and one of silver [and three of bronze.[91] And] we have written this [20].inscription and we have set it up and offered it to ʿAstar [and] [21].to Bəḥer and [to Maḥrəm who begat us. [And] if there be one who has [22].destroyed this stone, may he be [blinded and beaten(?)][92]—(he) and [23].his kin and his children. And may he be taken away

---

[85] Littmann 1913: 8–17.

[86] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 246–250.

[87] Uhlig 2001: 14–17, 22–26.

[88] Drewes 2019: 197–205. Since RIÉth 185 II, RIÉth 185 bis I, and RIÉth 185 bis II are virtually identical in content to RIÉth 185 I, Drewes did not bother to provide translations of these variant versions and instead notes only those places in which minor orthographic or morphological differences occur (Drewes 2019: 205–207).

[89] Hahn 2005b: 479.

[90] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 243.

[91] The choice of *ṣariq* (*ṣrq*) as the word for bronze (χαλκαίους in RIÉth 270 bis) is a bit unexpected, as the former typically denotes a brass coin rather than the metal itself. In Gəʿəz, the preferred term for bronze (and copper) is *nāḥs*, a word with cognates throughout Semitic.

[92] The phrase *ṣll*[m] w-*nkt*[m] can be restored here in light of RIÉth 185 bis I/24 and RIÉth 185 bis II/39–40, wherein we read *ṣllw w-nkt* and *ṣll w-nkt* respectively (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 247, 249). Abraham Drewes interprets the first word as the Gəʿəz adjective *ṣəllul* 'obscuratus, caligans, occaecatus, aveuglé', arguing that the form *ṣllw* in RIÉth 185 bis I/24 is an error for **ṣlwl*. As for *nkt*, the root from which this word is derived is not attested in Classical Gəʿəz. None of the interpretations proposed thus far (e.g. Drewes 2019: 203–204) seem to fit the context. It is tempting to interpret *nkt* in light of Hebrew *nākkāh* 'to beat' (cf. Gəʿəz *nakaya* 'to injure, to harm' and Arabic *nakā* 'to harm'), hence the tentative gloss of 'beaten' posited here. Although one finds the nominal forms *nəkyat* and *nəket* 'injuring, harming', the passive participle of *nakaya*, at least in Classical Gəʿəz, is *nəkuy*, not ***nəkut*.

> from the land [24]and [from the (*meaning uncertain*)[93] may he be re]moved. And as [25]we have set up [this stone], may it be suitable [26]for us and [for] our coun[try, eternally].

RIÉth 185 II consists of twenty-five lines of text. The portion of text corresponding to the passage quoted above reads as follows:

> [18]*w-ʾbʾn ʾk*[19]*tt l-mḥrm z-wldn msl z-wrq ʾḥd /1/ w-z-brwr* [20][*ḥ*]*d /1/ w-z-ṣrq ślst /3/ w-ṣḥfn* [*zt*] *ṣḥft w-śmn w-*[21][*b*]*ʾn l-ʿstr w-l-mḥrm z-wldn w-l-ʾm-b z-ʾm*[22][*s*]*n l-z-ʾbn ṣll w-nkt l-ykn w-zmd w-wld ʾm-b* [23][*ḥ*]*r l-yśʾ w-ʾmśw l-ytbtk w-b-km śmn-h l-yd*[24][*l*]*wn ln w-l-hgrn l-zlf*[94]

As is obvious, this passage more or less mirrors RIÉth 185 I/21–26 but for such minor features as the lack of mimation, the lack of *scriptio plena* in the transcription of the jussive verb *ykn* 'may he be' (in vocalised form *yəkun*, cf. *ykwn* in RIÉth 185 I/22), and the superfluous *ln* 'for us' (vocalised *lana*) in the phrase *l-ydlwn* ln 'may it be suitable for us', as opposed to the correct form *l-ydlwn*^{m} (= *la-yədləwwana*) in RIÉth 185 I/25–26. Of particular interest is the reference to the blinding of anyone who might destroy the monument, as the same punishment is referred to in such Safaitic curse formulae as 'May he who effaces this inscription be blinded' (*ʿwr ḏ-yʿwr h-s*^{1}*fr*)[95] and 'O Lāt, let there be blindness and a scab and starvation for he who would efface the inscription' (*f-h-lt ʿwr w grb w-gʿ l-ḏ yʿwr h-s*^{1}*fr*).[96] As we shall see in *Discussion and conclusions*, this type of punishment is attested in earlier times in the Fertile Crescent, where it was often meted out in military contexts to defeated enemies. As for the wish that the stone monument be suitable for the king and his country, this recalls similar wording in legends on Aksumite coins. Thus, Anonymous Type 53 bronze coins, dating from the second half of the fourth century, bear the Greek legend TOYTOAPECHTHXƆPA (= τοῦτο ἀρέσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ) 'May this please the country.'[97] The same legend, again in Greek, is attested on bronze coins from the reign of the late fourth-century Aksumite king Ouazebas[98] and on Anonymous Type 76

---

[93] Abraham Drewes' (admittedly tentative) interpretation of *w-ʾms*^{2}*w l-ytbtk* as 'et qu'il soit coupé de la bière' (Drewes 2019: 198, 204) seems rather implausible.

[94] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 243.

[95] Drewes 2019: 203.

[96] Hayajneh 2018: 61–62. As Hani Hayajneh points out, *wgʿ* can be interpreted as either *wgʿ* 'painful' (cf. Arabic *waǧīʿ*), in which case it would serve as an adjective qualifying *grb* (cf. Arabic *ǧarab*), or else as *w-gʿ* 'and starvation' (cf. Arabic *ǧūʿ*). Although the latter interpretation is adopted here, this remains hypothetical.

[97] Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995: 34.

[98] Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995: 34–35.

bronze coins dating from the second half of the fifth century.[99] A Gəʿəz calque on this phrase is similarly attested on silver Type 111 coins from the reign of Kāleb in the form *l-hgr z-ydl* (=*la-hagar zə-yədlu*) 'May this be suitable for the country',[100] while bronze coins of Types 118-123 from the reign of Wazenā in the second half of the sixth century bear the slightly variant legend *l-ḥzb z-ydl* (=*la-ḥəzb zə-yədlu*) 'May this be pleasing for the people.'[101] Clearly, Aksumite kings regarded it as important that they satisfied their subjects, and wished to advertise this sentiment in inscriptions and on coins. Interestingly, while the curse in RIÉth 185 I and the related inscriptions is levelled at individuals who might destroy the stone on which the inscription is carved, nothing is said of the consequences of destruction to the statues that ʿEzānā erected. Unless the statues were themselves inscribed with similar curse formulae—which is impossible to say for certain, as they do not survive—it could be that destruction of an inscription was deemed a more serious offence, as inscriptions were the sole record linking the king by name to the act of dedicating the statues.

Let us now turn to RIÉth 185 bis I + II, two Gəʿəz inscriptions that are more or less identical with RIÉth 185 I + II, and that, like the latter pair of texts, are written in *musnad* and consonantal *fidal* respectively. The granite stele on which they are carved was discovered in 1981 by a peasant a few metres from the cistern of May Šum in the north of the town of Aksum and measures 268 cm in height, 92.5 cm in width, and 26 cm in thickness. Based on copies and photographs made by Roger Schneider and Francis Anfray in 1981, Drewes and Schneider published an edition of the text in 1991.[102] Again like RIÉth 185 I + II, RIÉth 185 bis I + II share space on the same stele with a Greek inscription, RIÉth 270 bis, which will be treated below. In RIÉth 185 bis I, an inscription consisting of twenty-seven lines of text, the curse formula is presented as follows:

> [19.]*ʾbʾn*^{m} *l-mḥrmn*^{m} *l-z-*[20.]*wldn*^{m} *ʾktt*^{m} *mṯl ḏ-wrq /1/ w-ḏ-br*[*w*][21.]*r /1/ w-ḏ-ṣryq s*^{2}*ls*^{1}*t w-ʾṣḥfn z-*[*ṣ*][22.]*ḥft w-s*^{2}*mn*^{m} *w-ʾmḥḍn*^{m} *l-ʿttr*^{m} *w-l-*[*b*][23.]*ḥr*^{m} *w-l-mḥrm l-z-wldn*^{m} *ʾmky bw ḏ-*ʾ[24.][*m*] *s*^{1}*n l-z-ʾbn ṣllw w-nkt l-ykwn*^{m} *w-*[25.][*z*]*mdw*^{m} *w-wldw*^{m} *ʾbḥyr l-ys*^{2}ʾ *w-ʾm*[*s*^{2}][26.][*w*]^{m} *l-ytbtk w-b-km s*^{2}*mn-hm l-ḏ-ʾbn* [27.]*l-ydlwn w-l-hgry l-zlfw*^{m}[103]

As with RIÉth 185 I, mimation is widely used throughout RIÉth 185 bis I, though its use is not consistent and is not always attached to the words to which it is attached in RIÉth 185 I. Again like RIÉth 185 I, the relative pronoun alternates between *ḏ-* and *z-* in RIÉth 185 bis I. On the other hand, the word for 'statue',

---

[99] Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995: 37.

[100] Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995: 40.

[101] Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995: 41.

[102] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 246–250.

[103] Drewes and Schneider 1991: 247.

which appears in RIÉth 185 I in the form *ms¹l* (= Gəʿəz *məsl*), is here written with the grapheme for the voiceless interdental, thus *mṯl*, cf. Sabaic *mṯl* 'statue, image'. RIÉth 185 bis I also displays a preference for *plene scriptum*, thus *ṣryq* (RIÉth 185 I *ṣrq* = Gəʿəz *ṣariq*) 'bronze' and *bḥyr* (RIÉth 185 I *bḥr* = Gəʿəz *bəḥer*) 'land', although both RIÉth 185 I and RIÉth 185 bis II present the form *brwr* (= Gəʿəz *bərur*) 'silver'. In RIÉth 185 bis II, an inscription consisting of forty-four lines of text,[104] the relevant passage is presented as follows:

> [24]*w-ʾb*[25]*ʾn ʾktt l-*[26]*mḥrm z-wl*[27]*dn msl z-w*[28]*rq ʾḥd /1/* [29]*w-z-brr ʾḥ*[30]*d /1/ w-z-ṣrq* [31]*ślst /3/ w-*[32]*ṣḥfk z-ṣḥ*[33]*ft w-śmk* [34]*w-ʾmḥḍnk* [35]*l-ʿstr w-b*[36]*ḥr w-l-mḥrm* [37]*z-wldn w-l-*[38]*ʾm-b z-ʾmsn* [39]*l-z-ʾbn ṣll w-*[40]*nkt l-ykn w-z*[41]*md w-wld* [42]*ʾ-bḥr l-yśʾ w-ʾmśw l-ytbtk w-b-km śmn-h l-ydlwn* [43]*ln w-l-hgrn l-zlf*[105]

If one compares this passage with the same passage in RIÉth 185 II, another text in consonantal *fidal*, one notes that RIÉth 185 bis II gives us *ṣḥfk z-ṣḥft* (= Gəʿəz *ṣaḥafku zā-ṣəḥfata*) 'I have written this inscription', while RIÉth 185 II yields *ṣḥfn zt ṣḥft* (= Gəʿəz *ṣaḥafna zātta ṣəḥfata*) 'we have written this inscription.' The references to dedication in the two texts also differ. Thus in RIÉth 185 II we read *śmn w-ʾbʾn l-ʿstr w-l-mḥrm z-wldn* (= *śemna wa-ʾabāʾna la-ʿastar wa-la-maḥrəm za-waladana*) 'we have set up [these things] and offered [them] to ʿAstar and to Maḥrəm, who begat us.' In RIÉth 185 bis II, however, we find instead *śmk w-ʾmḥḍnk l-ʿstr w-bḥr w-l-mḥrm z-wldn* (= *śemku wa-ʾamaḥḍanku la-ʿastar wa-bəḥer wa-la-maḥrəm za-waladani*) 'I have set up [these things] and entrusted [them] to ʿAstar and Bəḥer, and to Maḥrəm who begat me.' The idea of entrusting monuments, including inscribed monuments, to deities for protection is well attested in Ancient South Arabian inscriptions, the verb *rṭd* 'to entrust' being widely used in this context in Sabaic, Qatabānic, Minaic, and Ḥaḍramitic.[106] As we shall see, references to entrusting monuments to divine protection is a theme that persists in Aksumite royal inscriptions into the mid-sixth century.

Although RIÉth 277 states that a stele could form part of a throne, the inscriptions RIÉth 185 I + II and RIÉth 185 bis I + II speak only of a stone (*ʾbn* = vocalised Gəʿəz *ʾəbn*). As for the statues, it is not stated in the aforementioned texts whether these depicted Maḥrəm/Arēs himself or ʿEzānā, though it bears mentioning that in inscriptions from Aksumite Ethiopia deities are invariably mentioned

---

[104]Despite the difference in the number of lines of text, RIÉth 185 bis I and RIÉth 185 bis II are basically the same length, as the individual lines of the latter inscription are shorter.

[105]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 249.

[106]The examples are too numerous to cite here. For attestations of the verb *rṭd* in each of the four Ancient South Arabian languages, see the online Digital Archive for the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions, http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=32&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=491325642&wl_group=19&wl_subgroup=22.

as *recipients* of statues. Explicit references to the fashioning of cult statues in the form of deities are lacking.[107] In South Arabia, where the dedication of statuettes to deities is a common theme, particularly in Middle Sabaic inscriptions dating from the first three centuries of the Common Era, it appears that the individual represented in said statuettes was the dedicant. Such offerings are believed to have taken the place of dedications of oneself, or of a member of one's family, for service in a deity's temple, of the sort described in earlier inscriptions dating from the first millennium BCE.[108] With the exception of the city-states in Yemen's Wādī al-Ǧawf region, and then only during a relatively short period in the first half of the first millennium BCE, anthropomorphic depictions of deities were largely alien to South Arabian tradition.[109] In his 2012 article on South Arabian deities and their representations, Christian Robin draws attention to the link between deities and empty thrones, arguing that symbolic stone thrones were dedicated to deities.[110] That the concept of empty thrones as linked to the divine, or exuding some sort of power, persisted into later centuries is suggested by mediaeval Arabic accounts of the revolt of al-Muḫtār bin Abī ʿUbayd al-Ṯaqafī against the Umayyads in the mid-680s CE. According to these accounts, al-Muḫtār's followers bore a throne (*kursiyy*) that was alleged to have belonged to the caliph ʿAlī bin Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–661) in the belief that it would grant them victory in battle and likened it to the Ark of the Covenant (*tābūt mūsā fīhi l-sakīna*).[111] It is entirely possible that similar beliefs with respect to empty thrones prevailed in Aksumite Ethiopia as well, at least during the pre-Christian period. In that case, the religion of pre-Christian Aksum would have belonged to the generally aniconistic traditions of West Semitic-speaking peoples.[112] If the Aksumites followed the practice of ritual dedications described in Middle Sabaic inscriptions, then the statues alluded to in ʿEzānā's inscriptions would likely have depicted the king. No trace of such statues has been identified in the archaeological record, at least not at Aksumite sites,[113] most likely because they were fashioned from valuable metals,

---

[107]Archaeology has yet to shed any light on the matter, for to date, no temples to any of the pre-Christian deities of Aksum have been identified in the archaeological record.

[108]Robin 1997: 68.

[109]Other exceptions date from a much later period and reflect influence from Graeco-Roman tradition (Gerlach and Schnelle 2013: 209).

[110]Robin 2012: 61–68; cf. Jung (2019 passim).

[111]al-Balāḏurī 1936: 242; cf. I Samuel 4:3–7, where we are told that the Israelites brought the Ark of the Covenant into a battle with the Philistines.

[112]Cf. Hendel (1997) and Mettinger (1997).

[113]In one rare instance, a Qatabānic inscription from Tamnaʿ in Yemen (CIAS 47.11/o 1/F 72), dating from the reign of King Waraw'īl Ġaylᵃⁿ Yuhanʿim (ca. 25–40 CE) and dedicated by a woman named Bar'at, still retains a bronze statuette of said dedicant, who is portrayed in a seated position. In the case of this piece, the block of stone on which the inscription was carved also functions as the plinth on which the statuette rests: http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=54&prjI

in which case they were targets for looters, who would have melted them down and reused them for other purposes at some later point in time.[114] However, a stone pedestal from the site of Aksum, bearing two foot-shaped indentations, is likely to have formed the base for one such statue. Judging from the dimensions of the foot-shaped indentations, which measure 92 centimetres in length, the statue would have been more than twice life-sized.[115] Since the foot indentations were not deep enough to secure a standing statue of that scale, the figure is more likely to have been depicted in a seated position,[116] presumably a throne of some sort, though one distinct from the thrones alluded to in inscriptions. One can only guess at the form such royal portraits took, as to date, the only known depictions of Aksumite kings are preserved on coins.[117]

3.2 RIÉth 270 bis

This next inscription preserves a Greek version of the account of ʿEzānā's aforementioned campaign against the Beğa. It consists of thirty-seven lines of text and as noted above, is inscribed on the same granite stele on which RIÉth 185 bis I + II are inscribed. Based on copies and photographs of RIÉth 270 bis made by Francis Anfray and Roger Schneider in 1981, Étienne Bernand published an edition of the inscription with a translation and commentary in French in the following year.[118] Some years later, Bernand published another edition with a commentary as part of the *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite*.[119] An edition of the text with a German translation was published by Siegbert Uhlig in 2001.[120] That RIÉth 270, the Greek text inscribed on the stele on which RIÉth 185 I + II are inscribed, is omitted from the discussion is due to the fact that, while it relates basically the same narrative as RIÉth 270 bis, it contains no curse formula and is therefore of no relevance for this article. Before proceeding to the relevant portion of RIÉth 270 bis, it is worth pausing to point out the significance of the use of Greek. Although Ethiopia was never invaded, much less conquered, by Alexander of Macedon or any of his Hellenistic-period successors, it had for centuries been indelibly linked by trade to the eastern Mediterranean,

---

d=1&corId=14&colId=0&navId=315617543&recId=518&mark=00518%2C001%2C001. Given their presumed size, the statues that accompanied Aksumite royal inscriptions would not have been placed in such a position vis-à-vis the inscriptions-cum-thrones. This could provide further support for the empty throne theory.

[114]Breyer 2012: 119.

[115]Breyer 2012: 119–120.

[116]Breyer 2012: 120.

[117]Munro-Hay 1999: 13; Breyer 2012: 39.

[118]Bernand 1982.

[119]Bernand 1991: 363–367.

[120]Uhlig 2001: 18–21.

a region in which Greek served as a de facto lingua franca throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[121] However, while the Ptolemaic Dynasty of Egypt had sent out expeditions to the Horn of Africa to acquire elephants for use in warfare,[122] it was not until the intensification of Red Sea trade during the early Roman period that Greek culture exerted any significant impact in Ethiopia.[123] Writing sometime in the mid-first century CE, the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a guide for merchants doing business in the Red Sea and western Indian Ocean, notes that the Aksumite king of the time, one Zōskalēs, could both read and write Greek.[124] RIÉth 277, the Greek inscription from Adulis recording an early third-century Aksumite king's military exploits noted above, indicates that Greek was already being used in monumental inscriptions more than a century before ʿEzānā's time.

Given the widespread use of Greek during the early centuries of the Common Era, one might assume that such inscriptions were written in Greek in order to address foreign visitors. Although such intentions cannot be completely discounted, it cannot be taken for granted that the written transmission of a message was the primary purpose of inscriptions during antiquity.[125] In the case of RIÉth 270 bis and other Aksumite royal inscriptions in Greek, it is possible the use of Greek was instead a visual signal that Aksum was a participant in the vast network of trade and cultural diffusion that linked the Mediterranean with distant Central Asia and India, one in which the use of Greek in inscriptions, or of Graeco-Roman elements in art and architecture, signified a familiarity and a connectedness with an international vocabulary of cultural symbols.[126] In this respect, the use of Greek in Aksumite inscriptions signified Aksum's connectedness to the cosmopolitan world of Eurasia, much as the use of the *musnad* script signified identification with the cultural sphere of a more circumscribed region, namely South Arabia. It bears noting that Greek also enjoyed a certain status during the same period in Nubia, a region that, like Aksum, shared in the same cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman-inspired culture.[127] In view of this shared attitude to Greek, whether as a vehicle for conveying messages or as a symbol of belonging to a wider world, it comes as no surprise that two fragmentary Aksumite inscriptions from Meroë

---

[121]Breyer 2012: 117.

[122]Casson 1993 passim; Schneider 2009 passim; Sidebotham 2011: 39–53.

[123]On Mediterranean contact with, and influence on, the kingdom of Aksum, see Breyer (2021: 276–279, 281–284); Japp (2021: 362–364, 369, and the sources cited therein).

[124]*Periplus* §5.2.19–22 (trans. Casson 1989: 53).

[125]Macdonald 2010: 7.

[126]On the phenomenon of Hellenism as a system of values, styles, and motifs shared by various eastern peoples, see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White (1987) and Bowersock (1996).

[127]Burstein 2008 passim and Hatke 2020b: 314. On the more purely material and aesthetic aspects of Hellenistic influence on Nubia, see Török (2011 passim).

(RIÉth 286 and RIÉth 286 A),[128] recording an Aksumite invasion of Nubia during the early fourth century, are both written in Greek. Having placed RIÉth 270 bis in its cultural context, let us now see what this inscription has to say about curses. At the end of the inscription, we read:

> [26]·ὑπὲρ δὲ εὐχαριστίας τοῦ μαι γεννήσαντος [27]·ἀνικήτου Ἄρεως ἀνεθήκαμεν αὐτῷ ἀνδρι[28]·άντα χρύσαιον ἕνα καὶ ἀργύραιον ἕνα καὶ χαλκαίους [29]·τρὶς καὶ ἀνέθηκα ταύτην τὴν στήλην καὶ παρε[30]·θέμην αὐτὴν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ τῷ μαι [31]·γεννήσαντι ἀνικήτῳ Ἀρέει • εἴ τις οὖν τοῦτον [32]·ἀδικῆσαι βουληθῇ, ἐξολευθρέσῃ αὐτὸν ὁ θε[ὸς] [33]·τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκρίζων καὶ μὴ ὑπάρ[34]·[χ]ῃ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἐν γῇ ζώντων[129]
>
> With thanks to the invincible Arēs who begat me, we have consecrated to him a golden statue, one of silver, and three of bronze; I consecrated this stele and I dedicated it to heaven, to the land, and to the invincible Arēs who begat me. If, therefore, there be someone who wishes to offend the latter, may the God of Heaven and Earth lead him to his ruin, completely, and may his name remain no longer in the land of the living.[130]

As noted above, Arēs is the name by which the god Maḥrəm is known in Greek Aksumite inscriptions. By identifying Maḥrəm with the Greek god of war, the Aksumites were following a time-honoured Near Eastern tradition in which local deities were identified with their Graeco-Roman counterparts. Although Maḥrəm enjoyed a privileged status in the Aksumite pantheon as the divine father of Aksum's kings, suggesting that he was a dynastic god of sorts,[131] he was by no means the only Aksumite god to be identified with a Greek god. The final portion of the (likely) third-century inscription RIÉth 277 invokes, alongside Maḥrəm/Arēs, two other deities who are referred to as Zeus and Poseidon,[132] who are to be identified with the local gods ʿAstar and Bəḥer respectively.[133] More shall be said about religious references in RIÉth 270 bis shortly, but for now let us focus on the curse formula.

One striking feature of the curse formula in RIÉth 270 bis is the statement that the name of the one who offends Maḥrəm/Arēs will no longer remain in the land of the living. The nature of the offence is not specified, though, in view of the

---

[128]Bernand 1991: 385–387.

[129]Bernand 1982: 107 (=Bernand 1991: 369).

[130]Translation based on the French translation of Bernand (1982: 108). Since the translated text does precisely not correspond line-for-line with the Greek text, owing to Greek syntax, the lines of text are not numbered in the translation.

[131]Sima 2007: 661.

[132]Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christian Topography* §2.63.8–9 (=Bernand 1991: 379–380).

[133]Marrassini 2010: 12.

language used in other Aksumite curse formulae, one presumes that it entailed damage to or removal of the inscription. Whatever the case, the obvious implication is that the offending individual will be totally forgotten. While none of the inscriptions treated above say anything about names in their respective curse formulae, it is well accepted by anthropologists that names have an important social function, encapsulating as they do an individual's uniqueness and, at the same time, his connectedness to others through the way in which he is viewed.[134] In the ancient Near East, among the Hebrews no less than among the peoples of Mesopotamia and the Egyptians, one's name was indelibly tied to one's soul, personality, and indeed existence.[135] By the same token, the lack or erasure of a name effectively implied non-existence.[136] Deuteronomy 9:14 speaks to this point in YHWH's curse against the sinful Israelites: 'I shall blot out their name from under heaven' (*ʾĕməḥĕh ʾĕṯ-šəmām mit-taḥaṯ haš-šāmāyim*), while in Psalm 109:13 we read 'May his progeny be cut off; in the following generation may their name be blotted out' (*yəhî ʾaḥarîṯō lə-haḵrîṯ bə-ḏōr ʾaḥēr yimmaṯ šəmām*).[137] The link between destruction of one's name and destruction of one's progeny is similarly emphasised in Isaiah 14:22, where God threatens 'I will cut off from Babylon the name and the remnant' (*hiḵrattî lə-ḇāḇĕl šēm ū-šəʾōr*). That names also had a special significance in Aksumite Ethiopia is evidenced by RIÉth 271, the Greek version of ʿEzānā's Nubian campaign, in which the king states that God 'bestowed on me a great name through His son, in whom I have placed my faith' (ἐχαρίσ[α] τό μοι ὅ[ν]ομα μέγα διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ [α]ὐτοῦ εἰς ὃν ἐπ[ί]στευσα).[138] Then, in RIÉth 191, using similar language, Kāleb states at one point: 'He (i.e. God) gave me a great name [in] order that I make war on Ḥimyar' (*wʾt whbn s¹m ʿby km ʾḍbʾ ḥmyr = wəʾətu wahabani səma ʿabiya* [*ka*]*ma ʾəḍbāʾ ḥəmer*).[139] That the Aksumite king is given a great name in the context of a military campaign, whether in Nubia or in South Arabia, recalls the ancient Mesopotamian belief that attributed a king's military victory to the gods' having called out his name.[140] In view of the close association of an individual's name with his place in society and, indeed, his very existence, the threat issued in RIÉth 270 bis regarding the name of anyone who might damage or remove what ʿEzānā had erected entails in effect the obliteration of all memory of the offending individual. CIH 541, the *res gestae* of the Ethiopian-born king of Ḥimyar ʾAbrəhā (r. ca. 540–560) from the Great Dam at Mārib in Yemen, provides us with a very literal example of this in the fourth

---

[134]Finch 2008: 711 (and the literature cited therein).

[135]Seymour 1983: 110–111; Radner 2005: 15, 17, 19, 70.

[136]Seymour 1983: 110; Radner 2005: 70, 252.

[137]Cf. Exodus 32:33.

[138]RIÉth 271/16–17 (trans. Hägg in Eide et al. 1998: 1102).

[139]RIÉth 191/34 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 273).

[140]Seymour 1983: 111.

line of text, in which ʾAbrəhā's name has been excised. According to Alexander Sima, 'es handelt sich dabei nicht um einen Akt von gedankenlosem Vandalismus sondern offentsichtlich um eine bewußte *damnatio memoriae*.'[141] Given the seriousness of removing an individual's name from a monument, it is significant that, when an inscription of the Old Babylonian king Samsuiluna (r. 1749–1712 BCE) some thousand years after its original dedication, its discoverer made a special point of emphasising the fact that he did *not* alter that king's name (*šu-um-šu la u$_2$-nak-kir*).[142] However, despite the clear importance—cross-culturally—of the preservation of one's name, no Aksumite curse formula explicitly refers to damaging a king's name, or replacing it with another name, as an offence worthy of malediction, though it is likely that such an act was subsumed under the generic category of destruction alluded to in such formulae.

In terms of religious ideology, the passage quoted above is also highly revealing. That Maḥrəm/Arēs is referred to as invincible (ἀνίκητος) has some parallels in RIÉth 189, dating from the Christian period of ʿEzānā's reign, though there it is ʿEzānā who proclaims himself to be undefeated by his enemies,[143] and thus invincible, while his newfound Christian god is said to achieve victory on his behalf.[144] Although the epithet 'God of Heaven and Earth' does not directly follow the name Arēs, it is likely that Arēs is intended here, in which case it would be he, as opposed to a second, unnamed deity, who was understood as the divine agent who would execute the punishment described. That Arēs is the only deity mentioned in RIÉth 270 bis, and also the deity who is said to hold mastery over heaven and earth, is taken by some as evidence of a monotheising trend in Aksum during this period.[145] From the ecclesiastical historian Rufinus of Aquileia (d. 411) we learn that Christianity was introduced to Ethiopia sometime in the second quarter of the fourth century by a Syrian named Frumentius.[146] Although Rufinus' account never mentions ʿEzānā by name, nor, indeed, does he even allude to ʿEzānā's actual conversion to Christianity, it is clear that Frumentius' evangelising efforts led to the Aksumite king's conversion, as ʿEzānā would, sometime in the late 340s, replace the pagan symbols of the full moon and crescent on his coins with the Christian cross.[147] Moreover, it is ʿEzānā, along with his brother Śeʿāzānā, whom

---

[141]Sima 2002: 127.

[142]Kitz 2014: 254–255. On Mesopotamian beliefs regarding the impact of obliterating the written name of an individual, see Radner (2005: 252–259).

[143]Thus we are told that ʿEzānā was a 'king, undefeated by the enemy' (*nəguś za-ʾay-yətmawwā la-ḍarr*) (RIÉ 189/6 [Drewes and Schneider 1991: 263]).

[144]At the beginning of the inscription, ʿEzānā invokes God as 'Lord of Heaven, [Who is in] heaven and (on) earth, victorious on my behalf' (*ʾəgziʾa samāy [za-ba] samāy wa-mədr mawāʾi lita*) (RIÉ 189/1 [Drewes and Schneider 1991: 263]).

[145]E.g. Bernand (2000: 14).

[146]Rufinus, *Church History* §10.9–§10.10.

[147]Phillipson 2012: 97.

the Roman emperor Constantius II addresses in a letter dated 356/7 concerning Frumentius in his capacity as Aksum's first bishop.[148] It could be that RIÉth 270 bis dates from a period in which ʿEzānā had been exposed, through Frumentius, to ideas about a new god, and that these ideas influenced his beliefs regarding Maḥrəm/Arēs as a 'God of Heaven and Earth'. In other words, ʿEzānā was open to new religious ideas but had not yet fully committed himself to Christianity. Complicating the picture, however, is the fact that RIÉth 185 bis I + II, which share space with RIÉth 270 bis and are thus presumably contemporary with it, still invoke ʿAstar and Bəḥer alongside Maḥrəm. Indeed, RIÉth 188, which we shall examine shortly and which appears to post-date RIÉth 185 I + II—and thus also RIÉth 270 bis[149]—again invokes ʿAstar and Bəḥer, in addition to Maḥrəm. When ʿEzānā eventually embraced Christianity, the Christian deity was invested with epithets comparable to the one borne by Arēs in RIÉth 270 bis. This we shall see in RIÉth 189, an inscription dating from the Christian phase of ʿEzānā's reign in which the new god is variously invoked as 'Lord of Heaven', 'Lord of All', and 'Lord of the Land'. This is not the only instance in which the Christian deity inherited aspects of deities from the Aksumite pantheon. Thus, in the Gəʿəz translation of the *Book of Ecclesiasticus*, for example, God is referred to as ʿAstar,[150] which, as we have seen, was the name of a pagan deity worshipped at Aksum, one based on the pan-South Arabian god ʿAṯtar.[151] Whether the idea of a deity being 'God of Heaven and Earth' is also inherited from South Arabia will be discussed below.[152]

3.3 RIÉth 188

Our next inscription, RIÉth 188, dates once again from the pre-Christian phase of that king's reign. Although this inscription was first copied in the 1830s by the German naturalist and explorer Eduard Rüppell,[153] it was not until 1913 that a proper edition was published, with a German translation and commentary, by Enno Littmann, based on copies, photographs, and squeezes taken by the Deutsche Aksum-Expedition that he had led seven years earlier.[154] Abraham Drewes and Roger Schneider published an updated edition in 1991,[155] with Drewes' French translation and commentary being published in 2019.[156] RIÉth 188

[148]Athanasius, *Apologiae* §31.13–17.

[149]A later date is suggested by the fact that RIÉth 188 employs the fully vocalised *fidal* script, while RIÉth 185 I + II still employ the earlier, consonantal version of that script.

[150]Eccl. 31:8; Eccl. 37:21.

[151]Marrassini 2012: 108.

[152]See §4 *Discussion and conclusions*.

[153]Rüppell 1838: xiii f.; Rüppell 1840: 276–281.

[154]Littmann 1913: 28–232.

[155]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 258–261.

[156]Drewes 2019: 228–232.

records a campaign against a kingdom (*mangəśt*) called ʾAfʿān.[157] In terms of aesthetics, the most significant difference between RIÉth 188 and the inscriptions discussed above is that here the Gəʿəz text is written in fully vocalised *fidal* script. This is significant for two reasons. For one, it indicates that a complete *fidal* syllabary had already been devised by the first half of the fourth century.[158] For another, it calls into question the assumed relationship between script reform and religious reform, as some scholars have sought to link the development of this syllabic system with the Christianization of Aksum, on the grounds that this would have facilitated the translation of religious literature into Gəʿəz.[159] It is true that the development of a writing system did coincide with Christianization in other parts of the Late Antique world, such as Armenia and Georgia. RIÉth 188, however, indicates that the situation was rather different in Aksum, as the invocation of the pagan deities of Aksum in this inscription points to a date before ʿEzānā's conversion to Christianity. Furthermore, the consonantal South Arabian *musnad* script was used in later, sixth-century Christian inscriptions—inscriptions, moreover, which quote Biblical verses—which demonstrates that a consonantal writing system was in no way an impediment to the expression of Christian ideas.[160] More plausibly, as recently argued by Rainer Voigt, the syllabic writing system was devised in Ethiopia for the benefit of non-Semitic Cushitic-speakers, for whom a purely consonantal system might have posed problems,[161] and who appear to have constituted a more significant demographic presence in the kingdom of

---

[157]Given the region within which the Aksumite armies normally operated, this kingdom was likely located somewhere in the Horn of Africa. Abraham Drewes notes that, normally, the territory of a small kingdom in this region often bears the same name as that of the ethnic group inhabiting it, but suggests that, in this instance, ʾAfʿān was the kingdom of a people named Ṣarane who are mentioned in RIÉth 188 (Drewes 2019: 231). Alternatively, he suggests that ʾAfʿān could have been the name of the ruler or political centre of the Ṣarane people, though it is difficult to see how that is possible when ʾAfʿān is explicitly referred to in RIÉth 188 as a kingdom, thus *mangəśtomu* ʾ*a*[*fā*]*n* 'their kingdom of ʾAfʿān' (RIÉth 188/6–7 [Drewes and Schneider 1991: 260]). However, in a more recent publication, Alessandro Bausi disputes Drewes' theory regarding a people called Ṣarane and suggests instead that *ṣarane* is a common noun of uncertain meaning, based on his study of RIÉth 232, a Gəʿəz inscription from Ham in the Eritrean region of ʾAkkala Guzāy that he dates to 23 December 974 CE, and that speaks of *ṣarane* in connection with a royal name, ʾƎlla Śahl (Bausi 2021: 20–24 and passim; cf. Drewes and Schneider [1991: 324]).

[158]On the development of this syllabary, see Voigt (2017: 188–192).

[159]E.g. Robin (2001: 565–566) and Robin (2022: 185).

[160]Nor should we expect it to have been, given that other monotheistic traditions, namely Judaism and Islam, relied for many centuries on texts that, with the exception of works like the Torah and the Qurʾān, were written in consonantal scripts. Even in the case of the Torah and the Qurʾān, the oldest manuscripts of these texts were written without vowels.

[161]Voigt 2017: 193–194.

Aksum than is often realised.[162] As for the curse formula, the relevant passage of RIÉth 188 reads as follows:

> [24]*wa-takalu manbara ba-zəya ba-śado wa-*[25]*ʾamaḥḍanəwwo la-ʿastar wa-la-bəḥe*[26]*r wa-la-ʾəmma bo-za naśato wa-*[27]*naqalo wəʾətu wa-bəḥeru wa-zamadu la-*[28]*yətnaqal wa-yətnaśat ʾəb-bəḥeru la-yəśśi*ʾ[163]
>
> [24]And they set up a throne here at Śado and [25]they entrusted it to ʿAstar and to Bəḥe[26]r and to Mədr. And if there is anyone who has overturned it and [27]removed it, may he, together with his land and his kin, be [28]removed and overturned. From his land may he be seized.

Although RIÉth 188 makes no mention of the dedication of statues, this curse formula bears comparison with the other inscriptions of ʿEzānā discussed above, in terms of both the type of mishandling of the dedication and the consequence of said mishandling. It speaks of the punishment that would be meted out to anyone who might overturn or remove it, as well as the overthrow of the kinfolk of the offending individual, and even the removal of that individual from whatever land he possessed. In addition to playing on the idea of overturning and removal with respect to both the monument and the one who acts thusly upon it, this version of the curse formula illustrates the importance of kinship in Aksumite society—a topic to which we shall return below.[164]

RIÉth 188 is also important in that it is the first Aksumite inscription that explicitly mentions the place at which such an inscription was erected, namely Śado. The same name occurs in another inscription from ʿEzānā's reign, RIÉth 189, again in reference to the place at which a symbolic throne was erected. According to the latter inscription, however, it was the king himself, rather than his nameless followers, who erected the throne, as ʿEzānā, speaking in the first person, says 'I set up a throne here at Śado' (*takalku manbara ba-zəya ba-śado*).[165] Given the provenance

---

[162]Gianfrancesco Lusini points out that a number of Aksumite kings bear names of Agaw (Central Cushitic) origin, or else names that are influenced by Agaw morphology (Lusini 2017: 267–268). The idea that the Agaw had an important role in the kingdom of Aksum is not in itself new (Taddesse Tamrat 1988). To this, one should add what is likely a reference to the Agaw in CIH 541, according to which one of the military contingents involved in ʾAbrəhā's suppression of a revolt in the Ḥaḍramawt bore a name that has long been read as *ʾlw* (CIH 541/34 [e.g. Müller 2010: 112]). However, given that the graphemes for /g/ and /l/ are notoriously easy to confuse in Late Sabaic inscriptions, and in view of the prominent role of the Agaw in Aksum, it may be preferable to emend this to *ʾgw*, i.e. Agaw (Christian Robin, personal communication). This, in turn, would imply that the Agaw were represented among the Ethiopian soldiers stationed in South Arabia in the sixth century.

[163]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 260.

[164]See §4.

[165]RIÉth 189/44 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 264).

of RIÉth 188 and RIÉth 189, Śado would appear to be the name of some place in the town of Aksum,[166] perhaps a ceremonial area. Abraham Drewes derives the name Śado from the Semitic root **śdw* 'field' and compares Hebrew *śāḏěh* 'plain, field'.[167] A cognate form, Sadū (*s^3dw*), is attested in two Qatabānic inscriptions (MuB 8 and RÉS 3854) as the name of a 'fertile land' (*gn*) that was the personal property of ᶜAmm Ḏū-Dawwān^{im}, the main god of Tamnaᶜ, capital of the South Arabian kingdom of Qatabān.[168] Although the exact location of Sadū remains unknown, it most probably lay near Tamnaᶜ's southern gate, as that structure bore the name Ḏū-Sadū (*ḏ-s^3dw*),[169] literally 'Of/Belonging-to-Sadū'. Giovanni Mazzini suggests that the area known as 'the fertile land of Sadū' (*gn^n s^3dw*) was a sacred space in which the Qatabānian king presided as high priest, while the area in and around the southern gate of Tamnaᶜ served as a place of assembly where the king could appear before the community.[170] The latter hypothesis is strengthened by the existence of an open space behind the gate complex, ideal for the assemblage of people, as well as by the presence of stone benches inside the gate.[171] This space was also an ideal setting for such public symbols of royal authority as monumental inscriptions, and indeed several royal edicts were erected at the southern gate.[172] The parallel with Śado at Aksum, where similar royal symbols in the form of inscriptions and thrones were erected, is striking, even if the nature of the public events that might have occurred there was undoubtedly different, as indeed also are the topics covered in the royal inscriptions that were erected there.

3.4 RIÉth 189

With RIÉth 189, we come to our first Christian inscription. Throughout the text, God is referred to as 'Lord of Heaven' (*ʾəgziʾa samāy*),[173] 'Lord of All' (*ʾəgziʾa $k^wəllu$*),[174] and 'Lord of the Land' (*ʾəgziʾa bəḥer*).[175] Although there is nothing inherently Christian about these references, it is clear that ᶜEzānā had fully embraced Christianity by this point in view of RIÉth 271, a Greek version of the text—more of a paraphrased version than a word-for-word translation—which begins with the very Christian formula 'By faith in G[od and] by the power of

[166]Drewes 2019: 574.

[167]Drewes 2019: 574.

[168]Mazzini 2020: 28–29. Although the name Sadū occurs in both inscriptions, only MuB 8 explicitly identifies the area thus named as a 'fertile land'.

[169]Mazzini 2020: 28–29.

[170]Mazzini 2020: 28–29.

[171]Mazzini 2020: 29.

[172]Mazzini 2020 passim.

[173]RIÉth 189/1.5.40–41.45.49.52 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 263, 264, 265).

[174]RIÉth 189/5.7 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 263).

[175]RIÉth 189/14–15.33–34 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 263, 264).

the [Fa]ther and the Son and the [Holy G]host, to Him who has [s]aved my kin[g]dom through faith in His s[on], Jesus Christ' (Εν τῇ πίστει τοῦ Θ[εοῦ καὶ τ]ῇ δυνάμι τοῦ [Πα]τρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ [Ἁ]γί[ο]υ [Π]νεύματος τ[ῷ] [σ]ώσαντί μοι τὸ Βασ[ίλ]ιον τῇ πίστι τοῦ Υἱ[οῦ] αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ).[176] Other explicitly Christian references are found elsewhere in RIÉth 271. Thus, speaking in the first person in that inscription, ʿEzānā calls himself a 'servant of Christ' (δοῦλος Χπιστοῦ),[177] thanks God for having aided him in battle,[178] and speaks of God's power as well as his faith in God.[179] Although differing somewhat in content, RIÉth 189 and RIÉth 271 clearly record the same Nubian campaign launched by ʿEzānā ca. 360, as both refer to the same aggressions committed by the Noba against the peoples along Aksum's northern frontier.[180] With respect to curse formulae, the relevant portion of RIÉth 189 reads as follows:

> [48.]*wa-ʾamaḥḍa*[49.]*nku za-manbara za-takalku la-ʾəgziʾa samāy za-ʾangaśan*[*i*] *wa-la-mə*[50.] *dr za-yəṣawwəro la-ʾəmma-bo za-naqalo wa-ʾamāsano wa-naśato wəʾətu wa-*[51.]*zamadu yəśśara*[*w*] *wa-yətnaqal ʾəb-bəḥer yəśśaraw wa-takalku za-*[*ma*][52.]*nbara ba-ḫayla ʾəgziʾa samāy*[181]
>
> [48.]And I have entrust[49.]ed this throne which I set up to the Lord of Heaven, who has made me king, and to the ground [50.]that bears it. If there is anyone who has removed it and destroyed it and overturned it, may he and [51.]his kin be eradicated and uprooted, from the earth may they be eradicated. And I have set up this [52.][th]rone by the power of the Lord of Heaven.

In terms of content, this curse formula is effectively identical to the pre-Christian curse formulae treated above, but for the replacement of the names of pagan deities with that of the Lord of Heaven. Given that the religious terminology in RIÉth 271 is much more explicitly Christian than as the case in RIÉth 189, it would be quite interesting to know how the curse formula was expressed in Greek, or even *if* RIÉth 271 contained a curse formula. As noted above, however, that portion of text is not preserved, for the preserved text breaks off at Line 32, at a point in the narrative when ʿEzānā was about to embark on his Nubian campaign. As we have seen, Aksumite curse formulae are not limited to Gəʿəz inscriptions. Thus, RIÉth 270 bis, a Greek inscription predating ʿEzānā's conversion to Christianity, contains a curse formula which is based more or less on the Gəʿəz prototype, where-

---

[176]RIÉth 271/1–4 (Bernand 1991: 371); trans. Hägg in Eide et al. 1998: 1102.

[177]RIÉth 271/10 (Bernand 1991: 371).

[178]RIÉth 271/10–22 (Bernand 1991: 371).

[179]RIÉth 271/28.31 (Bernand 1991: 372).

[180]For a detailed discussion of this campaign, see Hatke (2013: 85–135); cf. Breyer (2011: 341–347).

[181]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 265.

in the pagan Aksumite god Maḥrəm is identified with the Greek god Arēs. It is certainly conceivable, then, that RIÉth 271, despite its thematic differences with RIÉth 189, originally contained a similar formula, albeit one which was suitably adjusted to reflect the beliefs and doctrines associated with ʿEzānā's new religion. Particularly striking in the curse formula quoted above are the references to the eradication and uprooting of the would-be offender and his kin, implying both banishment and a belief in collective guilt of the sort conveyed by some of the modern curse formulae treated in the section *Theoretical background*.[182] It is worth adding here that, among the Amhara of North Wällo, curses decreed by a council of elders may include the statement that an offender be cast to Awsa, a hot lowland region wholly unlike the Ethiopian highlands.[183]

Before leaving RIÉth 189, a few words about the implications of the curse formula in this inscription for religious trends in fourth-century Aksum are in order. In the discussion of RIÉth 270 bis above, it was suggested that, already during the pagan period of his reign, ʿEzānā seems to have revered Arēs in the guise of 'God of Heaven and Earth'. Similar language used in RIÉth 189 in reference to the Christian god suggests a rather gradual transition to Christianity. If so, then RIÉth 270 bis would seem to date from some transitional period when ʿEzānā recognized the value of monotheism, but had not yet committed to the belief in the Christian god, as evidenced by the continued invocation of pagan gods in RIÉth 188. But if RIÉth 270 bis reflects a period in which ʿEzānā had not yet accepted Christianity, RIÉth 189 hints that, once ʿEzānā had embraced Christianity, Aksum's pagan tradition had not yet lost its hold. That he saw fit to retain the curse formula hitherto employed in pagan inscriptions is a case in point. More significant still is the fact that, in RIÉth 189, ʿEzānā entrusts his throne not only to the Lord of Heaven but also to the very ground that bears the throne. That the Aksumite king should seek divine protection for his monument comes as no surprise. Less immediately clear, however, is why he should also entrust his monument to the something as mundane as the ground—until one takes into consideration the fact that the word for ground, *mədr*, is also the name of a god to whom thrones were entrusted during the pre-Christian phase of ʿEzānā's reign. Thus, in RIÉth 188, ʿEzānā is reported to have entrusted his throne not only to the gods ʿAstar and Bəḥer but also to a deity who is called Mədr. Although RIÉth 189 makes it clear that *mədr* is not a deity but simply the earth that bears ʿEzānā's throne, the fact that reference is made to *mədr* in the first place suggests that the name itself still resonated with certain elements in Aksumite society. One might attribute this up to a vestigial, covertly disguised retention of pagan loyalties on the part of ʿEzānā, though this would probably be pushing speculation a bit far. It is more probable that ʿEzānā was in the process of phasing out pagan tradition by recasting it in a manner that resonated with those

[182]§2.

[183]Baye Simam 2013: 401.

subjects of his who were still pagan but did not conflict with his Christian faith. In this way, what had been the name of a god now became a common noun for the ground on which a stone throne rested.

3.5 RIÉth 191

As we have seen, no royal inscriptions dating between the reigns of ʿEzānā and Kāleb have (yet) been discovered, with the result that, as we turn to our next inscription, RIÉth 191 from the reign of Kāleb (ca. 510–540), we are skipping ahead roughly a century and a half. Although the small and often fragmentary corpus of Gəʿəz inscriptions from Yemen can most probably be assigned to Kāleb's reign, more specifically the aftermath of his second invasion of South Arabia in 525,[184] the only inscription from that king's reign which has yet come to light in Ethiopia is RIÉth 191. This forty-line Gəʿəz inscription is, like RIÉth 185 I and RIÉth 185 bis I from the reign of ʿEzānā, written in the consonantal *musnad* script of South Arabia. RIÉth 191 was discovered in 1959 and is currently kept at the treasury of the Church of Our Lady Mary of Zion at Aksum. First published in 1974 by Roger Schneider,[185] RIÉth 191 was republished by Drewes and Schneider in 1991,[186] with a French translation and commentary by Drewes appearing in 2019.[187] Unlike the Gəʿəz inscriptions analysed thus far, RIÉth 191 employs explicitly Christian terminology, making it the first (known) Aksumite royal inscription to do so in Gəʿəz, as well as the first (known) Aksumite royal inscription to quote a verse taken directly from the Bible. It does so at the very beginning of the text with a quotation from Psalm 24:8: 'God, strong and powerful; God, strong in battle' (*ʾgzʾbḥr ḫyl w-ṣnʿ ʾgzʾbḥr ḫyl ws¹t ḍbʾ = ʾəgziʾabḥer ḫayl w-ṣənuʿ ʾəgziʾabḥer ḫayl wəsta ḍabʾ*).[188] Not for nothing does Kāleb style himself in RIÉth 191 as a 'servant of Christ' (*gbr krs¹ts¹ = gabra krəstos*),[189] who takes refuge in Christ (*tmḥḍnk ḫbh l-krs¹ts¹ = tamāḥḍanku ḫabehu la-krəstos*).[190] Likewise significant as an indication of the more developed stage of Christianization of royal ideology in sixth-century Aksum is the fact that Kāleb invokes the Trinity in RIÉth 191 before he gives his own royal title,[191] whereas ʿEzānā merely invokes the 'power of the Lord of Heaven' in RIÉth 189 before presenting his.

---

[184]For arguments to this effect, see Hatke (2022: 54).

[185]Schneider 1974: 770–777.

[186]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 271–274.

[187]Drewes 2019: 248–255.

[188]RIÉth 191/1–2 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272).

[189]RIÉ 191/11 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272).

[190]RIÉ 191/5–6 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272).

[191]Thus, 'with the aid of the Trinity: of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit' (*b-rdʾt l-s²ls¹ l-ʾb w-wld w-mfs¹ qds¹ = ba-radʾeta la-śəllāse la-ʾab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus*) (RIÉth 191/7 [Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272]).

The quotation of Psalm 24:8 in effect sets the stage for the descriptions of military campaigns that follow. These campaigns, so we are told, were carried out with the intervention of God,[192] with the power of God and Jesus Christ,[193] and with the aid of the Trinity.[194] The majority of these campaigns targeted groups apparently based in the Horn of Africa, of whom only one, the ʾAgʷezāt people inhabiting the region to the east of the town of Aksum,[195] can be identified with any confidence. This same group had already been attacked by the Aksumites during the reign of ʿEzānā.[196] RIÉth 191 also documents, albeit in a very terse fashion, a punitive campaign which Kāleb sent against the South Arabian kingdom of Ḥimyar in 518, in the course of which he is said to have built a church (*mqds*^{1}), having been moved by zeal for the name of the son of God in whom he believed (*qnʾy b-ʾnt s*^{1}*m wld ʾgzʾ bḥr z-ʾmnk bt = qaniʾəya ba-ʾənta səma walda ʾəgziʾa bəḥer za-ʾamanku botu*).[197] RIÉth 191, then, is clearly and explicitly a Christian inscription, much more so than ʿEzānā's RIÉth 189. Like RIÉth 189, however, the text of RIÉth 191 terminates with a curse formula. This reads as follows:

> [37]*w-ʾrʾyn ʾgzʾ b*[38]*ḥr qds*^{1}*-h w-nbrk db z mnbr z-ywʾ w-ʾmḥḍkw ḫb ʾ*[*g*][39]*zʾ bḥr gbr s*^{1}*my w-mdr ʾm-z yms*^{1}*n w-yns*^{2}*t w-ys*^{1}*b*[*r w-*][40]*z ns*^{2}*t w-ʾms*^{1}*n ys*^{2}*t ʾgz-bḥ*[*r*] *b-bt w-b-s*^{1}*bs*^{1}[…][198]
> [37]And God has shown me [38]His holiness. And I sat on this throne which […] and I entrusted it to God, [39]creator of heaven and earth, against anyone who might destroy it, pull it down, or break it up. And [40]whoever might have overturned it or destroyed it, may God overthrow him in his (own) house and in [… …].[199]

---

[192]Thus, Kāleb invokes 'the aid of God' (*rdʾt* [*ʾgz ʾb*]*ḥr = radʾeta* [*ʾəgziʾab]ḥer*) (RIÉ 191/11–12 [Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272]) and 'the power of God' (*ḫyl ʾgzʾ bḥr = ḫayla ʾəgziʾa bəḥer*) (RIÉ 191/23 [Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272]). When referring elsewhere in the inscription to booty and prisoners seized, and enemy combatants slain, Kāleb says, 'This God gave to me, He in whom I place my trust' (*znt whbn ʾgzʾ bḥr z-kyh tʾm*[*nk*] *= zanta wahabani ʾəgziʾa bəḥer za-kiyāhu taʾamanku* [Drewes and Schneider 1991: 273]).

[193]RIÉth 191/2–3: 'by the power of God and the grace of Jesus Christ, the Son of God' (*b-ḫyl ʾgzʾbḥr w-b-mwgs*^{1} *ʾys*^{1}*s*^{1} *krs*^{1}*ts*^{1} *= ba-ḫayla ʾəgziʾabəḥer wa-ba-mogasa ʾiyasus krəstos walda ʾəgziʾabḥer*) (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272).

[194]RIÉth 191/7: 'with the aid of the Trinity: of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit' (*b-rdʾt l-s*^{2}*ls*^{1} *l-ʾb w-wld w-mfs*^{1} *qds*^{1} *= ba-radʾeta la-śəllāse la-ʾab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus*) (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272).

[195]Drewes 2019: 551.

[196]RIÉth 187/4–16 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 255–256).

[197]RIÉth 191/34–37 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 273).

[198]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 273.

[199] The meaning of *s*^{1}*bs*^{1} remains obscure, and it is possible that what we have here is only the fragment of a word. Abraham Drewes proposes reconstructing this word as Gəʿəz *sabsāb 'mariage'*, suggesting that, in view of the reference to a house, *sabsāb* would in the present context mean something like 'foyer conjugal'. While this suggestion is possible, it remains speculative. Looking to Late Sabaic, we encounter the substantive *ṣbs*^{1} in the fourth line of Ry

Despite its invocation of Christ and the Trinity, RIÉth 191 still assigns to God, creator of heaven and earth—rather than to Christ—the protection of Kāleb's inscribed throne. In this respect, it bears comparison to RIÉth 189. In contrast, however, to RIÉth 189, where God is called 'Lord of Heaven' (*ʾəgziʾa samāy*) in the curse formula, as well as elsewhere in that inscription, God is called 'Lord of the Land' (*ʾgzʾ bḥr* = *ʾəgziʾa bəḥer*) throughout RIÉth 191, to the exclusion of all other epithets, such as 'Lord of Heaven' or 'Lord of All.' This point has a direct bearing on the historical development of religious terminology in Gəʿəz, for of all the epithets for God employed in RIÉth 189, only 'Lord of the Land' survived in later centuries, to the point that it became the standard Classical Gəʿəz name for God. If RIÉth 191 is any indication of the use of religious terminology in inscriptions, at least at the level of the ruling elite, this development might have taken place by the early sixth century. The reference to Kāleb's having entrusted the throne to divine protection is also of interest in that, as we have seen, this same concept, expressed using the same verb, *ʾamāḥḍana*, is found in Aksumite inscriptions dating from the pre-Christian phase of ʿEzānā's reign. The obvious point of difference is that the names of the pantheistic gods of Aksum are here replaced with the name of the Christian deity. Here too, one is reminded of formulaic conventions in neighbouring South Arabia, for the act of entrusting (*rṭd*) a monument or built structure to a deity for divine protection survived the transition to monotheism in that region, using the same language employed in pantheist inscriptions but changing the name of the deity. Thus in CIH 537 + RES 4919, a Late Sabaic inscription of unknown provenance dating from Ḏū-Ḫirāf^{ān} in Year 582 of the Ḥimyarite Era (= August 472 CE), the dedicants are said to have 'entrusted their house and themselves and their children to Raḥmān^{ān}' (*rṭdw byt-hmw w-ʾf*[*s*^{1}*-hmw w-ʾlwd-hmw rḥm*]*nn bʿl s*^{1}*my*^{n})[200]—Raḥmān^{ān} 'the Merciful One' being a name for God derived from Judaeo-Aramaic.

Although, as we have seen, other Aksumite royal inscriptions mention thrones, RIÉth 191 is the only inscription that alludes to an Aksumite king having literally taken his seat upon a throne. That he did so could be an indication that the throne, formally viewed as the seat of an invisible deity, was reinterpreted with the accelerated Christianization of Aksum as the seat of a king. The implication here seems to be that, once a throne was set up, the Aksumite

---

534 + MAFY/Rayda 1, an inscription dated Ḏū-Ḫirāf^{ān} of Year 543 of the Ḥimyarite Era (= August 433 CE). This term is glossed by Walter Müller as 'Verehrung, Heiligung' on the basis of Greek σέβας, from which he claims the Sabaic term is derived (Müller 1980). That the *ṣbs*^{1} of Ry 534 + MAFY/Rayda 1 is in any way related to the *s*^{1}*bs*^{1} of RIÉth 191 is, however, unlikely. Even if one were to attribute the choice of a different initial sibilant to alternative ways of transcribing a Greek term in Sabaic and Gəʿəz, the idea of honour and respect conveyed by Greek σέβας would be entirely out of place in a curse formula of the sort which we find at the end of RIÉth 191.

[200]Müller 2010: 84.

ruler would take his seat there as part of the ritual of dedication. If so, then the empty throne had been by this point divested of any pagan associations, namely the link with an aniconic deity. On coins of the early seventh-century Aksumite king Armaḥ, the ruler is indeed depicted seated on a throne,[201] though it is by no means clear that a case can be made for linking this image with the tradition of erecting stone thrones. The symbolic importance of the throne is highlighted towards the beginning of RIÉth 191, following a religious invocation in which Kāleb attributes the strength of his kingdom and his victory on the battlefield to divine aid. Thus we read:

> [2.]*b-ḫyl ʾgzʾ bḥr w-b-mwgs*[1] *ʾys*[1]*s*[1] *krs*[13.]*ts*[1] *wld ʾgzʾ bḥr mwʾ z-ʾmnk bt* [*ḏ*]*-wʾt whbn mngs*[2]*t*
> [4.]*ṣnʿ b-z ʾgrr ḍry w-ʾkyd ʾrʾs*[1]*t ṣlʾty ḏ-wʾt ʿqb*[5.]*n ʾm-nʾs*[1]*y w-ʾbrn ws*[1]*t mnbr ʾbwy*[202]
> [2.]By the power of God and the grace of Jesus Chri[3.]st, the Son of God, the Victorious in whom I believe, he [who] has given me a strong kingdom [4.]with which I might subdue my enemies and tread upon the heads of my adversaries, who has protected [5.]me since my childhood and placed me on the throne of my fathers.

In this passage, the throne in question seems to be a symbolic one, a metaphor for Kāleb's rightful inheritance of kingship from his royal ancestors. This topic is treated in greater detail by the author in a recent publication,[203] to which the reader is directed. As with his kingdom's strength and his victory in battle, the king's inheritance is said to have been safeguarded through the power of God the Father and the grace of His son, Jesus Christ. By contrast, the throne alluded to in the curse formula at the end of RIÉth 191 would appear to be a literal throne carved from stone that would have formed part of the monument in which the inscription was incorporated. Another important point of difference is that, while the curse formula invokes God, it omits any explicitly Christian references, such as invocations of Jesus. Rather, Kāleb states that he has entrusted the throne to God, creator of heaven and earth, and asks that God overthrow anyone who might overturn or destroy it.

3.6 RIÉth 192

Following in his father's footsteps, Wāʿzeb erected a Gəʿəz inscription, known by the siglum RIÉth 192, at the town of Aksum to document his military campaigns, again employing the *musnad* script. Like RIÉth 191, RIÉth 192 was discovered in 1959 and was first published by Roger Schneider in 1974,[204] Drewes' 2019

[201]Derat 2018: 560–561.
[202]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272.
[203]Hatke 2022: 91–92.
[204]Schneider 1974: 777–786.

translation and commentary being based on the updated 1991 edition of the inscription published by Drewes and Schneider.[205] At fifty lines of text in length on Face A of the stele, with a further ten lines of text on Face B, RIÉth 192 is the longest known Aksumite inscription. Although Wāʿzeb claims dominion over South Arabia in his royal title in this inscription, he does not appear to have ever ruled there, and in fact all of the military campaigns recorded in the text appear to have been waged in the Horn of Africa.[206] Again like RIÉth 191, RIÉth 192 is an avowedly Christian inscription, as it not only quotes—or at least paraphrases—Scripture throughout[207] but also begins with an invocation of the Trinity.[208] The relevant portion of the inscription for our purposes is found in the final five lines on Face B and reads as follows:

---

[205]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 274–278; Drewes 2019: 255–269.

[206]Although the places and peoples alluded to in RIÉth 192 have thus far eluded identification, the fact that none can be identified in the far more abundant documentation from South Arabia argues in favour of their location in Africa.

[207] Lines 3–4: *ḥmmkm krs*^{1}*ts*^{1} *yfṣm lkm = ḥamamkəmu krəstos yəfeṣṣəm lakəmu* ‘You have suffered, Christ shall restore you’ (I Peter 5:10); Line 19: *ʾqtlm l-ḍrk w-ʾḍrrm l-ṣlʾtk = ʾəqattəlomu la-ḍarrəka wa-ʾāḍarrəromu la-ṣalāʾtəka* ‘I shall kill your enemies and on (your) enemies I shall make war’ (Isaiah 1:24); Lines 19–20: *ʾmlky ygbʾ lt bqly w-ʾgrr lt ʾḥzb z-mtḥty = ʾamlākəya yāgabbəʾ lita baqaləya wa-ʾagrara lita ʾaḥzāba za-matḥətəya* ‘My Lord avenges me and has subdued the peoples under me’ (Psalms 18:48); Line 21: *ʾgzbḥr yḍbʾ lkm ʾtms*^{1} *ʾrmm = ʾəgzi<ʾa>bəher yəḍabbəʾ lakəmu ʾattəmu-ssa ʾarməmu* ‘God shall fight for you, but you, be silent!’ (Exodus 14:14); Lines 25–26: *klhm ʾḥzb ʿktn w-b-s*^{1}*m ʾgzbḥr mʾkhm = kʷəllomu ʾaḥzāb ʿakatani wa-ba-səma ʾəgzi<ʾa>bəḥer moʾkuhomu* ‘All of the nations surrounded me, but through the name of God I triumphed over them’ (Psalms 118:10); Lines 29–30: *ḍbʾm ʾgzʾ l-ʾl yḍbʾn ns*^{2}*ʾ wlt w-knt w-ts*^{2}*ʾ ws*^{1}*ṭ rdʾty = ḍəbəʾomu ʾəgziʾ la-ʾəlla yəḍabbəʾuni nəśāʾ waltā wa-kʷənāta taśśəʾ wəsṭa radiʾotəya* ‘Make war, Lord, on those who make war on me, take up the shield and the spear and rise to my aid’ (Psalms 35:1–2); Lines 30–31: *l-ygbʾ dḫrhm w-ytḫfr ʾl mkr ʾky lʿly l-ykn km ṣbl z-qdm gṣ nfs*^{1} *w-mlʾk ʾgzbḥr l-ys*^{3}*ddm = la-yəgbəʾu dəḫrehomu wa-yəfaḫḫəru ʾəlla makaru ʾəkkuya lāʿleya la-yəkunu kama ṣabal gaṣṣa nafās wa-malʾaka ʾəgzi<ʾa>bəḥer la-yəsdəddomu* ‘May they retreat and be ashamed, they who plot evil against me, may they be like dust before the wind, and may the angel of God follow them’ (Psalms 35:4–5); Line 32: *ʾdygnm l-ḍry w-ʾʾḫḍhm = ʾədeggənomu la-ḍarrəya wa-ʾəʾḫazomu* ‘I shall pursue my enemies and shall seize them’ (Psalms 18:37); Lines 32–34: *tqntn ḫl ws*^{1}*ṭ ḍbʾ w-ʾwdqm l-klm ʾl qm lʿly b-mtḥty w-mṭwkn [z]bnhm l-ḍry = wa-tāqannətanī ḫela wəsṭa ḍabʾ wa-ʾawdaqqomu la-kʷəllomu ʾəlla qomu lāʿleya ba- matḥətəya wa-maṭṭawkani* [za]*bānomu la-ḍarrəya* ‘You have gird me with power in battle and You have caused to fall beneath me all of those who have stood up against me, and You have delivered to me the backs of my enemies’ (Psalms 18:39–40); Lines 34–35: *ymn ʾgzbḥr* [*gbr*]*t ḫyl ymn ʾg*[*z*]*bḥr hlʿltn = yamāna ʾəgzi<ʾa>bəḥer* [*gabra*]*t ḫayla yamāna ʾəgzi<ʾa>bəḥer alʿalatani* ‘The right hand of God has made strong, the right hand of God has exalted me’ (Psalms 118:15–16).

[208]*bʾktth l-ʾbm w-wldm w-mfs*^{1} [*qds*^{1}]^{m} *= ba-ʾakkʷatetu la-ʾab wa-wald wa-ma<n>fas qəddus* ‘With praise to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.’

> [5]*w-l-m-*[6]*b ḏ-ḫ*[*lw-h*] *w-l-mnlt-h whm gft*ʾ *whm wgr ym*[*ḥr*]*h* ʾ*gz-b*[7]*ḥr w-lyt b-byt-h w-b-wld-h w-b-mbrt w-b-tgrb-h w-yfdy-*[8]*h* [ʾ]*g*[*z*]*bḥr w-mqs*²*ft* ʾ*gz-bḥr* ʾ*yrf b-l*ʿ*ly-h b-ḏn w-*[9]*ḏ y*[*mṣ*ʾ] ʿ*lm ḏt mḥḍk ḏ-lh s*¹*bḥt* [10]*w-ḫyl l-*ʿ*lm* ʿ*lm* ʾ*mn w-*ʾ*mn*[209]
>
> [5]And if there is [6]one who has guarded its (i.e. the stele's) adornment(?) in case it is overturned or is thrown down, may God [7]show him com[passion] and may he be blessed in his household and among his children, in his residence and in his labor. And may [8]God recompense him. And may the chastisement of God not come to rest upon him in this world and [9]that (world) which is to come. This I have entrusted to God, glory [10]and power be to Him forever and ever. Amen! Amen!

Here, we find not a curse formula but rather its opposite, to wit a wish that anyone who restores the monument erected by Wāʿzeb, should it be overturned, will be rewarded by God, and that such an individual will not suffer the divine chastisement that would be visited upon anyone who might damage or remove the monument. In so doing, however, RIÉth 192 indirectly reveals how the Aksumites viewed those who engaged in the damage or removal of royal monuments. If one who restored such a monument would be guarded against God's chastisement in this life as well as the hereafter, then, by implication, one who tore down a royal monument was viewed as deserving of such chastisement. The allusion to punishment in the hereafter—literally 'this and that-which-is-to-come world' (*ḏn w-ḏ-y*[*mṣ*ʾ] ʿ*lm* = *ḎN* [Sabaic demonstrative pronoun][210] *wa-za-yəmaṣṣəʾ* ʿ*ālam*)—is an innovation in the Aksumite epigraphic corpus. As there are no known Aksumite royal inscriptions post-dating Wāʿzeb's reign, it is impossible to tell how influential this idea was in later times. Much as we saw in RIÉth 188, the reference to household, place of residence, and children (thus, implicitly, an individual's descendants for the foreseeable future) highlights the importance of kinship ties in Aksumite society, to the extent that the actions of an individual would have consequences for said individual's extended family. It would help greatly if we knew what exactly *mnlt* (RIÉth 192 B/6) means. In his commentary on the inscription, Abraham Drewes states that the suffixed *-t* probably marks the form as plural, but admits that the root **mnl* is not attested in Classical Gəʿəz.[211] From the context, Drewes posits that the *mnlt* is linked in some way with the stone monument and he tentatively emends the word to *mn*<*g*>*lt*. This he compares with Gəʿəz *mangal/mangəl* 'that which is visible, adornment'.[212] Such an interpretation is entirely possible, though for the time being this can only be regarded as hypothetical. In contrast

[209]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 276; Drewes 2019: 268.

[210]Cf. *Gəʿəz zəntu*.

[211]Drewes 2019: 268.

[212]Drewes 2019: 268.

to RIÉth 191, the curse formula in RIÉth 192 at no point explicitly refers to a throne, unless this is what is implied by 'adornment', in the sense of something supplementing the stele on which the inscription is carved.

4 Discussion and conclusions

To reiterate the point made in the *Theoretical background* section,[213] curse formulae in royal Aksumite inscriptions contain a set number of themes. These are again: (1) physical harm done to the offender, his extended kin, and his children; (2) the removal, uprooting, or eradication of the offender from the land; (3) the offender being led to ruin; (4) the eradication of the offender's name from the land of the living; (5) generic eradication of the offender and his kin; and (6) the overthrowing, removal, or overturning of the offender after the manner in which he has removed or overturned the monument. Sorting these formulae by inscription in chronological order yields the following table:

Nature of the curse	Epigraphic attestation
'may he be blinded and (meaning uncertain)—he and his kin and his children'	RIÉth 185 I/22–23; RIÉth 185 II/22; RIÉth 185 bis I/24–25; RIÉth bis II/39–41
'may he be taken away from the land'	RIÉth 185 I/23–24; RIÉth 185 II/22–23; RIÉth 185 bis I/25; RIÉth 185 bis II/42
'may the God of Heaven and Earth lead him to ruin, completely'	RIÉth 270 bis/32–33
'may his name remain no longer in the land of the living'	RIÉth 270 bis/33–34
'may he, together with his land and his kin, be removed and overturned'	RIÉth 188/27–28
'may he and his kin be eradicated and uprooted, from the earth may they be eradicated'	RIÉth 189/50–51
'may God overthrow him in his (own) house and in [… …]'	RIÉth 191/40

Table 1. Curse formulae in Aksumite inscriptions

[213] §2.

Except for RIÉth 191, which dates from the reign of Kāleb, all of the inscriptions listed in this table were erected by ʿEzānā. RIÉth 192 is not included here on the grounds that that inscription, rather than containing a curse formula, issues instead a blessing of the one who protects a monument, along with the blessing of his household and labours, followed by the statement that an individual thus blessed would suffer no harm in this world or the next. As can be seen from the table, the most common theme in Aksumite curse formulae is the removal, in one manner or another, of the offender from the land. This occurs in RIÉth 185 I/23–24, RIÉth 185 II/22–23, RIÉth 185 bis I/25, RIÉth 185 bis II/42, RIÉth 188/27–28, and RIÉth 189/50–51. Also significant is the guilt-by-association link between the offender and his kin, something mentioned in RIÉth 185 I/22–23, RIÉth 185 II/22, RIÉth 185 bis I/24–25, RIÉth bis II/39–41, RIÉth 188/27–28, and RIÉth 189/50–51. Since the term for house (*bet*) can in Gəʿəz, as indeed throughout Semitic, denote not only one's place of residence but also the members of one's household, it could be argued that the offender's kin are referred to obliquely in RIÉth 191 as well. The socio-cultural implications of such references shall be addressed shortly. RIÉth 270 bis, the sole Greek inscription in the group of Aksumite royal inscriptions bearing a curse formula, parts ways with the rest in that it introduces the themes of the offender being led to ruin by Arēs as a God of Heaven and Earth, and of the offender's name being eradicated from the land of the living. Worth stressing is the fact that, since all Aksumite inscriptions in which curse formulae appear are *royal* inscriptions that document military campaigns, such formulae belong to a very circumscribed corpus of texts. As discussed in the section *Theoretical background*,[214] however, cursing is documented among a number of Ethiopian peoples, suggesting that the curse formulae from royal inscriptions represent but a part of a much broader tradition.

Regarding the origins of the tradition of issuing written curses in Ethiopia, it is well known and well documented that curse formulae are a pan-Semitic phenomenon. Insofar as these formulae allude to damage done to inscriptions, they can only have developed after the invention of writing. Thus, they are not shared Proto-Semitic retentions[215] but must instead have developed in a single region, most likely the Fertile Crescent,[216] and from there were diffused to outlying areas. Since there is no evidence of direct contact between Ethiopia and the Iron Age Fertile Crescent, and no attestations of curse formulae in Pre-Aksumite inscriptions, the concept of curse formulae must have been diffused via an intermediary, most probably South Arabia, during the Aksumite period. The main difference between South Arabia and Aksumite Ethiopia with respect to curse formulae is that,

[214]§2.

[215]Although the origins of the Semitic branch of Afroasiatic has yet to be worked out in detail, there is no doubt that this branch emerged well before the invention of writing.

[216]At least as far as Semitic curse formulae are concerned.

while all known Aksumite attestations are found in royal inscriptions, curse formulae in South Arabia are limited to private inscriptions.[217] To be sure, the Early Sabaic inscription RÉS 3945 from Ṣirwāḥ-Ḫawlān, a *res gestae* of the Sabaean king Karibʾīl Watar bin Ḏamarʿalī (fl. first quarter of the seventh century BCE), alludes to the destruction of inscriptions in a campaign against the kingdom of ʾAwsān, stating: '[Karib]ʾīl ordered the tearing down of all inscriptions from [his (i.e. the ʾAwsānite king's)] palace [of Miswar], and all the inscri[p]tions of the temples of his gods' (*ms³r kl ʾs¹ṯr ʿtb [krb]ʾl bn byt-h[w ms¹wr] w-ʾs¹[ṯ]r ʾbyt ʾlʾlt-hw*).[218] That this vandalism merits mention in the inscription indicates that the destruction of the inscribed monuments of one's enemies was a significant and highly symbolic act. RÉS 3945 does not, however, invoke divine protection for Karibʾīl Watar's own inscription.

If, as seems likely, the concept of curse formulae was diffused to Ethiopia from South Arabia, this would have occurred via informal, non-royal interactions at some point before the fourth century CE. Presumably, curses first circulated through oral tradition, a phenomenon attested in other cultures.[219] As a possible parallel, one might point to modern Ethiopia, where, as noted above, convergence of cursing among Afroasiatic-speaking groups seems to derive from long-term interaction between said groups, rather than shared retentions of linguistic phenomena.[220] In the context of Aksumite Ethiopia, it bears mentioning that there are other instances of cultural diffusion across the Red Sea during Late Antiquity. One such instance is the reference to God in RIÉth 189, the oldest known Christian inscription from Ethiopia alongside RIÉth 271, using an epithet, 'Lord of Heaven', that occurs regularly in the earliest monotheistic inscriptions in Sabaic beginning in the first quarter of the fourth century.[221] The adoption of this epithet is best

---

[217]For a discussion of these, see Maraqten (1998).

[218]RÉS 3945/6 (Rhodokanakis 1927: 24). For a discussion of this passage, see Hatke (2015: 114–116).

[219]Danet and Bogoch 1992.

[220]§2.

[221]Gajda 2005: 22, 27, 28; Gajda 2009: 224–231, 233; Prioletta 2012: 316, 317, 330; Jeschke 2022: 33–35, 37–39, 134–138. To be sure, epithets like 'Lord of Heaven' have a long history in the Semitic-speaking world (e.g. Gevirtz 1961: 143, 144 and Yakubovich 2010: 393). To cite one example, God-the-Most-High (*ʾēl ʿĕlyôn*) is at one point in the book of Genesis invoked as *qōnēh šamāyim wā-ʾārēṣ* (Genesis 14:20). Although the root **qnh* denotes 'to acquire, to possess', the active participle *qōnēh* is often, in the context of Genesis 14:20, translated 'creator', in which case the aforementioned phrase can be glossed 'creator of heaven and earth'. For a discussion, see Cross (1973: 50–52). Since, however, South Arabia was the only region within that world with which Aksumite Ethiopia had significant, regular contact, and since there are no pre-Aksumite invocations of a 'Lord of Heaven' that might suggest a Proto-Semitic retention in Ethiopian tradition, it is likely that this epithet was introduced to Aksum from South Arabia during the fourth century CE. For a somewhat different view, see Marrassini (2012: 112–113 and passim). Paolo Marrassini opines that 'although it is still perfectly legitimate, of course, to search in

seen as a gradual process that began before ʿEzānā's conversion to Christianity, given that RIÉth 270 bis, dating from the pantheistic period of ʿEzānā's reign, invokes Arēs as 'God of Heaven and Earth'. A very similar epithet is also attested (in Sabaic) in South Arabia, albeit in inscriptions that post-date ʿEzānā's reign.[222] Other examples of cultural diffusion from South Arabia to Ethiopia during the Aksumite period involve rather more aesthetic matters, though still indicative of the high status enjoyed by South Arabian culture in the southern Red Sea region. Already before ʿEzānā's conversion to Christianity, several royal inscriptions in Gəʿəz employ the South Arabian *musnad* script, even adding—albeit inappropriately at times—typically Ancient South Arabian-style mimation.[223] It could well be the case, then, that curse formulae were a part of a broader cultural package that Aksum adopted from South Arabia at a time when Gəʿəz was being adapted for use as a medium in which to record lengthy narratives about the military campaigns of Aksumite kings.[224] That Aksumite curse formulae often differ in format

South Arabia the origin of the appellation 'Lord of Heaven', this similarity cannot be stressed beyond bounds, because this was in fact the only appellation left in the entire ancient Near East in the first millennium B.C.' (Marrassini 2012: 112)—and, by implication, later periods. He suggests alternative scenarios in which the appellation may have been introduced to Ethiopia from Syria-Palestine, or that it emerged independently in Syria-Palestine, South Arabia, and Ethiopia. Although these suggestions must not be dismissed out of hand, the theory of a Syro-Palestinian origin seems unlikely for reasons stated above, while the possibility of independent invention in Ethiopia and South Arabia also seems unlikely given that Aksumite references to a 'Lord of Heaven' appear so soon after they appear in Ḥimyar. For a useful list of references in Sabaic inscriptions, see Robin and Rijziger (2018: 278–283).

[222]The earliest known attestation of the divine epithet 'Lord of Heaven and Earth' (*mrʾ s¹myⁿ w-ʾrḍⁿ*) in Sabaic occurs in Gar Bayt al-Ashwal 1, an inscription that dates at the earliest from ca. 370 CE but might date from as late as 420 CE (Robin and Rijziger 2018: 278). If one assumes a South Arabian origin for the similar phrase in RIÉth 270 bis, one would have to posit that 'Lord of Heaven and Earth' initially circulated orally as a divine epithet, and that this spread from South Arabia to Ethiopia before it appeared in Sabaic in written form. Diffusion in the opposite direction is not impossible but seems less likely, given the well-attested phenomenon of Sabaic inscriptions serving as models for Aksumite inscriptions, in contrast to the lack of evidence for Aksumite inscriptions serving as models for their South Arabian counterparts. The association of deities with the heavens has a much longer history in South Arabia, though such a habit is of course hardly limited to that region. Already we read of a 'God of Heaven'—or perhaps 'ʾĪl of Heaven' in a short Sabaic inscription dating from no later than the seventh century BCE (Naumkin et al. 2005–2006), and beginning around the end of the first millennium BCE, the cult of another deity, one Ḏū-Samāwī 'He of the Heavens', is attested throughout South Arabia (von Wissmann 1964: 100–113; Stein 2009 passim). The cult of neither deity appears to have had any impact on Ethiopia, however.

[223]On this matter, see n. 81.

[224]To be sure, lengthy royal inscription recording military campaigns were not unheard of in earlier times, RIÉth 277 being a case in point. As noted above, however, that inscription was written in Greek. RIÉth 183, a Gəʿəz inscription in consonantal *fidal*, is the only Gəʿəz inscrip-

and content from their South Arabian counterparts is to be noted, but is likely nothing more than a reflection of the Ethiopians' genius in adapting aspects of South Arabian culture to suit the needs of their own. As for similarities between Aksumite curse formulae and much older curse formulae attested in inscriptions from more northerly regions of the Near East, these can be explained by the existence of a set of shared values among Semitic-speaking peoples regarding kinship, land, names, and the power of the written word. That the Aksumites emphasised these values in curse formulae is thus a phenomenon that parallels, but does not derive directly from, curse formulae from the Fertile Crescent.

A further point regarding aesthetics is the use of curse formulae in inscribed monuments that served as symbols of royal power in the context of communal events. In this connection, it bears reiterating that two inscriptions from the reign of ʿEzānā, RIÉth 188 and RIÉth 189, refer to Śado as the area in the town of Aksum at which they were erected, and that the name Śado is cognate with Sadū, the 'fertile land' located by the southern gate of the Qatabānian capital of Tamnaʿ at which royal inscriptions in the Qatabānic language were similarly displayed. Inasmuch as Aksumite curse formulae function like the 'display curses' identified by Anne Marie Kitz in the context of the ancient Near East, it is worth quoting Kitz's observation regarding the context in which such curses were presented.

> Display maledictions are principally proactive. They are also public because their effectiveness depends on social awareness for their maintenance and ongoing respect. Therefore most of these imprecations are exhibited on monuments located in communal districts or in areas where the people might have occasional access such as temples and/or their courtyards.[225]

In addition, if Śado at Aksum served as a place of congregation like Sadū at Tamnaʿ, it might have functioned much like the church forests, i.e. the sacrosanct groves surrounding churches in rural Ethiopia, which similarly serve as gathering spaces—more specifically as gathering spaces at which feasting and drinking events are held to commemorate local patron saints.[226] A key difference is that, in the case of church forests, the church has replaced the throne as the chief built structure within a plot of land set aside for congregation. The shift may have already begun in the sixth century, at a time when Aksumite kings were still erecting inscribed stelae to advertise their royal authority. The churches built in South Arabia following Kāleb's victorious campaigns there—like the one alluded

---

tion of any length that predates the fourth century but contains no narrative, as it is instead concerned with laying out rules and regulations regarding the offering of various foodstuffs (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 227–232; Drewes 2019: 177–191).

[225]Kitz 2014: 254.

[226]Orlowska and Klepeis 2018: 1–3, 5, 16.

to in RIÉth 191—are a demonstrative example of this trend, while one of the manuscripts of the Late Aksumite gospels of Abbā Garimā similarly speaks of the seventh-century Aksumite king Armaḥ as a builder of churches.[227] By the Middle Ages, the change was complete, with churches now serving as the principal if not exclusive monuments through which Ethiopian kings expressed their power.[228]

That feasting was an element of Aksumite social life is implied by two inscriptions, both in consonantal Gəʿəz. The first, RIÉth 183, a four-part inscription from the site of Safra on Eritrea's Qoḥayto Plateau probably dating from the third century CE,[229] speaks of the distribution of honey (*dbs*), flour (*ṭḥn*), bread (*ḫbst*), butter (*msg*), and beer (*śwh*), as well as the procurement of a cow (*lhm*), likely intended for slaughter.[230] The occasion on which these items were consumed was evidently an official event that involved the central authorities, as RIÉth 183 also alludes to laws (*ʾḥgg*) regarding portions allotted to the king (*ngś*). Unfortunately, it is not clear on what sort of occasion such a feast was held, though the reference to a priest (*śwʿ*) suggests a ritual context. Alessandro Bausi suggests that RIÉth 183 documents a *tazkār*, or commemoration of the dead, noting that they very word *tzkr* occurs twice in the inscription,[231] adding, however, the caveat that there is disagreement regarding this rather obscure text.[232] The other inscription, RIÉth 218 from Māryām ʿAnza in the ʿĀgāma region of northern Ethiopia, speaks of the provision of beer and bread—using the same terms that occur in RIÉth 183—for those involved with the transport of the stele (*ḥwlt*) on which the inscription was carved.[233] Here too, an unnamed king was involved, as it was he who is said to have had the inscription written (*ṣḥf*). Although inscriptions from the Aksumite capital are silent on the matter, it is likely that the setting up of royal inscriptions as parts of stone thrones was similarly accompanied by feasting. While such a public event would have provided an ideal time in which to convey the message of such inscriptions—curse formulae included—to the gathered masses, it is by no means clear whether this was the case. In a recent study on Aksumite royal inscriptions, Christian Robin argues that the form that an inscription took counted for much more than the inscription's content. Focusing on those Aksumite inscriptions in South Arabian *musnad*—though the same observations apply equally to those inscriptions in fully vocalised *fidal* or in Greek—Robin writes:

---

[227]Derat 2018: 557, 563.

[228]Krebs 2021: 192–193, 201.

[229]Bausi 2013: 180.

[230]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 229–230. For a translation and commentary, see Drewes (2019: 178–191).

[231]RIÉth 183 I/1; RIÉth 183 IV/4 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 229, 230).

[232]Bausi 2013: 180.

[233]Drewes and Schneider 1991: 312–313. For a translation and commentary, see Drewes (2019: 312–315).

> Le nombre des habitants d'Aksūm capable de lire un texte en alphabet sudarabique qui était une écriture différente de l'alphabet consonantique éthiopien, avec un écart comparable à celui qui sépare le grec du latin, devait être infime. Quant à la langue, elle était incompréhensible pour un utilisateur habituel de l'écriture sudarabique, et fort étrange pour un utilisateur des écritures éthiopiennes. On peut donc estimer avec assurance que pratiquement personne n'était capable de lire et de comprendre ces textes guèzes maquillés en sabåique qui était exposés à Aksūm.[234]

While one cannot reject out of hand the possibility that public inscriptions were at times read aloud to an audience,[235] hard evidence to that effect is lacking. What seems clear is that inscribed monuments in Aksum—as, indeed, throughout the ancient world—were first and foremost symbols of authority, rather than media for conveying written messages. The question that then arises is: Why include curse formulae in an inscription at all if no one was—or, at least, very few people were—able to read them? The same question could, however, equally be asked of the *dabtarās*, i.e. lay ecclesiastics in Ethiopia,[236] who have historically written magical charms for clients containing names and phrases, despite knowing full well that the majority of said clients would have had no idea how to read them.[237] The fact of the matter is that the physical written word was itself a form of authority. One need not have understood its meaning to grasp the power with which it was invested, be it to combat malignant spirits in the case of magical charms or would-be vandals in the case of curse formulae in royal inscriptions. Belief in this power may well have been enhanced through use of such foreign scripts as the Greek and South Arabian alphabets, both representative of cultures that enjoyed high status in Ethiopia. If the link between symbolic stone thrones—with which royal inscriptions are associated—and the world of the divine suggested in this article is correct, one must also consider the possibility that the texts of Aksumite inscriptions, while inscrutable to most Aksumites, were intended for divine eyes. In that case, a curse formula was a king's way of demonstrating to his divine lord—or lords—that he would punish anyone who might harm a monument offered by him to said lord(s).

Let us turn now to the social implications of Aksumite curse formulae. According to these formulae, the act of destroying, tampering with, or removing an inscription had dire consequences not only for one guilty of such acts but also for his family and extended kin group. This indicates that, in the kingdom of Aksum,

---

[234]Robin 2022: 195.

[235]For examples of this, see Hatke (2022: 86 [n. 262]), and the sources cited therein.

[236]On the term *dabtarā*, see Kaplan (2005: 53); Boylston (2018: 67).

[237]On Ethiopian beliefs in the power of these magical charms, the names they contain, and the authority invested in them by virtue of their being written in the ancient language of Gəʿəz, see Malara (2020: 448–451).

collective guilt was assigned in cases of wrongdoing. Similar ideas about crime and collective guilt by virtue of kinship are reflected in Ancient South Arabian legal texts, which speak of compensation and expiatory rituals against homicide and other crimes requiring the involvement of the tribal community at large.[238] That curses targeting an individual also affected that individual's kin group and/or progeny is likewise a belief that E. E. Evans-Pritchard notes among the Nuer,[239] much as Fekede Mentuta and Ruth Vatvedt Fjeld observe it among the Gurage.[240] The concept is a very old one, as evidenced by ancient Mesopotamian treaties in which curses are collective and intergenerational in scope, involving not only individuals but also their family and progeny.[241] The references to the wrongdoer's kin (Gəʿəz *zamad*) in curse formulae also highlight the importance of kinship in Aksumite society. This is also reflected in the fact that Aksumite kings advertise their clan identity in inscriptions and on coins, using the so-called *bəʾsəya*-formula. Thus, ʿEzānā bore the title *bəʾsəya ḥalen/ḥalən* 'the man of Ḥalen/Ḥalən', i.e. a member of the clan of Ḥalen,[242] while Kāleb was *bʾs*^{1} *lzn* (= *bəʾse la/lāzen*) 'the man of La/Lāzen'.[243] The importance of clan ties in Aksum is also indicated by the fact that military units, identified in Gəʿəz as *ʾaḥzāb* (sg. *ḥəzb*), were organised along clan lines.[244] Sabaic inscriptions dating from the third and sixth centuries similarly refer to armed bands of Aksumites, when operating in South Arabia, as *ʾḥzb*.[245] Related to kinship ties is another integral aspect of identity, that of one's name. As we have seen, Aksumite kings like ʿEzānā and Kāleb laid great emphasis on their being bestowed a 'great name' by God in the context of their military undertakings, an idea which is part and parcel of the broader notion that preservation of one's name was central to one's very existence, while the erasure of one's name effectively implied the nullification of one's very existence. This is another concept of great antiquity, as evidenced by the parallels from the Old

[238]Mazzini 2020: 51–55.

[239]Evans-Pritchard 1956: 75, 166–168.

[240]Fekede Mentuta and Fjeld 2016: 378.

[241]Freire 2017: 670, 674–675.

[242]RIÉth 188/1–2; RIÉth 189/2 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 259, 263).

[243]RIÉth 191/8 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 272).

[244]Merid Wolde Aregay 2005: 161–162.

[245]Thus *ʾḥzb ḥbs*^{2}*t* 'fighting bands of the Ethiopians' (Ja 574/5; Ja 576 + Ja 577/3.19.26; Ja 585/15–16 [Jamme 1962: 60, 67, 77, 91]) and *ʾḥzb ḥgr-ḥmw ʾks*^{1}[*m*] 'and the fighting bands of their town of Aks[um]' (Wellcome A 103664/8 [Beeston 1980: 12]). In Sabaic, this substantive is almost without exception employed in the plural form. The sole instance in which the singular form, *ḥzb*, is employed, is found in MAFRAY-Miʿsāl 5/11 (Müller 2010: 30). On the derivation of Sabaic *ḥzb-ʾḥzb* from Gəʿəz *ḥəzb-ʾaḥzāb*, see Beeston (1994: 41). In Gəʿəz, *ḥəzb* denotes everything from a clan to a nation, including a generic multitude of people. In its plural form, it can also denote gentiles.

Testament and ancient Mesopotamian noted in our discussion of RIÉth 270 bis.[246] That ideas born of this tradition continued to resonate into modern times is most famously[247] evidenced by the ban (Hebrew *ḥērĕm*) placed on the philosopher Baruch Spinoza by the Sephardic rabbinate of Amsterdam in 1656, one clause of which read: 'And may the Lord erase his name from under the heavens.'[248] From this perspective, one can appreciate the seriousness of the crime of defacing or in other ways destroying a royal monument in view of the statement in RIÉth 270 bis/33–34 that the very name of anyone guilty of such a misdemeanour would be cast out from the land of the living.

Figure 2. An early modern display of *ḥērĕm* in effect: *Spinoza and the Rabbis*, by Samuel Hirszenberg (1907) Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baruch_Spinoza#/media/File:Hirszenberg,_Spinoza_wykl%C3%AAty_(Excommunicated_Spinoza),_1907.jpg (public domain)

Having said that, RIÉth 270 bis happens to be the only (known) Aksumite inscription whose curse formula explicitly mentions the obliteration of a name as

[246] §3.2.

[247] Or infamously, depending on one's opinion.

[248] Quoted in Nadler (2018: 141).

punishment for destroying a royal monument. More common in Aksumite curse formulae are imprecations that one who damages or topples a royal inscription be banished from the land.[249] Variants on this theme include references to eradication from the earth[250] and being overthrown in one's own house.[251] The positive flipside is the affirmation of blessing in household/residence for anyone who guards and maintains a royal monument.[252] The theme of banishment as a component of malediction is firmly rooted in ancient Near Eastern tradition and is an idea related to a broader conception of the wilderness as a place in which cursed people wander.[253] To quote Jeff S. Anderson,

> [w]hile the relentless power of the curse to pursue violators and bring malevolent force to bear on them is frightening, one also must not underestimate the power that threat of expulsion from the community can wield. The »contagious« nature of some curses to infect a whole family, tribe, or nation, created an incredibly strong taboo against one who would be perceived as »cursed«.[254]

That a curse might affect one's kin group at large is, as we have seen, a concept implicit in Aksumite curse formulae and need not be repeated here. On the other hand, references to banishment in Aksumite curse formulae have distinctly Ethiopian overtones in that they play on a theme attested in Aksumite inscriptions in descriptions of actions taken against defeated enemies. In inscriptions recording his campaign against the Beğa, for example, ʿEzānā speaks of how the defeated Beğa—men, women, and children—were taken from their land and resettled in another region within the kingdom of Aksum.[255] Thus, in the Aksumite context, the punishment meted out to one who destroys a royal inscription is described in terms that are very much at home in records of military operations. It bears noting that one finds remarkably similar language in ancient Near Eastern treaties, the violation of which was grounds for military action. For example, in his treaty with Matiʾ-ilu, king of Arpad in Northwestern Syria, the Neo-Assyrian emperor Aššur-nārāri V (r. 753–746 BCE) issues the threat that if his vassal were to break

---

[249]RIÉth 185 I/22–23 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 243); RIÉth 185 II/22–23 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 243); RIÉth 185 bis I/24–25 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 247); RIÉth 185 bis II/40–42 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 249), RIÉth 188/28 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 260).

[250]RIÉth 189/50–51 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 265).

[251]RIÉth 191/39–40 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 273).

[252]RIÉth 192 B/5–7 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 276).

[253]Kitz 2014: 250.

[254]Anderson 1998: 227–228.

[255]RIÉth 185 I/4–6.14–15 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 242); RIÉth 185 II/5–7.15–16 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 243); RIÉth 185 bis I/5–8.16–17 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 246, 247); RIÉth 185 II (B)/6–8.(C)11–15 (Drewes and Schneider 1991: 247, 248); RIÉth 270 bis/18–23 (Bernand 1991: 368 [trans. Bernand 1982: 107–108]).

said treaty, he would be ousted from his country, along with his sons, daughters, magistrates, and subjects, never again to return.[256] Closer in time and place to Aksumite Ethiopia, Middle Sabaic inscriptions provide another interesting parallel in that, when referring in curse formulae to the punishment of those who might destroy a monument or memorial, they use the very verb *qmᶜ* 'to overthrow' (cf. Arabic *qamaᶜa* 'to restrain, to subdue, to suppress') which is employed when describing the defeat of enemies in warfare.[257]

Possibly relevant in this regard are the references in Aksumite curse formulae to the blinding of an offender against a royal monument. As we have seen, there are parallels to such language in Safaitic inscriptions.[258] Comparable allusions to blinding in curse formulae in inscriptions from the reign of ᶜEzānā, on the other hand, may take their cue from military practice, much like the theme of

---

[256]Freire 2017: 670.

[257]In a military sense, *qmᶜ* is employed in the following contexts:

1. Gl 1223/23: *w-**qmᶜw** ḏ-bn ḥql*^{n} *w-gbḏw kl ḥblt-hw* (Solá Solé 1964: 53) 'And **they overthrew** a part of Ḥaql^{ān}, and they ravaged all of its vineyards.'
2. Ja 576 + Ja 577/4: *ṯbrw w-hbᶜln w-**qmᶜ** w-hs*^{1}*bᶜn byt ḏ-s*^{2}*mtn w-hgr*^{n} *dll w-byt yhr w-hgr*^{n} *ʾẓwr b-wṯn*^{n} *b-ʾrḍ qs*^{2}*m*^{m} (Jamme 1962: 67) 'they destroyed and seized and **overthrew** and brought to submission the house of Ḏū-Šāmat^{ān} and the town of Dalīl and the house of Yahirr and the town of ʾAẓwar on the border of the land of Qašam^{um}.'
3. Ja 576 + Ja 577/12: *w-**qmᶜw** hgr*^{n} *qrs*^{1} (Jamme 1962: 68) 'And they **overthrew** the town of Qaras.'
4. Ja 629/28–29: *w-gbẓw kl ʾs*^{1}*rr-hmw w-wṯr w-**qmᶜ** mḥrmt w-ḫyklt w-ʾbʾr w-ms*^{1}*qy* (Jamme 1962: 128) 'And they devastated all of their valleys, and they destroyed and **overthrew** the sanctuaries and palaces and wells and irrigation networks.'
5. Ry 533/12: *w-yᶜdw* [***q***]***mᶜ*** *qrytnhn* http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=79&prjId=1&corId=10&colId=0&navId=995903892&recId=4057 'And they furthermore **overthrew** Qaryatānhān.'

In curse formulae, we find *qmᶜ* in the following contexts:

1. A-20-274/1–2: [... ...]*n l-**qmᶜn** s*^{2}*rqn ḏ-yṯ(brn-h)*[*w*]
2. http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=54&prjId=1&corId=27&colId=0&navId=329714410&recId=319&mark=00319%2C001%2C003 '[... ...] may Šāriqān **overthrow** the one who destroys i[t].'
3. CIH 445/2: *w-l-**qmᶜn** ᶜṯtr s*^{2}*rq*^{n} *ḏ-yḫrs*^{2}*n-hw* (Robin in Calvet and Robin 1997: 107) 'And may ᶜAṯtar Šāriq^{ān} **overthrow** the one who might damage it (i.e. the funerary stele).'
4. CIH 969/2: *l-**qmᶜn** ᶜṯtr s*^{2}*rq*^{n} *ḏ-yṯbrn-hw* (Pirenne 1965: Pl. IX b) 'And may ᶜAṯtar Šāriqān **overthrow** the one who might break it (i.e. the image).'
5. RÉS 4156/3–5: (w-)***q***[***mᶜ***] *ᶜṯtr s*^{2}*rq*^{n} *kl ʾns*^{1}*-y*[*ḫrs*^{2}]*n w-ys*^{2}*trn nfs*^{1n} (Mordtmann and Mittwoch 1932: 53 [Pl. XIII]) 'And may ᶜAṯtar Šāriq^{ān} **overthrow** any person who might damage or destroy (this) funerary stele.'

The direct link between the act of cursing and the divine world is evident from the fact that in each of the aforementioned curse formulae, the subject of *qmᶜ* is the god ᶜAṯtar Šāriq^{ān}, even though only ᶜAṯtar's epithet appears in A-20-274.

[258]§3.1.

banishment/uprooting. Although the blinding of prisoners of war is not explicitly mentioned in Aksumite records of military campaigns, such a practice, with the aim of inhibiting such prisoners' mobility while in captivity, is documented in Mesopotamia from the mid-third millennium BCE down to the Neo-Assyrian Period (911 BCE–609 BCE).[259] The same practice is described in the Hebrew Bible, wherein we are told that Samson was blinded by the Philistines (*yənaqqərū ʾĕṯ-ʿênāw*),[260] while the defeated Judaean king Zedekiah (r. 597–586 BCE) is said to have been blinded (*wə-ʾĕṯ-ʿênê ṣiḏqiyyāhū ʿiwwēr*) before being taken into captivity in Babylon.[261] Judging from the fact that punishment by blinding is alluded to in Aksumite curse formulae, it is possible that captives taken by the Aksumites in warfare occasionally suffered a similar fate. It must be stressed, however, that with curse formulae we are most probably dealing with rhetoric. None of the punishments with which would-be offenders are threatened are likely to have ever been enforced, at least not in the manner described in curse formulae. The point was that the written word and the monument on which it was presented were regarded as sacrosanct, and that any offences committed against either were grave crimes that threatened the preservation of a society's collective memory of a king, much as uprisings by rebellious subjects were crimes that threatened the preservation of a king's authority.

In closing, it is worth considering the afterlife, as it were, of written curse formulae in Ethiopia. As we have seen, the issuing of curse formulae in written form survived the transition to Christianity during the Aksumite period. This, and the fact that various forms of cursing are still practised by Christian Ethiopians confirms that belief in the power of curses is easily accommodated within a Christian belief system. To this, it should be added that the tradition of issuing written curses survived the very kingdom of Aksum itself, even after the habit of erecting inscribed stele died out as a means by which Ethiopian kings advertised their royal authority, to be replaced by royal edicts, chronicles, and treatises in manuscript form. Although manuscript curses are a not uncommon topos in the Ethiopian tradition, they have yet to be systematically studied.[262] In the present context, we shall limit ourselves to a few representative examples. One such example is found in the homily from the *Maṣḥafa Bərhān* 'The Book of Light' on the rite of baptism and religious instruction, penned by King Zarʾa Yāʿəqob (r. 1434–1468). As part of his campaign against pagan practices in his kingdom, Zarʾa Yāʿəqob issued the following curse for those guilty of idolatry who might call upon their idol while in church:

---

[259]Gelb 1973: 87.

[260]Judges 16:21.

[261]2 Kings 25:7.

[262]As recently pointed out by Sophia Dege-Müller (2020b: 31, 33).

> *la-za-yəgabbər kama-zə yəbarbəru beto wa-yək*^{w}*annənu nafso wa-yəkun la-bāʿəd mədra rəstu ʾəsma la-zəntu gəbr śemana ʾəgziʾabḥer wa-ʾangaśana kama nətbaqal ṣalaʾto wa-nəsrəwwomu ʾəm-gaṣṣa mədr*[263]
> For whoever acts thusly, let them pillage his house and condemn his soul, and may the land of his inheritance go to another; for God has appointed us for this matter and has appointed us king that we might punish His enemies and eradicate them from the face of the earth.

One recognizes here much of the sentiment conveyed by Aksumite-period curse formulae, most notably in such thematic elements as estrangement from one's land and harm done to one's house. In the chronicle of Zarʾa Yāʿəqob's reign, we read further that it was decreed: 'And whoever does not act (in accordance with the edict), may his house be pillaged and his body tortured' (*wa-zanta za-ʾi-gabra yətbarbar betu wa-yətk*^{w}*annan śəgāhu*).[264] Then, in a later document, King Galāwdewos (r. 1540–1559) is said to have restored land to the Ya-Dəbā Māryām Church in Ethiopia's North Wällo region, with the understanding that no future king should infringe the donation. To emphasise this point, Galāwdewos states:

> *za-heda wa-za-tảaggalā wəguza la-yəkun baʾafa ʾab wa-wald wa-manfas qəddus baʾafāhā laʾəgzaʾtəna māryām baʾafa nabiyāt wa-ḥawārəyāt*[265]
> Whoever confiscates and whoever defrauds it, may he be cursed by the mouth of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; by the mouth of our lady Mary; (and) by the mouth of the Prophets and the Apostles.

This curse formula bears some similarities with its Aksumite counterparts in that it was issued to ensure the sanctity of a tangible entity, as opposed to an intangible one like the orthopraxy that Zarʾa Yāʿəqob sought to uphold. On the other hand, it appeals to a wider range of authorities in that, whereas Aksumite curse formulae invoke deities, whether pagan or Christian, the curse issued in the name of Galāwdewos invokes not only the Trinity but also Mary, the Prophets, and the Apostles. Also worth noting is the fact that the issuing of such curses in written form was not limited to kings, nor even to Christians, in post-Aksumite Ethiopia, as evidenced by similar manuscript curses in literature produced by the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel Jews of Ethiopia. Beta ʾƎsrāʾel curses are similar in format to their Christian counterparts but replace invocations of Mary, the Trinity, and the Apostles with Old Testament figures like Moses and Aaron.[266] One such curse is

---

[263]Getatchew Haile 2013: 67.
[264]Perruchon 1893: 7.
[265]Wudu Tafete Kassu 2018: 148.
[266]Dege-Müller 2020b: 33.

found the so-called *Genealogy of the Hoḫʷärwa Monastery* (Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Or. 87), a genealogical account of an ascetic community of the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel.[267] Appended to the second of two genealogies in the manuscript is a note by one ʾAbbā Warqe, who may have been the head of the Hoḫwärwa community at one time, that reads: 'This is the *Orit* of ʾAbbā Warqe, who bought it for 30 *šämma*;[268] whoever steals it and erases it shall be anathematized by the words of Moses and Aaron' (*zātti ʾorit za-ʾabbā warqe za-taśayaṭa ba-30-šammā za-śaraqā wa-za-faḥaqā ba-muse wa-ʾaron qāl wəguz*).[269] Then, in another manuscript (MS Faitlovitch MS13), we find the following curse: 'Whoever steals it (i.e. the manuscript), and whoever erases it, shall be anathematized by the authority of Moses, and Aaron, and Melchizedek, the high priest' (*za-saraqo wa-za-faḥaqo wəguza la-yəkun ba-səlṭāna muse wa-ʾaron wa-malka ṣedeq kāhən ʿabīy*).[270] In both cases, as with Aksumite curse formulae, the threat of a curse is directed at one who might remove and/or destroy a text. But however they are worded, and regardless of the ethnicity or religious affiliation of those issuing them, the fact that curse formulae are attested over such a long period testifies to the tenacity of this tradition in Ethiopian culture, as well as to the strength in the conviction that curses are very real, and very potent, deterrents.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

George Hatke https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9745-6941

References

Al-Jallad, Ahmad. 2017. 'Marginal Notes on and Additions to *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions* (SSLL 80; Leiden: Brill, 2015), with a Supplement to the Dictionary'. *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 3: 75–96.

Amha, Azeb. 2012. 'Omotic'. In *The Afroasiatic Languages*, edited by Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Erin Shay, 423–504. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, Jeff S. 1998. 'The Social Function of Curses in the Hebrew Bible'. *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 110: 223–237.

[267]Uniquely among Jewish communities, the Beta ʾƎsrāʾel have historically had a monastic tradition, though this had all but disappeared by the mid-twentieth century (Dege-Müller 2020b: 63–65).

[268]I.e. pieces of cloth.

[269]Translation based on Dege-Müller (2020b: 73 [n. 76]). Note Dege-Müller's emendations to the text in the aforementioned reference.

[270]Translation based on Dege-Müller (2020a: 33).

Arnold, Russell C. D. 2006. *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 60. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Athanasius of Alexandria. 1987. *Apologiae*. Edited by J. M. Szymusiak. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.

al-Balāḏurī, Aḥmad bin Yaḥyā bin Ǧābir. 1936. *Ansāb al-Ašrāf*. Vol. 5. Edited by Shelomo Dov Fritz Goitein. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Press.

Baranowski, Krzysztof J. 2012. 'The Old Aramaic and Biblical Curses'. *Liber Annuus* 62: 173–201.

Bausi, Alessandro. 2013. 'Kings and Saints: Founders of Dynasties, Monasteries and Churches in Christian Ethiopia'. In *Stifter und Mäzene und ihre Rolle in der Religion: Von Königen, Mönchen, Vordenkern und Laien in Indien, China und anderen Kulturen*, edited by Barbara Schuler, 161–186. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bausi, Alessandro. 2021. '"Paleografia quale scienza dello spirito": Once More on the Gəʿəz Inscription of Ham (RIÉ no. 232)'. In *Exploring Written Artefacts. Volume 1. Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, edited by Jörg B. Quenzer, 3–33. Studies in Manuscript Cultures 25. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter.

Bausi, Alessandro. 2022. 'Ethiopic Colophons: An Update'. *Comparative Oriental Manuscripts Studies Bulletin* 8 (1): 121–197.

Baye Yimam. 2013. 'The Imagery of Cursing in Four Ethiopian Languages'. In *Themes in Modern African History and Culture: Festschrift for Tekeste Negash*, edited by Lars Berge and Irma Taddia, 395–416. Padova: Webster srl.

Beeston, Alfred Felix Landon. 1980. 'The South Arabian Collection of the Wellcome Museum in London'. *Raydān* 3: 11–16.

Beeston, Alfred Felix Landon. 1994. 'Foreign Loanwords in Sabaic'. In *Arabia Felix: Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift Walter W. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Norbert Nebes, 39–45. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bernand, Etienne. 1982. 'Nouvelles versions de la campagne du roi Ezana contre les Bedja'. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 45: 105–114.

Bernand, Etienne. 1991. 'Les inscriptions de la période axoumite: B. Les inscriptions grecques'. In Etienne Bernand, Abraham J. Drewes, and Roger Schneider. *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite, Tome I: Les documents*, 359–393. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.

Bernand, Etienne. 2000. *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Tome III: Traductions et commentaires. A. Les inscriptions grecques*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.

Blank, Sheldon H. 1950–1951. 'The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell, and the Oath'. *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 (1): 73–95.

Blench, Roger. 2006. *Archaeology, Language, and the African Past*. Oxford: AltaMira Press.

Bowersock, Glen Warren. 1996. *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Bowersock, Glen Warren. 2013. *The Throne of Adulis: Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boylston, Tom. 2018. *The Stranger at the Feast: Prohibition and Mediation in an Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Community*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Breyer, Francis. 2011. 'Die Inschriften ʿĒzānās'. In *Im Kaiserlichen Auftrag: Die Deutsche Aksum-Expedition 1906 unter Enno Littmann. Band 2: Altertumskundliche Untersuchungen der DAE in Tigray/Äthiopien*, edited by Steffen Wenig, 339–352. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.

Breyer, Francis. 2012. *Das Königreich Aksum: Geschichte und Archäologie Abessiniens in der Spätantike*. Darmstadt and Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

Breyer, Francis. 2021. *Schrift im antiken Afrika: Multiliteralismus und Schriftadaption in den antiken Kulturen Numidiens, Ägyptens, Nubiens und Abessiniens*. Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Burstein, Stanley M. 2008. 'When Greek Was an African Language: The Role of Greek Culture in Ancient and Medieval Nubia'. *Journal of World History* 19: 41–61.

Calvet, Yves, and Christian Julien Robin. 1997. *Arabie heureuse, Arabie déserte: les antiquités arabiques du Musée du Louvre*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

Casson, Lionel, trans. 1989. *The* Periplus maris Erythraei: *Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Casson, Lionel. 1993. 'Ptolemy II and the Hunting of African Elephants'. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 123: 247–260.

Colledge, Sarah Louise. 2015. 'The Process of Cursing in Ancient Egypt'. PhD thesis, Liverpool: University of Liverpool.

Conley, Thomas. 2010. *Toward a Rhetoric of Insult*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Cosmas Indicoplesutes. 1968–1973. *Topographie chrétien*, edited and translated by Wanda Wolska-Conus. 3 vols. Paris: Éditions du CERF.

Crawford, Timothy Gray. 1992. *Blessing and Curse in Syro-Palestinian Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. American University Studies Series 7 (Theology and Religion 120). New York, San Francisco and Bern: Peter Lang.

Cross, Frank Moore. 1973. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*. Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press.

Cuvigny, Hélène, and Christian Julien Robin. 1996. 'Des Kinaidokolpites dans un ostracon grec du désert oriental (Égypte)'. *Topoi* 6 (2): 697–720.

Cuvigny, Hélène, and Christian Julien Robin. 2021. '*Kinaidokolpitai* in a Greek ostracon from the Eastern Desert'. In *Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert*, Hélène Cuvigny, 2, 397–414. New York: New York University Press.

Danet, Brenda, and Bryna Bogoch. 1992. '"Whoever Alters This, May God Turn His Face from Him on the Day of Judgment": Curses in Anglo-Saxon Legal Documents'. *The Journal of American Folklore* 105 (416): 132–165.

Dege-Müller, Sophia. 2020a. 'The Manuscript Tradition of the Betä Ǝsråel (Ethiopian Jews): Form and Content. A Preliminary Analysis'. *Comparative Oriental Manuscripts Studies Bulletin* 6 (1): 5–40.

Dege-Müller, Sophia. 2020b. 'The Monastic Genealogy of Hoḫʷärwa Monastery: A Unique Witness of Betä Ǝsråel Historiography'. *Aethiopica* 23: 57–86.

Derat, Marie-Laure. 2018. 'Trône et sanctuaires: victoires, donations et religions à Aksum (IVe-VIIe siècle)'. In *Le Prince chrétien de Constantin aux royautés barbares (IVe-VIIIe siècle)*, edited by Bruno Dumézil, Sylvain Destephen, and Hervé Inglebert, 545–567. Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance.

Drewes, Abraham J. 2019. *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Tome III – Traductions et commentaires. B. Les inscriptions sémitiques*. Aethiopische Forschungen 85. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Drewes, Abraham J., and Roger Schneider. 1991. 'Les inscriptions de la période axoumite. A. Les inscriptions guèzes'. In *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Tome I – Les documents*, Etienne Bernand, Abraham J. Drewes and Roger Schneider, 215–358. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.

Eide, Tormod, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce, and László Török. 1998. *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region Between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD. Vol. III: From the First to the Sixth Century AD*. Bergen: University of Bergen.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evan. 1956. *Nuer Religion*. Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press.

Fekede Menuta, and Ruth Vatvedt Fjeld. 2016. 'Social and Pragmatic Rules of Cursing and Other Routine Formulas in Gurage and Norwegian Culture'. *Oslo Studies in Language* 8 (1): 359–386.

Fellman, Jack. 1993. 'The Birth of an African Literary Language: The Case of Amharic'. *Research in African Literatures* 24 (3): 123–125.

Fensham, F. Charles. 1962. 'Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the Old Testament'. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 74: 1–9.

Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. 2005. 'Eon'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 2: 328–329. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. 2007. 'MḤDYS'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 3: 947–949. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. 2010. 'Ouazebas'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 4: 81. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. 2014a. 'Ousana(s) II'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 5: 474–475. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Fiaccadori, Gianfranco. 2014b. 'Ousas'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 5: 475. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Finch, Janet. 2008. 'Naming Names: Kinship, Individuality and Personal Names'. *Sociology* 42 (2): 709–725.

Freire, Lucas G. 2017. 'Foreign Relations in the Ancient Near East: Oaths, Curses, Kingship, and Prophecy'. *Journal for Semitics* 26 (2): 663–687.

Gajda, Iwona. 2005. 'The earliest monotheistic South Arabian inscription'. *Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen* 10: 21–29.

Gelb, Ignace J. 1973. 'Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia'. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1/2): 70–98.

Gerlach, Iris, and Mike Schnelle. 2013. 'Sabäische Sakralarchitektur in Südarabien (Jemen)'. In *Sanktuar und Ritual: Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund*, edited by Iris Gerlach and Dietrich Raue, 209–220. Forschungscluster 4. Heiligtümer: Gestalt und Ritual, Kontinuität und Veränderung. Rahden, Westf.: VML, Leidorf.

Getatchew Haile. 2013. *The Homily of Zärʾa Yåəqob's Mäṣḥäfä Bərhan on the Rite of Baptism and Religious Instruction*. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 653, Scriptores Aethiopici 114. Louvain: Peeters.

Gevirtz, Stanley. 1961. 'West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law'. *Vetus Testamentum* 11 (2): 137–158.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. *The Languages of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Haberland, Eike. 1992. 'The Horn of Africa'. In *General History of Africa. V. Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Bethwell Allan Ogot, 703–749. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hahn, Wolfgang. 2001. 'Noe, Israel und andere Könige mit biblischen Namen auf axumitischen Münzen. Der Gottesbund als Legitimation der christlichen Königsherrschaft im alten Äthiopien'. *Money Trend* 33: 124–128.

Hahn, Wolfgang. 2005a. 'Ebana'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 2: 211. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hahn, Wolfgang. 2005b. ‘ʿEzana’. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegbert Uhlig, 2: 478–480. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hahn, Wolfgang, and Robert Keck. 2020. *Münzgeschichte der Akßumitenkönige in der Spätantike*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte 21. Vienna: Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik.

Hatke, George. 2011. ‘Africans in Arabia Felix: Aksumite Relations with Ḥimyar in the Sixth Century CE’. PhD thesis, Princeton: Princeton University.

Hatke, George. 2013. *Aksum and Nubia: Warfare, Commerce, and Political Fictions in Ancient Northeast Africa*. New York: New York University Press.

Hatke, George. 2015. ‘For ʾĪlmuquh and for Sabȧ: The *Res Gestae* of Karibʾīl Watar bin Dhamarʿalī from Ṣirwāḥ in Context’. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 105: 87–133.

Hatke, George. 2020a. ‘The Aksumites in South Arabia: An African Diaspora of Late Antiquity’. In *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone: Aspects of mobility between Africa, Asia and Europe, 300–1500 C.E*, edited by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Lucian Reinfandt, and Yannis Stouraitis, 291–326. Leiden: Brill.

Hatke, George. 2020b. ‘Northeast Africa’. In *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages*, edited by Erik Hermans, 299–332. Leeds: Arc Humanities Press.

Hatke, George. 2022a. ‘Political Fictions, Political Realities: Aksumite-Ḥimyarite Relations in the Fourth Century CE’. *Antiguo Oriente* 20: 15–52.

Hatke, George. 2022b. ‘Religious Ideology in the Gəʿəz Epigraphic Corpus from Yemen’. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 75 (2): 43–102.

Hayajneh, Hani. 2018. ‘Safaitic Prayers, Curses, Grief and More from *Wadi Salhub*—North-Eastern Jordan’. In *To the Madbar and Back Again: Studies in the Languages, Archaeology, and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C. A. Macdonald*, edited by Laïla Nehmé and Ahmad Al-Jallad, 41–68. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 92. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Hendel, Ronald S. 1997. ‘Aniconism and Anthropomorphism in Ancient Israel’. In *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, edited by Karel van der Toorn, 205–228. Leuven: Peeters.

Hillers, Delbert R. 1964. *Treaty Curses and the Old Testament Peoples*. Biblica et Orientalia 16. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.

Jamme, Albert. 1962. *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)*. Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man 3. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Japp, Sarah. 2021. ‘Trade Connections in 1st Millennium CE South Arabia and Ethiopia as Indicated by Material Culture’. In *South Arabian Long-Distance Trade in Antiquity: “Out of Arabia,”* edited by George Hatke and Ronald Ruzicka, 359–391. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kaplan, Steven. 2003. ‘Däbtära’. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegfried Uhlig, 2: 53–54. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Kitz, Anne Marie. 2007. ‘Curses and Cursing in the Ancient Near East’. *Religion Compass* 1 (6): 615–627.

Kitz, Anne Marie. 2014. *Cursed Are You! The Phenomenology of Cursing in Cuneiform and Hebrew Texts*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Kratz, Corinne A. 1989. ‘Genres of Power: A Comparative Analysis of Okiek Blessings, Curses and Oaths’. *Man (New Series)* 24 (4): 636–656.

Krause, Andrew R. 2018. ‘Community, Alterity, and Space in the Qumran Covenant Curses’. *Dead Sea Discoveries* 25 (2): 217–237.

Krebs, Verena. 2021. *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kuhrt, Amélie, and Susan M. Sherwin-White. 1987. *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia After Alexander*. London: Duckworth.

Jung, Michael. 2019. 'A Short Review of Southern Arabian Thrones and Stone Furniture'. *Semitica et Classica* 12: 65–82.

Leslau, Wolf. 1991. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Littmann, Enno. 1913. *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition. Band IV. Griechische und altabessinische Inschriften*. Berlin: George Reimer.

Littmann, Enno. 1914. *Die Altamharischen Kaiserlieder*. Strassburg: J. H. E. Heitz.

Littmann, Enno. 1950. 'Äthiopische Inschriften'. In *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Feier des 250jährigen Bestehens der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, II/2, 97–127. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Lusini, Gianfrancesco. 2017. 'The Costs of the Linguistic Transitions: Traces of Disappeared Languages in Ethiopia'. In *Cultural and Linguistic Transition explored: Proceedings of the ATrA Closing Workshop. Trieste, May 25–26, 2016*, edited by Ilaria Micheli, 264–273. Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste.

Macdonald, Michael C. A. 2010. 'Ancient Arabia and the Written Word'. In *The development of Arabic as a written language. Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 40*, edited by Michael C. A. Macdonald, 5–28. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Malara, Diego Maria. 2020. 'Sympathy for the Devil: Secrecy, Magic and Transgression among Ethiopian Orthodox *Debtera*'. *Ethnos* 87 (3): 444–462.

Maraqten, Mohammed. 1998. 'Curse Formulae in South Arabian Inscriptions and Some of their Semitic Parallels'. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 28: 189–200.

Marrassini, Paolo. 2010. 'Ancient Semitic Gods on the Eritrean Shores'. *Annali* 70 (1–4): 5–16.

Marrassini, Paolo. 2012. 'Lord of Heaven'. *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 4 (47): 103–17.

Marrassini, Paolo. 2014. *Storia e leggenda dell'Etiopia tardoantica. Le iscrizioni reali aksumite con un'appendice di Rodolfo Fattovich su La civiltà aksumita: aspetti archeologici e una nota editoriale di Alessandro Bausi*. Testi del Vicino Oriente antico 9, Letteratura etiopica 1. Brescia: Paideia.

Mateo, José, and Francisco Ramos Yus. 2013. 'Towards a Cross-Cultural Pragmatic Taxonomy of Insults'. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict* 1 (1): 87–114.

Mazzini, Giovanni. 2020. *The Ancient South Arabian Royal Edicts from the Southern Gate of Timnaʿ and the Ǧabal Labaḥ: A New Edition with Philological and Historical Commentary*. Epigraphische Forschungen auf der Arabischen Halbinsel 8. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Merid Wolde Aregay. 2005. 'Military Elites in Medieval Ethiopia'. In *Land, Literacy and the State in Sudanic Africa*, edited by Donald Crummey, 159–186. Trenton and Asmara: The Red Sea Press.

Mettinger, Tryggve N.D. 1997. 'Israelite Aniconism: Developments and Origins'. In *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, edited by Karel van der Toorn, 174–204. Leuven: Peeters.

Mordtmann, Johannes Heinrich, and Eugen Mittwoch. 1932. *Himjarische Inschriften in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 37 (1). Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

Morschauser, Scott. 1991. *Threat Formulae in Ancient Egypt: A Study of the History, Structure and Use of Threats and Curses in Ancient Egypt*. Baltimore: Halgo.

Mountnorris, George Annesley (Viscount Valentia). 1809. *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*. 3 vols. London: William Miller.

Müller, David Heinrich. 1894. *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien nach Abklatschen von Theodore Bent, Esq*. Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Classe 43 (3). Vienna: In Commission bei F. Tempsky.

Müller, Walter W. 1980. 'Eine paulinische Ausdrucksweise in einer spätsabäischen Inschrift'. *Raydān* 3: 75–81.

Müller, Walter W. 2010. *Sabäische Inschriften nach Ären datiert: Bibliographie, Texte und Glossar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Müller, Walter W. 2012. 'Äthiopische Inschriftenfragmente aus der himjarischen Hauptstadt Ẓafār'. *Aethiopica* 15: 7–21.

Munro-Hay, Stuart C. 1999. *Catalogue of the Aksumite Coins in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press.

Munro-Hay, Stuart C., and Bent Juel-Jensen. 1995. *Aksumite Coinage*. London: Spink.

Nadler, Steven. 2018. *Spinoza: A Life*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Naumkin, Vitaly, Andrey Korotayev, and Yekaterina Gushchina. 2005–2006. 'Knob Cylinder with an Inscription from South Arabia'. *Arabia* 3: 171–177, 344.

Orlowska, Izabela, and Peter Klepeis. 2018. 'Ethiopian Church Forests: A Socio-Religious Conservation Model Under Change'. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2018.1519659.

Perruchon, Jules, ed. and trans. 1893. *Les Chroniques de Zâr'â Yâ'eqôb et de B'aeda Mâryâm, rois d'Éthiopie de 1434 à 1478*. Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études, Sciences philologiques et historiques 93. Paris: Émile Bouillon.

Phillipson, David W. 2012. *Foundations of an African Civilization: Aksum & the Northern Horn, 1000 BC–AD 1300*. Woodbridge: James Currey.

Pirenne, Jacqueline. 1965. 'Notes d'archéologie sud-arabe. IV: La déesse sur des reliefs sabéens'. *Syria* 42 (1/2): 109–136.

Porter, Barbara N. 2001. 'The Importance of Place: Esarhaddon's Stelae at Til Barsip and Sam'al'. In *Proceedings of the XLV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Part I: Historiography in the Cuneiform World*, edited by Tzvi Abusch, Paul-Alain Beaulieu, John Huehnergard, Peter Machinist, and Piotr Steinkeller, 373–390. Bethesda: CDL Press.

Prioletta, Alessia. 2012. 'A New Monotheistic Inscription from the Military of Ṣan'ā''. In *New Research in Archaeology and Epigraphy of South Arabia and its Neighbors: Proceedings of the "Rencontres sabéennes 15" Held in Moscow, May 25th–27th, 2011*, edited by Alexander Sedov, 315–332. Moscow: The State Museum of Oriental Art and Institute of Oriental Studies.

Radner, Karen. 2005. *Die Macht des Namens: Altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Ramos, Melissa. 2016. 'A Northwest Semitic Curse Formula: The Sefire Treaty and Deuteronomy 28'. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 128: 205–220.

Rhodokanakis, Nikolaus. 1927. *Altsabäische Texte I*. Vienna and Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.-G.

Richter, Renate. 1997. 'Some Linguistic Peculiarities of Old Amharic Texts'. In *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective. Volume I: Papers of the XIII^th International Conference of Ethiopian*

Studies, Kyoto 12–17 December 1997, edited by Katsuyoshi Fukui, Eisei Kurimoto, and Masayoshi Shigeta, 543–551. Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers.

Robin, Christian Julien. 1988. 'La première intervention abyssine en Arabie méridionale (de 200 à 270 de l'ère chrétienne environ)'. In *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, edited by Taddese Beyene, 2, 147–162. Addis Ababa: University of Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies/Frankfurt am Main: Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frobenius-Institut.

Robin, Christian Julien. 1997. 'Les religions païennes de l'Arabie du Sud préislamique'. In *Arabie heureuse, Arabie déserte: les antiquités arabiques du Musée du Louvre*, Yves Calvet and Christian Julien Robin, 60–76. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

Robin, Christian Julien. 2001. 'Les inscriptions de l'Arabie antique et les études arabes'. *Arabica* 48: 509–577.

Robin, Christian Julien. 2012. 'Matériaux pour une typologie des divinités arabiques et de leurs représentations'. In *Dieux et déesses d'Arabie images et représentations. Actes de la table ronde tenue au Collège de France (Paris) les 1er et 2 octobre 2007*, edited by Isabelle Sachet and Christian Julien Robin, 7–118. Orient & Méditerranée nº 7. Paris: De Boccard.

Robin, Christian Julien. 2022. 'Le guèze maquillé en sabaïque des inscriptions royales aksūmites (Éthiopie antique)'. In *Hiéroglossie III: persan, syro-araméen et les relations avec la langue arabe, Collège de France, 25 juin 2018, sous la direction de Jean-Noël Robert* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Japonaises), 171–205. Paris: Collège de France.

Robin, Christian Julien, and Sarah Rijziger. 2018. '"The Owner of the Sky, God of Israel" in a New Jewish Ḥimyaritic Inscription Dating from the Fifth Century CE'. *Der Islam* 95 (2): 271–290.

Rodinson, Maxime. 1981. 'Les nouvelles inscriptions d'Axoum et le lieu de déportation des Bedjas'. *Raydān* 4: 97–116.

Rüppell, Eduard. 1838–1840. *Reise in Abyssinien*. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main: In Commission bei Siegmund Schmerber.

Rufinus. 1997. *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia, Books 10 and 11*. Translated by Philip R. Amidon. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sanders, Seth L. 2008. 'Writing and Early Iron Age Israel: Before National Scripts, Beyond Nations and States'. In *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, edited by Ron E. Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter, 97–112. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Schneider, Pierre. 2009. 'De l'Hydaspe à Raphia: rois, éléphants et propaganda d'Alexandre le Grand à Ptolémée IV'. *Chronique d'Égypte* 84 (167–168): 310–334.

Schneider, Roger. 1974. 'Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum'. In *Atti IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 10–15 Aprile 1972). Tomo I*, 767–786. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Seymour, Timothy P. 1983. 'Personal Names and Name Giving in the Ancient Near East'. *UCLA Historical Journal* 4: 108–120.

Sidebotham, Steven E. 2011. *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sima, Alexander. 2002. 'Epigraphische Notizen zu Abraha's Damminschrift (CIH 541)'. *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 13: 126–132.

Sima, Alexander. 2003. ‘Abschied vom „herrlichen“ Land MṢ: Eine alte crux in der Trilingue des ʿĒzānā (RIE 185 und RIE 185bis)’. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 93: 227–231.

Sima, Alexander. 2003–2004. ‘Die „sabäische“ Version von König ʿĒzānās Trilingue RIE 185 und 185bis’. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50: 269–284.

Sima, Alexander. 2007. ‘Mäḫrəm’. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, edited by Siegfried Uhlig, 3: 661–622. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Solá Solé, Josep María. 1964. *Inschriften aus Riyām*. Sammlung Eduard Glaser IV. Sitzungsberichte, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 243 (4). Vienna: Böhlau.

Speidel, Michael. 2016. ‘Die Throninschrift von Adulis und das Römische Reich am Roten Meer zu Beginn des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.’. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 200: 287–300.

Stein, Peter. 2009. ‘Monotheismus oder religiöse Vielfalt? Ḏū Samāwī, die Stammesgottheit der ʾAmīr, im 5. Jh. n. Chr.’. In *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra. Analecta Semitica In Memoriam Alexander Sima*, edited by Werner Arnold, Michael Jursa, Walter W. Müller, and Stephan Procházka, 339–350. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Taddesse Tamrat. 1988. ‘Processes of Ethnic Interaction and Integration in Ethiopian History: The Case of the Agaw’. *The Journal of African History* 29 (1): 5–18.

Tebaber Workneh, Guday Emirie, Mirgissa Kaba, Yalemtsehay Mekonnen, and Helmut Kloos. 2018. ‘Perceptions of Health and Illness Among the Konso People of Southwestern Ethiopia: Persistence and Change’. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 14 (1): 1–9.

Theil, Rolf. 2006. ‘Is Omotic Afroasiatic?’. In *Proceedings from the David Dwyer Retirement Symposium, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 21 October 2006*. Accessed 26 April 2023. https://uio.no/studier/emner/hf/iln/LING2110/v07/THEIL%20Is%20Omotic%20Afroasiatic.pdf.

Török, László. 2011. *Hellenizing Art in Ancient Nubia 300 B.C.–AD 250 and Its Egyptian Models: A Study in “Acculturation.”* Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 53. Leiden: Brill.

Uhlig, Siegbert. 2001. ‘Eine trilinguale ʿEzana-Inschrift’. *Aethiopica* 4: 7–31.

Voigt, Rainer. 2017. ‘Sprache, Schrift und Gesellschaft im axumitischen Reich’. In *Süd-Arabien / South Arabia: A Great “Lost Corridor” of Mankind. A Collection of Papers Dedicated to the Re-establishment of South Arabian Studies in Austria*, edited by Roswitha G. Stiegner, 1, 185–211. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

von Wissmann, Hermann. 1964. *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*. Sammlung Eduard Glaser III. Graz and Vienna: Böhlau.

Wolska-Conus, Wanda. 1968. (See Cosmas Indicoplesutes. 1968–1973).

Wudu Tafete Kassu 2018. ‘Yä-Dəba Maryam Church in Dawənt’. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 51: 143–152.

Yakubovich, Ilya. 2010. ‘The West Semitic God El in Anatolian Hieroglyphic Transmission’. In *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*, edited by Yoram Cohen, Amir Gilan, and Jared L. Miller, 385–398. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Band 51. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Youngman, Rafael, Sara Minuchin-Itzigsohn, and Miriam Barasch. 1999. ‘Manifestations of Emotional Distress among Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel: Patient and Clinician Perspectives’. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 36 (1): 45–63.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148421

Andrea Maria Negri
University of Bologna, Italy | andreamaria.negri2@unibo.it

The Narration of the *maqāmāt*: A Reading of ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd's *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya* (1715) through Propp

Abstract This article conducts a reading of ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd al-ʿAlawī's *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya* (1715), employing Vladimir Propp's model of narrative functions. Although Proppian functions have frequently been harnessed to deconstruct essential components and plot architecture within the *maqāma* genre, the article emphasises the intrinsic limitations of this approach, especially when the focus is restricted to the analysis of isolated units rather than the entire collection. In accordance with various literary analyses, this research interprets the *maqāma* as a genre that orchestrates individual narrative units to synthesise a more expansive, novel-like overarching narrative. Within this intricate framework, the text accentuates the interconnected events between the narrator and the trickster. The emphasis lies on the multifaceted transformation experienced by both characters: the first encountering and engaging with the world's complexity, and the second undergoing a progressive moral conversion, culminating in his eventual demise. In the process, the article posits that the inherent quality of the *maqāma* of Bā ʿAbbūd, inspired by the models of al-Ḥarīrī, shows the flexibility of the genre. Within the predictability of its narratives, the *maqāma* is a genre able to become a vessel for diverse thematic discourses that the author seeks to convey.

Keywords *maqāma*, *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya*, functions of the *maqāmāt*, Vladimir Propp

1 Introduction

The *maqāma* hails from gatherings, from assembly spots where people stand, known as '*al-maǧlis wa-l-maqāmāt al-nās muǧālasātihim*' (ʿAwḍ 1979: 7; Ḥasan 1998: 12). It is a genre in Arabic literature, unique and without parallel, standing alone in the literary landscape. Narratives resemble one another, characterised by archetypal narration, known as the 'typical *maqāma*' (Stewart 2006: 147) or 'standard *maqāma*' (James 1974: 306). Repetition runs through it. The genre is recursive, infinite, unending similar to serialised cartoons, such as Mickey and Donald (Schip-

© 2023 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.

pers 2002: 305), with repeated character motifs, recurring elements, a loose plot *'al-qiṣṣa ḏāt al-ḥikba al-mufakkaka'* (ʿAwḍ 1979: 57).[1] Repetition is coded, found in representations of performances like storytelling events (Wacks 2007: 44).[2] Abdelfattah Kilito emphasises it, a series of semblances, refractions (Kilito 2020: 4). The recognition is seen by Alexander Elison as repetitive in terms of the obsessive presence and re-emergence of the protagonist (Elinson 2005: 3). This 'poetics of repetition' is vital in education, in teaching (Neuwirth 2005: 23; Beeston 1971: 1), and in children's literature, clarifying the structure, aiding memory (Gannon 1987: 2).[3] The *maqāma* is both simple and complex, repetitive and varied, echoing the places where people stand and gather. It is a genre of multiplicity and unity, high literature and popular storytelling, teaching and learning.

This perceived predictable sequence of events has been the object studies of scholars that through the classical lens formalist and structural approaches have sought to pinpoint the morphology of the story of the *maqāma*. In their research, Kilito (1983: 48), Mahmud Tarchouna (1982: 289), James T. Monroe (1983: 23), and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (2002: 45) have identified trends within the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamāḏānī and al-Ḥarīrī aiming to pinpoint a structure valid for all their stories. However, their objective was arguably not to provide a comprehensive

---

[1] Several scholars have underscored the distinctive quality of the *maqāma* as a literary genre that aimed to legitimise fictional narratives imbued with realistic characteristics, as not seen as legitimate as engaging in a form of creative dissemblance or intentional fabrication. The *maqāma* stood in a place in literature where fiction had no legitimation (Bakr 1998: 8). This is also argued by Rina Drory, it gave fiction its place in Arabic culture (Drory 2000: 9) that engages with the semiotic frameworks of Itamar Even-Zohar's Polysystem Theory. Her argument is that the genre was needed to carve out a space for itself within the cultural system where it originated, navigating literary and social norms to achieve acceptance and legitimacy (Drory 2000: 6). This nuanced characteristic endures in its literary structure, crafting a complex interplay between realism—especially in the use of ʾisnād—and renunciation of objective truth. The *maqāma* is seen synthesises the implicit narrative techniques found in the *ḥadīṯ* literature with the episodic fictiveness reminiscent of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Wacks 2007: 55; Goodman 1988: 27). The convergence of fact and fiction within the *maqāma* genre contributes to its scholarly perception as a satirical reflection of *hadiṯ* literature. This view has been proposed and supported by scholars such as Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (2002: 46) and David Wacks (2007: 46–47) especially in relation with the use of the *ʾisnād*.

[2] Edmond Saussey emphasises this aspect too. The *maqāma* stands in two worlds: a high literary category, that yet reflects the literary psychology of popular storytelling. In his reading, the *maqāma* is both, together, interwoven in its essence: '[l]'art des *maqàmat*, art très raffiné, mais procédant exactement de la même psychologie littéraire que les contes populaires' (Saussey 1932: 162).

[3] In this context, Philip F. Kennedy emphasises the pedagogical aim of the *maqāma*, particularly in the recognition or anagnorisis scene: 'these are close in nature to the *maqāmāt* in the cast of players they contain but their recognition scenes, albeit set in ambiguous anecdotes, are edifying rather than dispiriting' (Kennedy 2016: 221).

analysis of all the major variations within the collections. Hämeen-Anttila[4] and Kilito's[5] outlines are more specific as they delve into events that are not commonly found in most narratives. In contrast, Tarchouna's scheme[6] is more general and therefore able to account for various types of narration without specifying the variations within some of their functions. The only scheme that aims to account for major events in the genre is Devin Stewart's (147),[7] which is more detailed but may not represent the majority of the *maqāmāt*.

The proposed patterns, assuming an ideal plot for the *maqāma*, one that might condense all major variations. Yet, this thinking is challenged. The limit is perhaps applying the method of Vladimir Yakovlevich Propp, that was aimed at folk tales, as narrative unites that stands by themselves as independent narrations (Murphy 2015: 39), without considering that the *maqāma* is intrinsically different. It does not stand alone. It is not an isolated narration. It's a collection, a series, stories assembled, layered, connected. Plot and characterization are intertwined between the units, merging together, even not in a straightforward chain of events. This interrelation among the apparent units of the stories, Kilito (1983: 226) speaks of the macro level of the narration, a thematic layer that becomes apparent throughout the unfolding stories. This concept is further corroborated by Katia Zakharia.

> Ce recueil inépuisable est non seulement une collection (dont chaque *maqāma* est une pièce) mais également une structure (dont chaque *maqāma* est un élément organisateur). II est certain, les lecteurs d'al-Ḥarīrī ne s'y sont pas trompés, que ces Séances se caractérisent par « l'absence d'une logique assurée entre les évènements ».[8] C'est bien pour cette raison qu'il convient de chercher à dégager ce qui, sans être évènementiel, organise le texte et trace le chemin d'Abū Zayd. (Zakharia 1987: 276)

---

[4] 1. *ʾIsnād*; 2. General introduction; – Link; 3. Episode; 4. Recognition scene (anagnorisis); 5. Envoi; 6. Finale, see Hämeen-Anttila (2002: 152).

[5] 1. Arrival of the transmitter in a city; 2. Encounter of the transmitter with the disguised rogue/rhetorician; 3. Literary display by the latter; 4. Rewarding of the rogue by the transmitter; 5. Recognition of the rogue's true identity; 6. Reproaches of the transmitter; 7. Justification by the rogue; 8. Parting of the two, see Kilito (1983: 48) quoted in Monroe (1983: 21).

[6] 1. Assemblée; 2. Arrivée incognito; 3. Fourbe; 4. Reconnaissance; 5. Justification, see Tarchouna (1982: 289).

[7] 1. The transmitter arrives in a city; 2. Formation of an assembly or gathering for learned discussion; 3. The protagonist enters the assembly; 4. The protagonist undertakes an eloquent performance; 5. Rewarding of the protagonist by the transmitter or other character; 6. The protagonist leaves assembly, which breaks up; 7. The transmitter realises the protagonist's true identity; 8. The transmitter follows the protagonist; 9. The transmitter accosts or reproaches the protagonist; 10. Justification by the protagonist; 11. Parting of the two; 12. Departure of the transmitter from the city (implicit), see Stewart (2006: 147).

[8] Kilito 1983: 232.

Similarly, David Roxburgh underscores the notion that 'the *maqāma* was an aggregate of parts whose coherence, if any,[9] lay not in sequence but in theme: the individual *maqāmas* were interrelated more paradigmatically than syntagmatically' (Roxburgh 2013: 191). In light of this, it may be posited that the endeavour of delineating a morphology of the *maqāma* should transcend mere identification of the functions within a singular *maqāma*. The title of collections of *maqāmāt* in Arabic literature is always plural, arguably underlining this multiplicity. An ideal *maqāma* model, if it exists, should extend to encompass variations at both the level of individual units and the overarching assembly of *maqāmāt*.

In this context the article examines ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd al-ʿAlawī's *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya* ('The Indian Assemblies'), completed in 1128/1716, employing Vladimir Propp's theoretical concepts of functions and spheres of action. These notions are applied to provide a structured reading of the text, aiming to uncover the underlying narrative mechanisms and thematic complexities present within it. The aim of this analysis is to craft a morphology, which Propp (1968: 19) describes as 'a description of the tale in terms of its constituent parts and the relationship of these parts to each other and the whole'. Although formalist methodologies are frequently regarded as outdated, due in part to their propensity to reduce narratives into formulaic patterns (Dogra 2017: 416), the inherent complexity of the *maqāma* genre, marked by its multifaceted and repetitive character, positions it as an apt subject for an analytical dissection aimed at unravelling and schematizing its intricate plot design (Harris 2008; Wright 2001). This complexity invites a deeper exploration that transcends traditional interpretive constraints, potentially offering new insights into the genre's distinctive literary structure and thematic richness. This dissection is aimed to contribute to a more profound comprehension of how Bā ʿAbbūd creatively reconfigures and reinterprets the *maqāma* genre.

ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd[10] is a relatively understudied figure, with sparse available biographical information. It is mentioned that he departed Yemen in the late 17th century, venturing to India in pursuit of more promising opportunities (al-Ḥibšī 1999: 7)—a frequent trajectory among the Hadhrami diaspora (Ho

[9] Tarchouna (1982: 289) supports this view of the absence of link between the narration 'le lien entre ces récits est trop lâche pour qu'on puisse trouver une certaine unité', and similarly, Šawqī Ḍayf (1973: 37) underscores the autonomy of each text, emphasising that no connections tie them together.

[10] Among the studies on the *maqāmāt* of ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd see: Ḫarram (2016), the introduction of the critical edition of al-Ḥibšī (1999), Saitta (2014a), and Negri (2012; 2022). For a recollection of the manuscripts of this *maqāmāt* see the two articles of Saitta (2014b; 2014c). A lithography of *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya* has been published with a Persian title *Maqāmāt-i hindī* in India (Bā ʿAbbūd 1848).

2006: 9). There remains uncertainty as to whether he ever revisited Yemen, implying the possibility of his lifetime settlement in India. During his stay in India, Bā ʿAbbūd authored a compendium of short narratives entitled *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya*. His endeavour was aimed at distilling the lexicon and syntax of the classical *maqāmāt* genre, with a specific focus on the works of ʾAḥmad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (446/1054–516/1122), Ibn al-Ṣayqal al-Ǧazarī (751/1359–833/1429), and al-Zamaḫšarī's (467/1074–538/1143) *al-Nawābiġ* (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 9). The author explicitly expressed the intention to render the genre more accessible to readers lacking the requisite erudition to engage with the challenging works of al-Ḥarīrī and al-Ǧazarī. Consequently, the author embarked on a process of language simplification, all the while preserving the original structural integrity of the narration. This strategic adaptation aimed to broaden the audience of the *maqāma* without diluting its complex narrative form. Although Bā ʿAbbūd's collection draws from the classical genre, founded by al-Hamaḏānī (358/969–398/1007), his oeuvre nevertheless mirrors a common trend of the 18th century in the genre, reflecting a propensity towards innovation and reinterpretation of its forms, as emphasised by Hämeen-Anttila (2012: 7). The choice of Indian subcontinent cities as the backdrop for this collection is an innovative departure from the usual Arab settings of other *maqāmāt* (Kilito 1983: 22). The narrative recounts the experiences of a wayfarer negotiating unfamiliar cultures and landscapes, blending in reflections on reformist religious views, adaptations of al-Ḥarīrī's and Ibn al-Ṣayqal al-Ǧazarī's *maqāmāt*, and the insights of Yemenis residing in India. The *maqāmāt* of Bā ʿAbbūd merge themes of travel writing with classical tropes of the *maqāma*.

2 One *maqāma* multiple plots

Propp defines a function as 'an act of character' that holds significance for the advancement of the narrative, requiring repetition to gain status as a function (Propp 1968: 21). These functions serve as the foundational elements of a narrative genre and are described as 'forms transferred from tales of other classes (anecdotes, legends, etc.)' (Propp 1968: 64). In addition, the interactions between these functions are regulated by a set of rules, ensuring that no function can negate another within the genre (Dogra 2017: 414). Propp also emphasises that the chronological arrangement of functions must be preserved, although some may be omitted (Propp 1968: 71). The characters' actions within a narrative correspond to discrete spheres of action, leading to the potential intertwining of storylines. Propp further elucidates that these spheres may converge, as evidenced in the interrelated actions of the villain, hero, or giver (Dogra 2017: 415).

At the core of the functions of the *maqāmāt* of Bā ʿAbbūd are two central characters: the narrator and the protagonist. The narrator occupies a central role within the narrative, not merely as an external voice but as a character as an essential part of the development of the events of the story, functioning both as

a key participant in the unfolding action and as the focal nexus through which the plot is articulated. This character's intrinsic nature drives them to journey and explore various spaces. Conversely, the protagonist is portrayed as a more enigmatic figure, whom readers are invited to interpret. This character's intermittent appearances across cities are marked by acts of both deceit and benevolence, reflecting an attempt to guide others towards virtue. The third axis of actions is represented by the people, a category left deliberately vague by the omission of specific names or identities. This general grouping, encompassing individuals such as a boy or an elderly person, often serves roles that include being deceived or providing the narrator with sought-after information. This threefold structure of characters, in turn, contributes to the rich complexity and interpretive depth of the narrative.

A formulation of the functions of the collection of Bā ʿAbbūd could be as follows:

A Initial situation
(A-1) The narrator hears news about a city.
(A-2) The narrator decides to go there.
(A-3) The group of travellers endure difficulties on the route.

B Apparent resolution
(B-1) The group reaches the city.
(B-2) The narrator and his companions encounter more difficulties in the city.
(B-3) The narrator finds a helper who gives him some material relief.

C Villainy
(C-1) Trickery: The helper deceives his victims in order to take possession of their belongings.
(C-1a) Beggar: An old man comes to a gathering of people and asks them for alms. He then steals from them.
(C-1b) Paretic: The protagonist comes to a mosque and gives a sermon. The people give him alms, but he turns out to be a fraud who steals from them.
(C-1c) Philological: Eloquent people and men of letters gather. An old man comes and resolves a literary quarrel. However, he later steals from them.
(C-1d) Judicial: An old man brings his son to an arbiter to denounce the theft of a poem. They recite poems in front of the judge, but the old man turns out to be a fraud who steals from them.
(C-1e) Marriage: The people gather for a marriage feast, and the groom steals from the bride and takes her wealth.
(C-2) Apocalypse: Occurrence of a natural cataclysm.
(C-2a) Eschaton: The people believe that the end of the world is near and go to a hermit for salvation. The hermit takes advantage of their credulity.
(C-3) Not categorizable.

D Return
(D-1) The protagonist leaves the group with the stolen items.
(D-2) The narrator follows the protagonist.
(D-3) The narrator confronts the protagonist.
(D-4) The narrator uncovers the hero's identity (anagnorisis).
(D-5) The narrator criticises the protagonist.
(D-6) The protagonist curses the narrator.
(D-7) The protagonist justifies himself.
(D-8) The two separate.
(D-9) The narrator comments on the marvel of his experience.
(D-10) Final equilibrium: the narrator re-joins his companions.

I Functions that build the macro-plot of the collection
(I-1) The protagonist demonstrates to be a valuable litterateur.
(I-2) The protagonist fails to gain enough money for the lack of patrons.
(I-3) The protagonist starts begging.
(I-3) Few people give him alms.
(I-4) The protagonist begins to lie to get more money and to steal through his rogues.
(I-5) The protagonist repents.
(I-6) The protagonist gives a spiritual testament.
(I-7) The protagonist dies.

2.1 Initial situation

2.1.1 The travel towards *maḥāsin*

Al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya is a narrative that originates from an allure, stimulated by tales and expressions extolling the beauty of India. This desire is sparked in the *mağlis*, a social setting where cultivated individuals gather to reflect, share, and converse. Within these gatherings, the narrator reveals his compulsion towards a particular objective, incited by whispers and intuitions of something greater. This motif underlies almost every *maqāma*, influencing the narrator's decision to embark on a journey. Frequently, it is the allure of a city, the reputation of its people, the splendour of gardens, cultural landmarks, or majestic monuments that beckon the narrator. The pursuit of beauty, as a central theme in the narrative, manifests through various passages, with the journey acting as an emblematic and pivotal element within the broader storyline.

> سمرت مع بعض الإخوان فتذاكرنا محاسن البلدان فقالوا قد شاع وذاع وملأ الأسماع أن أرض الهند جَمَعَت جميع المحاسن الدنيوية وفيها من الرَّاحة ما يُعين على المطالب الأخروية فاشتقت إليها اشتياق الصَّادي إلى الزلال والمهجور إلى الوصَال والحزين إلى الفرح والعديم إلى المنح وبقيتُ أفكّر في الحيلة التي تُوصِلُ إليها

وترميني بأيّ وجه عليها فقيل لي إن أهل هذه المدينة يريدون أن يبعثوا إليها سفينة فاتخذت الأهْبة وتَهَيَّأت لركوب مَرْكب الغُرَبة وتوَكَّلت على مالك الملك ورَكِبْت في ذلك الفُلْك
(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 25)

One night, while chatting with some brothers, we reminisced about the beauties of various regions. They said that these beauties were scattered and lost, and it has filled the ears that the land of India has gathered together the beauties of the world, and that there is a tranquillity within it that aids in otherworldly quests. We were filled with desires to reach this land, much like a thirsty person longing for pure water, or an expatriate yearns for union, or the sad crave happiness, or the poor seek a gift. I remained pondering the means to get there and to throw me there in any way. Then I was told that the people of this city intended to send a ship there. I took up the arms and prepared myself to board this ship of estrangement. I entrusted myself to the Owner of all things and I embarked upon that vessel.

And similarly:

ضمّني السّمر مع جماعة في ليالي القمر فتذاكرنا محاسن السفر وما فيه من الرِّبح والظفر ببلوغ المآرب والوطر ونحن على الفرش عدد حملة العرش فقال واحد نسير إلى بنكاله وقال الثاني بل إلى برناله وقال الثالث بل إلى أكره وقال الرابع بل إلى متره وقال الخامس بل إلى امتياز كر وقال السادس بل إلى إكليسر وقال السابع بل إلى تنيسر لأن بها العسكر وبه أخلاط الزّمر فقالوا إنه كالمحشر بل هو أدهى وأمرّ ثم رَدّوا الكلام إليّ فتفاقم الأمر عليّ وقلت لهم ما خاب من استشار ولا ندم من استخار فقالوا ذاك إليك وقد اعتمدنا في أمرنا عليك فأقبلت على الخيرة فلم تزدني إلاَّ حيرة وكنت سمعت برجل ذي حميّة وغيرة له مع الله سريرة فقصدت جنابه وقبلت رحابه وأخبرته الخبر وشاورته في المسير إلى العسكر
(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 79)

During moonlit nights, I found myself drawn to engaging in night talks with a group. Together, we reminisced about the beauties of travel and the success in reaching goals and fulfilling needs. We were on the carpet of a number of high officials of the throne. One said, ‘Let us go to Bengal.’ The second said, ‘Rather to Barnālah.’ The third said, ‘Instead to Agra.’ The fourth said, ‘Instead to Matrah.’ The fifth said, ‘Rather to Imtiyāz Kar.’ The sixth said, ‘Rather to Iklīsir.’ The seventh said, ‘Rather to Tanīsir, since there in the army and in it is a mixture of groups.’ So, they said, ‘The matter is yours, we have already entrusted our affairs to him.’ So, I accepted the choice, and it did not augment if not perplexity. I had heard of a man of modesty and poverty who had a secret with God. I turned to him, kissed the ground before him, and informed him of the news, seeking his advice about going to the army.

The exploration and discourse concerning the beauties of the world resonate persistently throughout the narrative, unveiling itself as a central thematic element.

In another instance, the journey is directed towards encountering an individual renowned for his scholarly insight or for delivering a sermon, or to partake

in a gathering of eminent scholars and erudite individuals. The intention is to absorb their wisdom and knowledge and hear their poetic expressions.

> سمعتُ بأن في أحمد آباد رجلاً له في الحديث اليد الطُّولى وقد شهر بِعُلُوُّ الإسناد فجبت إليها الفيافي والمهامه وقطعت في يومي ما يقطعه المسافر في عامه
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 104)

> I heard that near ʾAḥmad ʾĀbād, there was a man with profound knowledge of the *ḥadīṯ* and renowned for the elevation of the *ʾisnād*. Therefore, I crossed deserts and wastelands, covering in one day what a traveller might traverse in a year.

The quest for knowledge guides al-Nāṣir b. al-Fattāḥ, always on the search. The narrator frequents assemblies, rulers with scholars, courts to hear judges, the wisdom of litigants. Knowledge is the constant goal, part of what is deemed beautiful by the narrator, worth visiting.

2.1.2 The travel for alms

Moreover, at the inception of the narrative, the narrator is portrayed as embarking on a journey, either compelled by impoverishment or necessitated by adverse circumstances for survival. In some instances, the journey itself becomes a means of alleviation from his condition of destitution, as he seeks sustenance and support from fellow travellers. This dynamic is illustrated in the following excerpt:

> رأيت جماعةً من السند آمّين قرية سهرند فسرت بمسيرهم رغبة في مبرهم فأدخلوني محل الواسطة من القلادة وأفادوني الحُسْنى وزيادة وحين قربنا من القرية وتحقّقناها بلا مرية
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 73)

> I saw a group of Sind while aiming to go to the village of Sirhind so I went with them wishing for their support and they let me into the place of the centre of the necklace and they provided me with good deeds and abundance. When we approached the village, we realised it without a doubt.

This particular narrative function is manifested in the first *maqāma*, when *šayḫ* ʾAbū al-Ẓafar al-Hindī, upon observing the poverty of al-Nāṣir b. Fattāḥ, takes the decision to help him:

> فقال بعد أن سمع قِصَّتي وسَفْرتي وأسبابها قوّض خيامك عن أرض تُهَان بِهَا فقلت إن حالي لضرير ولا أملك من الدِّرهم إلاّ نصفه الأخير ففكر ساعة بعد أن أكثر التبهّل والضَّراعة ثم قام وقال سرِ بسَيْرِي أسْهِمْك في مَيْري فسِرْت بسَيْره الحثيث وهو يحدثني بأحسن الحديث
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 27)

> He said after he heard my story and my journey and its causes, 'remove your tent from the land where you are humbled.' I said then 'my condition is of necessity I have no dirham but half of it.' So he thought for an hour after which there were plenty of imprecations and resignation. He then got up and said, 'Come with me, I'll give you part of my supplies.' I therefore went with his rapid pace, and he spoke to me with the most beautiful speech.

In other instances, the journey's impetus lies in poverty, driven by dire circumstances. This motivation is intrinsically connected to a form of flight, one not necessarily directed towards a well-defined objective but rather pursued in search of relief. An example of this dynamic can be found in the following passage:

> اجتزت بأحمد نكر في أيام غلبة السُّموم والحر وغلب عليّ الظمأ حتى خُشِيْتُ الهلاك والعَمَى
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 30)

> I passed through ʾAḥmad Nakr on days when the wind of Simun and heat exceeded, and I was very thirsty and feared death and blindness.

In another case a famine:

> أجدب الهند سنة من السّنين حتى باع النّاس البنات والبنين وشروا الميتة بالدُّر الثَّمين فتَدَرَّعت دِرْعَ المهابة والوقار وشمرت للرَّحيل والسّفار
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 51)

> India dried up one year of the years to the point that people sold their daughters and sons and bought animal carcasses with precious gems. I thus armed myself with composure and calmness and prepared myself for the departure and the journey.

2.2 Apparent resolution after a troubled travel

This enduring condition of journeying presents a departure from Propp's theoretical framework, as the narrator-protagonist is not summoned to set forth on a journey or adventure but is already engaged in the act of travelling. In this context, the travel itself seems to be construed as a normative state, while residing in a fixed location constitutes an exceptional circumstance. This exceptionality is always temporary and never evolves into a permanent condition. The act of dwelling in a place can be interpreted as the exceptional event within the *maqāma*, symbolising a pause for observation amidst continuous and indeterminate wandering. This function appears to serve as the motivational underpin-

ning of the journey's central role within the narratives, as both the narrator and the protagonist are engaged in perpetual travel. The primary locus of the initial scenario in these stories is the function of the journey itself. Such a journey is not depicted as an extraordinary or definitive phase of the character's existence; rather, it emerges as a habitual state. Conversely, the act of residing within a specific space is portrayed as an anomalous circumstance, a sort of exception to the character's usual life.

Al-Nāṣir b. Fattāḥ recounts before coming to a city his arduous journeying experience emphasising the tribulations he endured. An example can be found in the following passage:

لم أزل أجوب البحر والبر وأكابد البَرد والحر أنضو مطايا السفر حتى ولجتُ مدينة سكر
(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 39)

> I continued to travel sea and land suffering from frost and heat. The mounts of the journey were exhausted until I repaired to the city of Sukr.

These challenges are contextualised within the hope of resolving the narrator's initial difficult circumstances, a hope that appears attainable once the goal of reaching the city and extricating himself from the traveller's tribulations is achieved. The narrator is depicted as content with his situation and able to enjoy his life in the city. However, it is crucial to recognize that this condition is ephemeral and momentary, serving as a fleeting respite within the broader narrative trajectory.

وحين خِفْنا على ذهاب النّفوس لاح لنا بندر سورت المحروس فنزلنا إلى تلك الأرض المونسة والبلد التي على المحاسن مؤسسة فصغر الخُبْر الخبر ولم يسمع السّمع بأحسن مما رأى البصر واقتبسنا أنوارها القابوسية واغترفنا من بحارها القاموسية واستمطرنا سحائبها العيدروسية ومكثت بها مُدَّة وأنا في أنس بعد تلك الشدّة
(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 25)

> When we feared the departure of souls, the well-protected port of Surat appeared to us, and we therefore descended into that friendly land in a region founded on beauties. Experience outshone the tales we had heard; the eye beheld sights more beautiful than the ear had heard of. Therefore, we absorbed its brilliant lights and touched its abysmal seas. We asked for rain from the clouds of the al-ʿAydarūs. I stayed there for a while and was delighted after that distress.

Similarly, in this passage al-Nāṣir finds relief from his travel reaching a city:

وصف لي بيجافور شيخ خبير بتجربة الأمور فتسنّمت سنام الغربة وتأبّطت وتنجّدت هراوة وقِرْبة ووصلت إليها بعد الكدّ والنكد وقد انفصمت مني عُرى الجَلَد وقصَدْت إلى آثارها واجتمعت بأخيارها ورأيتها جَنَّة ذات أنهار وأشجار وجُنَّة تقي البؤس والعار لم يجد أبو مرة سبباً إلى دخولها فَضْلاً عن سُكَّانها وحلولها ثم

خرجت إلى متنزّهاتها فحدَّثَتْني عن الخلد ولَذّاتها ومكثت بها زمناً وأنا في عيش رغيد وظل مديد وسعد يتجدّد ويزيد
(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 35)

> Bijapur was described to me by a *šayḫ* expert in the experience of things, so I got on the hump of estrangement. I threw the garment from his right hand over his left shoulder and lifted his cane and canteen. I arrived there after fatigue and hardness and the reins of my patience had broken. I looked at her vestiges and met with her nobles and saw her as a garden with rivers and trees and an armour that purifies from misery and shame. ʾAbū Murra [the devil] had never found reason to enter it by virtue of its inhabitants and residents. Then I went out to its pleasant places, and they told me of paradise and its joys, and I stayed there for a period of time living opulently with solid protection and a happiness that is renewed and increases.

This temporary state of contentment is nevertheless swiftly negated. The anticipated benefits or favourable conditions al-Nāṣir expects to encounter in the city are either absent or prove to be mere illusions. Consequently, the narrator finds himself back at his original predicament, having journeyed to alleviate his problems, only to arrive at his destination in the very same situation he sought to escape from, now exacerbated by poverty and fatigue from the journey. An example of this recurring narrative pattern can be found in the following passage:

ولم أزل مرخياً للزِّمام إلى أن لاحت لي الخيام فسررت بقدومي عليها ووصولي إليها ثم تأمّلتها بعد أن دخلتها فإذا بيوتها أقفاص وحيطانها أخصاص أكثر سكانها نزائل وأخيارها قلائل ولم أبرح صابراً على الأذى مغضياً على القَذَى
(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 26)

> I continued to let go of the reins until curtains appeared. They rejoiced in my presence and my arrival. Then, after I entered it, I observed it, behold: its houses were huts and barracks, among its inhabitants the poor were the majority and the nobles of them were the minority. I continued to bear the pain and to tolerate injustice.

Almost abruptly, al-Nāṣir becomes cognizant of the gravity of his impoverished condition and the urgency of his needs. Within this context of destitution, he implicitly seeks out individuals both for alms and to engage in their lofty discourses. It is within this particular framework of need and intellectual pursuit that he encounters the protagonist, as elucidated in the following situation:

وحين ضَمَّني سُوقها وظهر لي فُسُوقها ضاق لذلك ذَرْعي وندمت ندامة الكَسْعي وصرت من أحرص الحراص على التماس الخلاص وَطَفْقتُ أفكر في النَّفقة
(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 51)

> When I was contained by its market his moral corruption appeared to me and my arm became short. I repented as al-Kasʿī and I became the most desirous of purity and I began to think about expenses.

In this contest often emerges the figure of an elderly man who appears to fulfil the role of a helper of the narrator. However, as the narrative unfolds, he reveals himself to be a trickster, his ostensible helpfulness giving way to deception.

2.3 Villainy

This encounter with this individual unfolds the episode within the narration. Here are the variations at the level of story:

- *The philological trickery I* is one common form of deception and in the story is based on poetry and linguistic expertise, as seen in various *maqāmāt* (13th, 16th, 20th, 23rd, 29th, 31st, 34th, 36th, 44th, 48th, 49th). The story often begins with an old and poor man entering a gathering of individuals discussing poetry. After a dispute arises, the poor man demonstrates his intelligence by resolving the argument and then recites some poems to solicit alms, which the assembly readily gives out of respect for his knowledge and circumstances.
- *The philological trickery II* showcases instances of poem theft between a father and son which are brought before a judge or governor (*wālī*) for resolution (4th, 7th, 19th). The father, who serves as the villain in disguise, accuses the son of claiming authorship of his poems after making minor modifications. The judge requests both the old man and son to recite the poem in question but finds himself unable to reach a verdict. In an effort to defer the decision, he attempts to postpone it to a later date. However, after being persuaded by the father to do justice on the same day, the judge reluctantly assesses the poetic abilities of both parties. Upon realising that both father and son possess exceptional poetry skills, the judge concludes that there was no need for either of them to steal from the other. Despite not being able to prove the son's innocence, he is afraid of tarnishing his reputation as an experienced judge if he pronounces an unjust verdict. As a result, he opts to provide them with a substantial sum of money to resolve their dispute privately. In reality, the theft of poetry never occurred.
- *The charlatan sermonist*, which includes the 3rd, 6th, 26th, 35th, 42nd, and 50th *maqāmāt*, it depicts a scenario where the narrator enters a mosque on a Friday during the *ẓuhr* prayer and observes an elderly man in shabby attire preaching from the pulpit, after which he leaves the mosque having collected alms. In these *maqāmāt*, it is often challenging to determine if any deception is taking place. In one narration, the preacher makes it evident

that he is seeking a specific donation through his sermon, as if his primary objective were to receive alms rather than to impart teachings. Despite this, the deception is implicit as the preacher fails to disclose his identity in order to obtain the alms. Consequently, in all these stories, al-Nāṣir follows the preacher, but the latter manages to evade him.

- *The trick of the Apocalypse*, such as the 9th, 15th, and 21st *maqāmāt*, presents apocalyptic scenarios. Within these narrations, the narrator observes various unpleasant natural disasters, such as hail, floods, lightning, and thunderbolts, which are interpreted as signs of God's wrath. The narrator connects the deviation of certain inhabitants of the subcontinent to these events and, as a result, seeks refuge in a hermitage along with a group of people. Upon arrival, the crowd implores the hermit to intercede with God to halt the rain. The hermit prays before the public, and soon after, the rain ceases, prompting them to praise his service. However, it is eventually revealed that the hermit is an imposter who exploited their credulity.
- *Charlatan begging*: the act of begging is a ubiquitous theme in every *maqāma*. Several narrations depict the protagonist engaging in the simple act of begging for money, as seen in the 1st, 2nd, 10th, 11th, 12th, 18th, 24th, 30th, 32nd, and 41st *maqāmāt*. During an assembly, an elderly individual recounts his impoverished state through the use of aulic language. The assembled characters then offer assistance in any way they can. A recurring tactic employed by the protagonists while begging for alms is to describe their destitute state, coupled with false pretences, such as needing money to bury a lost child or to avoid a divorce.
- *Wedding plot*: one of the central themes of the *maqāmāt* involves the narrator seeking to alleviate their poverty by infiltrating a wedding celebration, as depicted in the 22nd and 39th *maqāmāt*. In the narrative, the narrator recounts the arrival of the bride and groom in a crowded house filled with guests. Following a brief ceremony, the wedding contract is signed in private. The narrator provides a brief account of the ensuing feast. However, several days after the marriage, the groom disappears, revealing that the marriage was merely a scheme to abscond with both the gifts and the bride.
- *Uncategorized trickeries*: a significant number of narratives in the *maqāmāt* collection defy categorization, including the 5th, 8th, 14th, 17th, 25th, 27th, 28th, 33rd, 37th, 38th, 40th, 43rd, 45th, 46th, and 47th *maqāmāt*. These narratives appear to be adapted from *ḫabar* forms of anecdotes and lack comparable stories within the collection. In these narratives, the traditional functions of the *maqāma* are suspended, allowing for the telling of extraordinary and inexplicable unique events. Despite being unconventional, some narratives within this subset are

not intended to deceive. Instead, they showcase the protagonist's admirable actions, such as rescuing a woman from being burned alive after her husband's death or converting Indian women to a new faith. Other *maqāmāt* provide descriptions of prominent Indian spaces and personalities, such as the commemoration of the last Mughal emperor Aurangzeb's death or the recounting of significant political events in India. Some of the *maqāmāt* within this group are dedicated to critiquing the religious practices of Muslims in India, indicating the broader societal concerns that are often addressed within these narratives.

2.4 Return

The trickster ʾAbū al-Ẓafar al-Hindī employs disguises as a means of deception and fraud. His approach involves assuming an appearance and dressing in clothes that create the impression of extreme poverty, most commonly portraying himself as an old beggar throughout the majority of the *maqāmāt* (*maqāma* 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 46, 48, 49, and 50). He also employs disguises that allow him to present himself as a young man (*maqāma* 12, 23) and a black man (*maqāma* 22, 39). Additionally, ʾAbū al-Ẓafar al-Hindī seeks to gain credit and recognition by dressing in professional clothes that correspond to various roles, such as an interpreter (*maqāma* 17), a doctor (*maqāma* 20), a courtier (*maqāma* 25, 33), a wealthy man (*maqāma* 37), a merchant (*maqāma* 8, 27, 29, 39), a prince (*maqāma* 9, 14, 47), a jailer (*maqāma* 25), a prisoner (*maqāma* 25, 44, 45), a Muslim hermit (*maqāma* 5), a servant (*maqāma* 30), a Muslim sermonist (*maqāma* 3, 26, 42), and a Hindu priest (*maqāma* 37). For this reason, the protagonist remains unrecognised at the outset of the narrative, with recognition only arriving at its conclusion.

The *maqāmāt* exhibit a cyclical or circular narrative structure wherein the conclusion often mirrors the beginning (Monroe 2002: 55). In this way, each individual narrative seems to terminate at the very point from which it originated. In every episode where the protagonist deceives the masses, he manages to evade capture, vanishing before his deceit can be exposed. The narrator often succeeds in trailing the protagonist, occasionally intercepting him *en route*. Al-Nāṣir, still oblivious to the true identity of this figure, articulates his intent to uncover it. This pattern manifests itself as early as the second *maqāma*, where, after dispensing money to the impoverished man, al-Nāṣir continues to follow him:

وعنَّ لِي أن أتبعه فسمعته يقول لها أما قلتُ لكِ أن الرِّبح في الدهاء ولو لم نفعل فعل الأوباشِ بتنا من الجوع أوحاش فتقدمت أمامه وكشفت لثامه فإذا هو أبو الظفر السَّاحر المعدود من المساخر

(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 31)

> It occurred to me to follow him, so I heard him say to her: 'Did not I tell you that profit is in cunning? If we did not do as the villains do, we would become like beasts from hunger.' So, I went before him and uncovered his veil. Behold, it was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the enchanter reckoned for his masquerades.

Similarly:

> فأخذه الشَّيخ بيده وخرجا من عنده ومشيتُ على أثرهما لأصطلي بنارهما أو أقتبس من نورهما فأدركته بالباب النجدي فإذا هو أبو الظفر الهندي المشهور بالفضائح والعيب
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 41)

> The sheikh took [the money], and they went out before him. I followed in their footsteps, hoping to tame their fire or absorb some of their light. I overtook him at the gate of Nağd and behold! It was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian, famous for his shameful acts and ignominy.

Similarly:

> ثم إنه وَدَّعهم أحسن توديع بعد أن أحسنوا له التَّشْييع وقَفَوْت أَثَرَه لأعلم خَبَرَه فلما وصل المفازة رَكَزَ بها عُكَّازه وكشف قناع الخزي عن وجهه ورأسه وظهر ما سَتَرَهِ بلُبْسه ولِبَاسه فإذا هو أبو الظفر الهِندي المشهور المعروف بالفسق والفجور
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 52)

> Then—after he had greeted them with the most beautiful greeting, and after they had made his farewell pleasant—I followed in his footsteps to get news of him. When he then came to the wilderness, he thrust the staff into the ground and uncovered his face and head the veil of shame. What had been covered by her ambiguity and his clothes appeared. Behold: he was the famous ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian known for his irreverence and his depravity.

At times, the pursuit proves unsuccessful, as the narrator fails to reach ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. An instance of this occurs in a specific episode where al-Nāṣir's search for him proves futile, resulting in aimless wandering without success. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

> ولم أزل أذرع الأرض وأجوب بين رفع وخفض ولم أطلع له على خبر ولا عين ولا أثر ومكثت سبعة أيام على الشَّراب دون الطعام وفي اليوم الثامن سئمت الحياة من الجوع واللّغوب وآن من الشمس الغروب ثم طلع عليَّ رجل من الهنود وقال أراك تمشي في مَهْمه لا يسلكه إلاّ الأسود فقلت إني أمشي وراء رجل خداع ذهب علينا بخيل ومتاع فقال سحقاً لعقلك النَّاقص وحظك الناكص تخطو خَطْو الحمام وتروم إدراك من يَرْعى مع النَّعام فإنِّي منذ ثلاث ليال رأيت الخيل والمال في يد أبي الظفر الهندي فهوّن عليك فتعبك لا يجدي
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 75)

> I continued to cross the land and cross the hills and valleys and found no news of him, sight or trace. I stayed seven days drinking without eating and on the eighth day I was disgusted with life for hunger and extreme fatigue. The time came for the sun to go down and a man of the Indians found me and said 'I see you going into deserts that no one crosses except for lions.' I said then 'I go after a trickster man who stole my mounts and possessions.' He said then 'Put aside your deficient mind and your receding fortune; you walk with pigeon steps and aim to reach the one who grazes the ostriches. Three nights ago, I saw the mounts and the wealth in the hands of ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian. Do not worry about it; your fatigue is in vain.'

In numerous stories, the narrator refrains from pursuing the search, acknowledging the likelihood of its futility. Instead, he restricts himself to enquiring among those present for information regarding the man, eventually discovering that he is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

> فخرجت إلى الباب لأسأل عنه الحجّاب فقالوا هو خطيب المدينة ولا نراه إلاّ يوم الزِّينة فقلت لهم قد وقفت على حسبه فأخبروني بنسبه فقالوا هو أبو الظفر المعروف بالفضائح وارتكاب القبائح فندمت على سَفْرتي وخُسْران صَفْقَتي ورجعتُ إلى مكاني متجلبباً بأثواب أحزاني
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 36)

> So, I went out the door to ask the courtiers about him. They said, 'He is the orator of the city, but we shall not see him except on the day of adornment.' I then said to him, 'I stopped for him, inform me about him.' They said, 'He is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian, the one known for his ignominies and impostures.' I then regretted my trip and the losses on my account. I returned to my seat wrapped in the robes of my sadness.

The identification of the protagonist, or the anagnorisis, when it does not occur through recognition by others or deduction by the narrator, transpires when al-Nāṣir encounters the protagonist directly. In such moments, the narrator uncovers the true identity of the character, leading to a critical examination where he censures and reproaches the protagonist for his actions.

> فقلت له قاتلك الله من ماكر ولا أبقاك إلى بَاكِر فقال دع المرا ولا تسأل عَمَّا جرى ففارقته وهو بالمال قرير العين وأنا بالإفلاس أضْيَق من بياض الميم والعين وحلفت أن لا أدخل بين متشاجرين ولا أفك بين متخاصمين
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 32)

> I said to him, 'God kill you for deceit and keep you alive until shortly.' He then replied: 'Cease the controversy and do not ask about what happened.'

Consequently, the protagonist, ʾAbū al-Ẓafar al-Hindī, seeks to rationalise his actions, maintaining that his unethical behaviour was a byproduct of extreme pov-

erty and a lack of legitimate means to earn a living. Within the narrative, he is depicted as a character who, despite possessing notable skills as a *kātib* and poet, finds himself compelled to resort to dishonest practices to sustain himself. Though he argues that begging was his sole recourse, it yields insufficient income, leaving him in a continuous struggle to make ends meet. This creates a seeming contradiction in his character, as his literary talents could secure him a patron who might remunerate him for his work. Yet, he chooses instead to flee after pilfering from rulers, squandering his wealth, and reverting to his impoverished state. The underlying justification for this paradoxical behaviour is elaborated as follows:

فقال يا كثير السَّفاه لا ومن أحل حُمر الشفاه ما أتوب عن الخمر حتى أوسَّد في القبر وما لِبَسْت لباس الطاعة إلاّ لسد باب المجاعة ثم إنه أنشد بعد ما تنفَّسَ وتنَهَّد

لبست لباس الحلم والزهد والتقوى ..... لكشف قناع الفقر والبؤس واللأوا
فنلت فكنت بمكري كلما رمت من منى ..... وصدت أسود الغاب باللبس والشكوى
فمن لم يعامل بالخداع يَمُتْ به ..... ومن لم يَعِش بالمَكْر عاش أخا بَلْوى
وقد مات من يَخْفي مضاضة خَطْبه ..... وقد عاش ذو قلب جسور أخا النجوى
فاستعذت بالله من الفقر والغم وفارقته مفارقة السن للفم

(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 53)

He replied, 'Oh, what folly! No—by Him who allowed the red of the lips—I will not regret the wine until I am laid down in a pit. I have not donned the garments of obedience except to bar the door to hunger.' Then he said, after having inhaled and exhaled:

I put on the robes of meekness, fear of God and devotion
To remove the veil of poverty, misery and tribulation
I got, and was with my cunning, everything I wanted.
I have hunted the lions of the forest with ambiguity and complaint.
And whoever has not used deception perishes by deceit.
Whoever has not lived on cunning has lived as a brother of torment.
He who feared the misfortune of his business is dead,
who had an impertinent heart brother of salvation lived.

I sought refuge in God from poverty and distress. So, I separated from him as one separates the tooth from the mouth.

Similarly:

فقال ومن بتقديره اليسرة والعسرة لو سألتكم بالصِّدق لم تعطوني كسرة ولو طلبتكم بالمحبة لم تنطوني من زادكم حبّة ولولا هذه الحِيَل ما بلغت الأمل فأجمل في الطلب يحسن لك المنقلب وهذه الدّنيا الغرور لا تحصل إلاّ بالزُّور وإن أردت السَّعادة لا تصدق إلاّ في كلمتي الشهادة ومن قبل النصيحة سلم من الوقوع في الفضيحة وملامك لي على هذا الحال خير من رجوعي خائب الآمال ولو قدرت على قوت اليوم ما وقفت على القوم

(Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 75)

> He said, 'In the name of Him who holds the power of ease and difficulty. If I had asked you sincerely, you would not have given even a tiny part; and if I had asked you with affection, those of you who abound in love would not have given anything to me. Were it not for these stratagems, I would not have achieved my hopes. The most beautiful of the requests is the one that beautifies you in return. This is the deceitful world, one does not succeed except by cheating. If you want happiness, do not be sincere except for the two words of the profession of faith and as an advice save yourself from shame. Your blame for me in this condition is better than returning with shattered hopes. If I could have obtained food today, I would not have stopped at the folks.'

This narrative element serves the function of rehabilitating the protagonist,[11] who, in a certain sense, undergoes a transformation into a positive character. Al-Nāṣir's perspective shifts progressively; each time he separates from the protagonist, he recounts his wrongful deeds but also acknowledges an increasing fascination with his character. This duality is evidenced in the following passage where the narrator affirms to forgive him and understand his action:

> فعذرته بعد أن عَذَلْته وشكرت فعله بعد أن عَنَّفته ورجعت إلى أصحابي والعجب حَشْو إهابي
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 75)

> I forgave him after I had criticised him. I thanked him for his action after I abused him. I returned to my companions. Amazement had padded my skin.

This process is arguably the plot line of the macro story of the *maqāma* as the presence of functions of individual *maqāma* that cannot be limited to a singular narrative unit and must be contextualised within a recurring series across the entire collection, effectively constituting the full collection as a singular narrative entity. In this broader framework, the *maqāma* collection, as elucidated by Kilito (2014: 137), presents a series of narratives delineating a transformation in the main character's life, culminating in his death. On several occasions, the protagonist is portrayed expressing remorse over his actions. The author does not give a full *maqāma* to the spiritual testament of the main character, as in al-Ḥarīrī's works. Instead, there is a hint of the narrator being guided from ʾAbū

---

[11] The figure of the trickster can be situated within the *ṣuʿlūk* brigand-poet tradition as one who lives outside of social norms but maintains direct contact with society, and this characterization also applies to the protagonists of the *maqāma* who choose to live on the margins of society (Elinson 2005: 16). Numerous studies have analysed the traits of the trickster, particularly Zakharia (2000), who highlight his subversiveness, as an individual who seeks to master the human condition rather than be mastered by it (Goodman 1988: 28) where the moral function of the *maqāmāt* passes through an immoral protagonist.

Zayd al-Sarūjī to learn his art, a possible passing of the torch. In their talks, the main character teaches about the ethics of stealing. It is a code, something like what an Arab Robin Hood might live by. He leaves him a message:

> ولما فتحتها وجدت فيها قد عَلَّمتك جهدي وأنا أبو الظفر الهندي وإياك أن تؤذي ضعيفاً أو عالماً وإذا بليت بظالم كن ظالماً وانصر أخاك ظالماً أو مظلوماً وادخل الأنس على من رأيته مهموماً فعند ذلك بكيت بكاء أضرّ بالبصر وكل شيء بقضاء وقدر
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 255)

> And when I opened it, I found [written] in it 'I have taught you my study and I am ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian. Beware of harming the weak or the wise. If you have suffered an injustice, be unjust. Save your brother, be him unjust or suffer injustice. Offer friendship to those you have seen displaying sadness.' At that moment I cried the most harmful cry for the sight. Everything is decreed and established.

Or similarly:

> فقال أطعمتك يد شبعاء جاعت ولا أطعمتك يد جوعاء جادت ودع الأباطيل واسمع ما قيل
> سل الخيرَ أهل الخير قدماً ولا تسل ..... فتى ذاق طعم الخير منذ قريب
> (Bā ʿAbbūd 1999: 310)

> And he said, 'May the hand of the satiated people that have become hungry feed you, not the hand of the unsatiated people who have become fine. Abandon the legends and listen to what has been said.
> Ask for benefit from the people of the abundance that is old and do not ask
> to a boy who savours the taste of abundance since a short time.

The search for redemption ultimately reaches its pinnacle in the poignant scene of the protagonist's deathbed. Here, they manifest profound remorse and impart life wisdom through the medium of poetry. This climactic moment not only confers upon the story a distinct and complete narrative arc but also serves to imbue it with an implicit moral lesson.

2.5 The traits of al-Nāṣir b. al-Fattāḥ

The character of al-Nāṣir b. al Fattāḥ conforms to the classical tradition of the *maqāma*. Unlike the portrayal of characters in classical works who suffer from extreme poverty or starvation, al-Nāṣir is primarily focused on securing his survival by seeking financial support, alms, and food from companions, often those who are wealthy. However, he also has a deep passion for knowledge and the arts, which drives him to travel long distances to attend cultural events such as public speeches, poetry readings, and wise discussions. This pursuit often results

in him returning to a state of poverty, and the cycle continues. Al-Nāṣir's love for literature and art is not for recognition as a literary talent, but rather to experience the various forms of cultural expression. Though he begs for support, it does not fully alleviate his financial difficulties. His eagerness to seek out and listen to famous scholars highlights his contemplative and ecstatic nature, as he himself is a poet. The narrator's aesthetic aspirations lead him to attend various rhetorical productions indiscriminately.

The narrator's journey is characterised by a sense of fear and a reserved personality. Despite experiencing various forms of deceit, such as false promises of aid from the old Indian ʾAbū al-Ẓafar in the first *maqāma* or the theft of a poem in another, the narrator refrains from taking legal action or making public accusations out of a perceived fear of being disbelieved. This fear is exemplified in the eighth *maqāma,* where the narrator is beaten, imprisoned, and coerced into signing documents after being robbed of all his possessions. Despite the injustice done to him, he only curses the perpetrator but does not report him to the authorities. The narrator's reluctance to intervene or voice his opinions in assemblies is a reflection of his submissive and cautious demeanour, taken to an extreme in the twenty-first *maqāma* where he witnesses a group of people prostrating themselves at the feet of a Sufi saint and remains silent despite his apparent discomfort. The saint's intervention ultimately convinces the narrator that the prostrations were not just to the saint but also towards Mecca and the sacred al-Kaʿba. These traits highlight the narrator's naivety and vulnerability, placing him at the mercy of events. Overall, the narrator's journey portrays him as a passive observer rather than an active participant in the events surrounding him. His fear of being disbelieved and reluctance to speak out suggest a lack of confidence in his own abilities and a reliance on external factors to shape his experiences. This passivity is particularly evident in his encounters with deceit and injustice, where he appears more concerned with avoiding conflict than seeking justice. These traits contribute to the narrator's overall vulnerability and highlight the precarious nature of his journey.

Moreover, the narrator exhibits a profound apprehension towards the day of judgement. This tendency towards caution is manifested in an excessive degree of gullibility. The narrator avoids encounters with corruption out of fear of becoming contaminated and losing his sanctity. Upon discovering the protagonist's immoral behaviour, he swiftly distances himself from them. As he witnesses the corruption in various cities but lacks the means to leave, he portrays himself as being in a state of immense suffering. It is the religious fear that prompts the narrator to interpret natural disasters, famines, and floods as acts of divine retribution. He expresses concern that God may mistakenly punish him alongside the corrupt inhabitants of the subcontinent. This fear also leads the narrator to be extremely prudent in avoiding any sinful actions. There is an element of self-interest in the narrator's pursuit of salvation, as he refrains from

attempting to rectify the behaviour of the protagonist or any other individuals in the subcontinent.

The narrator's excessive caution is also exemplified in his reluctance to take legal action against those who have wronged him. This reticence is rooted in a fear of not being believed and the consequences of confronting those who have committed injustices. This fear is highlighted in the eighth *maqāma*, where the narrator is beaten, imprisoned, and forced to sign documents after being robbed of all his possessions. Despite the injustice done to him, he only curses the perpetrator but does not report him to the authorities. The narrator's reluctance to intervene or voice his opinions in assemblies is a reflection of his submissive and cautious demeanour. This is taken to an extreme in the twenty-first *maqāma*, where he witnesses a group of people prostrating themselves at the feet of a Sufi saint and remains silent, despite his apparent discomfort. The saint's intervention ultimately convinces the narrator that the prostrations were not just to the saint but the trickster. These traits serve to further highlight the narrator's naivety and vulnerability, placing him at the mercy of events.

3 Conclusions

Within the *maqāma*, characters, themes, humorous anecdotes, and moral lessons are intricately interwoven. The interplay between al-Nasir b. al-Fattāḥ and ʾAbū al-Ẓafar al-Hindī, as arguably both heroes of the narrative, creates a dynamic tension between their respective roles and attributes. The blurred lines between hero and villain elevate the narrative's complexity and psychological depth, as in the classical genre, the portrayal of virtue and corruption create an environment where traditional roles are challenged. The hero villain's transformation, the narrator's failure as a hero, and the oscillation between the ethical and immoral all contribute to a sophisticated narrative structure. The characters are neither wholly good nor wholly bad but reside in a moral grey area that reflects the complexities of the character. In this contest the prominence of the journey motif, both literal and metaphorical, serves as a unifying element that connects the individual stories and characters. Each journey implicitly contributes to the growth and transformation of the characters, mirroring their reflection and experience that are central to the narrative. The protagonist's shift from villain to hero is paralleled by the narrator's journey from idealism to realism.

A formalist method that seeks to define and predict the plot of the *maqāma* falls short in creating a model that could always predict the twist of the narration of Bā ʿAbbūd's work, and possibly any *maqāma* work. The stories vary greatly, their unpredictability lending a suspense to each narrative. The text is not uniform; variations are the rule, not the exception. As can be seen the functions of the *maqāma* cannot be reduced to just one; there are distinct differences within the major plot lines that show how the *maqāma* was rather a loose plot that ar-

guably evolved through its repetitions and re-enacting. Many *maqāmāt* remain uncategorized and, arguably, defy categorization. It can be posited that this approach serves as a valuable means to elucidate and interpret specific sections of the intricate plot within the *maqāma* genre, thereby contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of its complex narrative structure.

In the pre-modern Arabic *maqāma* literature, Bā ʿAbbūd's work is a clear attempt to breathe new life into the classical genre. This intent follows the innovative contributions of Ibn al-Ṣayqal al-Ǧazarī and al-Saraqūsṭī (d. 538/1143), and notably introduces the fresh theme of travel to India. Unlike figures such as al-Zamaḫšarī, Ibn al-Ǧawzī (510/1116–597/1201), and al-Suyūtī (849/1445–911/1505), who recast the *maqāma* to articulate religious, scholarly and literary tropes, retaining only the ʾisnād of the classical form, Bā ʿAbbūd deliberately digs deep into the original narrative essence of the *maqāma*. His *maqāma* is acutely conscious of the complexities found in al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Ṣayqal al-Ǧazarī's works. His ambition is not that of arguably simplifying the plot of the *maqāma* as arguably pursued by Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧī's (1800–1872) *Maǧmaʿ al-baḥrayn*. Bā ʿAbbūd's *maqāma* instead aligns closely with the classical form while innovating from within, bringing new life to a revered tradition. Bā ʿAbbūd's writing adheres to tradition, using the open narrative structure inherent to the genre, facilitating the construction of free and imaginative narratives. Bā ʿAbbūd re-enact the predictability of the *maqāma*, which far from a limitation, serves as a key to its poetics, setting an expectation, a framework to deal new themes and discourses. The *maqāma* shows its flexibility. While honouring and interpreting the classical *maqāma*, as seen in the works of al-Ḥarīrī and al-Hamaḏānī the author has the liberty to weave various stories and perspectives, aligned with personal interests. *Al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya* shows the *maqāma*'s adaptability, its openness to innovation and creative reinterpretation.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Andrea Maria Negri https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4579-9445

Bibliography

ʿAbbās, Ḥasan. 1998. *Našaʾat al-maqāma fī al-ʾadab al-ʿarabī*. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maʿārif.

ʿAwḍ, Yūsif Nūr. 1979. *Fann al-maqāmāt bayna al-mašriq wa-l-maġrib*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Qalam.

Bā ʿAbbūd, ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin. 1848. *Maqāmāt-i hindī*. Dilhī: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿUlūm.

Bā ʿAbbūd, ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin. 1999. *Al-Maqāmāt al-naẓariyya*. Edited by ʿAbd ʾAllāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī. ʾAbū Ḍabī: Al-Maǧmaʿ al-Ṯaqāfī.

Ḍayf, Šawqī. 1973. *Al-Maqāma*. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maʿārif.
Dogra, Sapna. 2017. 'The Thirty-One Functions in Vladimir Propp's Morphology of the Folktale: An Outline and Recent Trends in the Applicability of the Proppian Taxonomic Model'. *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 9 (2): 410–419.
Drory, Rina. 2000. *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and Its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture*. Leiden: Brill.
Elinson, Alexander E. 2005. 'Tears Shed over the Poetic Past: The Prosification of *rithāʾ al-mudun* in al-Saraqusṭī's *Maqāma Qayrawāniyya*'. *Journal of Arabic Literature* 36 (1): 1–27.
Gannon, Susan R. 1987. 'One More Time: Approaches to Repetition in Children's Literature'. *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 12 (1): 2–5.
Goodman, L. E. 1988. 'Hamadhānī, Schadenfreude, and Salvation through Sin'. *Journal of Arabic Literature* 19 (1): 27–39.
Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. 2002. *Maqama: A History of a Genre*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko. 2012. 'An Old-Fashioned Genre—Maqāma in the 18th Century'. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 65 (2): 5–12.
Ḫarram, ʾAnīs ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. 2016. 'Al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya: Dirāsa taḥlīliyya'. *Al-Dībal* 1 (1): 127–137.
al-Ḥibšī, ʿAbd ʾAllāh Muḥammad, ed. 1999. 'Introduction'. In *Al-Maqāmāt al-naẓariyya*, by ʾAbū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd. ʾAbū Ḍabī: Al-Maǧmaʿ al-Ṯaqāfī.
Ho, Engseng. 2006. *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*. The California World History Library 3. Berkeley: University of California Press.
James, David. 1974. 'Space-Forms in the Work of the Baghdād *Maqāmāt* Illustrators, 1225–58'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37 (2): 305–320.
Kennedy, Philip F. 2016. *Recognition in the Arabic Narrative Tradition: Discovery, Deliverance and Delusion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Kilito, Abdelfattah. 1983. *Les Séances : récits et codes culturels chez Hamadhânî et Harîrî*. Paris: Sindbad.
Kilito, Abdelfattah. 2020. 'Foreword: In Praise of Pretense'. In *Impostures by al-Ḥarīrī*, translated by Michael Cooperson, 4–9. New York: New York University Press.
Monroe, James T. 1983. *The Art of Badīʿ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative*. Beirut: The American University of Beirut Press.
Murphy, Terence Patrick. 2015. *The Fairytale and Plot Structure*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
Negri, Andrea Maria. 2012. 'Le *Maqāmāt* Indiane di Abū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd al-ʿAlawī'. MA dissertation, Venice: University Ca' Foscari.
Negri, Andrea Maria. 2022. 'Representations of Death in *al-Maqāmāt al-Hindiyya*'. *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 42: 39–57.
Neuwirth, Angelika. 2005. 'Woman's Wit and Juridical Discourse. A "Forensic *maqāma*" by the Classical Arabic Scholar al-Ḥarīrī'. *Figurationen* 1 (5): 23–37.
Propp, Vladimir. 1968. *Morphology of the Folktale*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Roxburgh, David J. 2013. 'In Pursuit of Shadows: Al-Hariri's Maqāmāt'. *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 30: 171–212.
Saitta, Gianluca. 2014a. 'Le genre séance au Yémen entre tradition et innovation : les *Maqāmāt hindiyya* d'Abū Bakr b. Muḥsin Bā ʿAbbūd al-ʿAlawī (XVIII^e siècle)'. *Arabian Humanities* 3. https://doi.org/10.4000/cy.2710.
Saitta, Gianluca. 2014b. 'Notices de manuscrits de *maqāmāt yéménites* de la période post-classique, 1^ère partie'. *Chroniques du Manuscrit au Yémen* 17. https://doi.org/10.4000/cmy.2054.

Saitta, Gianluca. 2014c. 'Notices de manuscrits de *maqāmāt yéménites* de la période post-classique, 2e partie'. *Chroniques du Manuscrit au Yémen* 18. https://doi.org/10.4000/cmy.2092.

Saussey, E. 1932. 'Ibrāhīm al-Māzīnī et son "Roman d'Ibrāhīm"'. *Bulletin d'études orientales* 2 (2): 145–177.

Schippers, Arie. 2002. 'The Hebrew *maqama*'. In *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, edited by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, 302–327. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Stewart, Devin. 2006. 'The Maqāma'. In *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, edited by Roger Allen and D. S. Richards, 145–158. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarchouna, Mahmoud. 1982. *Les marginaux dans les récits picaresques arabes et espagnols*. Tunis: Université de Tunis.

Wacks, David A. 2007. *Framing Iberia: Maqamat and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain*. Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 33. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Zakharia, Katia. 1987. 'Les références coraniques dans les *Maqāmāt* d'al-Ḥarīrī : Éléments d'une Lecture Sémiologique'. *Arabica* 34 (3): 275–286.

Zakharia, Katia. 2000. *Abū Zayd al-Sarūǧī, imposteur et mystique: relire les Maqāmāt d'al-Ḥarīrī*. Damas: Institut français d'études arabes de Damas.

Appendix: Synopses of *al-Maqāmāt al-hindiyya*

1 The *maqāma* of Sūrat

Al-Nāṣir b. al-Fattāḥ was in Yemen when he heard of the good things in India and started to desire to go there. He learned that a ship was being prepared to go there, so he boarded it. The journey was hard and difficult, and al-Nāṣir feared for his life, but he eventually arrived and disembarked at the port of Surat. There he was amazed by the splendour of India and found that his experience was far better than what he had been led to believe about the subcontinent. He then saw a garden and approached a guard who was watching its entrance. The guard informed him that this garden was just a small part of the grandiose gardens and palaces of India. Al-Nāṣir then continued further into the territory and saw houses in the distance. However, when he arrived, he was surprised to find that there were shacks and their inhabitants were extremely poor. He regretted to a certain extent that he had come to India but had no way of finding a solution as he had no money. A bent and decrepit old man appears, and al-Nāṣir tells him of his condition of need. The old man proposes that he follow him and promises to give him part of his earnings. They travel together, and the elder speaks eloquently along the way. They arrive at a high castle, where the old man asks to speak with the minister, claiming to al-Nāṣir's surprise that they have brought him a genius of poetry from Yemen. Al-Nāṣir realises that the old man is lying but does not intervene. The courtiers give him money and a robe of honour. The old man gives him money to give to a courtier and asks him to wait for him at a city gate, where he will bring him more money and a robe of honour. Al-Nāṣir waits, but the old man disappears. He asks about him but receives no answer until a boy appears and tells him that the old man is not from the area and his name is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. Al-Nāṣir understands that he was scammed and feels sorry for himself.

2 The *maqāma* of ʾAḥmad Nakar

Al-Nāṣir, who was travelling, had run out of water and was on a road dying of thirst when a woman passing by appeared. He asked her for water, and she kindly gave him some. While he was drinking and recovering, a man appeared and aggressively grabbed the woman by her hair. Al-Nāṣir intervened and asked what was happening. The man claimed to be the woman's husband and said he had the right to treat her like that. The woman agreed but said their marriage was not going well because her husband did not provide enough money for their expenses, making their life miserable. The husband complained that he could not do anything about their financial situation. She asked him to divorce her and allow her to go back to

her family. Feeling pity for the couple, al-Nāṣir gave them some money and asked them to make peace. The couple left, but al-Nāṣir followed them to make sure nothing else happened. He overheard them revealing that the whole scene was a setup to get money from him. Al-Nāṣir confronted the man, who admitted that he did it because he was desperate and had no other way to survive. Al-Nāṣir realised that the man was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and left, feeling disappointed.

3 The *maqāma* of Bīğāfūr

Al-Nāṣir was with a group of people when he heard about a famous preacher, so he went to the mosque and sat in the front row. The preacher appeared and began to address the audience, reminding them of the coming of the day of judgement. Everyone was moved by his words and gave him abundant donations. Al-Nāṣir followed the preacher, and after meeting him was told to wait for him in a certain place, but he then disappeared. Al-Nāṣir asked who the preacher was and found out that it was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, realising that he had been deceived. So he continued on his journey, and affirmed that he was amazed by the preacher's beautiful words.

4 The *maqāma* of Sukr

Al-Nāṣir travels a long way and finally arrives at the city of Sukr, but he does not draw good omens from its name and has a bad disposition towards the city. He goes to the judge's office and sees many people arriving. An old man arrives with a boy, complaining to the judge that the boy has plagiarised some of his compositions. The elder says that such behaviour is extremely serious after all the time he had dedicated to educating him. The old man recites the offending verses, and the judge interrogates the boy, who claims he created them for personal inspiration and did not copy them. The judge tests the two to see if they are both poets by asking them to recite two specific compositions. Both show that they are talented poets, so the judge does not know what to do to resolve the matter. He proposes that they reconcile, but the elder insists that conciliation without justice is not appropriate as he is convinced of the boy's bad faith. The judge is unable to issue a sentence and tries to buy time, then pressed by the old man gives them a thousand dinars, and he asks them to find a conciliation on their own. Al-Nāṣir follows them and at the Najd gate of the city, he discovers that it was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar with his son, who amaze him with their poetic prowess, and so he leaves them.

5 The *maqāma* of ʾAhsan ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir recounts that he was in an extremely difficult condition, as by becoming the companion of a lion cub, a metaphor for a ruler or powerful person, his condition was reversed, and he found himself in extreme poverty. He was then told

that if he devoted himself to a saint buried in ʾAḥsan ʾAbād, perhaps his condition would improve, and his wishes would be fulfilled. Al-Nāṣir made a vow, and his condition actually improved. So, he went to the tomb of the saint and found a group of people who had made a pilgrimage to the place on the anniversary of his birth. Al-Nāṣir witnessed people from various social strata coming to pay their respects. Finally, a person who looked almost like a king arrived, and al-Nāṣir kissed his hand. In that instant, however, he saw people prostrating themselves to him and was appalled by what he saw as something exaggerated. The saint noticed this and told him that the prostration was not directed towards him, but towards Mecca, and that there was nothing to reproach. The group was then invited to the saint's house and his family. They all went to his house and were offered sumptuous dishes to eat, while their possessions were placed in another house. But the man who looked like a king took everything and disappeared into the night. Al-Nāṣir followed him and criticised him, but the man justified himself, saying that he had no other options due to the difficult times. Al-Nāṣir then returned to the group.

6 The *maqāma* of Ḥaydar ʾĀbād

India was struck by a severe famine that lasted for a year, prompting al-Nāṣir to embark on a long journey to Ḥaydar ʾĀbād, which he eventually reputed to be a centre of vice and corruption. Upon arriving, he immediately regretted his decision to come. However, he soon encountered an old man speaking, and upon asking about him, he was informed that the man was a madman. Curious, al-Nāṣir listened to the old man's spontaneous sermon, in which he urged the audience to repent and focus on the day of judgement rather than worldly wealth. The people asked for more explanations, and the old man shared his life story, explaining that he was once rich but had fallen into ruin and was now a foreigner with nothing. Moved by his words, the people gave him donations, and the old man prayed for them, interceding on behalf of the Prophet. Later, al-Nāṣir followed the old man into the desert, and the man revealed the true face of ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, whom al-Nāṣir criticised for lying. ʾAbū al-Ẓafar justified himself, saying that he had to lie to receive alms. Al-Nāṣir parted ways with him and affirmed that he had been pleased with his eloquence.

7 The *maqāma* of ʾArnak ʾĀbād

The Bedouins' invasion of the valleys forces the nomads to seek refuge in the city of ʾArnak ʾĀbād. Al-Nāṣir is among them and is now in extreme poverty, with no money. One day, a thief breaks into his house and grabs him by the shirt, but he does not know where to take him since he has no money. Meanwhile, he sees an old man threatening a boy to return his money, but the boy claims he no longer has it. The old man takes the boy to the city's governor, complaining about his situation.

The governor falls in love with the boy, who says he wants to return the money but needs time. The governor asks the old man to give the boy more time, but the old man refuses. The governor proposes to punish the boy by making him sleep with the armies at night, but the old man declines. The governor fears that the old man may take revenge on the boy, so he proposes to repay him and put the boy in the service of his army. The old man agrees and leaves. Al-Nāṣir follows him and sees him entering his home. Shortly after, the boy arrives and turns out to be the old man's son. Al-Nāṣir criticises him and leaves. When he goes to the governor, he finds him consumed by a passionate love for the boy. Al-Nāṣir advises the governor to draw lessons from the event and seek forgiveness from God.

8 The *maqāma* of Burhānbūr

Al-Nāṣir had an indication for a trade and that he had accumulated an exorbitant amount of goods to sell that could hardly be transported by a thousand camels. At the time of the caravan's departure, however, a man came to him urging him to postpone the journey to the next day as the stars indicated misfortune and bad omens. After a debate between the two, the man persuades him to delay the journey. The next day, the caravan enters through a castle door, but when al-Nāṣir arrives, the door closes, and he is not allowed to enter on the pretext that his camels have not entered the place. The owner of the castle invites his guards to let al-Nāṣir enter to verify himself, but once he enters, the dogs are incited against him, and he is imprisoned. After some time, seeing his great suffering, al-Nāṣir desires death. The lord of the castle proposes to free him on the condition that he writes a document that has the stamp of the judge and the *wālī* affixed, stating that there is no dispute between the two regarding the disappearance of his camels and possessions. Al-Nāṣir accepts the offer. He proceeds to a dome where he finds a dying man giving delirious speeches. Al-Nāṣir approaches him, and after urging the man to fear the day of judgement, the man apologises to him. Al-Nāṣir asks him why, and the old man claims that he convinced al-Nāṣir to delay his departure and that the castle was leased, and the guards were his own. An astonished al-Nāṣir refuses to forgive him and tells him that forgiveness can only be obtained if he returns his belongings or if he asks his family to pay him a monthly amount. The old man insists that forgiveness comes only from God and that it cannot be bought. Al-Nāṣir asks those present who the old man is and is informed that he is ʾAbū al-Zafar. Al-Nāṣir repents upon hearing this. The old man then leaves as if his being at the end of his life were a simulation. Al-Nāṣir regrets the event.

9 The *maqāma* of Lāhūr

Al-Nāṣir travels to Lahore and takes a rest under a tree with the Indian soldiers he is travelling with. Suddenly, a strong tremor is felt in the village and people

start shouting. Amidst the cries, al-Nāṣir hears someone say that the sultan of the country has died, and his sons are preparing for war. The eldest son, with the help of the minister, conspired to kill his brothers and imprisoned the women and children, taking all their wealth. The man has claimed the throne. Al-Nāṣir follows this man and discovers that he is a sharif. He meets with him and seeks advice on what to do in his condition of poverty. The man advises him to enlist in the army and accumulate wealth. Al-Nāṣir leaves but returns later to ask the man's name, and he is revealed to be ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, as mentioned in a poem.

10 The *maqāma* of Sihrand

Al-Nāṣir was travelling with a group from Sihrand who donated to him, and they stopped under a tree to rest. Later, they were joined by a man who delighted them with poetry and sophisticated prose. After a while, the man became sad, started crying and saying, 'We belong to God, and to Him, we shall return.' The group asked him the reason for his sadness, and he informed them that he had spent his life educating a boy in the hope that he could help him in his old age. However, once the boy reached the pinnacle of his education, he died, and the man had no money to give him a proper burial. The group was moved by his story and gave him abundant gifts. The man then left, but al-Nāṣir followed him. In the desert, the man saw al-Nāṣir and asked him why he was following him. Al-Nāṣir replied that he wanted to help him bury his dead. The man lowered his pants and revealed that his penis was the dead man that he would have liked to bury in the body of a woman that he would marry with the money obtained from the group. Al-Nāṣir criticised him, but the man justified himself by advising al-Nāṣir to do the same, as there was no alternative in making wealth in the world. They then parted ways.

11 The *maqāma* of Tanīsir

Al-Nāṣir is in the company of a group of people when they discuss where to travel, and eventually, they decide to go to Tanīsir. While there, the narrator meets an elderly man and enquires about the life of the military. The old man describes the military's life as gruelling and exhausting. Al-Nāṣir asks to be excused from providing the group with a road, but they insist on him guiding them. Suddenly, the weather changes and a storm forces the group to seek shelter at a nearby shrine. The group is invited to return to the military by a saint at the shrine. Al-Nāṣir learns that the saint is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and curses him before leaving.

12 The *maqāma* of Karnāl

Al-Nāṣir is with a group of people who complain about the lack of a patron. A boy claims to know of a generous patron, and the group follows him to

Karnāl. They are hosted in a mosque overnight, but their guide disappears in the night taking with him all their belongings. Al-Nāṣir tries to track down the guide but is told by an elder that it is futile as ʾAbū al-Ẓafar had already been there and left.

13 The *maqāma* of Šāhaǧān ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir recounts a time in India when there was a severe famine. People were selling their children out of necessity to survive. Al-Nāṣir passes through a place where he listens to literary speeches made during intoxication. A heated debate about poetry ensues, but an elder intervenes and resolves the dispute by providing an exhaustive list of the authorities in the canons of Arabic poetry. Al-Nāṣir asks him who he was, and he sends him to ask a man passing by. He is said that the elder is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, a Brahmin, but when he tries to return, ʾAbū al-Ẓafar is already gone.

14 The *maqāma* of ʾAkbar ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir tells the story of ʾAkbar ʾĀbād which was ruled by two rulers who fought like madmen. Their armies consisted of foreigners. The presence of many soldiers had made the economic condition of the people difficult. The final battle takes place, and while one of the two kings tries to reach his woman, he is killed as punishment for his faction. Al-Nāṣir, therefore, says that being poor, he goes to ask for charity. He finds a handsome and learned man travelling with servants who precede him. Although poor, he had a sum of dinars in his tattered clothes. Once al-Nāṣir went to wash himself in a basin, he took off the clothes with the money. When he returned, he did not find either the clothes or the money or the people. He tries to catch up with him, but in vain, and is invited to be patient and informed that it was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

15 The *maqāma* of Bānī Bat

Al-Nāṣir says he is in Pānī Pat and meets an old man and asks about the people of the town. Here he learns that a tax collector had been sent to them, and they responded by throwing stones at him. The collector cursed them, wishing for their destruction and all kinds of divine afflictions. His requests were realised, as a powerful downpour fell on the town that night. The people, therefore, sought a hermitage to ask for intercession with God. Here, the saint prays for them by raising his hands, but in reality, the prayer is not for their salvation, but for God to continue punishing them. Additional calamities fall on the town due to his prayers. The people rebel against the saint. Al-Nāṣir discovers that he is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

16 The *maqāma* of ʾAḥmad ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir goes to a man known to be an expert in *ḥadīṯ* and finds an assembly debating poetry. An old man in rags advances to present his argument in the discourse. Initially, he is not considered as poor. Once he proves his worth, the people listen to him carefully in the assembly. The man initially delivers a parenetic composition. He laments his poverty, and numerous donations are given to him. The old man then takes leave, apparently to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Al-Nāṣir is informed that he is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

17 The *maqāma* of Murād ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir relates that one year there was a great famine that caused a lot of problems for people's lives. Even though al-Nāṣir had some assets at that time, he pawned all his possessions and sold his jewels to give his people their due sums. He went to Murād ʾĀbād and found a group of foreigners defined as patricians who dealt with the linen trade. None of them spoke any language other than Arabic, so they needed an interpreter for their business, and they found a young boy for this purpose. When they entered the city, he rented a house for them. The boy then advised them that their possessions could be in danger due to the presence of a group of bandits who had clashed with the governor. He suggested they leave their money with a banker, and they agreed. After two weeks, he claimed that the banker had been killed and gone bankrupt. The group forgave him. After a year of the group residing in the city, the boy came with a great deal of money, claiming that he had borrowed the money for them. However, the loan was not genuine, as it was from a group of Indians who had lent the money to the governor for repayment. The boy asked for an extension to return the money, and after some time, where the boy had often been up at night, he disappeared with the money. He told the group that he would come back for them, but he really did not mean to come back. The group realised that the imposter was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

18 The *maqāma* of Banāris

Al-Nāṣir travelled with Persians to the city of Banāris and found favourable vegetation and took up residence there. A man arrived and advised him to go to another place, claiming it was much better than the current one. Al-Nāṣir sold all his possessions and followed him, hiding the money in part of his clothes. The man delighted al-Nāṣir with his talks on literature. But when he reached his destination, a group of thieves robbed him. The traveller turned out to be their accomplice, and they left him naked without even clothing. Al-Nāṣir, invited to flee, discovered that the man was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

19 The *maqāma* of Ǧawnbūr

Al-Nāṣir is travelling with a group from Mandasūr and once they arrive in the city, the group goes to reside in the *madrasa*, while he goes to the emir's house to present his panegyric poem and obtain donations. However, when he arrives, he hears someone else present his poem after having taken away a part of it. The emir gives him a robe of honour and a beautiful slave, but at that moment, a boy rises to claim the verses as his own and recites them in full to prove the theft. The governor does not initially care about the matter, but the old man presses for justice with a poem. The boy rejects the accusations and composes another poem, which the governor does not allow to be recited in full. To reconcile the two parties, he gives them both generous donations. Al-Nāṣir comes out desolate as his composition had been abundantly repaid, while he had not received anything. He goes back to the *madrasa* and finds the old man and the boy with rich gifts and clothes. Upon closer inspection, he identifies them as people from the group he had travelled with to Ǧawnbūr. He asks about them and discovers that the old man is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and the boy is his son.

20 The *maqāma* of Multān

Al-Nāṣir wishes to lose weight, so he consults numerous doctors, and finally, he reaches a doctor from Multān. He attends a poetic assembly recommended by the doctor, where he finds no verses written on the wall complaining about the patron's stinginess, except for a text signed by ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

21 The *maqāma* of ʾAzmīr

Al-Nāṣir is with a group visiting the dream of ʾAzmīr when they find themselves flooded by a torrent, so they take refuge in Christian houses. They find a group arguing with their emir, and al-Nāṣir follows them. Here he hears a man complaining about being a foreigner who composes beautiful poems. The man notices him and asks for his name, and al-Nāṣir tells him. The man, whose name is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian, asks him to follow him but not to make any question. They go to the house of a treasury official, where they discuss literature. The rich official asks ʾAbū al-Ẓafar to be his guest, and al-Nāṣir stays at the house enjoying his wealth until it is time to part ways. One goes west, and the other goes east.

22 The *maqāma* of Kašmīr

Al-Nāṣir declares that he attended the wedding party of Kashmir's governor with many other people. During the gathering, the party was presented as extremely rich with luxurious gold and silver plates and crystal glasses. In the centre of

the room, there were two extremely handsome boys who were introduced as the bride's brothers, implying that the bride had to be very beautiful like them. Al-Nāṣir eagerly enquired about the husband, and soon the husband appeared. His ugliness was evident with dark skin, a pinched nose, squinting eyes, impolite manners, and unkempt hair. The man was invited by the judge to preach a sermon if he wanted to be married, and he did so. In his speech, he claimed to be ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and stated that he was granted in marriage for a dowry of fifty thousand dinars. However, screams and commotion could be heard at night, and rumours circulated that ʾAbū al-Ẓafar had taken his wife's possessions and left. An expert in genealogy was asked about ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, and he warned that he might be one of the infamous ʾAbū al-Ẓafars known for their misdeeds. ʾAbū al-Ẓafar eventually returned, and everyone calmed down. He was questioned about his sudden departure, and he informed them that his wife had demanded immoral acts from him on their wedding night. She had made him mount a saddle on his back and wanted him to carry her naked from one door to another. He did not want to return, but his love for her had led him to forgive her. The episode seemed to have resolved for the best, but after three days, ʾAbū al-Ẓafar took his wife, money, possessions, and all valuable things and disappeared. The family was devastated by the event.

23 The *maqāma* of Bankāl

Al-Nāṣir went to Bengal and found a group of emirs dedicated to wine and listening to poetry at night. The butler mistakenly poured him wine without authorization from the group, and they continued to recite poetry and entertain him all night. The group dissolved in the morning. Al-Nāṣir then presented himself to one of the men as a foreigner to get some alms, and the man took him in and revealed himself to be ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. However, early in the morning, when al-Nāṣir was getting ready to pray, he was kicked out of the house. When he asked where the owner was, he was informed that he did not know, but it was the sultan's ruling to close the house before prayer.

24 The *maqāma* of Fitn

Al-Nāṣir heard that the sultan was holding a public audience and decided to attend. While there, he heard a man cite a certain ʾAbū Ṭabla as an example of a good and great ruler. Intrigued, al-Nāṣir followed the man to the sultan's seat where he was confronted by the sultan himself. The sultan was unhappy that the man had presented examples of other great rulers instead of himself. The man defended his actions by praising the greatness of ʾAbū Ṭabla. The sultan was puzzled by the man's comments, as many inhabitants of his kingdom had migrated. The man justified the migrations as being due to trade or because of bad deeds.

The sultan became curious about ʾAbū Ṭabla and sent the man on an embassy to meet him with rich gifts. However, on the way, they were stopped by bandits who stole all the gifts and treasures. The man then wrote to the king, and he answered by sending the same gifts again. This time, upon reaching Malibār, the man kept the gifts for himself. Al-Nāṣir later found out that the man was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, an Indian.

25 The *maqāma* of Quwāliyr

Al-Nāṣir recounts that he passed through the stronghold of Gwalior and was greatly impressed. Eager to see his inner self, he gives money to some of the *wālī*'s servants and obtains the prison clerk's robe. He enters like this and sees imprisoned people with long hair and nails like dead people. As he passes, he sees a man who had recently been imprisoned lowering his face in shame as he passes. Al-Nāṣir raises his face and finds him speaking an extremely refined language. Al-Nāṣir spends a lot of time in his company and asks him the cause of his imprisonment. The man declares that he was there because, in the court of a caliph, one of his wives had written that she feared the end of her comfortable life as the caliph was apparently sterile and not being able to have children, he would have repudiated her. The man advised her to look for a man who had similar features to those of the caliph and to have a child with him, to which she declared that she had thought of him. The woman began to come to him secretly at night. One of her servants, who always came with her, falls in love with the man. But this was rejected by the man. So, for revenge, she informed the caliph, who had his wife crucified and the man beaten. She wanted to have him killed, but the ʿulamāʾ only allowed him to be imprisoned. The man, therefore, asks al-Nāṣir to take responsibility for him in prison. Al-Nāṣir agrees, and so at night, he gets himself released and, in the morning, he gets himself imprisoned again, and they remain like this for several months. Once, however, al-Nāṣir, who had been up for many nights, falls asleep. Thus, the man chains him instead. During the day, al-Nāṣir covers himself with his dress so as not to be seen. During the desperate night, he recites verses from the surah of Hūd, and miraculously, the baraka of this surah breaks the chains, and he escapes.

26 The *maqāma* of Ṣaranǧ

Al-Nāṣir travels to Ṣaranǧ in search of lemons. Upon arriving, he discovers that the ʿūlamāʾ, or religious scholars, have become corrupt in the company of the rulers. He decides to leave and convinces his companions to do the same. However, as they are leaving the city, they learn that an important preacher has just entered. Al-Nāṣir leaves his companions and returns to the city to hear the sermon. In the mosque, an elderly man ascends the pulpit and delivers a brief

sermon reminding people of the imminence of doomsday and to do good deeds to prepare for death. He emphasises that the world is a place of falsehood and corruption. At the end of the sermon, the people are all in tears. Al-Nāṣir approaches the preacher, who says to be ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, and then returns to his companions, leaving the city.

27 The *maqāma* of Barāh

Al-Nāṣir travels with a group to Barāh, where they are well received by its inhabitants, many of whom are Sayyids. However, there is a group of people who trace their origins to the Banū ʾUmmiyya and show hatred for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. They have amassed a great deal of wealth and are corrupt. A man from the Punjab comes to the city to sell muslin and fine clothes. He recites a poem to the emir, criticising him for not dealing with this corrupt group. The emir is moved by the poem and prepares the army to attack them. They clash violently, resulting in the deaths of their men and the imprisonment of their women and children. The Sayyids then make a feast and share it with everyone, especially the man from the Punjab. The man composes a didactic poem, and the Sayyids give him gifts and many dinars of the Ṣulṭān Muḥammad Kām Baḫš's mint. Al-Nāṣir investigates and learns that the man is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian.

28 The *maqāma* of Šams ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir travels on a donkey to Šams ʾĀbād, and along the way, he meets a wealthy man who invites him to take part of his wealth. The man takes al-Nāṣir to a governor who is looking for a poet and a secretary. The man presents a boy as the best poet, and after the governor confirms that he is indeed talented, the boy is hired as a salaried worker. The governor then asks the man to find a capable secretary, and they have food from his court while they wait. The next day, the man returns with his son, who has changed his clothes and dyed his beard, claiming to be a capable secretary. The boy proves to be erudite and is hired as a secretary. However, the governor later complains that the man's poet son did not show up. The man explains that his son was tired and stayed asleep. Later, the man and his son quarrel, and they go to the governor to resolve their dispute. The son complains that his father had become mean to him after his education had come to fruition and demanded to live at his expense. The father complains to the governor that the son is not generous with a poem with obscene allusions. The governor scolds the son for his obscene poem and gives him a thousand dinars to reconcile with his father. The next morning, both the man and his son disappear, and al-Nāṣir realises that they were ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. Fearing that the governor will be angry with him for being in their company, al-Nāṣir runs away from the court.

29 The *maqāma* of Narūl

Al-Nāṣir is on his way to Narūl to buy iron, but he only finds small blacksmiths. He passes among the beggars and finds literates there and talks to them about poetry and literature. When he takes his leave, he finds an elder giving advice to his son about behaving at court, particularly about avoiding speaking more than necessary. While listening, al-Nāṣir hears about money that was to be given to courtiers by iron merchants. He approaches the man and asks to be part of the deception hatched against the *wālī*. The man accepts as long as he is extremely obedient. Al-Nāṣir gives him what he possesses, and they go to the *wālī*. Here, when questioned about the reason for his coming, the man informs him that he is fleeing from a group of infidels in the mountains. The *wālī* looks at the boy and appreciates his great erudition and asks the man to leave his son with him to educate his children and serve him. The man claims that he is very prepared but also has flaws, and through a poem, he refers to being passionate about the *wālī* and falling in love with him exaggeratedly. Many riches and gifts are given to the man. The man stays up late talking to his son. In the morning he and the son were gone, al-Nāṣir finds only a message in which it was written that he was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

30 The *maqāma* of ʾAllāh ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir visits the governor of ʾAllāh ʾĀbād, who is questioning a traveller for information. The traveller describes various places he has visited, such as Egypt for its scholarships, Yemen for the purity of its people's hearts and refinement in dress and food, Iran for austerity and harshness, Samāwa for handicrafts and decorations, Zayr ʾĀbād and China for scientific research, and Iraq. However, he states that no country is comparable to the one between the two valleys of al-ʿAydīd and al-Nāʿīr, which is distinguished by devotion and virtue. The governor asks how much time he stayed there, and the traveller replies that his stay was only four nights. The governor asks if he has brought anything from this place, and the traveller presents a rag washed in its waters, which he had placed in the shadow of the sanctuary of al-Farīṭ. He declares, however, that he does not want to part with it for any reason. The governor persuades him to sell the rag for a thousand dinars and puts him to live near him. As the traveller was looking for a servant, al-Nāṣir introduces himself and remains at his service for a year. He overhears the traveller talking to the governor one evening, and the traveller tells him that he has been travelling for ten years without meeting his family. The governor marvels at the young age of the traveller despite his extremely old appearance. The traveller then reveals that he had fallen in love with a woman and spent a huge amount of money on her, only to find her with a peasant kissing her on the cheek and tickling her hands. The trauma of betrayal turned his hair

white. The traveller delivers a poem summarising this event, and the ruler gives him several gifts. At this moment, al-Nāṣir notices ʾAbū al-Ẓafar's ring and flees from the house.

31 The *maqāma* of Wāğin

On the day of ʾĀšūrāʾ, al-Nāṣir is in the presence of the *wālī* of Wāğīn, who was mourning the death of Ḥusayn and crying. A man who, however, apparently opposes Shiism, is criticised for appearing at court in this situation. He justifies himself by presenting his gift of the Persian saviour, and this gift is appreciated. The *wālī*, who apparently knows him, asks the reason for his return. He asks his son to speak, and the son writes a poem in which he complains about the hardships suffered during the journey. In recounting his miseries, he had soaked the carpet with tears. The *wālī* asks to trade poems with his son. Here, the two begin a long and seemingly meaningless dialogue, showing their erudition. Then they present several poems in which they complain about the difficulties of the life of a man of letters. Hence, the *wālī*, moved by compassion, integrated him into his circle of intellectual interlocutors and dining companions, while additionally entrusting him with the oversight of mosques, hospices, and *madrasas*. However, not appreciating the speeches that were made in the *madrasa*, he wrote a critical poem and sent it to the governor through a child. The *wālī*, after reading the angry poem, summons the man. However, the latter had left, leaving a note on the door saying he was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

32 The *maqāma* of Daqlūr

Al-Nāṣir hears about the beautiful women of Daqlūr and travels there, where he meets an extremely eloquent man and befriends him. They live in pleasure, enjoying his eloquence, and go to a high country where they find the houses empty, the winds howling, and the dogs howling. An old woman in a doorway mourns the death of her lords and affirms that death was the work of God. The old man then takes a coal and writes a long poem on the city gate, summarising the event and warning whoever comes. The old man urges al-Nāṣir to leave, but he objects and claims to be ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

33 The *maqāma* of ʾAdūn

Al-Nāṣir travels to Adoni to see its beauty and sees the gold-covered mosque. While he is there, foreign troops enter the territory, and the emir of the country gathers his soldiers and sends troops to the village, but each troop is defeated. The foreigner is then tested by his love for an Indian woman and is unable to fight and plot. People take advantage of his weakness and bring him alive in chains to the emir. Consumed by passion and pale, he recognizes his faults and that if it

had not been for this passion, he would have won. The emir takes pity and has the Indian woman come, and they get married. In the marriage contract, the man introduces himself as ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian and declares that he only brings words as a dowry. Al-Nāṣir leaves.

34 The *maqāma* of Kanūr

Al-Nāṣir goes to the court of Kanūr and becomes a companion of the *wālī*. In a literary assembly, a man in poor clothes speaks, and the emir initially rejects him, but the man proves to be eloquent and criticises him for judging him by his appearance. The man presents a long poem, and the *wālī* embraces him and apologises. The emir declares that the assembly should last for eight days, and no one is allowed to enter. On the eighth day, the man becomes part of the administration of the kingdom and is sent to a place with great armaments and money. He has the money put inside a ship and fires the men of the emir, declaring himself to be ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. The officials return to the Emir and inform him of his escape.

35 The *maqāma* of Ẓafar ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir declares that he went to Ẓafar ʾĀbād when the locusts had eaten the crops. He rents a house there but finds them all to be ugly. So, he goes to the mosque and sees an old man reciting poetry. He asks him several questions, and while he's praying, he sees a boy who has not joined in the prayer. The man criticises the boy, but he declares himself to be an opponent of al-Nāṣir's doctrine, saying he's in favour of the Prophet and of the fatwas and sincerity. The old man criticises him, inviting him to follow the example of the prophet, and the boy repents and cries. The speech then turns to various issues, including India and its subdivisions, the types of people, and things that can be found in the subcontinent, especially women. Before leaving, the man had written on an onion or garlic peel that he was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar.

36 The *maqāma* of Kanbāya

Al-Nāṣir declares that he went to the port (*bandar*) Kanbāya and saw several people gathering there. He joined the assemblies of his emir while drinking alcohol in the morning and in the evening. Here, a man seated near the last and the emir asks who he was. The man replies that he is a traveller and that he has suffered many difficulties in his travels. He claims to have a woman, but economic difficulties had forced him to part from her. Having fallen into poverty, he had the appearance of a shepherd. Then he complained about his condition of poverty and suffering and the distance from his beloved. The emir offers him one of his women and a lot of money to lift himself up, but the man refuses for the love of his wife. He reaffirms

his condition through his poetry, and the emir takes pity on him and gives him many gifts so that he could embark on his journey to his wife. Al-Nāṣir asks who he was, and the man tells him he is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, and they part ways.

37 The *maqāma* of Yaranakr

Al-Nāṣir was with a group of women on the roof of his house, listening to music, when a man knocked on his door in the middle of the night. Al-Nāṣir went out to see who it was and found out that the man was a foreigner. Feeling sorry for him, al-Nāṣir offered him food and ate with him, even though he had already eaten. They placed a tent between themselves, and the women and al-Nāṣir ordered the women to sing and play music. They discussed singing and enjoyed music until they fell asleep. The next day, the man left. Al-Nāṣir followed the man to Barankar, where he had heard there were beautiful women. Their plan was to go to a basin where these women would necessarily have to wash and enjoy their view. However, when they arrived in the evening, the man shaved off his beard. Al-Nāṣir spied on the man and saw that he had put on a Hinduist rosary, a waistband, and a yellow cloth on his head. He spoke to the women in the language of the Brahmins and put a red dot on their foreheads and incited them to kneel. In the middle of the night, al-Nāṣir approached the man, criticising his apparent conversion. The man invited al-Nāṣir to come back the next morning to understand and rejoice. Early the next morning, he went out with al-Nāṣir and proclaimed to the women that the religion they believed in was not propitious for the Day of Judgment and asked them to convert to Islam. All the women then professed their faith. A passer-by praised the man, addressing him as ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. ʾAbū al-Ẓafar then left.

38 The *maqāma* of Rasūl Nakr

Al-Nāṣir travels with an elder of the militia to the fort of Rasūl Nakr, where he finds two factions, one Sunni and the other Imanite. The elder, tired of being celibate, asks about the possibility of finding a wife. He is informed that Sunnis do not marry foreigners, even if they are literate. So, the elder goes to the Imanites and enquires about temporary marriage. The man learns about the procedure and stipulates a marriage contract in which the exchange that must be obtained from the contract is ironically underlined. The man writes the contract declaring himself the vilest of men, ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. Al-Nāṣir then leaves him.

39 The *maqāma* of Burūǧ

Al-Nāṣir rides a lame nag intending to sell it to Burūǧ. Upon arriving, he finds a great commotion of people and learns that the daughter of the chief merchant is getting married to a great ʿālim. Al-Nāṣir is invited to the wedding and is given

lavish meals. Then, a man shows up and asks for an ironic dowry of lots of smoke and mosquito and fly wings. Al-Nāṣir is allowed to spend the night in the house of the newlyweds as he was a foreigner. From where he was, he watches the couple's night, during which the woman instructs him on Indian sexual positions. After the night, he leaves, not intending to return. Later, when he goes to their house, he learns that the man was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and had disappeared.

40 The *maqāma* of Barīlā

Al-Nāṣir gets drunk one evening and wanders to the city of Barīlā. Here, he goes to listen to music at the governor's court, and there he assists a man with worn clothes coming forward but is initially rejected. However, after demonstrating his great erudition and poetic ability, he is appreciated and considered. The emir is then removed, and his property confiscated. The emir discovers that the cause of his misfortunes the is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian. They advise bribing ʾAbū al-Ẓafar with a thousand dinars, which are presented to him with verses, and then ʾAbū al-Ẓafar disappears.

41 The *maqāma* of Matar

Al-Nāṣir went to the mosque when he was in great trouble and saw a group of people wearing wool. A man came to him and offered to help him get out of his difficult situation. Al-Nāṣir accepted the offer and that night, the man tied a candle to a tortoise and brought it into a house using a rope. They peered through a hole in the door and saw a room filled with wealth and clothes. Al-Nāṣir went inside and stole everything that he saw. They used the stolen wealth for a while until they feared they would run out of money. Later, the man saw an emir with a large chest of money and asked al-Nāṣir to stay in a particular place while he stole the money. After three days, the man returned with sacks of gold that he could barely carry. He told al-Nāṣir that he had managed to get hired among the guards protecting the chest, and when they slept at night, he had buried the chest and stolen the money. When the emir realised that the chest was missing, he angrily questioned everyone but could not find it. The man dug up the chest after everyone had left and took the money. Al-Nāṣir and the man stayed together for a while, and the man eventually sent al-Nāṣir to buy some cucumbers, giving him a dinar. When al-Nāṣir returned, he found a note with a seal. When he opened it, he found out that the man was ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and that he had taught him his art but not to steal from the weak and wise, but only from the oppressor and to help those in need.

42 The *maqāma* of Rāzfūr

Al-Nāṣir was with a group of Manqalūr on the island of Rāzfūr, and they stopped at the house of a drum's seller. When they arrived, he gave the seller a sum of money and agreed to help him. Then, a black man approached them and addressed the seller as ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. ʾAbū al-Ẓafar lamented that he had been careless in his life and regretted it. The black man asked him about his experiences in India, and ʾAbū al-Ẓafar presented a long list of both pleasant and unpleasant things he had seen there. The black man then asked ʾAbū al-Ẓafar for some advice, and he advised him to be careful and to fear death and to fear the day of judgement.

43 The *maqāma* of Barār

Al-Nāṣir enters Barār after an important Indian man had died there. His people had arranged for him to be burned together with his still-living wife. As everything was ready for the stake, a man on horseback arrived and took the woman away. People tried to reach her but failed, and the corpse was left unattended and torn apart by wild beasts. Al-Nāṣir travels for twelve years until he sees a group of people running towards a nearby city and follows them. Inside the city, he sees a shabbily dressed man surrounded by his five children who calls him by name. The man turns out to be ʾAbū al-Ẓafar, and he informs al-Nāṣir that the children are his, born to the woman who was saved from the stake. ʾAbū al-Ẓafar invites al-Nāṣir to his home, where his wife has prepared a meal. Al-Nāṣir talks to the woman and finds her beautiful and eloquent, and he discovers that she had converted to Islam. Al-Nāṣir stays at their home for a few days, treated well by ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and his wife, and then leaves, with no doubts about the truth of the story.

44 The *maqāma* of Nāqinah

Al-Nāṣir desired to visit Nāqinah but the journey was arduous. When he finally arrived, he toured the area before entering the palace of the ruler, where he discovered people dancing and singing. A stunning young woman caught his eye, and al-Nāṣir fell in love with her. He wondered how he could meet her again. Soon after, some locals informed the governor that they had found a man badly beaten and left in a ditch. The governor ordered him to be treated, and when he had recovered, he was taken to see the governor. The man agreed to tell the governor what happened only if he was not punished for it. The governor agreed to this condition. The man revealed that he knew of a group that gathered in the nights of *al-ġadīr* at the house of their leader. The group mingled together in what seemed to be an orgy in the night, with no precautions taken against incestuous relationships. The man had joined in, but when it came time to choose a partner,

in the darkness he accidentally chose an elderly woman and thus left her to pick another one. The old woman understood that he was not part of their group. She shouted and alarmed the group which beat him and threw him into a manure heap, nearly killing him. Upon hearing this, al-Nāṣir declared that he no longer wanted to visit the city.

45 The *maqāma* of Kaliyān

Al-Nāṣir declares that he is in need and decides to go to Kaliyān, which has the reputation of having a generous emir. As he approaches the city, he comes across a man in shackles who asks for his help. Al-Nāṣir is initially hesitant, fearing that he might anger the person who had put the shackles on the man. However, he is reassured that the person responsible for the shackles is no longer around, so he decides to free the man. The man then offers to accompany al-Nāṣir to the emir of Kaliyān, claiming to be a friend of his and saying that he can help him. The man also tells al-Nāṣir that people in India often fail to recognize truly talented individuals, and he intends to present him as a great scholar. When they reach the emir, he recognizes the man as a friend and listens to his presentation of al-Nāṣir as an extremely erudite individual who excels in all branches of science, including grammar, literature, and astronomy. The emir is impressed by al-Nāṣir's knowledge and does not notice that he is not particularly excellent in these fields. He thanks the man, whom he calls ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and raises him to a higher position in his court. The emir then gives al-Nāṣir a large sum of money, enough to sustain him for the rest of his life. Al-Nāṣir affirms that he spent all the money on the adversities he faced in his life.

46 The *maqāma* of Muršid ʾĀbād

Al-Nāṣir affirms to have witnessed rare events in India that were worth writing about in gold ink. He recounted that once he was travelling with two men who had a dog that had a silver collar. Unfortunately, the dog fell ill and died. The son was heartbroken and did not want to discard the dog's body at the market. So, the father proposed a plan to make wealth from the dog's death. They put the dog's carcass in a box and covered it. Then they took it to the market and began to cry loudly. People gathered around the box, thinking it was the body of a saint, and began to pray. Emirs and rulers arrived, and the crowd grew so large that a dome was built on the spot for the 'saint's' burial. People came from far and wide to offer gifts and ask for intercession, and their wishes were often granted. Al-Nāṣir stayed with them for two years before leaving to visit his wife and children. Ten years later, he returned to find the place deserted. He learned that ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and his son had quarrelled over the division of the alms and revealed that a dog was buried in the tomb. A man had heard their discourse and informed the

Judge. The judge and the *wālī* ordered the place destroyed and had the two men tortured and chained. After a while, the two men managed to escape from prison.

47 The *maqāma* of Haqlī Bandar

Al-Nāṣir says to have travelled with merchants to Haqlī Bandar, where he saw a man marching ahead of him with trumpets, accompanied by about a hundred notables on foot. When he asks, he learns that the man is Bīrzādah, who people venerate as a deity, kissing the ground where he passes and exaggerating in their praise. People accepted his religious claims as legitimate, even when they were not. Al-Nāṣir leaves, but later, Bīrzādah returns and takes their children prisoner, robbing their houses. Al-Nāṣir is astonished by what he sees and learns from a man that things could be worse. The man hesitates to share more out of fear of being reported to a housekeeper, but al-Nāṣir reassures him. The man then shares that in his group, people dress in *ḫirqa* habit, with men dressing in public and women in private. When they come in to change, Bīrzādah hangs up some trousers and asks the women to lower the trousers. If they comply, he has intercourse with them. If they show fear or impatience, he claims he meant to lower the trousers that were hanging, and he also uses this trick with boys. Al-Nāṣir investigates and discovers that the man is ʾAbū al-Ẓafar. Al-Nāṣir then leaves.

48 The *maqāma* of Ǧunnīr

Al-Nāṣir is with a group of Malīr who go to Ǧunnīr. When they arrive, they find the governor intent on talking to a man who asks him to bring his son to the court of the palace so that he could investigate matters relating to literature with him. The boy comes to court and is examined with several questions of literature and jurisprudence, answering in poetry. The emir is convinced of his distinction. Thus begins a literary assembly where people drink and compose poetry and joke with the butler. Eventually, the boy is revealed to be the son of ʾAbū al-Ẓafar the Indian. Al-Nāṣir leaves.

49 The *maqāma* of al-Sanqamar

Al-Nāṣir is travelling with a group of notables on a particularly tiring journey. A Persian ruler appears, and al-Nāṣir visits his tent. The ruler expresses sadness at being far from his birthplace and a doctor advises him to find relief watching nature, water and beautiful faces. The Persian comments that India abounds in beautiful landscapes and nature but lacks beautiful faces. He learns of a nearby dome crowded with people and goes there hoping to meet beautiful faces and good spirits but is disappointed. A man named ʾAbū al-Ẓafar entertains him with poetry and summarises his condition in a poem. The ruler gives him a large sum

of money. The ruler later learns that the enemy has blocked his way back and is saddened. They discuss what to do in poetry and then decide to attack the enemy. They attack and they miraculously overcome the enemy. The ruler acknowledges that ʾAbū al-Ẓafar's advice was right and gives him further gifts. Al-Nāṣir leaves, emphasising that the victory happened by divine grace as he caused hail to fall on the earth.

50 The *maqāma* of Siyālkūt

Al-Nāsir hears that ʾAbū al-Ẓafar is dying and visits him finding him in the company of doctors and men of letters. ʾAbū al-Ẓafar spends his last breaths urging the group to repentance and to fear the day of judgement and death. He advises being ethical in stealing and begging and utters various poems taking his leave with his family and al-Nāṣir before passing away. Al-Nāṣir claims that this is the last thing he saw and learned from ʾAbū al-Ẓafar and concludes the writing by blessing the Prophet and his followers.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148422

Gerardo Barbera
Italy | barberagerardo@gmail.com

The Cannibal Sister: Linguistic Annotation of a South Bashkardi Folktale

Abstract This article provides a lexical and morphemic analysis of a folktale in the so far undocumented South Bashkardi dialect of Garu village, Hormozgān province, Iran. The text, which belongs to ATU 315A tale type about the so-called 'Cannibal sister', is presented with a tentative phonological transcription, an English translation, and a detailed glossary.

Keywords language documentation and description, Iranian linguistics, Iranian studies, Bashkardi, Strait of Hormuz, Oriental studies, Folk literature, ATU 315A

1 Introduction

Bashkardi is the conventional name of two linguistically proximate Iranian dialect groups that are both found across the historical geographical region of Bashkard, officially Bashāgerd,[1] at the western end of the Makrān zone and inland from the Strait of Hormuz in Iran. The total landscape of the region is hilly to mountainous and it is primarily characterised by a mountain system consisting of two ranges that meet at an acute angle (Eastern Bashāgerd mountains and Western Bashāgerd mountains), converging to the northwest.[2] To the south, Bashāgerd

[1] The form 'Bashkard' is local and has the same range of uses as the official 'Bashāgerd', which is based on 'Bashākerd' or 'Bashākard', a toponym of uncertain origin. This latter, however, is generally considered to be 'wrong' by my local consultants. Note also that 'Bashkardi', a derivative noun or adjective, may refer to both the geographical entity 'Bashkard' and the people, dialects and cultures of the same region.

[2] The juncture area between these two ranges or even the whole of the Western Bashāgerd mountains is probably what has often been referred to in western scholarly works as the 'Mārz range'. In modern geographic terminology, Mārz is a rural agglomeration (*dehestān*)

© 2023 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.

spreads roughly east of the Biyābān plain in the Strait of Hormuz and north of the Oman Sea coast. This is a remote, difficult to access region that has therefore been the object of relatively few modern studies.

The two individual dialect groups found in Bashāgerd are known as North and South Bashkardi in scholarly literature and, locally, as Mārzigāl and Molkigāl respectively. The total number of Bashkardi speakers probably approximates 40,000.[3] Today, with such a small number of speakers facing increasingly economic difficulties and emigration, Bashkardi is vulnerable to quick disappearance, although

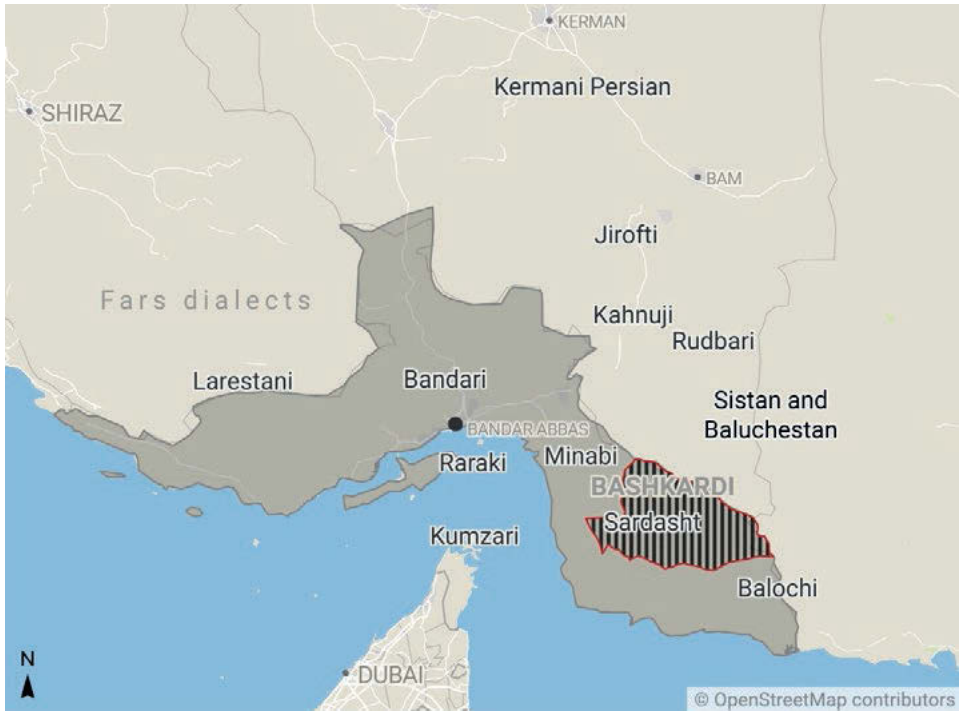

Figure 1. Languages of Southeast Iran
(map by Gerardo Barbera, made with *Datawrapper*)

in the district (*bakhsh*) of Chāhkhodā in Qal'e-ye Ganj sub-province of Kermān province, on which Bashāgerd borders at its northwestern end.

[3] See Voskanian and Boyajian-Sureniants (2007: 122, fn. 8), who were the first to make references to the Bashkardi endonyms mentioned above. What little is known about the history and the exploration of Bashāgerd is summarised in Spooner (1988). In 2008, Bashāgerd, with an area of 9,200 km^2, was established as a sub-province (*shahrestān*) of Hormozgān province. It currently comprehends three districts (*bakhsh-hā*), namely Markazi, with the rural agglomerations (*dehestān-hā*) of Jakdān and Sardasht, Gohrān, with the rural agglomerations of Dar Ābsar and Gohrān, and Gāfr and Pārmun, with the homonymous rural agglomerations, respectively. It consists of some 150 permanently inhabited

long-term survival is a possibility. There is, in fact, no lack of intergenerational transmission recorded, while numerical weakness could one day lead to greater group solidarity with positive implications for language maintenance.

From a historical point of view, both North and South Bashkardi have been conjectured as being a so-called Southwest sub-branch of Iranian.[4] However, South Bashkardi diverges considerably from North Bashkardi and the dialects adjacent to the north and west of it in both historical phonology and grammar, joining in different respects Balochi, which is in close contact with both Bashkardi groups, but is a so-called Northwest sub-branch of Iranian.[5]

---

villages (*abādi-hā*) and its capital is Sardasht. See Statistical Centre of Iran (2013: 24, 68) (based on the 2011 census). Note that Angurān, Anguhrān, Angohrān are more commonly used forms than Gohrān.

[4] See Skjærvø (1988: 846); Windfuhr (2009: 13). In particular, Windfuhr provides a chart in which 'Southwest Iranian' is portrayed as incorporating, beside Persian, the 'Perside groups, Southern Zagros and Fars', and the 'non-Perside groups, Larestan and Gulf'. The Gulf group in its turn includes Bandari, Minābi, Bashkardi, and Kumzari on the Masandam peninsula in Oman.

[5] See Korn (2017: 80; 2021: 302–303) for a critical hint on North and South Bashkardi as a genetic entity; see also Korn (2022), where the possibility of Bashkardi representing a 'mini-Sprachbund' ('convergence of Iranian varieties of different origin') is briefly assessed. Gershevitch (1970: 163) calls North and South Bashkardi 'two distinct language groups, a northern and a southern', or 'two languages'. Later, however, Gershevitch (1992: 74) will state that Bashkardi and Balochi are 'two Iranian languages that differ from each other no more, but also not much less, than Spanish, for example, differs from Italian'. Thus, it seems that here, Gershevitch considers Bashkardi as one language, when compared to Balochi as a distinct language (unless he had in mind South Bashkardi exclusively). Also note Voskanian and Boyajian-Sureniants' (2007: 122) field observations that '[t]hough the extant materials on these dialects are still limited, they do not seem to be dialect variations of the same language, but, rather, build two distinct language groups, unified—regardless their genetic characteristics—under one conventional name (Baškardī) merely on the basis of territorial coverage'. In Barbera (2021), I reviewed the lexical isoglosses in the dialect continuum across Hormozgān and southern Kermān provinces as this continuum was outlined in Borjian (2017: 306–313) (where Kumzari was excluded from grouping). Data from Balochi were also added. A cross-dialectal 40-item word list of the 'Automated Similarity Judgment Programme Database' (Wichmann, Holman, and Brown 2020) was provided to show how both Bashkardi dialect groups are distinctly closer to the dialects in southern Kermān province (i.e. Jirofti, Kahnuji, Rudbāri, Manujāni) than they are to 'Bandari' dialects (i.e. Bandarabbāsi, also known as Bandari itself, Minābi, etc.). Note that Borjian (2017: 306) groups Manujāni with Minābi and Bandari. Research also revealed (also probably due to contact phenomena) consistent sharing of characteristic lexical isoglosses between dialects in southern Kermān province and Bashāgerd on the one hand, and Balochi on the other hand, with respect to all other dialects along the coast and inland from the Strait of Hormuz. The linguistic collocation of Kumzari and its variant form known as Rāraki on Lārak island offshore from Bandar Abbās deserves a separate discussion. For succinct and up-to-date information on recent research on Bashkardi see Korn (2021b: 301–302). Brief and perceptive historical descriptions

It is not known to what extent North and South Bashkardi are mutually intelligible. From what little could be extemporaneously noted, it turned up that North Bashkardi native speakers could only superficially understand audio-recorded speech data in South Bashkardi, except when, reportedly, they had been exposed to previous learning (usually at home). On the contrary, and apparently quite aside from any secondary effect from acquisition, South Bashkardi native speakers were manifestly at more ease with North Bashkardi speech data, either recorded or momentarily uttered. This is probably because 'North Bashkardi is closer to Persian in terms of historical phonology, verbal endings and pronominal clitics, which could contribute to its being more intelligible to South Bashkardi speakers than vice-versa' (Agnes Korn, personal communication).

The text analysed in this article is a sample of documentary linguistic materials from the Bashkardi dialect of Garu, a village of about 2,000 people[6] lying outside Bashāgerd proper, about 40 km southeast of Mināb on the southwest spurs of the Western Bashāgerd mountains. By its very position, Garu falls administratively within the rural agglomeration (*dehestān*) of the district (*bakhsh*) of Senderk, which is one of the four subdivisions of the sub-province (*shahrestān*) of Mināb.[7] Most of this territory was until quite recently governed alternatively as a rural agglomeration or a district under the name of 'Western Bashāgerd'.

The dialect of Garu represents consequently a South Bashkardi language pocket in a Minābi-to-North Bashkardi dialect continuum. This is reportedly the result of a centennial migration of the ancestors of the current population from a zone in the rural agglomeration of Gāfr (or its vicinity) in southern Bashāgerd. Precisely how long ago they migrated is not easy to ascertain. According to an old military colonial report, a certain 'Lieutenant Galindo' of the Sussex Regiment in India travelled through the area in 1888, and noted that 'Garū' is 'a village in Bashākard, on the Mīnāb-Bint road, 5 miles south-east of Talang. It is now in ruins' (Government of India 1910: 205). Seeing that Talang in the report is very likely today's Talang-e Sarātak village, approximately 10 km from Garu on the road to Mināb, or was located nearby anyway, probably the current Bashkardi population set itself up here after that date.

People's main occupation in Garu is agriculture, but there are here as elsewhere also many workers who migrate seasonally to Mināb, Bandar Abbās or more permanently to the Arabian Peninsula, especially Oman and Qatar.

---

mainly elaborated on from I. Gershevitch's dispersed references to Bashkardi (Gershevitch was the first linguist to carry out fieldwork in the area in 1956), were made available in two classic contributions in Skjærvø (1988; 1989).

[6] They numbered 1420 in a report by the National Geographic Organization of the Iranian Armed Forces (2004: 126), containing data from the 1996 census.

[7] See Statistical Centre of Iran (2013: 18, 28).

2 Phonology

The following succinct description of the phonology of the dialect of Garu can certainly be subject to future revision, given the relatively small number of items on which it is based. The transcription of the text is tendentially phonemic, but some phonetic peculiarities have been noticed as well.

2.1 Consonants

Overall, South Bashkardi resembles Standard Persian. Consonants are outlined in Table 1 below.

	Labial	Alveolar	Postal-veolar/ palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	*p b*	*t d*		*k g*		(ʔ)
Nasal	*m*	*n*				
Fricative	*f v*	*s z*	*š* (*ž*)		*x ɣ*	*h*
Affricate			*č ǰ*			
Trill		*r*				
Approximant	(*w*)		*y*			
Lateral		*l*				

Table 1. Consonants

The glottal plosive is only very marginally phonemic: it can be realised as such, i.e. as /ʔ/, whereas its loss, which is most common, tends to produce the compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel. The Standard Persian uvular phoneme *q* (conditionally [ɢ]) is absent and in words from Persian (whatever the varieties of language) it is often replaced by /k/. *ž* does not seem to be an independent phoneme; it can replace a /j/ that has lost its dental element in a few words. *w* appears to be /u/ after vowels or can be sometimes articulated as /v/ before vowels.

2.2 Vowels

The Bashkardi vowel system embodies more vowels than the Standard Persian system does. Vowels can be provisionally represented as in Table 2 below.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	*ī* (*ǖ*)		*ū*
	i		*u*
Mid	*ē*		*ō*
	e		*o*
		ə	
Open		*a*	*ā*

Table 2. Vowels

There is undoubted instability along the front and the back axes. This is probably due to pressure from Standard Persian, which favours a more economic phonological system. *ə* is found in *dərūh*, *dərūst* 'to say', and sometimes also in *bərūt* 'brother', which some speakers pronounce as *berūt*, some others as *borūt*, too; *ǖ*, which is probably not an independent phoneme, is found here as an allophone of *ū*, especially when following a palatal sound: e.g. *šū*, *šǖ* 'husband', *ǰūt*, *ǰǖt* 'to eat'.

Note that *ē* and *ī*, as well as *ō* and *ū*, appear to have phonetically similar allophones and can often interchange, even in one and the same speaker (as is the case with the narrator of this text). Both pairs also show phonetic tendencies to diphthongise to *ie* and *ue* respectively. Diphthongization is, however, a highly irregular process in the dialect of Garu.

2.3 Stress

Nouns and adjectives are stressed on the last non-enclitic syllable. Verbs are normally stressed on the endings, or, in the absence of endings, on the stem. Progressive tenses are stressed on the last syllable of the infinitive (or past stem, see § 3.4). The negative verbal prefixes, *ne-* and *na-* (see also § 3.5), generally shift stress away from final position: e.g. *rowt-óm* 'I went', *ne-rówt-om* 'I did not go'.

3 Morphosyntax

The following information illustrates a few points that can be practical to present in a more explicit way than is done in the glossary.[8]

3.1 Definiteness

Definiteness is marked by means of demonstrative pronouns and adjectives. These are: *ī* 'this', plural *ī-an*, or *ye* 'idem', plural *ye-n-an* (= personal pronouns, see § 3.3); *ā* 'that', plural *ā-an/ā-y-an*. Demonstratives that are associated to possessives in the noun phrase may acquire discourse functions aimed at singling out a more definite pragmatic scope in the marked referent: e.g. *ī koterk men* 'this my child' (§ 14), *ī berūt=e* 'this her brother' (§ 9), ī pah-*an xo-y=an* 'these our own goats' (§ 2), etc.

3.2 Indefiniteness

Markers of indefiniteness are numeral adjective *yow* 'one' and indefinite and specific enclitic marker *=ō*, which are either both combined together or used separately from each other: e.g. *yow ešter*, *yow ešter=ō*, *ešter=ō* 'a camel', with small nuances of meaning (as if they were, more or less, English 'a/one camel', 'some camel or other', 'any camel' respectively). Note the following partitive construction implying that the classifier *tū* (a numerative noun with an associated sense of 'unit') is used as a pronoun:

(1)	*yow*	*tū*	[Ø]	*ešter-an* [or -Ø]
	one	CLASS/PRO	[EZ]	camel-PL
	'one camel/one of the camels'			

The partitive construction may trigger equally singular and plural agreement on the verb, with no change whatsoever in meaning: e.g.

(2a)	*yow tū*	*ešter-an*	*kam*	*bīt*	
	one CLASS/PRO	camel-PL	few	become.PST-3S	
	'one of the camels was missing' (preterit)				Text, § 2

(2b)	*yow tū*	*ešter-an…*	*kam*	*a-bīt-en*	
	one CLASS/PRO	camel-PL	few	DUR-become.PST-3PL	
	'one of the camels was missing' (imperfect)				Text, § 2

[8] Aspects of the Bashkardi nominal system, including number markedness, marking of objects and direction, and possessive constructions were examined in Korn (2017). For more information on South Bashkardi morphosyntax, see Barbera (forthcoming).

in which the verb takes the plural agreement by attraction from *ešter-an*; cf. also

(3)	*yow*	*tū*	*gār*	*a-bīt-en*
	one	CLASS/PRO	disappeared	DUR-become.PST-3PL
	'one was disappearing'			Text, § 2

with plural verb agreement by projection from implicit—but known within discourse—plural *ešter-an* 'camels'. When non-partitive *tū* behaves as a numerative noun, it always requires the classified noun to be singular: e.g.

(4)	*yow*	*do*	*tū*	*sax = e*	*dārent*
	one	two	CLASS	dog = PC.3S	own.PST
	'he owned one, two dogs'				Text, § 7

3.3 Personal pronouns

Free standing personal pronouns are presented in Table 3 below.

1S	*men*
2S	*to*
3S	*ye*
1P	*yemah*
2P	*šomah*
3P	*yenan*

Table 3. Personal pronouns

3.4 Present and past stems

Verbs have present and past stems. Regular past stems are built from present stems by means of suffixes structured as vowel + *nt*: e.g. *tav-ent* 'to fall'. As a result of different historical morphophonological changes, other stems show *ūt*: e.g. *adūt* 'to give', *gerūt* 'to take'; or *āt*: e.g. *orāt* 'pick up'; or *st*: e.g. *derūst* 'say' , or *d:* e.g. *pāyd* 'cast, throw', *vāyd* 'tear apart'. The perfect and pluperfect tenses are formed by respectively suffixing *-x* and *-x-at* (i.e. *-x* plus the past stem of the copula) to the past stem, deprived of its dental consonant: e.g. *tavent* > *taven-*{*x-at*}; or clusters such as *st*: e.g. *derūst* > *derū-*{*x-at*}. The verb *gerūt* 'to take' has synchronically un-

expected perfect stem *goč*, on which pluperfect *goč-at* is based. The past stems are also used as infinitives in my documentation. Progressive present and past tenses consist of the copula and a 'predicate' locution formed by the preposition *be* 'to, at' (treated hereafter as a prefix) and the past stem (or the infinitive): e.g. *be-tavent=ū* 'you are falling', lit. 'in to-fall you are'. Progressive formations are negated by negating the copula: e.g. *be-tavent neh=ū* 'you are not falling'.

3.5 Verbal prefixes

The modal-aspectual prefixes are: indicative durative *a-*, used to build the present and imperfect tenses on the present and past stems respectively: e.g. *a-kuč-īn* 'I scratch', *a-kučent-īn* 'I was scratching, I used to scratch'; modal *e-*, used to build the subjunctive and imperative on the present stems. This latter prefix appears to be in a state of retrogression and very often alternates with Ø in many different contexts. The negative prefixes are interchangeably *ne-* and *na-* (see also § 2.3), which do not always seem to be phonologically conditioned allomorphs, but free phonetic variant forms. In the indicative present and imperfect tenses, the negation is inserted as *-n-* between the prefix *a-* and the stem: e.g., *a-bes-om* 'I say', *a-n-bes-om* 'I do not say'. The negative prefix suppresses the modal prefix *e-*. (For prefix *be-*, see § 3.4.)

3.6 Personal endings

Personal endings are used in the present tense of transitive and intransitive verbs and in the preterit, perfect and pluperfect tenses of intransitive verbs. They can be displayed as in Table 4 below (but variations are several):

	Present	Past
1S	*-īn*	*-īn*
2S	*-ex/-e*	*-ū/-ūx*
3S	*-et*	*Ø*
1P	*-an*	*-om*
2P	*-oht/-aht*	*-oht*
3P	*-en*	*-en*

Table 4. Personal endings

3.7 Moods and tenses

Moods include indicative, subjunctive, imperative. The following indicative tenses make up the temporal system: present-future ('I do', 'I will do'), imperfect ['I was doing', I used to do'], preterit ['I did'], perfect ['I have done'], pluperfect ['I had done']. They are all, except the present tense, formed on the past stems. Table 5 below illustrates tense formation in the intransitive verb.

	Present-future	Preterit	Imperfect	Perfect	Pluperfect
1S	*a-p-īn*	*vot-īn*	*a-vot-īn*	*vo-x-īn*	*vo-x-at-īn*
2S	*a-p-e/ex*	*vot-ū/ūx*	*a-vot-ū/ūx*	*vo-x-ū/ūx*	*vo-x-at-ū/ūx*
3S	*a-pĭ*[9]	*vot*	*a-vot*	*vo-x*	*vo-x-at*
1P	*a-p-om*	*vot-om*	*a-vot-om*	*vo-x-om*	*vo-x-at-om*
2P	*a-p-oht*	*vot-oht*	*a-vot-oht*	*vo-x-oht*	*vo-x-at-oht*
3P	*a-p-en*	*vot-en*	*a-vot-en*	*vo-x-en*	*vo-x-at-en*

Table 5. Selected indicative paradigms of *vot/p-* 'to come'

3.8 Ergative alignment

Bashkardi shows a 'post-ergative' alignment pattern in the past domain of transitive verbs, wherein pronominal clitics as outlined in Table 6 below (§ 3.9) are systematically employed to represent the agents, cross-referencing the logical subjects. Pronominal clitics (with the exception of set-2 clitics in Table 6, § 3.9) are mobile and they normally attach to the left of the stem, starting from the subject position. In purely functional terms, pronominal clitics in South Bashkardi behave like verbal endings and must therefore co-occur even with an overt subject (either noun or pronoun).

Pronominal enclitics slotting on either in front of the verb or following the past stem can be seen in the following examples:

(5a)	*yow ǰūšk = ō = e*	*kerxat*	*der*	*hamā*	*manǰal*
	one.sparrow = INDEF = PC.3	Smake.PPF	in	same	pot

[9] Regular ending: *-et*.

(5b) *yow ǰūšk = ō* *kerxat = e* *der* *hamā* *manǰal*
one.sparrow = INDEF make. PPF = PC.3S in same pot
'he had put a sparrow in the same pot'

3.9 Cliticisation

The enclitic pronouns (set-1) and proclitic pronominal particles (set-2) are displayed in Table 6 below.

	set-1	set-2
1S	*= om*	*m =*
2S	*= et*	*t =*
3S	*= e*	*h =*
1P	*= an*	*n =*
2P	*= ox*	*x =*
3P	*= eš*	*š =*

Table 6. Pronominal clitics

Both sets appear to be in partial complementary distribution. In addition to the function of agent markers (5a, 5b, 6 and 7), they can also be employed in direct object (8) and oblique (9) functions, and generally—but particularly as far as set-1 clitics are concerned—, as possessive pronouns. Set-2 clitics are single consonant particles. They syllabify as the onset of the following vowel in the verb that hosts them, and they are never found in a position different from this. There is no segmental pause interlexically between the particle and the verb, which would bar resyllabification at a syntagmatic level. Provided that the most common vowel onset is the indicative durative marker *a-*, set-2 clitic particles are characteristically (although not exclusively) associated to the formation of the indicative present and imperfect tenses: e.g.

(6) *a-kert = e* = *h = a-kert*
DUR-do.PST = PC.3S = PC.3S = DUR-do.PST
'he was doing, he used to do'

(7) *ziād* *latākotā* *š = a-kert*
a.lot nervous.excitement PC.3P = DUR-do.PST
'[the dogs] were moving about a lot nervously' Text, § 17

(8) *rīzrīz* *h = a-kan-īn*
smashed PC.3S = DUR-do.PRS-1S
'I smash him'

(9) *šīr = e* *h = adūt*
milk = PC.3S PC.3S = give.PST
'she gave her milk'[10] Text, § 4

3.10 Clitics and endings in the past domain of transitive verbs

Characteristically for Bashkardi, with respect to all other languages in southern Iran, the verbal endings may show up with a change in function when employed with a transitive verb in the past domain, retaining their morphosyntactic property of being suffixed immediately after the stem (as with intransitive verb stems, see Table 4, § 3.7). In this position, they become indexing markers of direct objects (also possibly of any oblique form), while pronominal clitics, which must be attached either after the endings or in a position fronting the stem (see § 3.9), will keep indexing the agent, or the logical subject, in the same domain: e.g.

(10) *maš* *a-ǰūt-īn = e*
mosquito DUR-eat.PST-1S = PC.3S
'a mosquito was eating (= stinging) me'[11]

[10] Note that in *adūt*, *a°* belongs to the stem. It is not the indicative durative marker *a-*.

[11] And not 'I was eating a mosquito' as one would get impressionistically from an Iranian language; note 'mosquito' also possibly in a hanging-topic position. A situation similar to the Bashkardi one, implying change of function in the personal markers (pronominal clitics and endings), can be found in Sorani Kurdish; see Jügel (2009: 155), for an explanation. For divergences between Sorani Kurdish and South Bashkardi, see Barbera (forthcoming). In South Bashkardi, pronominal clitics referring to the agent of a transitive verb in the past domain must be systematically used (as happens in the Minābi dialect), with only very few exceptions found in my documentation (wherein, for example, there can be found clitic ellipsis in cases in which the clitic is attached to the past stem of the first or the last verb in a sequence of transitive verbs). As far as North Bashkardi is concerned, Korn (2021a: 304) is more cautious about the exclusive usage of pronominal clitics as agent markers in past tenses of transitive verbs (also probably on the basis of the cases found in the text analysed in Korn [2021b]). Note that, according to Haig (2017: 482), in describing Sorani Kurdish alignment the use of terms such as 'ergative' or 'accusative' are of no importance from a theoretical point of view, even though in his analysis an 'ergative' labelling is preferable.

4 Text

The text was recorded on 20 July 2008 from Mr. Bejār Mirshekāri, a local civil servant,[12] during a rapid, overall 7-day field linguistic survey. In such a very short span of time documentation efforts suffered from different shortcomings resulting in a lot of frustration.[13] Materials from this fieldtrip were subsequently archived at the 'Endangered Languages Archive Repository' (ELAR), see Barbera (2015).[14]

The text narrates the story of the youngest daughter in a family of seven male children, who soon reveals herself to be a monster[15] and will eat her family's livestock and properties, her parents and all of her siblings, except the youngest brother; this latter will have his sister killed by his dogs and will free everyone and everything from her breasts, eventually.

---

[12] Ethnolinguistic information regarding Mr. B. Mirshekāri: exposed to first language, Molkigāl Bashkardi, from birth; exposed to second language, Persian, at school, at work, and through the mass media; ethnicity: Bashkardi, Bandari, Iranian; education: up to high school; language under investigation: Molkigāl Bashkardi (Garu'i), spoken fluently as first language, language of ethnic identification, used at home, in the neighbourhood, with friends and other members of the same ethnolinguistic group.

[13] A second trip to Garu was not authorised at SOAS, London, as it would unfortunately have coincided with the period of turmoil following the re-election of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2009.

[14] This text, in particular, was archived with the following identification marks: molkigal-barbera-0389 B1, bundle name 'The dorōnǰ monster', molki_texts005, narrator Bejār Mirshekāri, place Garu, Hormozgān, Iran. It was recorded with a Marantz PMD671 audio recorder and an Audio-Technica AT 825 microphone that had been loaned from ELAR. The combination of these two (otherwise excellent) equipment tools did not prove to be particularly helpful on that occasion. Mr. B. Mirshekāri also helped in the transcription process and with the Persian translation. In March 2022, Mahmoud Mahmoudi received via Whatsapp a copy of the transcribed Bashkardi text. He should have recorded his own reading of the transcription, conforming to his own sub-dialect, but detaching himself from the original as little as possible (e.g. if he happened to be unaware of a particular expression). Mahmoud sent me his recording one month later and then, though in a too syncopated manner, we began to discuss various issues, especially as regards pronunciation.

[15] Referred to in the text as *dorōnǰ*, see § 5, Glossary, *sub voce*. As regards the origin of this word, Marco Fattori (personal communication) has suggested, only preliminarily and with lots of caution, an intriguing etymology, by pointing to a Middle Iranian type **darrānǰ*, possibly < Old Iranian **darna-ānačī-*, literally 'she who tears', derived < *dar-* 'to tear, tear to pieces, split', and the well-attested feminine suffix found in New Eastern Iranian languages, for which see Morgenstierne (1962). The *o* in the first syllable is, according to this scholar, perhaps explained as an obscuration of **a* in a closed syllable; see Skjærvø (1988: 847) ('Vowels').

4.1 Basic summary and typology

The tale is a variant of ATU (*Aarne–Thompson–Uther index*) tale type 315A relating to the 'tales of magic' and, specifically, to the so-called 'cannibal sister'. The overall South Bashkardi tale's plot closely mirrors the basic summary, i.e. the minimal framework describing the central structure, contents, and most important characters of this type as found in Aarne and Thompson (1961: 110–111), but, especially, as the basic summary was rewritten in Uther (2004 1: 203). The latter runs as follows:

> A woman (queen) who has only sons gives birth to a daughter. The girl first devours the animals, then her brothers and parents, and finally the inhabitants of the village (city). Only one brother escapes […][16] The youth marries, gives his wife a life token, leaves his dogs (young lions, panther) behind, and returns home. He finds everything devastated. His sister devours his horse and threatens to devour him, too. While she is sharpening her teeth, the youth must play an instrument to prove he is still there. A mouse takes his place and he flees. The youth escapes and climbs three trees in succession which his sister gnaws down. Warned by the life token, his dogs come to save him and kill the cannibal sister.

The main similarities and variations with respect to the South Bashkardi version are briefly as follows: the mother is not a queen, but she is however a rich woman; the sister does not devour the inhabitants of the village; the brother does not escape by his choice, but he is driven away as a liar by his father because he accuses his sister of being a cannibal; the animals left behind are dogs; there is no concrete life token (i.e. any magic object that signals if its owner is in fatal danger) given to the brother's wife, but the signal for her to release the dogs to come to his aid is any strong state of agitation shown by them; the brother has to make a tinkling noise on a bowl with a spoon; trees are seven.

Versions of ATU 315A tale type as found in seven Iranian dialect folk texts from Boyer Ahmad (today's Kohgiluye and Boyer Ahmad), Markazi, Khorāsān, Khuzestān, Māzanderān provinces of Iran were analysed in Marzolph (1984: 70–71). Marzolph's basic summary is particularly close to what can be sketched out from the Bashkardi version (and at least in part it may quite likely have also influenced the description of the basic summary in Uther [2004 1: 203]).[17]

---

[16] Here, at this point, there is the following alternative content: 'At a king's court every night someone devours horses. The elder princes who keep watch fail, but the youngest shoots the monster. He recognizes his baby sister as the cannibal because one of her fingers has been shot off. The youth is driven away [as a liar] or flees [sometimes together with his mother or elder sister]'. See Uther (2004 1: 203).

[17] See Marzolph (1984: 70–71) for variations with respect to the basic summary. There does not seem to be any geographically significant distribution of themes and motifs, as

The South Bashkardi version is especially remarkable for its final additional episode, wherein on the orders of the brother the dogs tear apart his sister's body, sparing her breasts. Then, by splitting one breast open, the brother will make the livestock and property of the past come out, and by splitting the other breast open as well, he will have his family rescued alive. Humans eaten by a monster-like being and later saved can easily be found in folk literature, such as famously in the case of little red riding hood and her grandmother devoured by a wolf whose belly is finally cut open by a hunter (ATU 333; see Uther [2004 1: 224–225]). To my knowledge, however, no such episode as the South Bashkardi one is to be found in folktales of this type, nor are similar motifs traceable in Thompson's (1955–1958) motif-index. On the other hand, breast cutting in general is a known form of female corporal punishment, especially in religious contexts (see Schenda [1979]). However, one of the anonymous reviewers of this article has actually informed me that 'the motif of cutting off the breasts as a kind of punishment is also known in the pre-Islamic Iranian religious tradition, e.g. in the Middle Persian *Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag*'. See especially *Ardā Wīrāz*, K20, 39.8–9: 'And I saw the soul of a woman who was cutting her chest and breast with an iron comb' (as a form of self-punishment for a woman who despised her husband in the world) (Vahman 1986: 215).

4.2 South Bashkardi and other versions

To the several versions from different areas in Asia, including the Near and Middle East and India, Africa and the Americas, and rarely also Europe indicated in the literature in Uther (2014 1: 203), two versions in particular, in Pashai (an Indo-Aryan language from northeastern Afghanistan), must be added. They were recorded by Morgenstierne (1973: 18–25) and are entitled 'The cannibal girl'.[18]

---

texts from the same area sometimes appear to display greater differences between each other than each of them does with respect to texts from other areas. Life tokens are present in most of these versions, such as falling stones and rotting oranges (in texts from Māzanderān), water becoming blood or milk becoming blood (in texts from Khorāsān and Markazi respectively). Marzolph (1984: 71) provides an additional final episode (found in both texts from Māzanderān and the ones from Boyer Ahmad and Markazi) involving a leaf, or something similar, having grown out of a drop of blood, which will help the brother to become rich in one way or another.

[18] Note also the 'Comparative notes on Pashai folklore' by the Norwegian folklorist Reidar Th. Christiansen apud Morgenstierne (1973: xviii–xxviii), especially on pp. xix–xxi. Christiansen ascribes the folktale to 'The magic flight'. This corresponds to ATU 313 and also stands as one of the combinatory versions of ATU 315A; see Uther (2004 1: 194–197, 203). It was previously considered as being an episode (or motif) of [AT] 315A in Aarne and Thompson (1961: 310–311), where it referred to the fact that the brother flees, leaving behind objects that slow down or prevent his sister's pursuit. In the South Bashkardi

There are several points of contact between these two versions (which nevertheless contain life tokens) and the South Bashkardi version, such as the fact that there are seven brothers. Particularly interesting (and amusing) is the motif of the youngest brother's horse whose legs are eaten by the cannibal sister in the night when he comes back after many years. The sister asks her brother if his horse, which is in her stable, has three or two legs, or even one leg as she goes back and forth from the stable and eats them one by one. The resigned brother confirms that it is just as she says. This motif is not traced in Marzolph (1984: 70–71), but it is certainly present in one of the texts analysed by him from Boyer Ahmad (see now Loeffler–Friedl [2007: 71]). The related passages from the three aforementioned versions are worth citing in full.

Pashai version (Morgenstierne 1973: 22[19]):

> He was pondering about this, when his sister appeared and said: 'My brother, how many legs has your horse?' He answered: 'It has four'. She ate two of its legs, and in a moment she ate the whole horse.

Lori version (Loeffler–Friedl 2007: 71):

> 'Brother, welcome, welcome! Your horse has come on two legs?' In the morning she ate yet another leg and said, 'Brother, welcome, welcome! Your horse has come on one foreleg?' He was afraid of her and said, 'Yes'. At noon she ate the last leg and said, 'Brother, welcome, welcome! Your horse has come without a leg?' And for dinner she ate the rest of the horse.

South Bashkardi version (see also § 4.5, text §§ 12-13):

> She said, 'My brother! Sit down here, rock the cradle while I go and give water to your horse'. When she went, she tore the horse apart piece by piece. Back home she says, 'My brother, has your horse become three-legged?'—She had just devoured a leg. Then she says again, 'Has your horse come on two legs?' He says, 'Yes, it has come on two legs'. He himself knew that she is a *dorōnǰ* monster and has devoured the horse. Then she ate the whole horse. She says, 'My brother, have you come on foot?' 'Yes', he replied.

---

version, as well as in many other versions, there is no magic flight (the brother finds refuge from his sister climbing up seven palm trees in succession, which he had himself previously planted).

[19] Termed as Tagau version, i.e. from Lauṛōwan in the Kauṭī district in the upper Tagau valley, northeast of Kabul; see Morgenstierne (1973: ix).

4.3 Transcription and translation of the text[20]

1. *Yow zen=o mūš=ō heš-at-en, nazdīk be yow hašt tū koterk=eš heš-at. Baʾd ī bāmard nazdīk=e sad tū gōx-e heš-at, sad tū ešter=e heš-at, sad tū asp=e heš-at, sad tū kar=e heš-at, sad tū pah=e heš-at, sad tū mīš=e heš-at. Merg=e heš-at. Hama čīz=eš heš-at. Vaz=e ham xèylō xob=at. Lahar=eš heš-at. Yenan der yow deh=ō zendegī š=a-kert, der yow mahall=ō, ābādī=ō.*
There was a woman and a man, who had next to eight children (i.e. they were about to have their eighth child). Then the man owned about a hundred cows, he owned a hundred camels, he owned a hundred horses, he owned a hundred donkeys, he owned a hundred goats, he owned a hundred sheep. He owned poultry. They had everything. Their situation was very good. They had a home. They were living in a certain village, in a certain locality, [in] a certain hamlet.

2. *Baʾd ī haft tū koterk=e ke heš-at, baʾd dāzan upes bīt, yow dek-ak=ō=e bit. Ī dek-ak=e bīt. Ey res=ō ke ī dek bīt, har res=ō yow tū ešter-an deh deh kam a-bīt-en. Baʾd hamā bap=e, šū=e dāzan a-dərūh=e, šū=e dāzan a-dərūh=e, bap koterk-an, ke, 'Ī pah-an xo-y=an gār be-bīt-en. Yow tū ešter-an kam bīt'. Kam kam do ešter, se ešter, čūr tū tā nazdīk bīst tū ešter kam a-bīt. Har šep=ō yow tū gār a-bīt-en.*
Following the seven male children that she had had, then the woman got pregnant [and] gave birth to a baby girl. This, her baby girl, was born. From the day when this girl was born, every single day, little by little, there was one of the camels missing. Later, her husband, the woman's husband, the father of those children began to say, 'Our goats are disappearing. There is [also] one of the camels missing'. Little by little two camels, three camels, four, up to about twenty camels were missing. Every night one was disappearing.

3. *Baʾd hamā yow tū berūt-an kūčak-ter yow šep=ō ādam dunā-y=at: gerūt=e ī kelenč xo-y=e šakānt, šakānt ke bīdār bī. Dərūh-e, 'Aγa ne-šakān-īn=e? Tak ne-kan-īn kelenč xo?' Xoy tīγ=e gerūt, šakānt=e. Xū=e zat=o sar=e nūt ru bālešt xo. Xob! Der=e xāv na-rowt.*
Then, one night, one of the brothers, the youngest [who] was brainy, took his finger and injured [it] so he would stay awake. He said, '[What] if I injure it, split my finger in two?' He grabbed [it] with a blade, [and] split [it] open. He put some salt [on it] and placed his head on his pillow. Nice! He did not fall asleep.

---

[20] Transcription from min. 00.18 of recording; what precedes in the audio file is as follows: *hekāyat, hamā kesse-y=e be īn sūrat=e ke yow xānevāde-y=ō heš* '(this is) a story, the tale that there is a certain family'. As I am dealing with a veritable unknown language, the English translation of the text will be mostly a literal translation of it, even at the sacrifice of elegance and modern English usage. The glossary is detailed enough to compensate for any loss of information when the translation becomes rather free.

4. *Čehm=e zīl=at. Bīdār=at deh tā dum. Dīt=e hamā xūrx=e ke der gahvāra=at narmīakā ǐǰekent, rowt lard. Ye=ham dombāl=e narmī narmī rowt. Rowt der ešter-an, yow ester=e ǰūt. Yow gōx=e ǰūt. Baˀd vot der gahvāra, daγa tavent. Zat=e xwan, mūt=e boland bīt, šīr=e h=adūt, xāvānt=e.*
His eyes were wide open. He stayed awake [from] the day before until dawn. [Then] he saw that his sister, who was in the cradle, softly jumped out [and] went outside. He also very quietly followed her. [He saw that] she went among the camels [and] ate a camel. She ate a cow. After that she came [back] into the cradle [and] fell asleep again. She cried [and] her mother got up, suckled her [and] put [her back] to sleep.

5. *Sahargāh hamā čok ke dā xo-y=e šakān-x-at dīt=e xūrx=e der gahvāra dar tavent, rowt, ešter=e ǰūt=o gōx=e ǰūt, rowt be mūt xo-y=e dərūh=e, 'Nena! Ī xūrx yamah, hamī dek to, ī dorōnǰ=ō-y=e. Men dōš kelenč xo, be-dīt=ū? Šakān-x=om, bīdār bī-x-īn ke ye a der gahvāra ǐǰeken-x, rowt: ī ešter=e ǰū-x=o ī gōx=e ǰū-x. Alˀān šomah rav-aht, sār k-oht!'*
[In] the morning, the son who had split his hand[21] [and] watched [that] his sister got out of the cradle, went [and] ate a camel and ate a cow, went to talk to his mother, 'Mummy! This sister of ours, this your daughter, this is a monster! Last night, my finger, are you seeing it? I split it open [and] stayed awake until when she jumped out from inside the cradle [and] went: she has eaten this camel and has eaten this cow. Go, right now, have a look!'

6. *Āan rowt-en, sār=eš kert. Sār=eš kert: yow gōx nah=at, yow ešter nah=at. Baˀd mūt=e bad=e vot, bap=e hālī=e kert. Čun haft tū berūt=at-en, yow dek=ō bī-x-at, xèylō be ī dek š=a-vāhent, dōst=eš a-bīt. Baˀd gerūt=e, ba ā čok xo-y=e gerūt, zat bāmard, dar=e pāyd. Ows-e, 'Šomah hālā ba men dar be-pāyd=oht. Bàle, ešķāl=e ne!'*
They went [and] had a look. They had a look: there was not one cow, there was not one camel. Then his mother had hard feelings [and] informed his father. Since they were seven brothers, [when] one baby girl had been born, they loved this girl a lot, they were fond [of her]. Then he took [him], the man took his own child and beat [him and] cast [him] out. [The child] says, 'You are now getting rid of me. All right, there's no problem with that!'

7. *Baˀd hamā berūt=e rowt ba yow safar dir=ō, safar dir=o derāz=ō. Rowt, hamā mahalla kert=e kār, zen=e kert. Zen=e kert. Yow, do tū sax=e dārent, kočak ǰādū. Yaˀnī sax-an=e dūnā=e dārent. Baˀd deh deh xorāk adūt-en, parvareš adūt-en=o felān h=a-kert-en tā nazdīk=e čand sūr. Sax-an ziād dūnā-y=at-en.*

[21] In § 3, it was said it was a 'finger'.

Afterwards, that brother of hers went on a long journey, a distant, long journey. He went away [and, in] the same neighbourhood [where] he worked, he took a wife. He took a wife. He owned one, two dogs, puppies that were [real] magicians. In other words, he owned [really] clever dogs. Then he was feeding them little by little, he was training them, he was doing such-and-such [a thing][22] for them for about a few years. The dogs were very clever.

8. *Baʾd a yow dah sūr, pānzdah sūr gozašt, dərūh=e, 'Men a-re-īn hālā hamā mahall ke bap=o mūt=om bī-x-en, sar=ō a-zan-īn, bap=o mūt=om zende-y=en, zenda neh=en, če towr=en'. Ī berūt-ak ke ǰeyn=e a-rowt, ba ye-h=eš ke dar pāyd, ā xūrx a der gahvāra har šep eyǰekent, har šep=ō yow ešter=o yow asp h=a-ǰūt, yow ešter=o yow gōx h=a-ǰūt, yow gōx=o yow asp h=a-ǰūt, pah h=a-ǰūt, mīš h=a-ǰūt, merg h=a-ǰūt tā, yaʾnī, tamām=e ī čī-an=e ǰūt. Ī heyvūn-an=e ǰūt dam lahar=at-en.*
After some ten [or] fifteen years passed, he said, 'Now I will go to the same place where my father and mother have been [living], I will pay a flying visit [and see] if my father and mother are alive, they are not alive, how they are'. [At the time] when this little brother was leaving his place [because] they cast him out, that sister was [keeping on] jumping out from inside the cradle every night, every single night she was devouring a camel and a horse, she was devouring a camel and a cow, she was devouring a cow and a horse, she was devouring goats, she was devouring sheep, she was devouring the poultry until, in other words, she finished all of these things off. She devoured these animals [that] were at home.

9. *Baʾd šorū=e kert berūt-an xo, ā šeš tū ke hamārd=at-en, ǰūt-en=e koll. Bey mūt xo-y=e ǰūt, bey bap xo-y=e ǰūt. Baʾd yow šū=e kert. Dorōnǰ=ō-y=at. Yow šū=e kert, hīč ke nah=at. Šū=e ker-x-at, yow koterk=ō=e bī-x-at. Ī berūt=e ke za-x-at dar=eš pāy-x-at, baʾd az pānzdah, bīst sūr hālā vot ke yaʾnī sar=ō zī ke bap=o mūt=e zende-y=en yā na.*
Then she began on her own brothers, all those six that were there, she ate them all. [Then] she ate her own mother, she ate her own father. Then she married someone. She was a *dorōnǰ* monster. She married one, [even though there] was no one [that would marry her].[23] She had got married [and] had had a child. This her brother [whom] they had beaten and thrown out, after fifteen [or] twenty years, now he came [back], in other words to pay a flying visit, [to see] if his parents were alive or not.

---

[22] The South Bashkardi sentence is also possibly to be intended with an idiolectal ellipsis of *čīz* 'thing', i.e. as *felān* [*čīz*] *h=a-kert-en*. See fn. 24.

[23] Translation uncertain. Another possibility is 'she married one that was a no-one', i.e. a man of no importance.

10. *Vaxt=ō vot hamā mahall=ō ke bap=o mūt=e neš-x-at-en, yow kaleng=ō heš-at, yow xarābe-y=ō hamārd heš-at. Dərūh=e, 'Xodā-yā! Ī bap=o mūt men ke ī pah=o ešter-an ke ī mahall=eš koll goč-at kōh=en? Ešter-an kōh=en=o pah-an kōh=en=o xūne-y=an, zendegī=an kōh=en? Tamām ey beyn row-x-en, hīč=e ne. Xarāb bī-x-en. Ī, če balā-y=ō čak yenan īvo-x? Čī=eš bī-x?'*
When he arrived where his parents had lived, there was a place covered with rubble, there was a place covered with ruins there. He said, 'Oh God! Where are the father and mother of mine, who owned sheep and camels [and] possessed this whole locality? Where are the camels and where are the sheep and where are our home and our livestock? They have been destroyed, there is nothing [left]. They have been wiped out. What calamity is this, [which] has fallen upon them? What has happened to them?'

11. *Ye xo dūnent=e ke yaʾnī hamā xūrx=eš ke dorōnǰ=e ba ī zendegī, tamām=e ī māl=o amvāl yenan=e ǰū-x. Baʾd ye xoy asp=ō sovār=at, vot hamārd. Dar=e zat, yāllāh yāllāh=e kert. Baʾd vot der hamā, dīt=e hamā xūrx=e ben gahvāra neš-x, yow koterk-ak=ō be-ǰomānt=e.*
He himself realised that, in other words, their sister, who is a *dorōnǰ* monster, has devoured the livestock, the whole of their property. Then he was riding a horse [and] arrived there. He knocked at the door [and] said hello. Then he came inside there [and] saw that that sister of his has taken a seat below a (hanging) cradle [and] is rocking a little child.

12. *Baʾd vot. Xūrx=e der=e xwaš bīt. Pū bīt, 'Kōh bī-x-ū, berūt=om? Felān bī-x-ū?' Dərūh=e, 'Berūt=om! To nen hamērd, gahvāra ǰomānt ke men a-re-īn, asp=et yāp a-deh-īn'. Tā rowt asp=e vāyd. Ows-e, 'Berūt-om, asp=e to selenge bī-x?'—Yow leng=ō=e ǰū-x-at. Baʾd ows-e daγa, 'Asp=e to be do leng vo-x?' Ows-e, 'Honk, be do leng vo-x'.*
Then he came in. His sister's heart rejoiced. She stood up [and said], 'Where have you been, my brother? What have you been up to?'[24] She said, 'My brother! Sit down here, rock the cradle [while] I go and give water to your horse'. When she went, she tore the horse apart [piece by piece]. [Back home], she says, 'My brother, has your horse become three-legged?'—She had [just] devoured a leg. Then she says again, 'Has your horse come [on] two legs?' He says, 'Yes, it has come [on] two legs'.

13. *Ye xo a-dūnent=e ke ye dorōnǰ=ō=e, asp=e ǰū-x. Baʾd asp=e koll ǰūt. Ows-e, 'Berūt=om, to piāda vo-x-ū?' 'Honk'. Baʾd ī berūt=e ba hamā zen xo-y=e hālī*

[24] Lit. 'have you been such-and-such (or so-and-so)?' The South Bashkardi sentence is also possibly to be intended with an idiolecal ellipsis of *ǰā*, i.e. as *felān* [*ǰā*] *bī-x-ū?*, therefore meaning 'have you been [in] such-and-such [a place]?' See fn. 22.

kert, 'Har vaxt=ō to dīt=et ī sax-an latākotā-y=eš kert, ī sax-an vel e-ken to!' Dar hamā asnā-y=ō ke ye ey hamā mahallad=eš ba ye-h=eš dar ne-pāyd ke a-rowt, sar yow ābsār=ō haft tū kal=e zat, haft tū kuv=e būv=e kārent. Yaʾnī nazdīnk hamē kārent=e.
He himself knew (lit., was knowing) that she is a *dorōnǰ* monster [and] has devoured the horse. Then she ate the whole horse. She says, 'My brother, have you come on foot?' 'Yes' [he replied]. Then this her brother [had] already warned his own wife, 'Any time you see [that] these dogs move (lit. moved) about nervously, you free these dogs!' [Moreover,] in the space of time when he was about to leave and they had not yet cast him out from their neighbourhood, he dug seven holes in a garden [and] planted seven date palm stones. In other words, he planted about this [number of stones].

14. *Ī zaman=ō ke ye a ā meyl bar ne-gohtent, hamā būv-an bī-x-at-en hor haft tū pāk, ker-x-at-en tamīz tamīz. Yow banda xodā-y=ō ke hamāǰudan sāhobī=e ker-x-at-en, balāh bī-x-at-en. Vot sar hamā būv-an, sār=e kert. Ā ǰeyn=e zat, rowt hamā lahar xūrx=e ke asp=e ǰūt. Baʾd dūtūn-an=e mot=at-en. Baʾd bey berūt xo-y=e dərūh, 'To, ī kāšox=ō uger, ahtī talangtalang zen ru tās ke ī koterk men yaʾnī xwan ne-zī'. Ye nešt bey zat ru-y=e talangtalang; talangtalang talangtalang zat=e ru hamā kāsa.*
[During] the time when he [still] did not walk back there from where he was (lit. from that direction), the same palms, all seven, had become fine [trees], they made them shapely and shapely. [In fact,] a poor man had taken care of them [and] they had grown. He got to the palms [and] had a look. [Then] he left immediately [and] went to the very home of his sister, who ate the horse. Then her teeth were blunt. Then she said to her own brother, 'You, pick up this one spoon [and] clang on the bowl this way so my child, in other words, would not cry'. He sat down to produce a clang on it; he clanged and clanged on the bowl.

15. *Baʾd yow mešk-ak=ō hamārd=at. Hamā mešk-ak dar vot, ba hamā yārū=e dərūh, ows-e, 'Badbaxt! Ye alʾān row-x dūtūn-an xo tēz e-kī, dūtūn-an tēz e-kī ke ba to e-ǰū, ba to e-ǰū. Pa to če kār e-ken? To ǰeyn e-zen, ra! Men xoy dīm xo a-zan-īn ru kāsa ke telengteleng kī ke ye vāš-et ke yaʾnī to hamērd-ūx tā iǰā'. Baʾd yārū-ak harakat=e kert, hamā berūt hamā dorōnǰ harakat=e kert, vot, ā dov=e kert=o dov=e kert, vot tā lek būv bīt.*
Then, there was a little mouse there. That little mouse came out [and] said to the man, it says, 'Poor wretch! She's now gone to sharpen her teeth, to sharpen her teeth so she can devour you, she can devour you. What action do you want to take then? Leave immediately, go! I will hit on the bowl with my own tail so it will tinkle [and] she will hear, in other words [she will understand] that you are here up to now'. Then, this left, the very brother of the very *dorōnǰ* monster left, went, ran and ran, until he got there [and] climbed a palm.

16. *Rasent be būv, lek bīt. Ā mešk-ak tā dorōnǰ vot, dīt=e mešk a-zat=e dīm xo. Vot, ā koterk-ak xo-y=e ǰūt, kučent=e, ā mešk-ak=e ǰūt. Harakat=e kert dombāl berūt xo. Harakat=e kert dombāl berūt xo, vot ben hamā būv. Ye sar būv=at. Ā būv=e berint, vur=e adūt. Berūt=e kop=e čent sar būv=e dovomī. Ā būv=e xoy dūtūn-an xo berint, kop=e čent sar būv=e sevomī.*
He came up to the palm [and] climbed [it]. [As to] that little mouse, as soon as the *dorōnǰ* monster came, she saw the mouse was hitting [the bowl with] his tail. She arrived, ate her own child [and] scratched [and] ate that little mouse. [Then] she left in search of her own brother. She left in search of her brother [and] came to the foot of that palm. He was on the top of the palm. She cut down that palm [and] threw [it] away. Her brother jumped forward on the top of the second palm. She cut down that palm with her own teeth [and] he jumped forward onto the third palm.

17. *Amahtī tā būv=e avalī berint. Būv=e dovomī=e ke berint sax-an hamā yārū ke der lahar=at-en kaš=e zen=e ziād latākotā š=a-kert. Dāzan, zen=e hamī yārū, vel=e kert sax-an. Sax-an dov=eš kert, kakart=eš=o vot-en. Vot-en tā būv=e āx-erī-y=at hālā. Ī xūrx hālā a-berint=e ke būv ītoč, bey berūt xo ǰū.*
[It was] so when she cut down the first palm. When she cut down the second palm, the dogs of the man that were inside his dwelling were moving about a lot nervously beside his wife. The woman, the wife of this very man, released the dogs. The dogs ran, moved rapidly, and arrived [there]. They arrived when he was now on the last palm. This sister was now cutting [through the trunk], so that the palm would fall [and] she would devour her own brother.

18. *Sax-an rasent-en. Ba sax-an=e tovār=e kert, dərūh=e, 'Tamām ī ǰān h=e-ǰ-oht! Šomah fakat do tū pestūn-an xūrx=e men mū-ǰ-oht!' Baʾd ā sax-an xo a-dūnent=eš. Baʾd hamā koll=e lāše-y=e xūrx, xūrx yārū=eš ǰūt, hama. Fakat do tu pestūn=eš kār na-dūt.*
His dogs arrived. He called his dogs [and] said, 'Eat up the whole of her body! You, only the two breasts of my sister, do not eat [them] up!' Then his own dogs were understanding. Then the whole of his sister's body, the sister of this man, they ate it all. Only her two breasts they did not tear off.

19. *Pestūn-an=e yārū vāyd, berint, ā gūše-y=e nūt. Yow pestūn rūst=e gerūt, šakānt, berūt=o mūt=o bap=e dar vot-en. Yow pestūn=e ham šakānt, māl=o amvāl=-o zendegī=ō=e ke heš-at dar tavent, māl=e bap=e. Baʾd hamā bap=o mūt=e vot-en kaš hamā čok xo, ozrxāhī=eš kert. Ows-e, 'Yamah ne-dūnent=an! Gap to-y=an gōš ne-kert! Baʾd az īn ke to row-x-ūx tamām=e māl=o zendegī yamah=e ǰū-x tā āxer rasen-x ba yamah dī=e ǰū-x'.*
[Afterwards] he tore away [at] her breasts, cut them [and] placed [them] in that corner [of the field]. [Then] he took one breast, the right one, split [it and] his

brother[s], his mother and father came out. He also split the other breast and [all] the properties and livestock that were [in the past] came out, his father's wealth. Then his father and mother came up beside their own child [and] apologised. [His father] says, 'We did not know [then]! We didn't listen to your words! After you had gone, she has eaten up the whole of our properties and livestock until, in the end, she has got down to devouring us, too'.

20. *Baʾd yenan, xo, ā xūrx=eš sax-an ǰūt=en ā. Yenan daγa nešt-en ba hamā zendegī kert. Xo, mes=e hamā kadim pah-an heš, gōx-an heš. Hama ī meyl ā meyl=e a-kert. Yow nafar=ō ke zen hamī yārū-y=at ezāfat ba yenan. Baʾd uvert=e zen xo kaš=e bāī-o kākū xo. Nowk-an=o īan vot-en. Daγa nešt-en bey zendegī kert.*
<Ī hekāyat=e men tamām šod.>
Afterwards, well, the dogs ate the sister, that one. Then they stayed to live the same life [as in the past]. Well, as in those old days there were sheep, there were cows. He was setting them all [in] this direction [and] that direction. A person that was the wife of this man [was] an addition to them. Then he took his wife to his [children's] grandfather's and grandmother's place. The grandchildren and these came. Then they stayed there to live.
<My tale came to an end.> (In Persian)

5 Glossary

The basic structure of an entry includes the headword followed by part-of-speech labelling between slashes, English translations and, separated by a comma, Standard Persian translations in italics wherever possible (usually unmarked; sometimes Pers[ian] was added to avoid equivocation with South Bashkardi). Headwords comprehend both lexemes and morphemes, which are cross-referenced to their matches in the paragraphs of the text. Cross-references to a paragraph can be followed by additional context in brackets to distinguish different uses of the same lexeme or morpheme within the same paragraph.

Verbs are entered in their past stem followed by their present stem, which is in angle brackets and refers to the first singular person of the indicative present in regular verbs if not otherwise indicated, and this and other persons of the indicative present in case of multiple present stems or for a subset of verbs with overall irregular paradigms (regardless of whether these forms are present or not in the text).

To make the presentation of the lexicon more complete, and as homogeneous as possible, the individual (most usually non-verbal) elements of a compound verb that are not independently found in the text as well as nouns whose usage as prepositions is only found in the text are also added up as entry words with autonomous meaning, whenever their independent forms and primary senses are also attested elsewhere in South Bashkardi. Exceptions are preverbs whose sepa-

rate meaning can only be conjectured (see symbol *). For verb forms quoted with the bracketed segment (*-en*), see *-en*$_2$. Words in compounds or locutions other than those representing the headword are more closely examined under their respective entries.

Entries with headwords followed by variants in brackets point to free variation and alternative approximate pronunciation, which is not specifically indicated in the transcription of the text.

a /prep/ from, *az*: 5, 8, 14; see *az*, *baʾd*, *ey*.

a- /v pref/ ind dur marker, forming pres and impf from pres and pst stems, *mi-*: 1S pres *a-deh-īn* 12, *a-re-īn* 8, *a-zan-īn* 8, 15; 3S impf *a-berint=e* 17, *a-bīt* 2, 6, *a-dərūh=e* 2^2, *a-dūnent=e* 13, *h=a-ǰūt* 8^6, *a-kert* 20, *h=a-kert*(*-en*) 7, *a-rowt* 8, 13, *a-zat=e* 16, 3P impf *a-bīt-en* 2, *a-dūnent=eš* 18, *š=a-kert* 1, 17, *š=a-vāhent* 6; see *e*$_2$-.

adūt <eydeh-īn> /v/ **I** give, *dādan*: 3S pret *h=adūt* 4, *=e adūt* 16, 3P pret *adūt*(*-en*) 7^2 [w cl ell].—**II** light v.—*parvareš* ~ train: 3S pret *parvareš adūt*(*-en*) [w cl ell] 7; *šīr* ~ /v/ breastfeed, suckle: 3S pret *šīr=e h=adūt* 4.—*vur* ~ /v/ throw away: 3S pret *vur=e adūt* 16.—*xorāk* ~ /v/ feed: *xorāk adūt*(*-en*) [w cl ell] 7; see *dūt*.

aγa /conj/ if, *agar*: 3.

-aht /v end/ 2S pres, *-id*: *rav-aht* 5.

ahtī /adv/ so, in this way, *in ǰur*: 14; syn *amahtī*.

-ak /n suff/ evaluative marker: **1** referential meaning, dir anaphoric: *berūt-ak* 8, *dek-ak* 2, *koterk-ak* 11, *mešk-ak* 15 (*hamā mešk-ak*), 16^2, *yārū-ak* 15; **2** diminutive meaning [within an indef context]*: dek-ak=ō* 2, *mešk-ak=ō* 15.

alʾān /adv/ right now, *alʾān*: 5, 15; syn *īǰā*, *hālā*.

amahtī /adv/ so, in this very way, *hamin ǰur*: 17; syn *ahtī*.

amvāl see **māl**.

=an /cl pro/ 1P.—**1** ag: *=an gōš ne-kert* 19.—**2** poss, *=emān*: *xo-y=an* 2, *xūne-y=an* 10, *zendegī=an* 10.

-an /n and pro suff/ P marker, *-ān*, *-hā*: *ā-an* 6, *berūt-an* 3, 9, *būv-an* 14^2, *čī-an* 8, *dūtūn-an* 14, 15^2, 16, *ešter-an* 2^2, 4, 10^2, *gōx-an* 20, *heyvūn-an* 8, ī-an 20, *koterk-an* 2, *nowk-an* 20, *pah-an* 10, 20, *pestūn-an* 18, 19, *sax-an* 7^2, 13^2,17^3, 18^3.

asnā /n/ space of time, *asnā*: 13.

asp /n/ horse, *asb*: 1, 8^2, 11, 12^4, 13^2, 14.

=at /cop/ pst tense, *bud*: 3S [w Ø end] *=at* 1, 3, 4^3, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 3P *=at-en* 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 17.—3S neg *nah=at* 6^2, 9; see *-at*, *-x-at*, *nah=*.

-at /v suff/ formally the same as *=at*: **1** forming the ppf stem; see *-x-at* and *goč-at*.—**2** forming the general pst tense; see *heš*.

avalī /num adj/ first, *avvali*: 17.
az /prep/ from, *az*; see *a*, *ey*.—*baʾd* ~ /prep/ after, *bȧd az*: 9.—*baʾd* ~ īn ke /conj/ after, when, *baʾd az in ke*:19.
ā **I** /dem adj/ that, those, *ān*: 6, 8, 9, 14 (*ā meyl*), 16^5, 18, 20^2.—**II** /dem pron/ that one, he, him, etc, *ān*: 14 (*ā ǰeyn=e zat*), 15, 20 (*ǰūt=eš ā*).—P *ā-an* (Pers *ānhā*): 6. ↔ *ī*, *ī-an*; see *ye* (3S pers pro), *yenan* (3P pers pron).
ā-an see **ā**.
ābādī /n/ hamlet, *ābādi*: 1; syn *deh*.
ābsār /n/ garden, oasis, *bāq*, *vāhe*: 13.
ādam /n/ human being, person, *ādam*: 3.
āxer /adv/ in the end, *āxer*: 19.
āxerī /adj/ last, *āxeri*: 17.
ba /prep/ **1** to, at, on (spatial), *be*: 7; syn *sar* (prep 2).—**2** for, *be*, *barā=ye*: 20 (*ba hamā zendegī kert*).—**3** spec dir obj marker: 6^2, 8, 11, 13^2, 15^2 (*ba to*), 19.—**4** indir obj marker, to, *be*: 15 (*ba hamā yārū*), 20 (*ba yenan*); see *be*, *bey*.
bad /adj/ bad, *bad*.— ~ *vot* /v/ have hard feelings [w cl pron for indir obj], *bad āmadan* [*az čiz=i* or *kas=i*]: 6.
badbaxt /n/ poor wretch, *badbaxt*: 15.
baʾd /adv/ afterwards, later, then, *baʾd*: 1, 2^3, 3, 4, 6^2, 7^2, 9^2, 11^2, 12^2, 13^2, 14^2, 15^2, 18^2, 19^2, 20^2; syn *pa*.— ~ *a* or *az* /prep/ after, *baʾd az*: 8 [w *a*], 9 [w *az*].— ~ *az īn ke* /conj/ after, when, *baʾd az in ke*: 19.
balā *n* calamity, *balā*: 10.
balāh /adj/ big, *bozorg*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ grow, *bozorg šodan*: 3P ppf *balāh bī-x-at-en* 14.
bàle /adv/ all right, yes, *bàle*: 6; syn *honk*.
banda xodā [or *bande-ye xodā*] /n/ poor man, poor woman, *bande-ye xodā*: 14.
bap /n/ dad, father, *bābā*, *pedar*: 2, 6, 9, 19; cpart *mūt*.— ~ *=o mūt* /n/ father and mother, parents, *pedar-o mādar*, *vāledeyn*: 8^2, 9, 10^2, 19.—*mūt=o* ~ idem: 19.
bar /prev/ *back, *bar*.— ~ *gohtent* /v/ walk back, *bar gaštan*: 3P pret neg *bar ne-goht-en* 14.
bāī /n/ grandfather, *pedarbozorg*: 20; cpart *kākū*.
bālešt /n/ pillow, *bāleš*: 3.
bāmard /n/ adult male, man; this (or that) man, *mard*; *felāni*: 1, 6; cpart *dāzan*; syn *mūš*, *yārū*.
be /prep/ **1** to, *be*: 16; syn. *sar* (prep 2).—*nazdīk* ~ /prep/ almost, next to, *nazdik be*: 1.—**2** with, on (manner), *be*, *bā*: 12^2.—**3** spec dir obj marker: 6, 17.—**4** indir obj marker, to, *be*: 5; see *ba*, *bey*.

be- /v pref/ formally the same as *be*, forming pres and pst prog w inf and cop: 2S *be-dīt=ū* 5, 3S *be-ǰomānt=e* 11, 2P *be- pāyd=oht* 6, 3P *be-bīt=en* 2.

ben /n/ base, bottom, *bon*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ at the foot of, below, *pā=ye*: 11, 16.

berint <a-ber-īn> /v/ cut, cut down, *boridan*: 3S pret *=e berint* 16^2, 17^2, 19; 3S impf *a-berint=e* 17.

berūt /n/ brother, *barādar*: 6, 7, 8, 9^2, 12^3, 13^2, 14, 15, 16^3, 17, 19; cpart *xūrx*.

bey /prep/ **1** for [w inf], *barā=ye*: 14 (*bey zat*), 20.—**2** spec dir obj marker: 9^2, 17.—**3** indir obj marker, to, *be*: 14 (*bey berūt xo*); see *ba*, *be*.

beyn /n/ interval, space, *beyn, fāsele*.—*ey ~ rowt* /v/ be destroyed, *az beyn raftan*: 3P pf *ey beyn row-x-en* 10; syn *xarāb bīt*.

bī see **bīt**.

bīdār /adj/ awake, *bidār*: 4.— ~ *bīt* /v/ stay awake, *bidār šodan*: 3S subj ~ *bī* 3; 1S pf *bīdār bī-x-īn* 5.

bīst /num adj/ twenty, *bist*: 2, 9.

bīt <1S a-b-īn, 2S a-b-ex, 3S a-bī, 1P a-b-om, 2P a-b-oht, 3P a-b-en> /v/ **I**, **1** be, become, *budan, šōdan*: 3S pret *bīt* 15 (*lek būv bīt*); 2S pf *bī-x-ū* 12^2, 3P pf *bī-x-en* 8.—**2** be born, *be donyā āmadan*: 3S pret *bīt* 2^3; 3S ppf *bī-x-at* 6, 9.—**3** be, happen, *ettefāq šodan*: 3S pf *bī-x* 10.—**II** light v.—*balāh* ~ /v/ grow: 3P ppf *bī-x-at-en* 14.—*bīdār* ~ /v/ stay awake: 3S subj *bī* 3.—*boland* ~ /v/ get up, stand up: 3S pret *bīt* 4.—*dōst* ~ /v/ be fond: 3S impf *a-bīt* 6.—*gār* ~ /v/ disappear: 3P impf *a-bīt-en* 2.—*kam* ~ /v/ be less, be missing: 3S impf *a-bīt* 2, 3P impf *a-bīt-en* 2.—*lek* ~ /v/ climb up: 3S pret *bīt* 16.—*pāk* ~ /v/ become fine: 3P ppf *bī-x-at-en* 14.—*pū* ~ /v/ stand up: 3S pret *bīt* 12.—*upes* ~ /v/ get pregnant: 3S pret *bīt* 2.—*xarāb* ~ /v/ be ruined, be wiped out: 3P pf *bī-x-en* 10.—*xwaš* ~ /v/ rejoice: 3S pf. *bīt* 12. Summary: 3P pres prog *be-bīt=en* 2; 3S subj *bī* 3; 3S pret *bīt* 2^5, 4, 12, 16; 3S impf *a-bīt* 2, 6, 3P impf *a-bīt-en* 2^2; 2S pf *bī-x-ū* 12^2, 3S pf *bī-x* 10, 3P pf *bī-x-en* 8, 10; 3S ppf *bī-x-at* 6, 9, 3P ppf *bī-x-at-en* 14^2.

boland **I** /adj/ high, *boland*.—**II** /adv/ aloft, *bālā*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ get up, stand up, *boland šodan, pā šodan*: 3S pret *boland bīt* 4; syn *pū bīt*.

būv /n/ date palm, *naxl, deraxt-e xormā*: 13, 14^2, 15, 16^7, 17^4.

čak [EZ] /prep/ on, upon, *ru=ye, bar*: 10; syn *ru*.

čand /indef adj/ some, *čand*: 7; syn *yow* (II).

če /int adj/ what, *če*: 10, 15.— ~ *towr* /int adv/ how, *če towr*: 8; see *towr*; see *či*.

čehm /n/ eye, *čašm*: 4.

čent <a-čin-īn> /v/ collect, *čidan*.—*kop* ~ jump forward: 3S pret *kop=e čent* 16^2; syn *ǐǰekent*.

či /int pro/ what, *če*: 10; see *če*.

čī, čīz /n/ thing, *čiz*: 8 (*čī-an*).—*hama* ~ /indef pro/ everything, *hame čiz*: 1 (*čīz*); see *hama*.
čīz see **čī**.
čok /n/ boy, child, son, *bačče*, *pesar*: 5, 19; cpart *dek*; syn *koterk*.
čun /conj/ because, since, *čun*: 6.
čūr /num adj/ four, *čahār*: 2.
daγa /adv/ again, then, *digar*: 4, 12, 20^2; syn *dī*.
dah /num adj/ ten, *dah*: 8.
dam [EZ] /prep/ at, to, *dam=e*: 8; syn *kaš*.
dar /prev/ *out, *dar*.— ~ *pāyd* /v/ cast out, get rid of, *be dar kardan*, *birun kardan*: 2P pres prog *dar be- pāyd=oht* 6; 3S pret *dar=e pāyd* 6, 3P pret *=eš dar pāyd* 8, 3P pret neg *=eš dar ne-pāyd* 13; 3P ppf *dar=eš pāy-x-at* 9 .— ~ *tavent* /v/ come out, *dar āmadan, birun āmadan*: 3S pret *dar tavent* 5, 19.— ~ *vot* /v/ come out, *birun āmadan*, *dar āmadan*: 3S pret *dar vot* 15, 3P pret *dar vot-en* 19.
dar /prep/ in, inside, *dar*: 13; syn *der*.
dar /n/ door, *dar*: 11.
dā /n/ hand, *dast*: 5.
dārent /v/ <a-dār-īn> have, own, possess, *dāštan*: 3S pret *=e dārent* 7^2; syn *heš* [w cl pron].
dāzan /n/ adult female, woman; this (or that) woman, *zan*; *felāni*: 2^3, 17; cpart *bāmard*; syn *zen*, *yārū*.
deh1 /n/ village, *deh*: 1; syn *ābādī*.
deh2 /adv/ day before, yesterday, *diruz*: 4.
deh- see **dūt**.
deh deh /adv/ little by little, gradually, *kam kam*, *be tadrīǰ*: 2, 7; syn *kam kam*.
dek /n/ daughter, girl, *doxtar*: 2^3, 5, 6; cpart *čok*.
der /n/ **1** heart, *del*: 12.—**2** inner part, inside, *darun*, *dāxel*.— ~ [EZ] / prep/ in, into, inside, among (also figuratively), *dar*, *dāxel=e*: 1, 3, 4^2, 5^3, 8, 17; syn. *dar*, *sar* (2).
derāz /adj/ long (lasting), *derāz*: 7.
dərūh, **dərūst** <1S a-bes-īn, 3S a-bes-et, ows-e> /v/ say, *goftan*: 3S pres *ows-e* 6, 12^3, 19; 3S pret *dərūh=e* 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 18, *=e dərūh* 14, 15; 3S impf *a-dərūh=e* 2^2 [uncertain if *ows-e* is pres or pst, and if *˚h* belongs to the pst stem; see also *-h*].
dim /n/ tail, *dom*; 15, 16.
dir /adj/ distant, far, *dur*: 7.
dī /adv/ again, then, *digar*: 19; syn. *daγa*.
dīt <a-bin-īn> /v/ see, watch, *didan*: 2S pres prog *be-dīt=ū* 5; 2S pret *dīt=et* 13, 3S pret *dīt=e* 4, 5, 11, 16.
do /num adj / two, *do*: 2, 7, 12^2, 18^2.

dombāl [EZ] /prep/ behind, in search of, *dombāl=e*: 16[2].— ~ [EZ + n] *rowt* /v/ follow, *dombāl(=-e kas=i) raftan*: 3S pret *dombāl=e* […] *rowt* 4.

dorōnǰ /n/ monster, an imaginary being which is said to manifest itself in the form of a ferocious woman, *hayulā=i ke xod-rā dar qāleb=e yek zan=e vahši nešān dehad*: 5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16.

dov /n/ race, running, *dow*.— ~ *kert* /v/ run, *davidan*: 3S pret *dov=e kert* 15[2], 3P pret *dov=eš kert* 17.

dovomī /num adj/ second, *dovvomi*: 16, 17.

dōst /n/ friend, *dust*.— ~ *bīt* [*be*] /v/ be fond [of], *dust dāštan* [*-rā*]: 3S impf *dōst=eš a-bīt* 6.

dōš /adv/ last night, *dišab*: 5.

dum /n/ dawn, *dam-e sobh, bāmdād*: 4.

dūnā /adj/ brainy, clever, *bāhuš, dānā, zerang*: 3, 7[2].

dūnent <a-dūn-īn> /v/ know, realize, *dānestan*: 3S pret *dūnent=e* 11, 1P pret neg *ne-dūnent=an* 19; 3S impf *a-dūnent=e* 13, 3P impf *a-dūnent=eš* 18.

dūt <a-deh-īn> /v/ **I** give, *dādan*: 1S pres *a-deh-īn* 12.—**II** light v.—*kār* ~ /v/ tear off: 3S pret neg *kār na-dūt* 18.—*yāp* ~ /v/ give water, water: 1S pres *yāp a-deh-īn* 12; see *adūt*.

dūtūn (**dǖtūn**) /n/ tooth, *dandān*: 14 15[2],16.

=e$_1$ /cl pro/ 3S.—**1** ag: pret *dərūh=e* 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 18, *dīt=e* 4, 5, 11, 16, *dūnent=e* 11, *gerūt=e* 3, 6, *ǰūt(-en)=e* 9, *kert=e* 7, *kučent=e* 16, *šakānt=*e 3, *uvert=e* 20, *xāvānt=e* 4, *zat=e* 4, 14; 3S pret [w cl pron fronting the v] *=e adūt* 16, *=e berint* 16, *=e* […] *berint* 16, 19, *=e čent* 16[2], *=e dārent* 7, 8, *=e dərūh* 14, 15, *=e gerūt* 3, 6, 19, *=e ǰūt* 4[2], 5[2], 8[2], 9[2], 14, 16[2], *=e* […] *ǰūt* 13, *=e kārent* 13, *=e kert* 6, 7[2], 9[3], 11, 14, 15[4], 16[2], 17, 18, *=e* […] *kert* 13, *=e nūt* 3, 19, *=e pāyd* 6, *=e šakānt* 3, *=e* […] *šakānt* 19, *=e vāyd* 12, *=e* [...] *vāyd* 19, *=e zat* 3, 11, 13, 14; 3S pf *=e ǰū-x* 5[2], 11, 13, 19[2]; 3S ppf *=e ǰū-x-at* 12, *=e ker-x-at* 9, *=e šakān-x-at* 5; *ker-x-at(-en)* 14 [w cl ell]; 3S impf *a-berint=e* 17, *a-dərūh=e* 2[2], *a-dūnent=e* 13, *=e a-kert* 20, *a-zat=e* 16; within a rel context: *=e ke berint* 17, *=e ke heš-at* 19, *=e ke za-x-at* 9.—**2** dir/indir functions, *=aš*; dir *ne-šakān-īn=e* 3; indir *šīr=e h=adūt* 4, *dek-ak=ō=e* 2, *dombāl=e* 4, *hič=e ne* 10, *ru-y=e* 14.—**3** poss, *=aš*: *bap=e* 2, 6, 19, *bap=o mūt=e* 9, 10, 19, *berūt=e* 7, 16, *berūt=o mūt=o bap=e* 19, *čehm=*e 4, *dek-ak=e* 2, *der=e* 12, *dūtūn-an=e* 14, *ešķāl=e* 6, *ǰeyn=*e 8, *mūt=e* 4, 6, *mūt xo-y=e* 5, *sax-an=e* 18, *xūrx=e* 5, 11, 12, *zen=e* 17; within a rel context: *hamā lahar xūrx=e ke* 14, *koterk=e ke* 2, *hamā xūrx=e ke* 4; see *h=*.

=e$_2$ /EZ/ ezāfe, genitive-like particle (alternating w Ø), *=e*: *asp=e to* 12[2], *būv=e avalī* 17, *būv=e āxerī* 17, *būv=e dovomī* 16, 17, *būv=e*

sevomī 16, *der=e xāv* 3, *hekāyat=e men* 20, *kaš=e bāī* 20, *kaš=e zen* 17, *koll=e lāše-y=e xūrx* 18, *māl=e bap* 19, *mes=e hamā kadīm* 20, *nazdīk=e čand sūr* 7, *sax-an=e dūnā* 7, *šū=e dāzan* 2^2, *tamām=e ī čī-an* 8, *tamām=e ī māl=o amvāl* 11, *tamām=e māl=o zendegī* 19, *zen=e hamī yārū* 17, *xūrx=e men* 18.

=e$_3$ /cop/ 3S pres, *=ast*: *dorōnǰ=ō-y=e* 5, 13, *dorōnǰ=e* 11; pres prog *be-ǰomānt=e* 11; see *=at* (pst).

-e /v end/ 3S pres: *ows-e* 6, 12^3,13, 15, 19 [uncertain, see *dərūst*]; see *-et*.

e- /v pref/ mod marker, forming subj and imp from pres stem (alternating w Ø), *be-* (Pers also alternating w Ø): 3S subj *e-ǰū* 15^2, *e-kī* 15^3; 2S imp *e-ken* 13, 15, *e-zen* 18, 2P imp *h=e-ǰ-oht* 18.

=en /cop/ 3P pres, *=and*: *če towr=en* 8, *kōh=en* 10^4, *zende-y=en* 8; neg *neh=en* 8, see *neh=*; pres prog *be-bīt=en* 2.

-en$_1$ /v end/ 3P pres and pst (vi), *-and*: pret *nešt-en* 20^2, *resent-en* 18, *vot-en* 17^2, 19^2, 20; pf *bī-x-en* 8, 10, *row-x-en* 10; ppf *bī-x-at-en* 14^2, *neš-x-at-en* 10; impf *a-bīt-en* 2^2; cop pst *=at-en* 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 17; general pst *heš-at-en* 1.

-en$_2$ /v end/ 3P w obl function in the pst of vt; dir: 3S pret *ǰūt-en=e* 9, 3S ppf *ker-x-at-en* 14^2; indir: 3S pret *adūt-en* 7^2, 3S impf *h=a-kert-en* 7.

=eš /cl pro/ 3P.—**1** ag: pret. *ǰūt=eš* 20, *=eš ǰūt* 18, *kakart=eš* 17, *=eš kert* 6^2, 13, 17, 19, *=eš* […] *na-dūt* 18, *=eš* […] *dar pāyd* 8, *=eš dar ne- pāyd* 13; ppf *=eš* [...] *goč-at* 10, *dar=eš pāy-x-at* 9; impf *a-dūnent=eš* 18.—**2** (dir/)indir obj, *=ešān*: pf. *čī=eš bī-x* 10; impf *dōst=eš a-bīt* 6; pst of exst *=eš heš-at* 13.—**3** poss, *=ešān*: *mahallad=eš* 13, *xūrx=eš* 11, 20; see *š=*.

eškāl /n/ problem, *eškāl*: 6.

ešter /n/ camel, *šotor*: 1, 2^5, 4^2, 5^2, 6, 8^2, 10^2.

=et /cl pro/ 2S.—**1** ag: pret *dit=et* 13.—**2** poss, *=at*: *asp=et* 12.

-et /v end/ 3S pres, *-ad*; subj *vāš=et* 15.

ezāfat /n/ addition, *ezāfat*, *ezāfe*: 20.

ey /prep/ from, *az*: 2, 10, 13; see *a*, *az*.

eyǰekent see **īǰekent**.

fakat /adv/ only, *faqat*: 18^2.

felān /pro or adj/ so-and-so, such-and-such a place or thing, *felān*, *felān čiz*, *felān ǰā*: 7, 12 [idiolectally restricted in the last senses].

gahvāra /n/ cradle, *gahvāre*: 4^2, 5^2, 8, 11, 12.

gap /n/ word, utterance, *harf*: 19.

gār /adj/ disappeared, *gom.*— *~ bīt* /v/ disappear, *gom šodan*: 3P pres prog *gār be-bīt=en* 2; 3P impf *gār a-bīt-en* 2.

gerūt, pf stem **goč**, ppf stem **goč-at** <a-ger-īn> /v/ grab, seize, take, *gereftan*: 3S pret *gerūt=e* 3, 6, *=e gerūt* 3, 6, 19; 3P ppf *=eš* […] *goč-at* 10.

goč-at see **gerūt**.
gohtent /v/ <a-gard-īn> walk, *gaštan*.—*bar* ~ walk back: 3P pret neg *bar ne-goht-en* 14.
gozašt (Pers) passed = 3S pret *godarent* [not in this text]: 8.
gōš /n/ ear, *guš*.— ~ *kert* /v/ listen, *guš dādan*: 1P pret neg =*an gōš ne-kert* 19; syn. *vāšint*.
gōx /n/ cow, *gāv*: 1, 4, 5^2, 6, 8^2, 20.
gūša /n/ corner, *guše*: 1.
h= /cl pro/ 3S.—**1** ag: *h*=*adūt* 4, *h*=*a-ǰūt* 8^6, *h*=*a-kert*(*-en*) 7.—**2** dir obj, =*aš*: *h*=*e-ǰ-oht* 18; see $=e_1$.
-h /hi/ glide: *ye-h*=*eš* 8, 13 [*h* in *dərūh* also possibly a glide]; see *nah*=, *neh*=.
haft /num adj/ seven, *haft*: 1, 6, 13^2, 14.
=**ham** /adv/ also, too, =*ham*: 4, 19.
ham /indef pro/ both, *ham*: 1.
hama I /indef pro/ all, everything, *hame*: 18, 20; see *hič* (I).—**II** /indef adj/ all, *hame*; syn *har*, *hor*; see *hič* (II).— ~ *čīz* /indef pro/ everything, *hame čiz*: 1; see *čīz*.
hamā$_1$ /dem adj/ that (or those) same (or very), *hamān*: 2, 3, 4, 5, 7^2, 8, 10, 11^2, 13^3, 14^3, 15^4, 16, 17, 18 [uncertain, see *hamā*$_2$], 19^2, 20^2; cpart *hamē*.
hamā$_2$ /adv/ there, in that same (or very) place, *hamānǰā*: *der hamā* (= in there) 11, 18 [uncertain, see *hamā*$_1$]; syn *hamāǰudan*. ↔ *hamērd*; see *hamārd*.
hamāǰudan /adv/ there, in that same (or very) place, *hamānǰā*: 14; syn *hamā*$_2$, *hamārd*.
hamārd /adv/ there, in that same (or very) place, *hamānǰā*: 9, 10, 11, 15; syn *hamāǰudan*. ↔ *hamērd*; see *hamā*$_2$.
hamē /dem pro/ this same (or very) one, *hamin*: 13. ↔ *hamā*1; see *hamī* [in this text as adj].
hamērd /adv/ here, in this same (or very) place, *haminǰā*: 12, 15. ↔ *hamā*, *hamārd*.
hamī /dem adj/ this (or these) same (or very), *hamin*: 5, 17, 20; see *hamē* [in this text as pron].
har /indef adj/ every, *har*: 2, 8^2, 13; syn *hama* (II), *hor*; see *hīč* (II).
harakat /n/ movement, *harakat*.— ~ *kert* /v/ leave, *harakat kardan*: 3S pret *harakat*=*e kert* 15^2, 16^2; syn *ǰeyn zat*.
hašt /num adj/ eight, *hašt*: 1.
hālā /adv/ now, *hālā*: 6, 8, 9, 17^2; syn *alʾān*, *iǰā*.
hālī /adj/ informed, warned, *mottaleʾ*.— ~ *kert* /v/ inform, warn, *mottaleʾ kardan, xabar dādan*: 3S pret *hālī*=*e kert* 6, 13.
hekāyat /n/ tale, *hekāyat*: 20 [in the final Pers sentence].

heš, pst **heš-at** /exst/ 1 there is (or are), *hast*: S/P pres *heš* 20[2]; 3S pst *heš-at* 10[2], 3P pst *heš-at-en* 1.—2 have, own, possess [w cl pron in poss function, w or w'out num agreement]: 3S pst *=e heš-at* 17, 2, 19, 3P pst *=eš heš-at* 13; syn *dārent*. ↔ *ne*.

heyvūn /n/ animal, *heyvān*: 8.

hič I /indef pron/ nothing, *hič*: 10.—**II** /indef adj/ no, *hič*.— ~ *ke* no one, *hič kas*: 9.

honk /adv/ all right, yes, *bàle*: 12, 13; syn *bàle*.

hor /indef adj/ all, every, *hame*, *har*: 14; syn *hama*, *har*.

ī **I** /dem adj/ this, these, the, *in*: 1, 2[3], 3, 5[3], 6, 8[3], 9, 10[5], 11, 13[3], 14[2], 17, 18, 20[2].—**II** /dem pro/ this one; he, him, etc, *in*: 5 (*ī dorōnǰ=ō=e*), 10 (*ī, če balā-y=e*).—P *ī-an* (Pers *inhā*): 20. ↔ *ā*, *ā-an*; see *ye*, *yenan*.

ī-an see **ī**.

īǰā /adv/ now, this time, *in vaqt*: 15; syn *alʾān*, *hālā*.

īǰekent /v/ <eyǰek-īn> jump out, *birun ǰastan*: 3S pret *īǰekent* 4; 3S pf *īǰeken-x* 5; 3S impf *eyǰekent* 8; syn *kop čent*.

-īn1 /v end/ 1S pres and pst (vi), *-am*: *a-deh-īn* 12, *a-re-īn* 8, 12, *a-zan-īn* 8, 15, *ne-šakān-īn* 3, *ne-kan-īn* 3, *bī-x-īn* 5.

īn (Pers) only in *baʾd az īn ke* /conj/ after, when: 19.

ītavent <1S indic eytav-īn, 3S subj ītoč> /v/ collapse, fall, *be zamin oftādan*: *ītoč* 17; syn *īvot*, *tavent*.

ītoč see **ītavent**.

īvot <eyp-īn> /v/ come down, fall (from the upper surface of s'th), *pāin āmadan*, *az sar=e čiz=i oftādan*; 3S pf *īvo-x* 10; syn *tavent*, *ītavent*; see *vot*.

ǰ- see **ǰūt**.

ǰādū /n/ magician, *ǰādu*: 7.

ǰān /n/ body, *badan, tan*: 18; syn *lāša*.

ǰeyn /n/ place, *ǰā*: 8; syn *mahall*.— ~ *zat* /v/ flee, leave immediately, *farār kardan*, *az ǰā=i fowri raftan*: 2S imp *ǰeyn e-zen* 15; 3S pret *ǰeyn=e zat* 14; syn *harakat kert*.

ǰomānt <a-ǰomān-īn> /v/ rock, *ǰombāndan*, *šik dādan*: 3S pres prog *beǰomānt=***e** 11; 2S imp *ǰomānt* 12.

ǰū see **ǰūt**.

ǰūt (ǰ̄ūt) <1S a-ǰū-n, 2S a-ǰ-ūx, 3S a-ǰū, 1P a-ǰ-om, 2P a-ǰ-oht, 3P a-ǰ-en> /v/ devour, eat, eat up, finish off, *xordan*: 3S subj *ǰū* 15[2], 17; 2P imp *h=e-ǰ-oht* 18, 2P imp neg *mū-ǰ-oht* 18; 3S pret *=e ǰūt* 4[2], 5[2], 8[2], 9[2], 14, 16[2], *=e* […] *ǰūt* 13, *ǰūt*(*-en*)*=e* 9, 3P pret *ǰūt=*eš 20, *=eš ǰūt* 18; 3S pf *=e ǰū-x* 5[2], 11, 13, 19[2]; 3S ppf *=e ǰū-x-at* 12; impf *h=a-ǰūt* 8[6].

ǰū-x see **ǰūt**.

ǰū-x-at see **ǰūt**.

k see **kert**.

kadīm /n/ old days, *qadim*: 20.

kakart <a-kakarān-īn [uncertain]> /v/ cover a distance with rapidity, move rapidly, *tamām masāfat=i=rā be sorʾat tey kardan*: 3P pret *kakart=eš* 17 [w cl pro].

kal /n/ hole in the ground, *surāx dar zamin*: 13.

kaleng /n/ place covered with rubble, rubble, *āvār*: 10; syn *xarāba*.

kam /indef adj/ few, little, *kam*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ be less, be missing, *kam šodan*: 3S pret *kam bīt* 2; 3S impf *kam a-bīt* 2, 3P impf *kam a-bīt-en* 2; see *kam kam*.

kam kam /adv/ little by little, gradually, *kam kam, be tadrīǰ*: 2; syn *deh deh*; see *kam*.

kan see **kert**.

kaš /n/ flank, side, *kenār, pahlu*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ at (or to) s'one's place, beside, *kenār=e, pahlu=ye*: 17, 19, 20; syn *dam*.

kākū /n/ grandmother, *mādarbozorg*: 20; cpart *bāī*.

kār$_1$ /n/ work; action, deed, *kār*.— ~ *kert* /v/ **1** work, *kār kardan*: 3S pret *kert=e kār* 7.—**2** take an action, *kār kardan*, *raftār kardan*: 2S subj *kār e-ken* 15.

kār$_2$ /prev/ *off.— ~ *dūt* /v/ tear off, *birun kešidan*, *kandan*: 3S pret neg *kār na-dūt* 18; syn *vāyd*.

kārent <a-kār-īn> /v/ plant, *kāštan*: 3S pret *=e kārent* 13, *kārent=e* 13.

kāsa /n/ bowl, *kāse*, *tās*: 14, 15; syn *tās*.

kāšox /n/ spoon, *qāšeq*: 14.

ke$_1$ /conj/ general complementizer, *ke*: **1** dir speech, that: *a-dərūh=e* […] *ke* 2.—**2** obj, that: *dūnent=e ke* […] 11, *a-dūnent=e ke* […] 13, *vāš-et ke* […] 15.—**3** final, in order to, to [w inf], so, so that: *ke bīdār bī* 3, *ke yaʾnī sar=ō zī* 9, *ke* […] *xwan ne-zī* 14, *ke ba to e-ǰū* 15, *ke telengteleng kī* 15, *ke būv ītoč* 17.—**4** temp, until, when: *ke ye* […] *īǰeken-x* 5, *ke berint* 17.—**5** dub, if, whether: *ke bap=o mūt=e zende-y=en yā na* 9.—**6** conc, therefore: *ke men a-re-īn* 12.—**7** introducing a rel clause: who, which, that, in which, during which, etc, *ke*: *koterk=e ke heš-at* 2, *res=ō ke* 2, *xūrx=e ke* 4, *čok ke* 5, *berūt-ak ke* 8, *ba ye-h=eš ke* 8, *šeš tū ke* 9, *ī berūt=e ke* 9, *bap=o men ke* 10, *ī pah=o ešter-an ke* 10, *banda xodā-y=ō ke* 14, *xūrx=e ke asp=e ǰūt* 14, *yārū ke* 17, *māl=o amvāl=o zendegī=ō=e ke* 19, *nafar=ō ke* 20; temp meaning, during which, when: *asnā-y=ō ke* 13, *zaman=ō ke* 14, *būv=e dovomī=e ke berint* 17; spatial meaning, where: *mahall ke* 8, *mahall=ō ke* 10.—*baʾd a* or *az īn* ~ /conj/ when, after, *baʾd az in ke*: 19.

ke$_2$ /indef pron/ somebody, one, *kas*.—*hīč* ~ /indef pron/ no one, *hič kas*: 9; see *hīč*.

kelenč /n/ finger, *angošt*: 3[2], 5.
ken see **kert**.
ker see **kert**.
kert <1S a-kan-īn, 2S a-ken, 3S a-kī, 1P a-kan-an, 2P a-k-oht, 3P a-kan-en> /v/ **I**, **1** do, make, *kardan*: 3S *h*=*a-kert* 7. **2** place, set, *gozāštan*: 3S impf =*e a-kert* 20; syn *nūt*.—**II** make, render, *kardan*.—*hālī* ~ /v/ inform, warn: 3S pret =*e kert* 6, 13.—*tamīz* ~ /v/ make [s'th] beautiful (or shapely): 3S ppf =*e ker-x-at*(*-en*) [w cl ell] 14 (*tamīz tamīz*).—*tēz* ~ /v/ sharpen: 3S subj *e-kī* 15[2].—*vel* ~ /v/ free, release: 2S imp *e-ken* 13; 3S pret =*e kert* 17.—**III** light v.—*dov* ~ /v/ run: 3S pret =*e kert* 15[2].—*gōš* ~ /v/ listen: 1P pret neg =*an* […] *ne-kert* 19.—*harakat* ~ /v/ leave: 3S pret =*e kert* 15[2], 16[2].—*hāli* ~ /v/ inform, warn.—*kār* ~ /v/ work; take an action: 2S imp *e-ken* 15; 3S pret *kert*=*e*.—*latākotā* ~ /v/ move about nervously: 3P impf *š*=*a-kert* 17.—*ozrxāhī* ~ /v/ apologise: 3P pret =*eš kert* 19.—*sāhobī* ~ /v/ take care: 3S ppf =*e ker-x-at*(*-en*).—*sār* ~ /v/ have a look: 2P imp *k-oht* 5; 3S pret =*e kert* 14, 3P pret=*eš kert* 6[2].—*šorū* ~ /v/ begin: 3P pret =*e kert* 9.—*šū* ~ /v/ get married (to a man), take a husband: 3S pret =*e kert* 9[2]; 3S ppf =*e ker-x-at*.—*telengteleng* ~ /v/ clang, give out a loud sound: 3S subj *kī*.—*tak* ~ split in two: 1S subj neg *ne-kan-īn*.—*tovār* ~ /v/ call: 3S pret =*e kert*.—*yāllāh yāllāh* ~ /v/ greet, say hello: 3S pret =*e kert* 11.—*zen* ~ /v/ get married (to a woman), take a wife: 3S pret =*e kert* 7[2].—*zendegī* ~ /v/ live: inf *kert* 20[2]. Summary: 1S subj neg *ne-kan-īn* 3, 3S subj *kī* 15; 2P imp *k-oht*; 3S pret =*e kert* 6, 7[2], 9[3], 11, 13, 14, 15[4], 16[2], 17, 18, *kert*=*e* 7, 3P =*eš kert* 19; 1P pret neg =*an* […] *ne-kert* 19; 3S ppf =*e ker-x-at* 9, =*e ker-x-at*(*-en*) 14, *ker-x-at*(*-en*) 14 [w cl ell]; 3S impf *h*=*a-kert* 7, =*e a-kert* 20, 3P impf *š*=*a-kert* 1, 17; inf *zendegī kert* 20[2].
ker-x see **kert**.
ker-x-at see **kert**.
kī see **kert**.
kočak /n/ puppy, baby dog, *tulesag*: 7.
koll I /n/ whole, *koll*: 18; syn *tamām* (I).—**II** /adj/ whole, all, *koll*: 9, 10, 13; syn *tamām* (II, 1).
kop /n/ jump, leap, *pareš*.— ~ *čent* /v/ jump forward, *paridan be ǰelow*: 3S pret *kop*=*e čent* 16[2]; syn *īǰekent*.
koterk /n/child, *bačče*: 1, 2[2], 9, 11, 14, 16; syn *čok*.
kōh /int adv/ where, *koǰā*: 10[4], 12.
kučent <a-kuč-īn> /v/ scratch, *xāridan*: 3S pret *kučent*=*e* 16.
kuv /n/ stone of fruit (date, etc), *haste*=*ye xormā va amsāl*=*e ān*: 13.
kūčak /adj/ small, young, *kuček, ǰavān*: 3.

lahar /n/ dwelling, home; also, a traditional hut in Bashāgerd (having an elongated, low and hemisperical beehive-like structure), *xāne, manzel*; *ālunak = e sonnati* = e *Bašāgerd*: 1, 8, 14, 17; syn *xūna*.
lard /adv/ outside, *birun*: 4.
latākotā /n/ nervous excitement, *hayaǰān = e asabi*.— ~ *kert* /v/ move about nervously, *in taraf va ān taraf raftan bā hālat = e asabi*: 3P pret *latākotā-y = eš kert* 13; 3P impf *latākotā š = a-kert* 17.
lāša /n/ body, *badan, tan*: 18; syn *ǰān*.
lāše-y- ∞ phon *lāša + y*.
lek /adj/ climbing up, *bālā-ravande*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ on (having climbed up s'th), *bālā = ye*: *lek būv bīt* 15; see *sar* (prep 1).— ~ *bīt* /v/ climb up, *bālā raftan*: 3S pret *lek bīt* 16.
leng /n/ leg, paw, *leng*: 12^4; syn *pū*.
mahall /n/ locality, spot, *mahall*: 1, 10^2; syn *ǰeyn*; see *mahalla, mahallad*.
mahalla /n/ neighbourhood, *mahalle, mahallat*: 7; syn *mahallad*; see *mahall*.
mahallad /n/ neighbourhood, *mahalle, mahallat*: 13; syn *mahalla*; see *mahall*.
māl, P **amvāl** /n/ property, wealth, *māl*: 19^2.— ~ *= o amvāl* /n/ idem, *māl = o amvāl*: 11, 19.
men /pers pro/ 1S, I, me, *man*: 5^2, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20.
merg /n/ bird, poultry, *parande, morq, morq = o xorus*: 1, 8.
mešk /n/ mouse, *muš*: 15^2,16^3.
meyl /n/ direction, *taraf*: 14, 20^2.
mīš /n/ sheep, *miš, gusfand = e māde*: 1, 8.
mot /adj/ blunt (not sharp), *kond*: 14.
mū- /v pref/ neg imp marker, *ma-*: 2P *mū-ǰ-oht* 18; see *na-, ne-*.
mūš /n/ man, *mard*: 1; cpart *zen*; syn *bāmard*.
mūt /n/ mother, *mādar*: 4, 5, 6, 9; cpart *bap*; see *nena*.—*bap = o* ~ /n/ father and mother, parents, *pedar = o mādar, vāledeyn*: 8^2, 9, 10^2, 19.— ~ *= o bap* idem: 19.
na- I /v pref/ neg indic marker, *na-*: 3S pret *na-rowt* 3, *= eš* […] *kār na-dūt* 18; see *mū-, ne-*.—**II** self-standing with fused hi: 3S pst cop *nah = at* 6^2, 9; see *neh =* , *-h*.
nafar /n/ person, *nafar*: 20.
nah = at see **na-**.
narmīakā /adv/ softly, quietly, *be narmi, āheste*: 4; syn *narmī narmī*.
narmī narmī /adv/ very softly, very quietly, *ārām* ārām, *āheste āheste*: 4; syn *narmīakā*.
nazdīk /adj/ near, *nazdik*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ about, next to, *nazdik = e*: 1, 2, 7.— ~ *be* idem: 1; see *nazdīnk*.
nazdīnk /adj/ near, *nazdik*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ about, next to, *nazdik = e*: 13; see *nazdīk*.
ne /exst/ neg pres, there is (or are) not: 6, 10 [also possibly *nē*]. ↔ *heš*.

ne- I /v pref/ neg marker, *na-*; 3S pret *ne-gohtent* 14, 1P pret *ne-dūnent=an* 19, *=an* […] *ne-kert* 19, 3P pret *=eš* […] *ne- pāyd*; subj: 1S *ne-šakān-īn* 3, *ne-kan-īn* 3, 3S *ne-zī* 14; see *mū*, *na-*.—**II** self-standing with fused hi: 3P neg pres cop *neh=en* 8; see *nah=*, *-h*.

neh= see **ne-**.

nen see **nešt**.

nena /n/ mummy [dir address], *māmā*: 5; see *mūt*.

nešt <a-nen-īn/a-nin-īn> /v/ **1** sit down, take a seat, *nešastan*: 2S imp *nen* 12; 3S pret *nešt* 14; 3S pf *neš-x* 11.—**2** stay, *māndan*: 3P pret *nešt-en* 20^{2}; 3P ppf *neš-x-at-en* 10.

nowk /n/grandchild, *nave*: 20.

nūt <a-nes-om> /v/ place, set, *gozāštan*: 3S pret *=e nūt* 3, 19; syn *kert* (I, 2).

=o /coord conj/ and, *=o*, *va*; connecting more than one n or adj: *bap=o mūt* 8, 9, 10^{2}, 19, *bāī=o kākū* 20, *berūt=o mūt=o bap* 19, *dir=o derāz=ō* 7, *māl=o amvāl* 11, *māl=o amvāl=o zendegī* 19, *māl=o zendegī* 19, *pah=o ešter-an* 8, *zen=o mūš* 1; *yow ester=o yow asp* 8, *yow ester=o yow gōx* 8, *yow gōx=o yow asp* 8; connecting clauses: *adūt-en=o felān h=a-kert-en* 7, *dov=e kert=o dov=e kert* 15, *ester=e ǰūt=o gōx=e ǰūt* 5, *ī ester=e ǰū-x=o ī gōx=e ǰū-x* 5, *ešter-an kōh=en=o pah-an kōh=en=o xūne-y-an* […] *kōh=en* 10, *kakart=eš=o vot-en* 17, *xū=e zat=o sar=e nūt* 3.

=oht /cop/ 2P pres, *=id*: pres prog *be- pāyd=oht* 6.

-oht /v end/ 2P pres and pst (vi): *-id*: imp *k-oht* 5, *h=e-ǰ-oht* 18; imp neg *mū-ǰ-oht* 18.

=om /cl pro/ 1S.—**1** ag: pf *šakān-x-om* 5.—**2** poss, my, *=am*: *bap=o mūt=om* 8^{2}, *berūt=om* 12^{3}, 13.

orāt, pres stem **uger** <oger-īn > /v/ pick up, *bar dāštan*: 2S imp *uger* 14.

ows-e see **dərūh**, **dərūst**.

ozrxāhī /n/ apology, *ozrxāhi*.— ~ *kert* /v/ apologise, *ozrxāhi kardan*: 3P pret *ozrxāhī=eš kert* 19.

=ō$_1$ /indef part/ **1** a, one, *=i*: *asp=ō* 11, *ābādī=ō* 1, *balā-y=ō* 10, *dorōnǰ=ō* 5, 13, *ī kāšox=ō* 14, *safar* […] *derāz=ō* 7, *sar=ō* 8, 9.—**2** spec meaning: a, one, a certain, w n preceded by *yow*, Pers *yek* + n=*i*: *yow + ābsār=ō* 13, *deh=ō* 1, *dek=ō* 6, *dek-ak=ō* 2, *kaleng=ō* 10, *koterk=ō* 9, *koterk-ak=ō* 11, *leng=ō* 12, *mahall=ō* 1, *mešk-ak=ō* 15, *nafar=ō* 20, *safar dir=ō* 7, *šep=ō* 3, *xarābe-y=ō* 10, *zen=o mūš=ō* 1.—**3** a single, w n preceded by *har*, Pers *har* + n=*i*: *har res=ō* 2, *har šep=ō* 2, 8, *har vaxt=ō* 13; see *har*, *yow*.

=ō$_2$ /rel part/ w restrictive meaning, *=i*; *=ō ke*: *asnā-y=ō ke* 13, *mahall=ō ke* 10, *zendegī=ō=e ke* 19, *res=ō ke* 2, *vaxt=ō* [w'out *ke*] 10, *yow banda xodā-y=ō ke* 14, *yow nafar=ō ke* 20, *ī zaman=ō ke* 14.

pa /adv/ then, *pas*: 15; syn *baʾd*.
pah /n/ goat, *boz*: 1, 2, 8, 10^2, 20.
parvareš /n/ training, *parvareš*.— ~ *adūt* /v/ train, *parvareš dādan*: 3S pret *parvareš adūt*(*-en*) [w cl ell] 7.
pāyd <a-pāz-īn> /v/ cast, throw, *andāxtan*.—*dar* ~ /v/ cast out, get rid of, *birun kardan*, *be dar kardan*: inf [forming 2P pres prog] *dar be-pāyd*=*oht* 6; 3S pret *dar*=*e pāyd* 6, 3P pret =*eš dar pāyd* 8, 3P pret neg =*eš dar ne- pāyd* 13; 3P ppf *dar*=*eš pāy-x-at* 9.
pāk /adj/ fine, *pāk*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ become fine, *pāk šodan*: 3P ppf *bī-x-at-en* [...] *pāk*14.
pānzdah /num adj/ fifteen, *pānzdah*: 8, 19.
pāy-x-at see **pāyd**.
pestūn /n/ breast, tit, *pestān*: 18^2, 19^3.
piāda /adv/ on foot, *piāde*: 13.
pū /n/ foot, leg, *pā*; syn *leng*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ stand up, *boland šodan*, *pā šodan*: 3S pret *pū bīt* 12; syn *boland bīt*.
ra see **rowt**.
rasent <a-ras-īn> /v/ arrive, come up to, get at, *residan*: 3S pret *rasent* 16, 3P pret *rasent-en* 18; 3S pf *rasen-x* 19; syn *vot*.
rav see **rowt**.
re see **rowt**.
res /n/ day, *ruz*: 2^2.
rowt <1S a-re-īn, 2S a-re-y-ex, 3S a-rū, 1P a-ra-m, 2P a-rav-aht, 3P a-re-y-en> /v/ go, go away, *raftan*: 1S pres *a-re-īn* 8, 12; 2S imp *ra* 15, 2P imp *rav-aht* 5; 3S pret *rowt* 4^3, 5^2, 7^2, 12, 14, 3S pret neg *na-rowt* 3, 3P pret *rowt-en* 6; 2S pf *row-x-ūx* 19, 3S pf *row-x* 15, 3P pf *row-x-en* 10; 3S impf *a-rowt* 8, 13.—*ey beyn* ~ /v/ be destroyed: 3P pf *row-x-en* 10.—*dombāl* [EZ + n] ~ /v/ follow: 3S pret ~ =*e* [...] *rowt* 4.—*der* [EZ] *xāv* ~ /v/ fall asleep: 3S pret neg *der*=*e xāv na-rowt* 3.
ru /n/ face, surface, *ru*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ on (the surface of), *ru*=*ye*: 3, 14^3, 15; syn. *čak*; see *sar* (prep 1).
rūst /adj/ right (not left), *rāst* (*motazādd*=*e čap*): 19.
sad /num adj/ hundred, *sad*: 1^6.
safar /n/ journey, *safar*:7^2.
sahargāh /n/ morning, *sobh*: 5.
sar /n/ **1** head, *sar*: 3.—**2** flying visit, *didār*=*e kutāh*.— ~ *zat* /v/ pay a flying visit, *sar zadan*: 1S pres *sar*=*ō a-zan-īn* 8; 3S subj *sar*=*ō zī* 9.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ **1** on (the top of), *sar*=*e*, *bālā*=*ye*: *sar būv* 16^3; see *lek*, *ru*.—**2** at (or to) the head of, in, to, *sar*=*e*, *dar*, *be*: *sar yow ābsār*=*ō* 13, *sar hamā būv-an* 14; syn *ba*, *be*, *der*.
sax /n/ dog, *sag*: 7^3, 13^2, 17^3, 18^3, 20.

sāhobī /n/ ownership, *mālekiyat*.— ~ *kert* /v/ take care, *mavāzebat kardan*, *morāqebat kardan*: 3S ppf *sāhobī=e ker-x-at*(*-en*) 14.
sār /n/ look, *negāh*.— ~ *kert* /v/ have a look, *negāh kardan*: 2S imp *sār k-oht* 5; 3S pret *=e kert* 14, 3P pret *=eš kert* 6^2.
se /num adj/ three, *se*: 2, 12.
selenge /adj/ three-legged, *dārā=ye se pā*: 12.
sevomī /num adj/ third, *sevvomī*: 16.
sovār /adj/ riding, mounted on, *savār*: 11.
sūr /n/ year, *sāl*: 7, 8^2, 9.
š= /cl pro/ 3P, ag: impf *š=a-kert* 1, *š=a-vāhent* 6, *š=a-kert* 17; see *=eš*.
šakānt <a-šakān-īn> /v/ break, split; injure, *šekastan*, *šekāf dādan*: 1S subj neg *ne-šakān-īn* 3; 3S pret *šakānt=e* 3, *=e šakānt* 3, *šakānt* 3, 19^2 [w cl ell]; 1S ppf *šakān-x=om* 5 [w cl ell], 3P ppf *=e šakān-x=at* 5, 19.
šep /n/ night, *šab*: 2, 3, 8^2.
šeš /num adj/ six, *šeš*: 9.
šīr /n/ milk, šir.— ~ *adūt* /v/ breastfeed, suckle, *šir dādan*: 3S pret *šīr=e h=adūt* 4.
šod (Pers) became = 3S pret *bīt*: 20.
šomah /pers pro/ 2P, you, *šomā*: 5, 6, 18.
šorū /n/ beginning, *šoruˀ*.— ~ *kert* /v/ begin, *šoruˀ kardan*: 3S pret *šorū=e kert* 9.
šū (**šū̃**) /n/ husband, *šowhar*: 2^2; cpart *zen* (2).— ~ *kert* /v/ get married (to a man), take a husband, *šowhar kardan*: 3S pret *šū=e kert* 9^2; 3S ppf *šū=e ker-x-at* 9; cpart *zen kert*.
tak /n/ half, part, *qesmat*.— ~ *kert* /v/ split in two, *do qesmat kardan*, *nesf kardan*: 1S subj neg *tak nekanīn* 3.
talangtalang, **telengteleng** /n/ clang, noise produced by striking metal objects, *telengteleng*, *dangdang*.— ~ *kert* /v/ clang, give out a loud sound (like pieces of metal struck together), *dangdang* (or *telengteleng*) *kardan*: *telengteleng kī* 15.— ~ *zat* /v/ clang, produce a clang by striking metal objects, *dangdang* (or *telengteleng*) *be sedā dar āvordan*: inf *zat* […] *talangtalang* 14; 2S imp *talangtalang zen* 14; 3S pret *talangtalang talangtalang zat=e* 14 [reduplication for emphasis].
tamām **I** /n/ whole, *tamām*: 8, 10, 11, 18, 19; syn *koll* (I).—**II** /adj/ **1** whole, *tamām*; syn *koll* (II).—**2** complete, having come to an end, *tamām*: *tamām šod* (Pers) 20.
tamīz /adj/ beautiful, shapely, *qašang*, *xoštarkib*.— ~ *kert* /v/ make [s'th] beautiful (or shapely), *qašang kardan*, *xoštarkib kardan*: 3S ppf *ker-x-at*(*-en*) *tamīz tamīz* 14 [reduplication for emphasis].
tavent <1S a-tav-īn, 3S a-toč> /v/ **1** fall, *oftādan*; syn *īvot*, *ītavent*.—**2** sleep, *xābidan*: 3S pret *tavent* 4.—*dar* ~ /v/ come out, *birun āmadan*, *dar āmadan*: 3S pret *dar tavent* 5, 19; syn *dar vot*; see *ītavent*.

tā I /prep/ for, until, up to, *tā*: 2, 4, 7, 15 (*tā ĭǰā*).—**II** /conj/ as soon as, until, until when, when, *tā*: 8, 12, 15 (*tā lek būv bīt*), 16, 17^{2}, 19.
tās /n/ bowl, *kāse*, *tās*: 14; syn *kāsa*.
telengteleng see **talangtalang**.
-ter /comp and sup suff/ more, most, *-tar*, *-tarin*: *kūčak-ter* 3.
tēz /adj/ sharpened, *tiz*, *nowktiz*.— ~ *kert* /v/ sharpen, *tiz kardan*: 3S subj *tēz e-kī* 15^{2}.
tiγ /n/ blade (sharp edge of knife), *tiq*: 3.
to /pers pro/ 2S, you, *to*: 5, 12^{3}, 13^{2}, 15^{5}, 19.
tovār /n/ call, voice, *sedā*.— ~ *kert* /v/ call, *sedā kardan*, *sedā zadan*: 3S pret *tovār=e kert* 18.
towr /n/ manner, *towr*.—**če** ~ /int adv/ how, *če towr*: 8; see *če*.
tū I /class/ num class for humans, animals and things understood as concrete, *tā*: 1^{7}, 2^{5}, 3, 6, 7, 13^{2}, 18^{2}.—**II** /num pro/ one (or two, or three, etc) of a series in the partitive phrase, *tā*: *yow tū* 2^{2}, *ā šeš tū* 9, *hor haft tū* 14.
uger see **orāt**.
upes /adj/ pregnant, *hāmele*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ get pregnant, *hāmele šodan*: 3S pret *upes bīt* 2.
uvert <ovor-īn> /v/ bring, *āvordan*: 3S pret *uvert=e* 20.
=ū, =ūx, /cop/ 2S pres, *=i*: [*hamerd*]*=ūx* 15; [forming 2S pres prog] *be-dīt=ū* 5.
-ū, -ūx /v end/ formally the same as *=ū, =ūx*, 2S pres and pst (vi), *-i*: *bī-x-ū* 12^{2}, *vo-x-ū* 13, *row-x-ūx* 19.
vaxt /n/ time, *vaqt*: 10, 13; syn *zamān*.
vaz /n/ condition, *vazˀ*: 1.
vāhent <1S a-vāh=om, 2S a-vāh=et, 3S a-vāh=e, 1P a-vāh=an, 2P a-vāh=oht, 3P a-vāh=eš [pres tense built w a cl pron]> /v/ **1** want, *xāstan*.—**2** love, *mahabbat kardan*: 3P impf *š=a-vāhent* 6.
vāyd <a-vāz-īn> /v/ tear apart, *az ham ǰodā kardan*: 3S pret *asp=e vāyd* 12; syn *kār dūt*.
vāšint <a-vāš-in> /v/ hear, šenidan: 3S subj *vāšet* 15; syn. *gōš kert*.
vel /adj/ free, released, *vel*.— ~ *kert* /v/ free, release, *vel kardan*: 2S imp *vel e-ken* 13; 3S pret *vel=e kert* 17.
vot <1S a-p-īn, 2S a-p-ex, 3S a-pī, 1P a-p-om, 2P a-p-oht, 3P a-p-en> /v/ arrive, come, come in, *āmadan*: 3S pret *vot* 4, 6, 9, 10, 11^{3}, 12, 14, 15^{2}, 16^{3}, 3P pret *vot-en* 17^{2}, 19^{2}, 20; 3S pf *vo-x* 12^{2}; syn *rasent*.—*dar* ~ /v/ come out, *dar āmadan, birun āmadan*: 3S pret *dar vot* 15, 3P pret *dar vot-en* 19; syn *dar tavent*.—*bad* ~ /v/ dislike, *bad āmadan*: 3S pret *bad=e* [= 3S cl pron] *vot* 6; see *īvot*.
vo-x see **vot**.
vur /prev/ *away (from subject), *dur*.— ~ *adūt* /v/ throw away, *dur andāxtan*: 3S pret *vur=e adūt* 16.

-x /v suff/ forming the pf stem [after elision of ˚*t* in the pst stem]: 1S *bī-x-īn* 5, *šakān-x-om* 5, 2S *bī-x-ū* 12, *row-x-ūx* 19, *vo-x-ū* 13, 3S [w Ø end] *bī-x* 10, 12, *=e ǰū-x* 5[2], 11, 13, 19[2], *ǐǰeken-x* 5, *īvo-x* 10, *neš-x* 11, *rasen-x* 19, *row-x* 15, *vo-x* 12[2], 3P *bī-x-en* 8, 10, *row-x-en* 10; see *-x-at*.

-x-at /v suff/ forming the ppf stem [after elision of ˚*t* in the pst stem]: 3S *bī-x-at* 6, 9, *=e ǰū-x-at* 12, *=e ker-x-at* 9, *ker-x-at*(*-en*) 14, *=e ker-x-at*(*-en*) 14, *=e šakān-x-at* 5, *za-x-at* 9, 3P *bī-x-at-en* 14[2], *neš-x-at-en* 10, *=eš pāy-x-at* 9; see *-x*, *-at*.

xarāb /adj/ ruined, wiped out, *xarāb*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ be ruined, be wiped out, *xarāb šodan*: 3P pf *xarāb bī-x-en* 10; syn *ey beyn rowt*.

xarāba /n/ place covered with ruins, ruins, *xarābe*: 10; syn *kaleng*.

xarābe-y ∞ phon *xarāba+y*.

xāv /n/ sleep, *xāb*.—*der* [EZ] ~ *rowt* /v/ fall asleep, [*be*] *xāb raftan*: 3S pret neg *der=e xāv na-rowt* 3; see *rowt*.

xèylō /adv/ a lot, very, *xèyli*: 1, 6; syn *ziād*.

xo$_1$ /refl pron/ **1** mine, yours, his, etc, *xod*: 3[2], 5, 9, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 [usually enclitic]. **2** marking identity w cl pro: myself, my own, etc, *xod*: *xo-y=e* [w 3S cl pro] 3, 5[2], 6, 9[2], 13, 16, 14, *xo-y=an* [w 1P cl pro] 2.

xo$_2$ see **xob**

xob I /adj/ good, *xub, xob*: 1.—**II** also *xo* /intj/ well, nice, *xob*: *xob* 3, *xo* 20[2].

xodā-yā /intj/ oh God, *xodā-yā*: 10.

xorāk /n/ food, *xorāk*.— ~ *adūt* /v/ feed, *xorāk dādan*: 3S pret *xorāk adūt*(*-en*) [w cl ell] 7.

xāvānt <a-xāv-īn> /v/ put to sleep, *xābāndan*: 3S pret. *xāvānt=e* 4.

xoy [EZ] /prep/ by means of, with (instrument and company), *bā*, *be vasile=ye*: 3, 11, 15, 16.

xū /n/ salt, *namak*: 3.

xūna /n/ dwelling, home, *xāne*, *manzel*: 10; syn *lahar*.

xūne-y ∞ phon *xuna+y*.

xūrx /n/ sister, *xāhar*: 4, 5[2], 8, 11[2], 12, 14, 17, 18[3], 20; cpart *berūt*.

xwan /n/ crying, weeping, *gerye*.— ~ *zat* /v/ cry, weep, *gerye kardan*: 3S subj neg *xwan ne-zī* 14; 3S pret *zat=e xwan* 4.

xwaš /adj/ joyful, *xoš*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ rejoice, *xoš šodan*: 3S pret *xwaš bīt* 12.

y /hi/ glide: *asnā-y=ō* 13, *balā-y=ō* 10, *banda xodā-y=ō* 14, *dūnā-y=at* 3, *dūnā-y=at-en* 7, *latākotā-y=eš* 13; *gūše-y=e* 19, *lāše-y=e* 18, *xune-y=am* 10, *zende-y=en* 9; *āxerī-y=*at 17; *to-y=an* 19, *xo-y=an* 2, *xo-y=e* 3, 5[2], 6, 9[2], 13, 16, 14; *dorōnǰ=ō-y=at* 9, *dorōnǰ=ō-y=e* 5; *ru-y=e* 14; *yārū-y=at* 20.

yamah /pers pro/ 1P, we, us, *mā*: 5, 193.

yaʾnī /adv/ namely, in other words, *yaʾnī*: 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15.

yāllāh /intj/ greeting, hello (said upon entering s'one's home), *yāllāh, yā allāh*.— ~ ~ idem.— ~ ~ *kert* /v/ greet, say hello (upon entering s'one's home), *yāllāh yāllāh kardan*: 3S pret *yāllāh yāllāh=e kert* 11.

yāp /n/ water, āb.— ~ *dūt* /v/ give water, water, *āb dādan*: 1S pres *yāp a-deh-īn* 12.

yārū /n/ the one spoken about, this (or that) man, this (or that) woman, *yāru*: 15[2], 17[2], 18, 19, 20; syn *bāmard, dāzan*.

ye /pers pro/ 3S, he, she, it, him, her, it, *u*: 4, 5, 8, 11[2], 13[2], 14[2], 15, 16; see **ī**, *yenan*.

yenan /pers pro/ 3P, they, them, *išān, ānhā*: 1, 10, 11, 20[3]; see *ā-an, ī-an, ye*.

yow I /num adj/ one, *yek*: *yow, do tū sax* 7, *yow ešter* 6, *yow gōx* 6, *yow pestūn* 19[2], *yow šū* 9[2].—*yow tū* [partitive], one of: 2[2], 3.—**II** /indef adj/ some, *čand*: *yow hašt tū koterk* 1, *yow dah sūr* 8; syn *čand*.—**III** /indef art/ a, an, *yek*: 4[2], 8[6]; 9[2]; also w n followed by *=ō*$_1$: 1[3], 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20.

zamān /n/ time, *zaman*: 14; syn *vaxt*.

zan see **zat**.

zat <1S a-zan-īn, 2S a-zen, 3S a-zī S, 1P a-z-om, 2P a-z-oht, 3P a-zan-en>: /v/ **I 1** beat, hit, strike, *zadan*: 1S pres *a-zan-īn* 15; 3S pret. *zat* 6 [w cl ell]; 3S impf. *a-zat=e* 16.—**2** knock, *zadan*: *=e zat* 11.—**3** dig, *kandan*: 3S pret *=e zat* 13.—**II** light v.—*ǰeyn* ~ /v/ flee, leave immediately: 2S imp *ǰeyn e-zen* 15; 3S pret *ǰeyn=e zat* 14; syn *harakat kert*.—*sar* ~ /v/ pay a flying visit: 1S pres *sar=ō azanīn* 8; 3S subj *sar-ō zī* 9.—*talangtalang* ~ /v/ clang, produce a clang by striking metal objects: inf *zat* [...] *talangtalang* 14; 2S imp *talangtalang zen* 14; 3S pret *talangtalang talangtalang zat=e* 14.—*xwan* ~ /v/ cry, weep: 3S pret *zat-e xwan* 4. Summary: inf *zat* 10; 1S pres. *a-zan-īn* 15; 2S imp *zen* 14, *e-zen* 15; 3S subj *zī* 9; 3S pret *zat* 6 [w cl ell], *=e zat* 11, 13, 14, *zat=e* 4, 14; 3S impf *a-zat=e* 16.

zen see **zat**.

zen /n/ **1** woman, *zan*: 1; cpart *mūš*; syn *dāzan*.—**2** wife, *zan*: 13, 17[2], 20[2]; cpart *šū*.— ~ *kert* /v/ get married (to a woman), take a wife, *zan gereftan*: 3S pret *zen=e kert* 7[2]; cpart *šū kert*.

zenda /adj/ alive, *zende*: 8, 9.

zende-y ∞ phon *zenda+y*.

zendegī /n/ **1** life, *zendegi*.— ~ *kert* /v/ live, *zendegi kardan*: inf *zendegī kert* 20[2]; 3P impf *zendegī š=a-kert* 1.—**2** livestock, *dām, heyvānāt=e ahli*: 10, 11, 19[2].

ziād /adv/ a lot, very, *ziād*: 7, 17; syn *xèylō*.

zīl /adj/ wide-open; lit, *kāmelan bāz*; *barrāq*: 4.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

Research on Bashkardi was funded by the 'Endangered Languages Documentation Programme', Department of Linguistics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2007–2009 (award reference number ELDP IPF0126/SOAS 9480 EP25), while I was a Hans Rausing Postodoctoral Fellow in Language Documentation and Description. I would like to thank Salman Aliyari Babolghani, Maurizio Borriello, Marco Fattori, Daniele Guizzo, Agnes Korn, Jahanbakhsh Looragi, and Adriano V. Rossi for their constructive comments on some drafts of this paper. I also thank the anonymous reviewers for their careful reading and valuable suggestions. A special thank you goes to Mahmoud Mahmoudi, who recently helped me to manage some linguistic elements of the text.

ORCID

Gerardo Barbera https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8160-628X

Symbols and abbreviations

~	replace tilde with headword	ell	ellipsis
↔	opposite	end	ending
*	ad hoc working meaning for non-autonomous words	exst	existential
		EZ	ezāfe
∞	juncture	fin	final
-	segmentable morphemes	hi	hiatus filler
=	clitic boundaries	imp	imperative
adj	adjective	impf	imperfect
adv	adverb	indef	indefinite
ag	agent-subject indexer	indic	indicative
art	article	indir	indirect
cl	clitic	inf	infinitive
class	classifier	int	interrogative
coord	coordinating	intj	interjection
conc	conclusive	lit	literally
conj	conjunction	mod	modal
cop	copula	n	noun, nominal
cpart	counterpart	neg	negative
dem	demonstrative	num	numeral, numerative
dir	direct	obj	object, objective
dub	dubitative	obl	oblique
dur	durative	P	plural

part	particle
pc	pronominal clitic
pers	personal
Pers	Persian
poss	possessive
pf	perfect
phon	phonetic
ppf	pluperfect
predic	predicate
pref	prefix
prep	preposition
pres	present
pret	preterit
prev	preverb
pro	pronoun, pronominal
prog	progressive
pst	past
refl	reflexive
rel	relative
S	singular
s'	some
spec	specific
s'th	something
subj	subjunctive
suff	suffix
sup	superlative
syn	synonym or near-synonym
temp	temporal
th	thing
v	verb, verbal
vi	intransitive verb
vt	transitive verb
w	with
w'out	without
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person

References

Aarne, Antti, and Stith Thompson. 1961. *The Types of the Folktale*: *A Classification and Bibliography*. 2nd ed. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.

Barbera, Gerardo. 2015. *An Archive of Language and Folk Literature from the Bashkardi People of Garu (Hormozgān, Iran)*. *Endangered Languages Archive*. Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Accessed 16 April 2023.

Barbera, Gerardo. 2021. 'Bashkardi and the Languages of Southeast Iran'. Paper presented at the *Ninth International Conference on Iranian Linguistics*, Institute of Iranian Studies, Vienna, 19 August 2021.

Barbera, Gerardo. Forthcoming. 'Language and Folk Literature in the Bashkardi Borderlands'.

Borjian, Habib. 2017. 'Kerman, xvi. Languages'. *Encyclopædia Iranica* 16 (3): 301–315.

Gershevitch, Ilya. 1970. 'The Crushing of the Third Singular Present'. In *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, edited by Mary Boyce and Ilya Gershevitch, 161–174. London: Lund Humphries.

Gershevitch, Ilya. 1992. 'Linguistic Geography and Historical Linguistics'. In *La posizione attuale della linguistica storica nell'ambito delle discipline linguistiche. Atti del Convegno Lincei, Roma 26–28 marzo 1991*, 165–181. Atti Convegni Lincei 94. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Government of India. 1910. *Gazetteer of Persia*: *Volume 4* [= Military Report on Southeast Iran]. Simla: Government Monotype Press.

Haig, Geoffrey. 2017. 'Deconstructing Iranian Ergativity'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Ergativity*, edited by Jessica Coon, Diane Massam, and Lisa deMena Travis, 465–500. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jügel, Thomas. 2009. 'Ergative Remnants in Sorani Kurdish?'. *Orientalia Suecana* 58: 142–158.

Korn, Agnes. 2017. 'Notes on the Nominal System of Bashkardi'. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 115 (1): 79–97.

Korn, Agnes. 2021a. 'Greeting a Guest in Bashkardi'. *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları. Special Edition* 1: 301–323.

Korn, Agnes. 2021b. 'A Bashkardi Version of the Chain Tale ATU 2034: The Jackal Retrieves His Tail'. *Rodnoy Yazyk* 2021 (1): 368–383.

Korn, Agnes. 2022. 'Areal Features in the Languages of South Iran: Focus on Balochi and Baskhardi'. Paper presented at *Iranian Languages and Linguistics Lecture Series*, University of Toronto, 25 March 2022. Accessed 16 April 2023. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-03622909/document.

Loeffler-Friedl, Erika. 2007. *Folk Tales from a Persian Tribe: Forty-Five Tales from Sisakht in Luri and English. Collected, Transcribed, Translated, Commented*. Contributions to the Cultural History of the Islamic Orient 37. Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde.

Marzolph, Ulrich. 1984. *Typologie des persischen Volksmärchens*. Beiruter Texte und Studien 31. Beirut and Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Morgenstierne, Georg. 1962. 'Iranian Feminines in *čī*'. In *Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown*, edited by Ernest Bender, 160–164. American Oriental Series 47. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Morgenstierne, Georg. 1973. *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages: Volume 3. The Pashai Language: Part 2. Texts and Translations. With Comparative Notes on Pashai Folktales by Reidar Th. Christiansen*. 2nd ed. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B: Skrifter 40. Oslo, Bergen, and Tromsö: Universitetsvorlaget.

National Geographic Organization of the Iranian Armed Forces. 2004 (1383). *Farhang-e jogrāfiāi-ye ābādihā-ye ostān-e Hormozgān: Šahrestān-e Mināb*. Tehrān: Vezārat-e defā' va poštibāni-ye niruhā-ye mosallah.

Schenda, Rudolf. 1979. 'Brust, Brüste'. In *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*: *Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung: Volume 2*, edited by Kurt Ranke, cols. 957–963. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Skjærvø, Prods O. 1988. 'Baškardī'. *Encyclopædia Iranica* 3 (8): 846–850.

Skjærvø, Prods O. 1989. 'Languages of Southeast Iran: Lārestānī, Kumzārī, Baškardī'. In *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, edited by Rüdiger Schmitt, 363–369. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Spooner, Brian. 1988. 'Bašākerd'. *Encyclopædia Iranica* 3 (8): 841–843.

Statistical Centre of Iran. 2013 (1392). *Sālnāme-ye āmāri-ye ostān-e Hormozgān, 1391*. Tehrān and Bandar Abbās: Edāre-ye koll-e sabt-e ahvāl-e šahrestān-e Hormozgān.

Thompson, Stith. 1955–1958. *Motif-Index of Folk Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends*, revised and enlarged ed., 6 vols. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Uther, Hans-Jörg. 2004. *The Types of International Folktales*: *A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson*. 3 vols. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.

Vahman, Fereydun. 1986. *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag: The Iranian 'Divina Commedia'*. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 53. London and Malmo: Curzon Press.

Voskanian, Vardan, and Vahe Boyajian-Sureniants. 2007. 'Lexical Gleanings from Bašākard'. *Iran and the Caucasus* 11 (1): 121–125.

Wichmann, Søren, Eric W. Holman, and Cecil H. Brown. 2020. *The ASJP Database*. Accessed 16 Aril 2023. https://asjp.clld.org/.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148423

Assaf Bar-Moshe
Free University of Berlin, Germany | assafbrms@gmail.com

The Prefix Vowels of the Prefix-Conjugation in the Jewish Arabic Dialect of ʿĀna: A Chain of Innovations

Abstract The Jewish dialect of ʿĀna exhibits three synchronic vowel qualities for the prefix vowel in the prefix-conjugation of the first stem: *a*, *ə*, and *u*. While the latter vowel is an allophone of *ə*, the former two are independent phonemes. The existence of two phonemic prefix vowels, especially the vowel *a*, is intriguing in regional context since the reconstructed prefix vowel in *qəltu* dialects is assumed to be **i*. Therefore, this paper aims to outline the historical developments that led to this synchronic reality. It will argue that the prefix vowel *a* was borrowed from surrounding Bedouin dialects. As for the vowel *ə*, two hypotheses will be suggested to explain its existence: it either developed from the prefix vowel *a* in analogy to other cases of vowel raising, or it is simply a reflection of the older *qəltu* prefix vowel. Regardless of which hypothesis we choose to follow, the assumed historical development has clearly not been finalised, resulting in synchronic free variation.

Keywords historical linguistics, Judeo-Arabic, Iraqi Arabic, *qəltu* dialects, the Jewish dialect of ʿĀna, phonology, morphology, analogy, reanalysis

1 Linguistic background and methodology

ʿĀna, a town in western Iraq, near the Syrian border, has been home to one of the world's oldest Jewish communities for over two millennia. Like other Jewish communities in the region, the Arabic dialect spoken by the Jewish residents of ʿĀna (JA) belongs to the *qəltu* family of Mesopotamian Arabic (Blanc 1964: 5–6). More specifically, JA, situated on the banks of the Euphrates River, has been classified by Jastrow (1978: 24–26) as part of the Euphrates branch of the *qəltu* family. Consequently, it displays various Bedouin features (Bar-Moshe forthcoming a). The prefix vowel of the prefix-conjugation (PC), which is the main focus of this paper, is just one example of such features.

© 2023 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.

The following discussion is grounded in data collected through three waves of field research conducted among native JA speakers residing in Israel. A total of 240 minutes of recorded interactions were phonemically[1] transcribed and translated into English (Bar-Moshe forthcoming b[2]). The forms presented below were naturally produced by the speakers during spontaneous speech.

All the participants in the research were born in ʿĀna but immigrated to Israel along with the majority of the community in the early 1950s when they were young. In Israel, Hebrew became their primary language of communication. Some of them resided among native speakers of the Jewish dialect of Baghdad[3] (JB) and, as a minority, had to adapt to it. Consequently, the informants encountered challenges in adhering solely to JA and, to varying degrees, incorporated elements of Hebrew and JB into their speech. Fortunately, as will be clarified below, JA and JB exhibit significant differences in terms of the prefix vowel in the PC of the first stem. Hence, it was relatively easy to distinguish JA forms from JB forms.

2 The short vowel system of JA

2.1 Overview

Since this paper focuses on the prefix vowel, it is crucial to begin with a brief introduction to the short vowel system in JA. Similar to other *qəltu* dialects (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 141), the vowel system in JA comprises two phonemes: *a* and *ə*. These phonemic distinctions have emerged through historical vowel changes, which will be discussed in §2.2. However, depending on the phonetic context, the mid-central vowel *ə* can manifest as three different allophones: *a*, *i*, and *u*, as detailed in §2.3. Table 1 provides an overview of the short vowel inventory in JA:

Phonemes	Allophones
a	N/A
ə	*a*, *i*, *u* ~ *o*

Table 1. JA short vowels[4]

[1] As detailed in §2.3, the phonemic transcription has been expanded to provide a more precise representation of short vowel qualities.

[2] In addition to the texts, this bibliographical item includes a comprehensive grammatical overview of JA.

[3] JB, classified as a *qəltu* dialect within the Tigris Branch, exhibits significant differences from JA in various aspects (Bar-Moshe forthcoming b).

[4] For an extensive analysis of the short vowel system in JA, refer to Bar-Moshe (2022). It is worth noting that two additional short vowels, *e* and *o*, primarily occur as allophones of their long counterparts in unstressed position. These vowels arise from the diachronic vowel

2.2 Diachronic vowel changes

The following five diachronic rules are fundamental to JA's phonological system:

- Rule 1: In an unstressed open syllable, Old Arabic[5] (OA) **a*, **i*, and **u* generally[6] zero-out: OA **kabīr* 'big (MS)' > JA *kbīġ*; OA **suyūf* 'swords' > JA *syūf*; OA **ʿāziba* 'single (FS)' > JA *ʿāzba*.
- Rule 2: Like other dialects in the *qəltu* family (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 141; Talay 2011: 913), so in JA, OA **i* and **u* have merged into *ə*: OA **kunna* 'we were' > JA *čənna*; OA **štaġil* 'work (MS)!' > JA *štaġəl*.
- Rule 3: OA **a* is retained in a stressed syllable and in a post-stressed closed syllable: *balad* 'town'.
- Rule 4: In a pre-stressed closed syllable, OA **a* tends to be raised to *ə*: OA **ḍallēna* 'we stayed' > JA *ḍəllēna*. This diachronic development has occurred in JB as well, but unlike JB, where it appears systematically (Bar-Moshe 2019: 22), this is not the case in JA. Consequently, instances where OA **a* is preserved are not uncommon. There seems to be no specific conditioning for this phenomenon. Furthermore, a previous analysis, which drew upon comparisons with other dialects in the region and additional evidence from JA, argued that the free variation between *a* and *ə* in this syllable type can be attributed to incomplete diachronic development of Rule 4 (Bar-Moshe 2022: 60–61).
- Rule 5: In an unstressed position, an originally long vowel shortens: OA **yurīdūn* 'they want' > JA *yġidūn*; OA **yawmayn* 'two days' > **yōmēn* > JA *yomēn*.

2.3 Phonetic vowel changes

The mid-central vowel *ə* is prone to phonetic changes depending on the flanking consonantal environment. In the vicinity of *ġ*, *x*, *q*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *ʾ*, or *h*, a setting which is called *a*-colouring environment,[7] the vowel may be coloured as *a*: OA **ṣiḥḥa* 'health' > JA *ṣəḥḥa* -> JA *ṣəḥḥa* ~ *ṣaḥḥa*. In the vicinity of a labial, an emphatic, a back con-

---

change outlined in Rule 5 (§2.2). Additionally, the short vowel *o* can appear as an allophone of *u* (§2.3). However, the vowels *e* and *o* will not be further elaborated upon here since they are irrelevant for the discussion about the prefix vowel.

[5] I follow Owens (2009: 4) in his use of Old Arabic as an umbrella term for all Arabic varieties attested in old written texts, based on which the forms along the paper were reconstructed.

[6] For some exceptions, see Bar-Moshe (forthcoming b).

[7] The term colouring was introduced by Blanc (1964: 36–37) in his description of the Muslim dialect of Baghdad (MB). Although the corresponding environments in MB and JA exhibit similarities, they are not identical. Compare Bar-Moshe (2022: 53–55) to Blanc (1964: 36–37, 55), Bellem (2008: 190–193) and Youssef (2015: 76).

sonant,[8] or the consonant *r*, a setting which is called *u*-colouring environment, the vowel tends to be realised as *u*:[9] OA **qiṣṣa* 'story' > JA *qəṣṣa* -> JA *qəṣṣa* ~ *quṣṣa*. Similarly, the vowel *ə* is predominantly realised as *i* in the vicinity of the consonant *y*. It follows that the phoneme *ə* may be retained or, alternatively, replaced by one of its three allophones—namely, *a*, *i*, or *u*—depending on its surroundings.

Vowel colouring is a well-documented Bedouin trait observed to different extents in other dialects of the Euphrates branch and in *gələt* dialects (Blanc 1964: 36–38; Jastrow 1978: 28, 58–59; Talay 2011: 913). In JA, vowel colouring is inconsistent. Some speakers are more persistent than others in applying it, but even for them, the same form can be readily found with the vowel *ə* or with one of its coloured allophones. It appears that speakers make spontaneous decisions on whether to colour the vowel or not, without adhering to any fixed pattern. Given that this paper focuses on the nature of the prefix vowel, the phonemic transcription will be expanded to clearly represent these various allophones of *ə* when relevant.

The diachronic and phonetic vowel changes discussed in this section, as well as in §2.2, have resulted in a synchronic asymmetry between OA **a* and OA **i* and **u*. This asymmetry manifests in the greater prevalence of *u*-colouring compared to *a*-colouring. Consequently, speakers have developed increased sensitivity to the preservation of original **a* over original **i* and **u*.[10]

3 The prefix vowel of the PC in the first stem

3.1 Introduction

The ancient Arabic grammarians distinguished between two types of Arabic based on the nature of the prefix vowel of the PC in the first stem, whereby certain Arab tribes utilised the vowel *a* while others used the vowel *i*.[11] The term *taltala* was used to designate the latter type of Arabic (Rabin 1951: 61; Versteegh 1997: 143; Grand'Henry 2009: 430–431). While the prefix vowel in most modern Arabic dialects can be traced back to either OA **a* or OA **i*, certain dialects exhibit synchronic variation in its output, often concealed by strict phonemic transcriptions. In JA, three distinct vowel qualities are observed: *a*, *ə*, and *u*.

---

[8] Including glottal, pharyngeal, uvular, and velar consonants. As such, there is an overlap between *a*- and *u*-colouring consonants, whereby all *a*-colouring consonants also fall under the category of *u*-colouring consonants, but the reverse is not true.

[9] The vowel may also surface as *o*, especially in a post-stressed closed syllable (Bar-Moshe 2022: 64–66).

[10] For a discussion about this asymmetry and its sources, see Bar-Moshe (2022: 59–60).

[11] Bloch (1967: 23–28) challenges the dichotomic approach and provides evidence indicating the coexistence of prefix vowels *a* and *i* in some OA dialects.

This paper aims to provide an account of the diachronic development of the prefix vowels in JA. Building on the understanding of different mechanisms of vowel change, as discussed in §2, we will first present a synchronic overview of the prefix vowel in JA in §3.2. Subsequently, in §4, we will explore the diachronic development of the prefix vowel. We will demonstrate that phonetic vowel changes alone are insufficient to explain the synchronic reality. Instead, we will propose two hypotheses, one involving analogy and the other reanalysis. To assess the likelihood of each hypothesis, we will examine the prefix vowel in various Mesopotamian Arabic dialects in §5.1. This comparative analysis will enable us to eliminate one hypothesis and observe the impact of neighbouring Bedouin dialects on JA. In §5.2, we will seek further support by examining the formation of the long persons. Finally, in §6, we will summarise our findings, which suggest that the synchronic variation of the prefix vowel in JA arises from a combination of paradigmatic changes and contact with Bedouin dialects.

Before we proceed, it is important to clarify the terms 'short and long persons'. By 'short persons' we refer to the 1S, 1P, 2MS, 3MS, and the 3FS. These forms are constructed by combining a prefix and a base in the PC. On the other hand, the term 'long persons' refers to the 2FS, 2P, and the 3P. These forms are constructed with a prefix, a base, and a suffix. This distinction affects their conjugation base, whereby short persons present the base -CCVC while long persons present the base -CVCC-. Compare, for example, JA *yaktəb* 'he writes' to JA *ykətbūn* 'they write'. While our primary focus will be on the prefix vowel in the short persons, we will also make references to the long persons in §5.2.

3.2 The synchronic reality

In JA, the prefix vowel is quite frequently realised as *ə* (~ *i*): JA *yə-ftaḥ* 'he opens'; JA *nə-ṣʿad* 'we go up'; JA *yə-sbaḥ* 'he swims'. However, it exhibits two additional vowel qualities, *a* and *u*:

- The prefix vowel may be realised as *u* in *u*-colouring environment: JA *tu-ṭbux* 'she cooks'. This happens quite infrequently in JA and is probably conditioned by harmony with the base vowel.[12]
- The prefix vowel is *a*:

[12] In Dēr iz-Zōr and in MB, the vowel *u* was observed only when the base presents the vowel *u* (Blanc 1964: 99; Jastrow 1978: 255). Similar vowel harmonies have also been reported in North Africa (Behnstedt and Woidich 2005: 14) and in Palestinian Arabic (Monahan 2002: 191–192), specifically in certain Bedouin dialects of the Northern Sinai littoral (de Jong 2000: 197).

- always[13] when the first-person singular is involved: JA *a-ṭbux* 'I cook'; JA *a-dxol* 'I enter'; JA *a-ṣfən* 'I look',
- optionally in *a*-colouring environment: JA *ya-qdaġ* 'he can'; JA *ta-ġsəl* 'she washes'; JA *ya-xrab* 'he destroys'; JA *ya-ʿġəf* 'he knows',
- ad hoc in other cases, where it cannot be phonetically justified: JA *ya-rkoḍ* 'he runs'; JA *ta-lṭum* 'she slaps'; JA *ya-nzəl* 'he goes down'; JA *na-dxol* 'we go inside'.

Some level of free variation was observed regarding all the vowel qualities above (except the 1S), whereby the same verb may present the prefix vowel *a* on certain occasions but *ə* (~ *u*) on others. For example, both JA *ta-ġsəl* 'she washes' and JA *tə-ġsəl*, and both JA *ya-qra* 'he reads' and JA *yə-qra* have been documented. It can be argued that this free variation is a result of the *a*-colouring environment, but the reality is that free variation has also been observed in its absence. For instance, JA *ya-ṭlaʿ* 'he goes out' has been attested alongside JA *yə-ṭlaʿ*. Similarly, both JA *ya-rkoḍ* 'he runs' and JA *tə-rkoḍ* 'she runs' have been heard. Determining whether this presumed free variation applies to every verb form is a challenging question to answer given the current size of the corpus.

4 The historical perspective

4.1 Phonetic vowel changes

The prefix vowel in the majority of Modern Arabic dialects, including Mesopotamian Arabic, is believed to continue OA **i* (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 44; Jastrow 1983: 106; Versteegh 1997: 42; Owens 2009: 69–70). Assuming this is true, one might be inclined to attribute the situation in JA to phonetic changes. It could be suggested that the vowel *ə* (< **i*) has simply been coloured by *a* or *u* in the appropriate consonantal environment. Under this assumption, a form like JA *ya-qdaġ* would have developed from **yə-qdaġ* and a form like JA *tu-ṭbux* would have developed from **tə-ṭbux* through colouring. This explanation would have been satisfactory if it were not for the fact that some forms exhibit the prefix vowel *a* outside of the *a*-colouring context, as mentioned earlier. Furthermore, although *u*-colouring is a much more common phenomenon than *a*-colouring, it is rarely attested as a prefix vowel in JA. This suggests that vowel colouring is not the primary mechanism behind the vowel change in this case. Additionally, in the short persons, the prefix vowel occurs in a stressed syllable, a syllable type where OA **a* is retained while OA **i* lowers into *ə*. If the prefix vowel was *ə* (< **i*), it would indeed be susceptible to colouring, but then again, we find the vowel *a* beyond the *a*-colouring spectrum.

[13] Fischer and Jastrow (1980: 44) attribute the occurrence of the vowel *a* to the frequent use of the pronoun *ana* 'I' before the verb.

Conversely, if the prefix vowel was *a*, it should have been retained, and by extension, it would have not been subject to vowel colouring.

It becomes evident, therefore, that phonetic vowel changes are insufficient to account for the synchronic reality observed in JA in regard to the prefix vowel of the PC in the first stem. Regardless of whether we consider *ə* or *a* as the original prefix vowel of the dialect, we encounter contradictory examples. This necessitates the search for an alternative explanation.

4.2 Analogy and reanalysis

Upon comparing verbal forms with or without a pronominal suffix, it becomes apparent that the forms followed by a suffix present the prefix vowel *ə*, while those without a suffix display the prefix vowel *a*: JA *yə-qtól-u* 'he hits/kills him' vs. JA *ya-qtəl* 'he hits/kills'. This aligns with Rule 4, providing a potential explanation for the emergence of the prefix vowel *ə*, namely, that it has developed in analogy to the forms with a pronominal suffix. In other words, the different vowels in JA *ya-qtəl* and JA *yə-qtól-u* promoted the development of JA *yə-qtəl*, where the prefix vowel is *ə* despite the absence of a subsequent pronominal suffix. If this explanation holds true, it implies that *ə* was initially introduced as a prefix vowel in unstressed syllables and subsequently extended to stressed syllables through analogy. This process may have further facilitated through contact with the JB, where Rule 4 applies systematically and the prefix vowel is always *ə* (Bar-Moshe 2019: 22, 33).

Having said that, an alternative argument can be made for an opposing analogical development. It may be the case that the prefix vowel *a* reflects a reanalysis of the vowel *ə* in a pre-stressed closed syllable as originating from OA **a*. Consequently, due to the speakers' awareness to original *a* in a pre-stressed closed syllable, the prefix vowel *ə* in a verb like JA *yə-qtól-u* may have led them to infer that the suffix-less form should exhibit the vowel *a* in accordance with Rule 4.

Analogy and reanalysis, then, may explain the peculiar synchronic distribution of *a* and *ə* as prefix vowels. It may have operated in two contrasting manners:

1. Hypothesis 1: The prefix vowel *ə* arose in analogy to the same vowel in a pre-stressed closed syllable (*ya-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtól-u* > *yə-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtól-u*).
2. Hypothesis 2: The prefix vowel *a* reflects the reanalysis of the prefix vowel *ə* in a pre-stressed closed syllable as originating from OA **a* (*yə-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtól-u* > *ya-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtól-u*).

As can be seen from the representation of the two processes in brackets, the opening point of Hypothesis 1 is the ending point of Hypothesis 2, and vice versa. Hypothesis 1 posits that the prefix vowel was initially *a*, while Hypothesis 2 sug-

gests that it was *ə*. The question that we need to answer is, then, which one of these two developments is more plausible. To do that, we shall gather evidence from surrounding dialects and examine the forms of the long persons.

5 Which hypothesis is more probable?

5.1 The prefix vowel in surrounding Arabic dialects

The majority of modern Arabic dialects display reflexes of the prefix vowel **i*, although there are notable exceptions among Bedouin dialects in North and East Arabia, as well as certain dialects in North Africa, where the prefix vowel *a* is observed[14] (Versteegh 1997: 143). Nevertheless, upon closer examination of the prefix vowel in specific *qəltu* dialects, intriguing instances come to light.

Jastrow's claim (1983: 106) that the prefix vowel in Mesopotamian Arabic continues OA **i* seems to be supported by the data in Table 2, whereby most of the *qəltu* dialects present the prefix vowel *ə* ~ *i*. Specifically, the *qəltu* dialects of the Tigris, Kurdistan, and Anatolia branches present this vowel exclusively, with the exception of Daragözü and Tikrit. Daragözü exhibits the vowel *a* in addition to *ə*, but it seems to be conditioned by *a*-colouring environment (Jastrow 1973: 49). Tikrit, on the other hand, solely presents the vowel *a* (Jastrow 1983: 106). The reality in the Euphrates branch is quite diverse. Khawētna aligns with the rest of the *qəltu* group, showcasing the vowel *ə* (Talay 1999: 97–98). In Dēr iz-Zōr, the vowel is also *ə* but it may occasionally surface as *u*.[15] Conversely, in Hīt (Khan 1997: 79), and potentially in Albu Kmāl[16] as well, the prefix vowels *ə* and *i*, respectively, may be coloured as *a*.

Among the dialects listed in Table 2, JA stands out as the only dialect that showcases three different phonetic realisations of the prefix vowel: *ə*, *a*, and *u*. Disregarding the vowel *u*, whose occurrence is phonetically conditioned, and given that the vast majority of the dialects exhibit the prefix vowel *ə* (< **i*), our attention will focus on the prefix vowel *a*.

The dialect of Tikrit,[17] being the only one in our sample that exclusively exhibits the prefix vowel *a*, holds significant importance in unravelling the origin of this prefix vowel in JA. Jastrow, who addressed some morpho-phonemic pe-

[14] For a full list of dialects that present the prefix vowel *a*, see Behnstedt and Woidich (2005: 13–14).

[15] In harmony with *u* as base vowel (Jastrow 1978: 255).

[16] The only example with the prefix vowel *a* that Behnstedt (1997: 285) notes for Albu Kmāl is *ya-ʿrif* 'he knows'. The fact that the prefix vowel is followed by ʿ casts the suspicion that it is conditioned by colouring.

[17] A recent publication about the *qəltu* dialect of Al-Dōr in the vicinity of Tikrit notes there the prefix vowel *a* as well (Hassan 2022).

Dialect		Prefix vowel			Dialect		Prefix vowel	
Tigris, Kurdistan, Anatolia	JB	*ə*	*yə-ktəb*		Euphrates	Hīt	*i*	*yi-ktib*
			yə-bʿaṯ					*yi-rkab*
	CB	*ə*	*tə-ktəb*				*a*	*ya-ʿrif*
			tə-ftaḥ			Albu Kmāl	*i*	*yi-nzil*
	Tikrit	*a*	*ya-ktəb*					*yi-lbas*
			ya-šġab					*yi-ḏrub*
	Kirkuk	*ə*	*yə-ʿġəf*				*a*	*ya-ʿrif*
			yə-šġab			Khawētna	*ə*	*yə-ḏrəb*
	ʿAqra/Arbil	*ə*	*yə-ʿməl*					*yə-lʿab*
			yə-ftaḥ			Dēr iz-Zōr	*i*	*yi-ktib*
	Mosul	*ə*	*yə-qtəl*					*ti-šṛab*
			yə-msak				*u*	*yu-ḏrub*
	Mardin	*ə*	*yə-ktəb*			JA	*ə*	*yəftaḥ*
			yə-šṛab					*tə-ġsəl*
	Daragözü	*ə*	*tə-msək*				*a*	*ya-qdaġ*
			tə-ftaḥ					*ta-ġsəl*
		a	*ta-qṭaḥ*				*u*	*tu-ṭbux*

Table 2. The prefix vowel of the PC in the short persons in *qəltu* dialects[1]

[1] Table 2 also presents the different possible base vowels for each dialect to highlight that they do not necessarily correspond to the prefix vowel. The data in Table 2 are sourced from: JB (Bar-Moshe 2019: 40); The Christian dialect of Baghdad (CB) (Blanc 1964: 100; Abu-Haidar 1991: 46); Tikrit (Johnstone 1975: 93; Jastrow 1983: 108); Kirkuk (Jastrow 1992: 247–248); ʿAqra/Arbil (Jastrow 1990: 76–77); The Muslim dialect of Mosul (Jastrow 1979: 45); Mardin (Jastrow 2015: 181); Daragözü (Jastrow 1973: 55); Hīt (Khan 1997: 78–79); Albu Kmāl (Behnstedt 1992: 39; Behnstedt 1997: maps 142, 144, 145, 146); Khawētna (Talay 1999: 96); Dēr iz-Zōr (Jastrow 1978: 255).

culiarities of Tikrit back in 1983 (106–107), claimed that the prefix vowel *a* in this dialect reflects an innovation rather than an archaic element. According to Jastrow, the emergence of this vowel can be attributed to analogy with forms that include pronominal suffixes. In particular, Jastrow examined pairs like *qátlat* 'she hit' vs. *qətlát-u* 'she hit him' (< **qatlát-u* < *qátlat* 'she hit' + *-u* '3MS') or *báṣla* 'onion' vs. *bəṣlát-u* 'his onion' (< **baṣlát-u* < *báṣla* 'onion' + *-u* '3MS'). As the forms on the right show, when a pronominal suffix is added in Tikrit, the pre-stressed vowel *a* of the closed syllable is systematically realised as *ə*. Thus, Tikrit, like JA, adheres to Rule 4. Furthermore, Jastrow observed that when a pronominal suffix is added to them, the syllabic structure of PC forms like *yə-qtál-u* 'he hits him' is identical to the forms on the right side. Thus, Jastrow argued that the suffix-less forms of the PC were formed in analogy to the forms on the left, resulting in *ya-qtəl* instead of *yə-qtəl*.

Jastrow's explanation aligns with Hypothesis 2 and may support its potential applicability to JA. However, it is important to note that the situation in Tikrit differs from that in JA. In Tikrit, the prefix vowel *a* is exclusively present, indicating that the alleged analogical development was so successful that it eliminated any traces of the original prefix vowel *ə*. This contrasts with JA, where both vowels are synchronically attested. If the original vowel in JA was *ə* and Hypothesis 2 accurately describes its development, the question arises as to why traces of the original vowel still persist in JA. The only explanation for that could be that unlike Tikrit, the development that Hypothesis 2 outlines has not fully materialised in JA. But why would it not?

The reason for the persistence of both the vowel *a* and *ə* in JA may be attributed to the application of Rule 4. In Tikrit, as documented by Johnstone (1975: 92) and Jastrow (1983: 105), and similar to JB as observed by Bar-Moshe (2019: 22), the vowel raising process of OA **a* into *ə*, as governed by Rule 4, appears to be consistently applicable without exceptions. However, in JA, the development of Rule 4 has not reached a definitive conclusion, resulting in synchronic variation between the vowels *a* and *ə* in pre-stressed closed syllables. This incomplete implementation of Rule 4 in JA may have consequently led to the partial effectiveness of Hypothesis 2, where the analogical development has not fully left its mark.

However, the restricted application of Rule 4 actually undermines the plausibility of Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 proposes a more intricate analogical development compared to Hypothesis 1. Specifically, while Hypothesis 1 suggests a paradigmatic development driven by analogy, Hypothesis 2 involves a process of reanalysis. To comprehend this distinction, let us examine each stage of the two hypotheses individually:

Hypothesis 1: *ya-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtál-u* > *yə-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtál-u*
Stage 1: *ya-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtál-u* requirements: prefix vowel *a*; Rule 4
Stage 2: *yə-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtál-u* mechanism: analogy

Hypothesis 2: *yə-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtə́l-u* > *ya-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtə́l-u*
Stage 1: *yə-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtə́l-u* requirement: prefix vowel *ə* (< **i*)
Stage 2: *ya-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtə́l-u* requirement: Rule 4
mechanism: reanalysis of Rule 4

In order for Hypothesis 1 to be applicable, Rule 4 is presupposed at the first stage. For Hypothesis 2 to apply, Rule 4 is presupposed at the second stage. This, in itself, does not eliminate the possibility of either hypothesis, as the exact timing of when Rule 4 was introduced in JA remains unknown. However, when considering Rule 4, it is crucial to examine the paradigmatic mechanism proposed by each hypothesis. Hypothesis 1 suggests that the development is driven by analogy, while Hypothesis 2 postulates reanalysis. Analogy, as proposed in Hypothesis 1, can reasonably occur even under the limited application of Rule 4. Analogical processes do not necessarily require the complete realisation of a phonological change. Therefore, the partial effectiveness of Rule 4 in JA does not negate the possibility of an analogical development taking place. On the other hand, Hypothesis 2 assumes reanalysis as the driving force behind the development. Reanalysis necessitates the completion or near-completion of the phonological change specified by Rule 4. However, since the phonological development under Rule 4 has not reached its final stage in JA, it is less probable that the reanalysis described in Hypothesis 2 has occurred.[18]

Hypothesis 1, which was argued to be more probable, suggests that the prefix vowel in JA was *a*. How does this concur with the claim that the historical prefix vowel in *qəltu* dialects was **i*?

Back in 1983, when Jastrow noticed the presence of the prefix vowel *a* in Tikrit, he wrote that 'the whole of sedentary Mesopotamian Arabic shows no traces of this phenomenon'. He further mentioned that it is 'absent from the sedentary Syrian dialects as well' (Jastrow 1983: 106). Although this statement holds true, it is worth noting that certain Šāwi dialects do exhibit the prefix vowel *a* (Cantineau 1936: 83; 1937: 187; Rosenhouse 2006: 265). While information about the Bedouin dialects spoken around ʿĀna remains limited, we cautiously propose that the presence of the prefix vowel *a* in JA (as well as in Tikrit and Al-Dōr?) could potentially be attributed to contact with Šāwi Arabic.

According to Cantineau (1937: 227), the Bedouin Šāwi speakers are regarded as "l'avant-garde des invasions de nomads nord-arabiques." Although the precise origins of Šāwi speakers in Arabia are still subject to debate, their connection to the Najd is generally acknowledged (Cantineau 1937: 227; Abboud 1978: 129; Ingham 2008: 326; Younes and Herin: §1). A prominent characteristic of Najdi

[18] Regarding the distinct mechanisms of reanalysis and analogy, I adopt the framework proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 63–64, 68). Additionally, Kiparsky (1982: 206) sheds light on the fundamental distinction between these two mechanisms in the domain of phonology.

Arabic is the absence of *taltala*, which entails the use of the prefix vowel *a* rather than *i*.[19] Hence, it is plausible to consider that certain Šāwi dialects, including those spoken around ʿĀna, have consistently maintained the vowel *a* as the prefix vowel, and that JA borrowed it from these dialects. If this proposition holds true, the prefix vowel in JA would simply be another feature borrowed from its neighbouring Bedouin dialects (Bar-Moshe forthcoming a).

Jastrow's explanation for the emergence of the prefix vowel *a* in Tikrit through Hypothesis 2 is based on the understanding that the original prefix vowel in *qəltu* dialects is OA **i*. Therefore, Jastrow could not entertain an explanation like Hypothesis 1 that posits that the vowel was *a* at the starting point. However, our explanation does not contradict the fact that, as a member of the *qəltu* group, in JA the prefix vowel used to be *i* as well. Instead, we propose that the introduction of the prefix vowel *a* in JA occurred at a later stage due to contact with surrounding Bedouin dialects.

Finally, it is also plausible to consider a simpler explanation for the synchronic variation observed in the prefix vowel of JA. This explanation suggests that the introduction of the prefix vowel *a* through contact with Bedouin dialects was not fully successful in completely replacing the original prefix vowel *ə*. Currently, there is no conclusive evidence to exclude this explanation.

5.2 The long persons

The long persons in JA follow the pattern prefix-C-prefix_vowel-CC-suffix.[20] Similar to the short persons, the quality of the prefix vowel can also change in the long persons. In fact, some of the conditions that determine the value of the prefix vowel for the short persons are also applicable to the long persons:

- Constituting part of a pre-stressed closed syllable, the vowel is mostly realised as *ə*: JA *yfətḥūn* 'they open'; JA *tsəbḥīn* 'you (FS) swim'; JA *tləbsūn* 'you (P) wear'.

[19] In some Najdi Arabic dialects, there is evidence of a distribution that appears to align with Barth-Ginsberg Law. Specifically, these dialects exhibit the prefix vowel *i* when the base vowel is *a* (*yi-smaʿ* 'he listens') but use the prefix vowel *a* when the base vowel is *i* or *u* (*ya-ktib* 'he writes') (Ingham 1994: 20; Behnstedt and Woidich 2005: 13; Huehnergard 2017: 16). However, this distribution cannot be claimed to persist in JA, as numerous counter examples can be found. Consider, for instance, JA *ya-qdaġ* 'he can' and JA *tə-rkoḏ* 'she runs'.

[20] Although the prefix vowel in the long persons does not immediately follow the prefix, we propose that it has metathesised and moved to the next syllable (as explained in detail at the bottom of this section). Therefore, this vowel represents the prefix vowel and can be referred to as such. In order to prevent confusion, the various morphemes will not be separated in the forms of the long persons.

- In *a*-colouring environment, the vowel is usually realised as *a*: JA *tġaslīn* 'you (FS) wash'; JA *tḥafġūn* 'you (P) dig'; JA *yṭaḥnūn* 'they grind'.
- Finally, the vowel may be realised as *u* in *u*-colouring environment: JA *yṭubxūn* 'they cook'.

Instances of free variation were observed in the long persons as well. One can find examples such as JA *yqətlūn* 'they kill/hit' alongside JA *yqatlūn*, and JA *yġəslūn* 'they wash' alongside JA *yġaslūn*. Free variation between *a* and *u* was also observed in JA *yṭabxūn* ~ *yṭubxūn* 'they cook'. It is worth noting that the vowel *a* in JA *yṭabxūn* is not surrounded by any consonant that triggers *a*-colouring.

Upon closer examination of the forms of the long persons, such as the verb JA *yfətḥūn* 'they open', two different hypotheses arise regarding their formation:

3. OA **yəftaḥūn* > **yəftḥūn* > **yəfətḥūn* > JA *yfətḥūn*
4. OA **yəftaḥūn* > **yəftḥūn* > JA *yfətḥūn*

The first stage, which involves the elision of the base vowel *a* in an open unstressed syllable (Rule 1), is identical in both cases. Consequently, a cluster of three consonants was created. The distinction between the two hypotheses lies in how this cluster is resolved. The first hypothesis proposes that an anaptyctic vowel is inserted between the first and second consonants of the root, followed by the elision of the prefix vowel in accordance with Rule 1. On the other hand, the second hypothesis suggests that the vowel of the first syllable has simply metathesized to separate the consonants.

When Jastrow (1978: 90) examined the forms of the long persons in JB and Dēr iz-Zōr, the former equivalent to JA, he argued that the vowel is an anaptyctic vowel that became phonemicized. However, the forms found in Dēr iz-Zōr, for example, *yikitbūn* 'they write' and *yuḍurbūn* 'they hit', differ from those found in JB, JA, and Tikrit. In Dēr iz-Zōr, unlike the other three dialects, the prefix vowel is retained despite the fact that the rule governing its elision in an open unstressed syllable is also valid in this dialect, and despite the fact that initial clusters of two consonants are acceptable there (Jastrow 1978: 55, 87). Jastrow argued that the long persons in Dēr iz-Zōr have developed similarly to the first hypothesis mentioned earlier, except for the final stage (OA **yiktibūn* > **yiktbūn* > *yikitbūn*). However, the absence of the prefix vowel in JA and JB, where the respective forms are JA *ykətbūn* and JB *ykətbōn*, suggests that they have developed differently in these dialects, which may support the metathesis hypothesis.

The subtle differences between the two hypotheses are significant for our discussion, particularly because the second hypothesis suggests that the base vowel reflects the prefix vowel. In fact, it can explain the occurrence of the vowel *a* outside of the context of *a*-colouring environment in a form like JA *yṭabxūn*. This

example provides additional support for the hypothesis that the prefix vowel in JA was *a*.[21]

The presence of the vowel *a* in forms such as JA *yġadūn* 'they want', JA *yḥabbūn* 'they love', or JA *ysammū-ha* 'they call her (by name)'[22] can be explained if we consider that it reflects a metathesized prefix vowel whose value was *a*. It is possible that this vowel developed through analogy to the prefix vowel of the long persons of sound roots in the first stem. For instance, the vowel *a* in JA *yġadūn* may have simply emerged in analogy to the vowel *a* in JA *yṭabxūn* 'they cook'. Similarly, the vowel *a* in JA *ysammū-ha* may be analogical to the metathesized prefix vowel *a* in JA *yṭabxū-ha* 'they cook it (F)'. However, it is important to note that alternative explanations[23] for the occurrence of *a* in these cases can be proposed, and further research is needed to investigate this matter more thoroughly.

6 Conclusion

The historical development of the prefix vowel in the PC of the first stem in JA is a complex issue. With the exception of the 1S, which consistently presents the prefix *a*, the prefix vowel surfaces as either *a* or *ə* (< **i*, which may be coloured as *u*) in the rest of the persons, making it challenging to establish a definitive justification for one vowel quality without questioning the presence of the other. Nevertheless, two hypotheses have been put forward to explain this synchronic anomaly:

- Hypothesis 1: The original prefix vowel was *a*, but when a pronominal suffix was added to the verb, a stress shift occurred, causing the vowel to raise from *a* to *ə* (Rule 4). Subsequently, verbs without a pronominal suffix were influenced, leading them to assimilate their prefix vowel into *ə* as well (*ya-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtə́l-u* > *yə-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtə́l-u*).
- Hypothesis 2: The original prefix vowel was *ə* (< **i*), and it was reanalyzed as *a* thanks to Rule 4. Specifically, after the development of Rule 4,

[21] As for Tikrit, the vowel of the long persons is *ə* due to the consistent applicability of Rule 4 in that dialect. This explains why the vowel *a* does not appear in the first syllable of forms such as *yqətláwn* 'they kill' or *tšəġbáyn* 'you (FS) drink' in Tikrit (Jastrow 1983: 108).

[22] Form a pure diachronic phonological perspective, the following forms are expected for these verbs: JA *yġidūn* (< **yġīdūn* < OA **yurīdūn*); JA *yḥəbbūn* (< OA **yuḥibbūn*); and JA *ysəmmū-ha* (< OA **yusammū-ha*). The former involves Rule 5 while the latter two involve Rule 4. These expected forms may coexist in free variation with the ones that feature the vowel *a*.

[23] The vowel *a* in JA *yġadūn* 'they want' might have been *a*-coloured as follows: OA **yurīdūn* > **yġīdūn* > **yġidūn* > **yġədūn* -> JA *yġadūn*. The same can be argued also for OA **yuḥibbūn* > **yḥəbbūn* -> JA *yḥabbūn*. These explanations cannot be ruled out since, unfortunately, only roots with *a*-colouring consonants were attested in the corpus for hollow roots and roots with a geminate final consonant. As for JA *ysammū-ha*, this form can be alternatively claimed to have preserved its OA form due to the partial applicability of Rule 4.

the unstressed prefix vowel of verbs followed by a pronominal suffix was interpreted as originating from *a*, and as a result, the prefix vowel of suffix-less verbs was hyper-corrected into *a* (*yə-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtə́l-u* > *ya-qtəl* vs. *yə-qtə́l-u*).

The starting point of Hypothesis 1 corresponds to the ending point of Hypothesis 2. Determining which hypothesis is more plausible posed a challenge due to the significant amount of free variation observed in the dialect regarding the quality of the prefix vowel. Nevertheless, we contend that Hypothesis 1 is more likely because it does not necessitate the complete development of Rule 4. In contrast, Hypothesis 2 proposes a more complex process involving the reanalysis of Rule 4, which presupposes its complete effectiveness. Given that Rule 4 has not reached its final stage, we have concluded that the scenario proposed by Hypothesis 2 is less probable.

The presence of the prefix vowel *a* in JA appears to contradict the pattern observed in other *qəltu* dialects, where the prefix vowel is thought to derive from OA **i*. However, there is no reason to exclude the option that the original prefix vowel was **i* (> *ə*) in JA as well, and that it was later replaced by *a* under the influence of surrounding Bedouin dialects. This vowel, in turn, is sometimes raised into *ə* thanks to Rule 4 and under the analogical development that was assumed by Hypothesis 1.

The diachronic development of the prefix vowel in JA can be summarised as follows:

Stage 1: *i* (as a *qəltu* dialect)
Stage 2: *a* (due to contact with Bedouin dialects)
Stage 3: free variation *ə/a* (Hypothesis 1, due to partial applicability of Rule 4)

It is also possible that Stage 3 has not even been reached. In that case, the synchronic variation that the prefix vowel exhibits in JA may result from an incomplete development of Stage 2, whereby the prefix vowel *i* has not been fully replaced by the prefix vowel *a*. Additional research will be required to determine which of the above scenarios is more plausible.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Assaf Bar-Moshe https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9207-997X

Symbols and abbreviations

>	diachronic development	JA	Jewish dialect of ʿĀna
->	synchronic development	JB	Jewish dialect of Baghdad
~	free variation	M	masculine
*	reconstructed form	MB	Muslim dialect of Baghdad
1	first person	OA	Old Arabic
2	second person	P	plural
3	third person	PC	prefix-conjugation
CB	Christian dialect of Baghdad	S	singular
F	feminine		

References

Abu-Haidar, Farida. 1991. *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bar-Moshe, Assaf. 2019. *The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Baghdad: Phonology, Morphology, and Texts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bar-Moshe, Assaf. 2022. 'The Short Vowel System of the Jewish Arabic Dialect of ʿĀna: A Struggle Between Phonetic and Historical Developments'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 76: 50–72.

Bar-Moshe, Assaf. Forthcoming a. 'The Jewish Arabic Dialect of ʿĀna: An Euphrates Branch Dialect of the *qəltu* Family'. In *Proceedings of the 14th International Conference of AIDA, June 28-July 1, 2022*.

Bar-Moshe, Assaf. Forthcoming b. *The Jewish Arabic Dialect of ʿĀna: Grammatical Sketch and Texts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Behnstedt, Peter. 1992. '*Qəltu*-Dialekte in Ost-Syrien'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 24: 35–59.

Behnstedt, Peter. 1997. *Sprachatlas von Syrien*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Behnstedt, Peter, and Manfred Woidich. 2005. *Arabische Dialektgeographie: Eine Einführung*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Bellem, Alex. 2008. 'Towards a Comparative Typology of Emphatics Across Semitic and into Arabic Dialect Phonology'. PhD thesis, London: SOAS University of London.

Blanc, Haim. 1964. *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bloch, Ariel A. 1967. 'The Vowels of the Imperfect Preformatives in the Old Dialects of Arabic'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 117: 22–29.

Cantineau, Jean. 1936. 'Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient (premier article)'. *Annales de l'Institut d'études orientales d'Alger* 2: 1–118.

Cantineau, Jean. 1937. 'Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient (second article)'. *Annales de l'Institut d'études orientales d'Alger* 3: 113–237.

Fischer, Wolfdietrich, and Otto Jastrow. 1980. *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Grand'Henry, Jacques. 2009. 'Taltala'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 4: 430–431, Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Hassan, Qasim. 2022. 'The *qəltu* dialect of Al-Dōr'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 67 (2): 607–625.

Huehnergard, John. 2017. 'Arabic in its Semitic Context'. In *Arabic in Context: Celebrating 400 Years of Arabic at Leiden*, edited by Ahmad Al-Jallad, 3–34. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Ingham, Bruce. 1984. *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabia*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Jastrow, Otto. 1973. *Daragözü: Eine arabische Mundart der Kozluk-Sason-Gruppe (Südostanatolien): Grammatik und Texte*. Nürnberg: Hans Carl.
Jastrow, Otto. 1978. *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen* qaltu-*Dialekte. I: Phonologie und Morphologie*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
Jastrow, Otto. 1979. 'Zur arabischen Mundart von Mossul'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 2: 36–75.
Jastrow, Otto. 1983. 'Tikrit Arabic Verb Morphology in a Comparative Perspective'. *Al-Abḥāth* 31: 99–110.
Jastrow, Otto. 1990. *Der arabische Dialekt der Juden von ʿAqra und Arbīl*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Jastrow, Otto. 1992. 'Der arabische Dialekt der Juden von Kirkuk'. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 15: 240–254.
Jastrow, Otto. 2015. 'The Position of Mardin Arabic in the Mesopotamian-Levantine Dialect Continuum'. In *Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized: A Festschrift for Jan Retsö*, edited by Lutz Edzard, 177–189. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Johnstone, Thomas Muir. 1975. 'The Spoken Arabic of Tikrit'. *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 7: 89–109.
de Jong, Rudolph E. 2000. *A Grammar of the Bedouin Dialects of the Northern Sinai Littoral: Bridging the Linguistic Gap Between the Eastern and Western Arab World*. Leiden: Brill.
Khan, Geoffrey. 1997. 'The Arabic Dialect of the Karaite Jews of Hīt'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 34: 51–102.
Kiparsky, Paul. 1982. *Explanation in Phonology*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications Holland.
Monahan, Philip. 2002. 'Harmony and Metric Structure in Palestinian Arabic'. In *Proceedings of the 2002 Texas Linguistic Society*, edited by Augustine Agwuele and Sang-Hoon Park, 182–198. Austin, TX: Texas Linguistic Forum.
Owens, Jonathan. 2009. *A Linguistic History of Arabic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Rabin, Chaim. 1951. *Ancient West-Arabian*. London: Taylor's Foreign Press.
Rosenhouse, Judith. 2006. 'Bedouin Arabic'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 1: 259–269. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
Talay, Shabo. 1999. *Der arabische Dialekt der Khawētna. Band I: Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Talay, Shabo. 2011. 'Arabic Dialects of Mesopotamia'. In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by Stefan Weninger, 909–920. Berlin: de Gruyter.
Versteegh, Kees. 1997. *The Arabic Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Younes, Igor, and Bruno Herin. 'Šāwi Arabic'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong. Accessed 31 May 2023. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1570-6699_eall_SIM_001011.
Youssef, Islam. 2015. 'Vocalic Labialization in Baghdadi Arabic: Representation and Computation'. *Lingua* 160: 74–90.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148424

Najla Kalach
UNINT University, Italy | najla.kalach@unint.eu

Muntasir Fayez Al-Hamad
Qatar University, Qatar | m.hamad@qu.edu.qa

A Corpus-Based Analysis of Verbal Prefixes and the Progressive Aspect Marker *gāʕid* 'sitting' in Qatari Arabic

Abstract This article deals with the study of Gulf Arabic. By the means of the Qatari Arabic Corpus elaborated by Elmahdy et al. (2014), the aim of this study is investigating a number of selected verbal prefixes and the active participle *gāʕid* 'sitting' as a progressive aspect marker in Qatari Arabic, a relatively under researched variety in the field of Arabic Dialectology. A descriptive and quantitative approach in the data collection was adopted and the validation process, throughout the whole corpus which consists of 15 hours of speech flow, provided over 600 manually-selected tokens of verbal prefixes and active participles as progressive aspect markers whose main forms and functions were discussed in the paper.

Keywords Gulf Arabic, Qatari Arabic, Arabic dialectology, progressive aspect marker, verbal prefixes, Qatari Arabic Corpus

1 Language situation in Qatar

Qatar is a fast-growing country in terms of population, recording '2.3 million people in 2014 from 0.1 million in 1960' (Trading Economics 2021).[1] The majority of the population is made up of expatriates who have found opportunities contributing to various projects and mega events sponsored by the state.

The Qatari community has experienced major cultural and linguistic challenges due to continuous demographic changes. Arabic is the first language of less than 40% of the country's population (De Bel-Air 2014: 18) and over 88% of its

[1] 'Trading Economics. Qatar Population'. Accessed 15 July 2021. https://tradingeconomics.com/qatar/population.

© 2023 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.

population consists of non-Qatari citizens (Qatari 11.6% out of 2,720,411; Qatar Statistics Authority—Priya Dsouza Communications 2019).[2]

Although the Qatari constitution declares in its first article '… the Arabic language shall be its official language' (Al-Khateeb 2014: 152), English is widely used in daily business dealings, advertisements, education, etc. In order to strengthen the position of the Arabic language, the Amir issued a decree under 'The Protection of Arabic Language Act' in January 2019, a policy that was considered as a U-turn to revive the use of Arabic in society.

On the other hand, Qatari Arabic (QA) is one of the varieties of Eastern Arabic, which is a subgroup of North Arabian varieties that are further divided into the following subgroups including: Syro-Mesopotamian, Shammari, Anazi, and Eastern Arabian (Johnstone 1967: 1–2). However, QA reflects the segmentation in Qatari socio-geographical variations, which includes Bedouins (*badu*) and Urbanites (*ḥaḍar*), who consists of three subgroups: tribes (*gibāyil*), returnees (*ḥwala*), and foreigners (*ʕağam*) (Al-amadidhi 1985: 35–39). Nevertheless, since Qatar experienced a Bedouin immigration to urban towns for socio-economic reasons, causing a 'constant interaction with the other inhabitants [in particular 'tribes'], the variety of Doha has come to be a mixture of the varieties of these two groups, with a strong bias towards that of the former' (Mustafawi 2006: 4).

Qatar and QA experienced a dynamic language situation (Pechcin 2017; Al-Hamad 2017), either caused by the demographic and social changes that the country went through, directly influencing QA (Maṭar 1983; Al-amadidhi 1985: 35; Mustafawi 2006: 4; Bettega 2017), or by the modernisation process that it has undergone since the 1950s (Al-amadidhi 1985: 143). The linguistic situation in Qatar deserves closer attention because it provides new starting points to observe the present classification of QA.

The expatriates who originate from Arab countries are *c.*282,000 in number and come from all over the Arab world (De Bel-Air 2014: 10). This diverse dialectical and linguistic culture probably resulted in a complex shift in the variety of Arabic as a medium of communication (i.e. Educated Colloquial) between different Arabic speaking communities (Al-Hamad 2017: 10).

Moreover, the contact situation in Qatar, as in other Gulf countries, has left room for other new forms of language to evolve, such as Gulf Pidgin Arabic widely used by the less affluent imported workforce (Almoaily 2013: 47). Interestingly, Pidgin Madam—a linguistic phenomenon firstly discussed in the Lebanese context (Bizri 2005)—'has emerged as a result of contact between female maids and female "madams"' (Almoaily 2013: 50).

[2] 'Population of Qatar by Nationality—2019 Report'. Accessed 30 August 2023. https://priyadsouza.com/population-of-qatar-by-nationality-in-2017.

2 Data and methodology

By employing a descriptive and quantitative approach and by means of QAC (Elmahdy et al. 2014), this article investigates in 15 hours of speech flow the prefixes which occur before the p-stem conjugation of the verb: the *b-* prefix,[3] *rāḥ* (and its lexical item *rāyiḥ*), as well as other prefixes found in the QAC, namely *ḥa-* and *xa-*, *xal-*. Moreover, even though we are aware that the active participle *gāʕid* is partially grammaticalised since it retains its full original form and is mandatorily inflected for gender and number, in our study we have decided to include it in a separate section because previously unattested examples have emerged regarding QA. This study aims to update data in QA by providing a selection of verbal prefixes and the active participles *gāʕid* as progressive aspect marker, discussing their forms and functions, as well as to briefly illustrate the comparison of data with some of the findings published in the literature of Gulf Arabic (GA).[4]

When compared to other Gulf varieties such as Bahraini or Saudi, QA is under-investigated and available sources of this variety are still few. However, computational linguistics provides us with the Qatari Arabic Corpus (QAC)[5] by Elmahdy et al. (2014)[6] to which we had full access and which represents a source to be used to good advantage in the field of Arabic dialectological studies. In the following lines we will describe the corpus as it was presented in Elmahdy et al. (2014: 3057–3058) and how it was used by us for the purpose of our study.

The QAC—elaborated to propose a speech recognition system for Qatari colloquial Arabic—includes examining various sources in the field of TV broadcasts, such as TV series and talk show programmes, namely the Qatari series *Tesaneef* (season 2), the talk show Sabah El-Doha, and some episodes from Al-Jazeerah.[7] In terms of the QAC composition, the *Tesaneef* series lasts for 9.3 hours, Sabah El-Doha 2 hours, and Al-Jazeerah episodes 3.7 hours for an overall length of a 15-hour speech flow, and all recordings date to the period between 2009 and 2011.[8] Elmahdy et al. (2014: 3058) specify that in the vast majority of the selected speech segments QA is used: more specifically, *Tesaneef* uses almost 100% QA, Sabah El-Doha 80%, while in the Al-Jazeerah sections, only the segments

---

[3] The prefix is *b-* when it is followed by vowels or semivowels, although is *bi-*.

[4] See Johnstone (1967); Holes (1990: 2016); Brustad (2000); Persson (2008).

[5] The corpus is partially available online: Qatari Arabic Corpus. Accessed 10 January 2022. http://isle.illinois.edu/dialect/data.shtml.

[6] We would like to acknowledge the authors of the article entitled 'Development of a TV Broadcasts Speech Recognition System for Qatari Arabic', in particular Dr Mark Hasegawa-Johnson for providing us a full access to the QAC for the purpose of this study.

[7] We mention the programmes' names as written in Elmahdy et al. (2014).

[8] The gender distribution of speakers in the corpus is fairly homogeneous between men and women, but QA occurrences found are almost all related to Qatari male speakers.

where guest speakers use QA were considered.[9] The corpus has been manually transcribed in Arabic script, but five graphemes of Persian origin were added: the phoneme /ʧ/ is rendered by the grapheme چ, ﮔ stands for /g/, ڤ for /v/, ژ for /ʒ/, and پ for /p/. Homographs and ambiguous words written in Arabic script were marked by diacritics to make the reading clear. Furthermore, the corpus was translated into English (Elmahdy et al. 2014: 3058).[10]

The QAC data were validated by academic entities both in the USA and in Qatar—the University of Illinois and Qatar University—making it a valid corpus that followed scientific methods and is suitable for the linguistic analysis of this article. Nevertheless, as specified by Elmahdy et al. in their paper, the Al-Jazeerah and Sabah El-Doha sections often include other Arab speakers such as Syrians, Jordanians, Lebanese, and Egyptians, who use their own local variety or a mixed Arabic with Qatari speakers. In the Qatari series *Tesaneef* we realised that apart from Levantine, Egyptian, Sudanese, Filipino, Iranian, and Indian speakers, Gulf actors from Kuwait and Bahrain etc. are also employed. It should be highlighted that all the non-Qatari texts are not marked in QAC. Therefore, to adapt the data quality according to our standards, we received and verified the data authenticity by extracting from the Arabic transcriptions of the whole corpus all the sentences that include the particles object of this study, then we matched the transcript to the audio-video files and reassessed the examples in the sample provided by eliminating any non-QA entries. It is clear in the audio-video recordings who are Qatari speakers in the Al-Jazeerah and Sabah El-Doha sections, but how to confirm that the QA of *Tesaneef* spoken by Gulf actors is authentic QA? We interviewed Ghanim al-Sulaiti,[11] the Qatari author and scriptwriter of *Tesaneef* (season 2) who also took charge of the quality control of the dialogues and the performances relating to QA. He stated that the language used could be considered as modern urban QA and that, for quality control, all the non-Qatari Gulf actors were asked to speak only this variety according to the script by accurately reproducing authentic QA, including its phonological and syntactic peculiarities.

After a manual annotation of the all surveyed 629 tokens based on the whole corpus, we arranged data in tables in terms of their frequency occurrence, adding a transliteration to the examples in addition to an edited version of English translation provided by QAC; in this way every single occurrence was double-checked in the validation process, ensuring that each selected prefix exclusively pertains to QA instances, as appears in Table 1 below:

---

[9] The Al-Jazeerah section includes all the scripts of the selected episodes (QA and non-QA).

[10] In most examples, the English translation was slightly edited by the authors of this article to rectify or correct the meaning.

[11] The authors warmly thank Ghanim al-Sulaiti for his kind collaboration and precious linguistic communication.

	b- prefix	*rāḥ*	*rāyiḥ*	*ḥa-*	*xa-*	*xal-*	*gāʕid*
Tesaneef	454	15	4	3	1	3	50
Al-Jazeerah	50	4	–	9	–	–	3
Sabah El-Doha	20	6	–	3	–	–	4
Total number of tokens	524	25	4	15	1	3	57

Table 1. Total number of tokens of all the surveyed prefixes and progressive aspect markers based on QAC

3 Verbal prefixes in the QAC

Verbal prefixes which precede the p-stem conjugation are a linguistic phenomenon that has been attested for a long time in many Semitic languages and Arabic varieties, and it occurs in most colloquial Arabic dialects, where they mainly express continuous and future tenses.[12]

The following sections will provide updated examples of the morphosyntax of QA. Since the investigation is ongoing, it is important to highlight that the verbal prefixes' occurrences might be included in the main, subordinate, final, conditional, temporal, and complement clauses. The data here are analysed through a descriptive and quantitative approach, but at the time of writing a full categorisation concerning the *b-* prefix was not available. It is worth mentioning that most examples selected from the QAC were spoken by men[13] and that for every example we provide a progressive number followed by the abbreviation of the corpus section and episode number.

3.1 The verbal *b-* prefix

The *b-* prefix in GA is supposed to be a shortened form of the verb *aba/yabi or baġa/yabġi* 'to want, wish' > *b* and has multiple meanings and functions according to the context (Johnstone 1967; Holes 1990, 2016; Ingham 1994). Retsö states that

> Diachronically, the *b-* imperfect appears in the so-called Middle Arabic texts, Christian and Jewish, from the 12th century onwards. We have no certain documentation of it before that period, which, however, does not mean that it did not exist. (Retsö 2014: 64)

[12] For further readings, see Bybee et al. (1991); Brustad (2000); Holes (2016); Persson (2008).

[13] Among the most recent studies on imperfective prefixes, Persson (2008) states that 70% of her informants were women from various Gulf countries, even if it is not specified how many hours and how many speakers of QA were included in her survey.

Previous studies have covered the subject of verbal prefixes in GA. To name a few, Johnstone (1967: 143, 152, 163, 169) noted that the *b-* prefix indicates a sense of volition in the future tense and *rāḥ* usually indicates intention in Kuwaiti, Bahraini, and QA. Qafisheh (1977), as also noted by Persson (2008: 30), does not include the *b-* prefix in his description of GA based on the Abu Dhabi spoken variety, but in the provided sample texts included in his GA grammar, we found 2 occurrences of the *b-* prefix as a marker that encodes the future tense (Qafisheh 1977: 250–51).[14] Al-Najjar (1984: 1991)[15] wrote about what she calls the lexical marker of Kuwaiti Arabic focusing on the related development of future and progressive markers. Durand (1991: 7) offers an overview of the use of verbal prefixes in the main types of spoken Arabic and, by mentioning Peninsular Arabic, he agrees that the *b-* prefix serves in a more systematic way to render an immediate future. Brustad (2000: 241–248) investigated the syntax of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti Arabic. According to her data of Kuwaiti Arabic, she highlights that the *b-* prefix, as well as *rāḥ*, encodes future and intentive moods. Persson published a study (2008: 26–52) on the role of the *b-* prefix in GA based on 23-hour recordings gathered in Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE, where she concluded that *b-* is first and foremost a marker of *irrealis* modality which includes, but is not limited to, futurity and intention. Importantly, Holes (1990) in his descriptive grammar of GA classifies the *b-* prefix as a futurative/intentive prefix, which usually has a 'modal colouring conveying speaker intent'. In his recent volume, Holes (2016: 301–304) confirms that the *b-* prefix conveys future and volition; moreover, he agrees with Persson (2008) that the *b-* prefix is a marker of *irrealis* in some conditional sentences (2016: 290–291; 402–418). Jarad writes that

> […] the verb (y)abi, originally a verb meaning 'want, desire' has gradually developed into a grammatical particle expressing volition and future. As this lexical verb becomes grammaticalized, it is reduced to an affix. (Jarad 2017: 753)

As shown, some linguistic studies on verbal prefixes in GA were published where QA is mentioned. However, no study exclusively devoted to QA concerning this morphosyntactic phenomenon has been published so far.

After double-checking, the total number of tokens of the *b-* prefix, found exclusively in QA, is 454 instances in *Tesaneef*, 20 in Sabah El-Doha, and 50 in Al-Jazeerah, selected examples of which are provided below:

---

[14] The two occurrences, whose transliteration has been adapted according to the journal guidelines, are contained in text II based on Emirati Arabic (Qafisheh 1977: 250–251): 1. *binḥaṣṣil min warā flūs w-xēr* ('we will get money and a lot of good things from him?'); 2. *yaʕni bintak bitḥaṣṣil ʔaḥsan min yūsif?* ('will your daughter get a better man than Yusif?').

[15] In Brustad (2000: 242).

(1; *T* 26)
يُمّه عِندِي لَچ خَبَر بِيفَرحِچ
yumma ʕind-i la-č xabar b-ifarḥ-ič
'Mom, I have some news for you that will please you!'

(2; *T* 24)
يُبَه بَس هَالْلِعبَة وبِنرُوح نَدرِس
yubba bas ha-l-liʕba w-bi-nrūḥ nadris
'Dad, just this game and then we will go and study!'

(3; *T* 8)
اِلْوَزِير بِيكُولْ لَك نَفس اِلْكَلام
il-wazīr b-igūl-la-k nafs il-kalām
'The minister will tell you the same thing.'

(4; SD 29)
طَبعاً بَعطِيكُم أرقَام جُزَافِيّة
ṭabʕan b-aʕṭī-kum ʔarqām ǧuzāfiyya
'Of course, I will give you random numbers.'

(5; SD 3)
گالوُا لِنَا اِحنَا بِنرَتِّب لِكُم حَفلَةْ
gālū-l-na ʔiḥna bi-nrattib-li-kum ḥafla
'They said we will organise the party for you.'

In the following example (6) taken from Al-Jazeerah the speaker says: *yōm bi-kaḏa* as if he clearly separates the *b-* giving in its function as intentive; he uses the *b-* prefix with *kaḏa* rather than stopping the flow of the speech because he wants to highlight that many things might happen, thus replacing the verbs with *kaḏa* (i.e. 'one day it does so and so').

(6; J 5)
يُوم تِرظَى لفلان يُوم تِظرِب افلان يُوم بِتعَاقِب اِفلان يُوم بكَذا
yōm tirḍa la-flān yōm tiḍrib iflān yōm bi-tʕāqib iflān yōm bi-kaḏa
'One day it hits someone, one day it punishes someone, one day it does so and so, one day it satisfies someone.'

As expected, the examples found confirm that the *b-* prefix in QA is a future and intentive marker. Apart from this, as Persson (2008) states, the use of *b-* in protasis and apodosis is very common in GA, in fact the *b-* prefix occurs in conditional clauses, as emerging in the following examples:

(7; SD 23)
إحْنَا إِذَا گِدَرنَا نَصِل إِلَى رِيَاظتَه اِلْمُفظَلة ودِعَمنَاه فِيهَا هُو بِيتَولَّع فِ اِلرِّيَاظَة
iḥna iḍa gidarna naṣil ila riyāḍat-ah il-mufaḍḍala w-diʕamnā-h fī-ha huwwa b-itawallaʕ fi-r-riyāḍa
'If we could figure out his favourite sport and support him to do it, he would be interested in sports.'

(8; *T* 7)
حَبِيبِتِي أُبُوچ اِمقَدِّم عَلَى سِلفَة وإِذَا وَافقُوا لَه بنغَيِّر اِلْأَثَاث كِلَّه
ḥabībt-i abū-č imqaddim ʕala silfa w-iḍa waqfū-la-h b-inġayyir il-aṯāṯ kill-ah
'Darling, your father applied for a loan. If approved, we will change all the furniture.'

(9; *T* 7)
حَتَّى لَو أَهَلنَا مَا بِيسَوُّون چِذِ
ḥatta law ahal-na mā b-isawwūn čiḍi
'Even though they are our relatives, they would not do that for us.'

(10; *T* 19)
إِذَا گِت لِك مَا بِتصِير مُفَاجَأَةْ
iḍa git-l-ik mā b-itṣīr mufāğaʔa
'It won't be a surprise if I tell you.'

Indeed, the analysed data confirm that the *b-* prefix occurs in conditional clauses, although most of the extrapolated occurrences of *b-* encode the future tense in the QAC.

3.2 The verbal prefix *rāḥ*

The hollow verb *rāḥ* means 'to go' in Arabic dialects, is also used as a verbal prefix in GA (Al-amadidhi 1985: 97, 114), although it receives less attention than the *b-* prefix, and the particle *rāḥ* is commonly classified as a marker of the future tense (Johnstone 1967; Holes 1990; 2016; Brustad 2000). Holes (1990: 187–188) specifies that '[i]n Oman *ḥa-* is prefixed to the verb, while in Iraq and Kuwait the same function is fulfilled by proposing the indeclinable free particle *rāḥ*', whereas in the case of Bahraini Arabic, Holes observes (2016: 304) that *rāḥ* as a verbal prefix occurs 'only very rarely, and always in the sense of the simple future'. On Kuwaiti Arabic, Brustad (2000: 241–243) writes in her data that *rāḥ* is used as a future particle that marks what will happen.

According to our data, in the whole corpus the total number of tokens of *rāḥ*, pertaining only to QA, is 15 in *Tesaneef*, 6 in Sabah El-Doha, and 4 in Al-Jazeerah, a total of 25 occurrences. The action or event that is conveyed by the verbal prefix *rāḥ* which takes place after the utterance time, as in the following examples:

(11; *T* 20)
رَاح أَبّر أبيع كِلّ مَا عِندِي عَشَان أَرَتِّب أُمُورِي
rāḥ ʔaṭṭar ʔabīʕ kill mā ʕind-i ʕašān ʔaraggiʕ ʔumūr-i
'I will have to sell everything; I have to put my affairs in order.'

(12; SD 18)
عِندِي فِي كَذَا حَلقَة رَاح أعمِل فِيهَا كَرَكتَرَات
ʕind-i fi kaḍa ḥalqa rāḥ ʔaʕmil fī-ha karaktarāt
'In more than one episode I will act different characters.'

As a modal marker, it conveys, in some cases, a degree of certainty concerning the fulfilment of that action or event in the future, as in the following examples:

(13; *T* 19)
رَاح اتشُوف رَاشِد مُختَلِف
rāḥ itšūf Rāšid muxtalif
'You will see a different Rashid.'

(14; J 2)
يَعنِي إحنَا آنَا أبِي أَگُول للبيت رَبّ يَحمِيَه سُوريَا وإيرَان ايدَافعُون عَن نَفِسّم آنَا مَا رَاح أدَافِع عَنهُم
yaʕni ʔiḥna ʔāna ʔabi ʔagūl li-l-bēt rabb yaḥmī-h sūrya wa-ʔīrān īdāfiʕūn ʕan nafiss-um ʔāna mā rāḥ ʕudāfiʕ ʕan-hum
'What I am trying to say is that the House has a Lord who can protect it. Syria and Iran can defend themselves, I am not going to defend them.'

In the latter example, *rāḥ* occurs in a negative clause where the speaker underlines with certainty that he will not 'defend them', even if it is not clear if this will happen in the near or distant future. As expected, in the data, *rāḥ* is negated only by the particle *mā*:

(15; SD 15)
مَا رَاح ايتَعِب نَفسَه عِندَه عِشرِين أَلف مُسَلسَل غِيرَه
mā rāḥ yitʕab nafs-ah ʕind-ah ʕišrīn ʔalf musalsal ġēr-ah
'He will not be bothered; he has another twenty thousand series.'

(16; J 5)
اِلشَّارِع مَا رَاح يِرحَمنَا
iš-šāriʕ mā rāḥ yirḥam-na
'The street will not have mercy on us.'

No combination of *rāḥ* followed by other prefixes were found, while Persson (2008: 32) reported a single instance of *rāḥ, ḥa-* by an elderly Qatari male,[16] and she concludes that *rāḥ* is an 'obvious future marker' (2008: 48). All the instances of *rāḥ* that were found in QAC confirm its role as a future marker that might enclose a sense of certainty, a real possibility.

It is worth noting that since *rāḥ* appears to be a grammaticalised form of the active participle *rāyiḥ*, occasionally the original form is still found alongside its more grammaticalised descendant. In the corpus, only 4 occurrences of *rāyiḥ*—as a future marker—in the TV series *Tesaneef* were found, one of which appears as feminine singular form *rāyḥa* (20; *T* 18). Moreover, it is also shown in (19; *T* 6) that *rāyiḥ* is used before an active participle *rāyiḥ yāyib* 'You're going to get':[17]

(17; *T* 4)
إهيَه عَلَى طِرِيجك وإنتَ رَايِح اتخَلّص مُعَامَلةْ سعِيد أخُوي
ʔihya ʕala ṭarīǧ-ik w-ʔinta rāyiḥ ʔitxalliṣ muʕāmalat saʕīd ʔaxū-y
'It is on your way, while going to finish my brother Said's procedures.'

(18; *T* 4)
اِلْحِمدالله هَذَانِي أحِين رَايِح أخَلّص أمُورِي
il-ḥamdillah haḏ-āni ʔaḥīn rāyiḥ ʔaxalliṣ ʔumūr-i
'Alhamdulillah, here I am, going now to sort out my issues.'

(19; *T* 6)
رَايِح يَايِب مُگَص اش كُبرَه
rāyiḥ yāyib mugaṣṣ ʔiš kubr-ah
'[You're] going to get very big scissors.'

(20; *T* 18)
وِان شَاللَّه رَايحَة اِدَّورِين لِي شُغُل
w-inšaḷḷah rāyḥa ʔiddawrīn-li ʕala šuġul
'If God wills, you're going to look for a job for me.'

3.3 Other verbal prefixes in the QAC

In order to provide new data from QA, this short section is devoted to other verbal prefixes found in the QAC during the data validation process uttered by Qatari speakers, namely *ḥa-*, *xa-*, and *xal-*.

---

[16] This is the only instance specifically pertaining to QA reported by Persson (2008) in her study.

[17] In this example *rāyiḥ* might be interpreted either as a future marker or an active particle 'going'.

Occurrences of *ḥa-*, a verbal prefix borrowed from Egyptian and Levantine Arabic, were found, 3 in *Tesaneef*, 9 in Al-Jazeerah, and 3 in Sabah El-Doha as future markers, according to the following selected examples:

(21; *T* 10)
وبِالْمُنَاسَبَة حَنرَاسِل كُل اَلْمُراسلِين فِالْعَالَم عَشَان يِتَصلُوا بِينَا
w-bi-l-munāsaba ḥa-nrāsil kull il-murāsilīn fi-l-ʕālam ʕašān yittaṣlu bi-na
'And by the way, we will correspond with all the world's reporters to communicate with us.'

(22; J 5)
كِيف حَنجِيب سُوريَا وِانجِيب لِبنَان وِانجِيب الِدُّوَل اِلثَّانيَةْ وفِي دُوَل عَرَبِيَةْ مَا تِتكَلّم مَعَ بَعظ
kēf ḥa-nǧīb sūrya wi-nǧīb libnān wi-nǧīb id-duwal iṯ-ṯānya w-fi duwal ʕarabiyya mā titkallam maʕ baʕḍ
'How are we going to bring together Syria, Lebanon and the other countries when there are Arab countries that don't speak to each other?'

(23; SD 29)
فَفِي اِلْبِدَايَّة مِثل مَا يگولُونْ اِلْمِصرِينْ دُغرِي حَنخُش فِي اِلْمَوضُوع
fa-fi-l-bidāya miṯl mā yigūlūn il-maṣriyyīn duġri ḥa-nxušš fi-l-mawḍūʕ
'So, for a start, as Egyptians say, we will go straight to the point.'

In the last example (23) the Qatari speaker code-switches an Egyptian common expression *ḥa-nxušš fi-l-mawḍūʕ* and he borrows the particle *ḥa-* from Egyptian Arabic[18] to express the future, since the Qatari speaker accommodates the speech to the Egyptian host.

The verbal prefixes *xa-* derived from the verb *xalla* 'to let, to allow' (as well as *xal-*) which conveys exhortation,[19] once emerged:

(24; SD 11)
يَلّا خَنشُوف
yalla xa-nšūf
'Alright, let us see.'

Furthermore, three occurrences of the exhortative marker *xal-* were found in *Tesaneef* as in the following examples:

[18] The Qatari speaker also pronounced *il-mawḍūʕ* with [ḍ] as Egyptian speakers do, instead of QA [ḏ].

[19] See Holes (2016: 318).

(25; *T* 2)
يَلا خَلِ انْچُوفهُم اشْ بِيقَرِرُون
yalla xal-inčūf-hum ʔiš b-iqarrarūn
'Let us see what they will decide.'

(26; *T* 2)
خَل انْچُوف اِلْمطَوَّع عَبدِالرَحمَن اشْ بِيسَوي مَعَاهُم
xal-inčūf il-miṭawwaʕ ʕAbd ar-Raḥmān ʔiš bi-tsawwi maʕā-hum
'Let us see what sheikh Abdulrahman will do with them.'

(27; *T* 2)
خَل انْچُوف رُوحَةْ اِلمطَوَّع عَبدِالرَحمَن اِشْ بِتسوِّي
xal-inšūf rōḥat il-miṭawwaʕ ʕAbd ar-Raḥmān ʔiš bi-tsawwi
'Let us see what sheikh Abdulrahman will do.'

There are not enough data to draw a conclusion about the use of the verbal prefix *xa-* and *xal-* in contemporary QA, but it might deserve further attention in the future.

4 The active participle *gāʕid*

The active participle *gāʕid* is partially grammaticalised in QA, thus we decided to include occurrences and discussion of *gāʕid* in this separate section because its use can be observed in QA and examples of *gāʕid* as a progressive aspect marker that were not attested before have emerged during the QAC analysis.

Concerning what was published about *gāʕid* in GA, we found that Holes (2016: 314) states that *gaʕad*, which is the lexical item for 'to sit, to stay', 'has developed from this a separate aspectual function as a verb or a participle that marks durative or regularly repeated action' in Bahraini Arabic. Agius and Harrak (1987: 164–168) dedicated a study to the auxiliary particles prefixed to the imperfective conjugation of the verb in ten Arabic varieties from Maghreb and Mashreq, and they mention the use of the participle *gāʕid* in southern and northern Iraqi Arabic to indicate an action going on or a past progressive action. Brustad, in her study of comparative syntax (2000: 247–248), shows that Kuwaiti Arabic, like Syrian, grammaticalises the progressive using particles, namely *gāʕid*. The uses of the active participle in Omani Arabic and Gulf littoral varieties have been investigated by Eades and Persson where they conclude that

> the AP [active participle] can be used in a number of contexts with a wide variety of meanings. Any temporal or aspectual interpretations of a particular participle are derived from the interplay between the situation type provided by the context, the stative character of the AP and the Aktionsart value of the verb stem. The fact that

> the AP form can convey a variety of contrasting meanings is thereby a result of the varying semantics of verbal stems. (Eades and Persson 2013: 364–365)

Concerning Kuwaiti Arabic, as stated by Al-Najjar[20] *gāʕid* 'show subject agreement in all cases', thus a feminine subject cannot agree with a masculine form, and we found this assumption is valid also in QA. Furthermore, in the case of Gulf Arabic, Owens and Yavrumyan (2007) add that, as far as action and stative verbs in Spoken Arabic is concerned,

> The active participle describes a state which has been entered into. For an action verb, the difference between the active participle *yālsīn* and the imperfect verb *yīlisūn* (Gulf Arabic) is that between 'they are seated' and 'they are sitting down [now]', between an event whose effect is still visible and an incompleted event. (Owens and Yavrumyan 2007: 545)

Jarad (2015: 107) in his study focused on the active posture participle *yālis* (sitting) in Emirati Arabic and later, he investigated (Jarad 2017: 742–60) a wide range of grammaticalisation phenomena in Emirati Arabic as well as the formation and changes of a series of constructions belonging to this variety of the Gulf.

Concerning QA, Al-amadidhi (1985: 143) states that '[t]he word [ga:9id] has two meanings in Q[atari]D[ialect]. It may be used as an auxiliary verb, denoting a continuous action, or as an active participle, "sitting"'. In fact, we found occurrences of *gāʕid* as an active participle, as shown in example (28; *T* 20), however we found that *gāʕid* and its variants occur more as progressive aspect markers in our data:

(28; *T* 20)
آنَا اِللّي گاعدَهْ فِ البِيت
ʔāna ʔilli gāʕda fi-l-bēt
'I'm the one staying at home.'

In the whole corpus the total number of tokens of *gāʕid* as progressive aspect marker including its feminine singular (*gāʕda*) and plural masculine/feminine forms (*gāʕdīn*) is 57, distributed as follows: 50 instances in *Tesaneef*, 4 in Sabah El-Doha, and 3 in Al-Jazeerah, as shown in Table 2:

[20] In Brustad (2000: 248).

Source	*gāʕid*	*gāʕda*	*gāʕdīn*
Tesaneef	25	11	14
Sabah El-Doha	3	1	–
Al-Jazeerah	1	–	2
Total number of tokens	29	12	16

Table 2. Tokens of *gāʕid* as progressive aspect marker in QAC based on gender and number

The data from QAC confirm its use to refer to a present ongoing event and that *gāʕid* agrees with the subject. Moreover, when *gāʕid* encodes progressive, it occurs more frequently with action verbs that indicate activity and accomplishment—as noted by Jarad (2015: 104) for the participle *yālis* 'sitting' in Emirati Arabic, as in the following examples:

(29; *T* 1)
يَا سُلطَان إنتْ اِشْ گاعِد تگُول
yā Ṣultān ʔint ʔiš gāʕid itgūl
'Sultan, what are you saying?'

(30; *T* 5)
إنتَ تَدرِي اِش گاعِد اِيسَوِّي هَالْأيَّام
ʕinta tadri ʔiš gāʕid isawwi ha-l-ʔayyām
'You know what he is doing these days.'

(31; SD 22)
طَبعَاً إحنَا الآن يا أعزَائِي اِلْمُشَاهِدِين گاعِد أفحَص اِلْجُزء اِلأيسَر مِن جِسمَه
ṭabʕan ʔiḥna l-ʔān yā ʔaʕzāʔ-i l-mušāhidīn gāʕid ʔafḥaṣ il-ǧuzʔ il-ʔaysar min ǧism-ah[21]
'Now dear viewers, we are examining the left side of his body.'

(32; *T* 9)
رِيَايِيل گاعدِين يِتنَاقِشُون مُب مِحتَاجِين رَأي حَرِيم
riyāyīl gāʕdīn yitnāqišūn mub miḥtāǧīn raʔi ḥarīm
'Men are having a discussion. They do not need women's opinions at all.'

[21] In this example (31; SD 22) the pronoun *ʔiḥna* 'we' is plural, but *gāʕid* is singular. However, this inconsistency is likely due to fast speech.

(33; *T* 21)
بَس آنَا مَانِي اِمصَدگّة اِلّي گاعدَة أَسِمعَه
bas ʔāna māni mṣaddaga ʔilli gāʕda ʔasmaʕ-ah
'I cannot believe what I am hearing!'

In QAC, we attest two occurrences of *kān* + *gāʕid* that, as far as we know, have never been published in GA studies. Both examples refer to an accomplished progressive action that took place in the past, for example:

(34; *T* 6)
يُمّه آنَا وعَدّول كِنّا گاعِدين نِلعَب
yumma ʔāna w-ʕAddūl kinna gāʕdīn nilʕab
'Mum, Addoul and I were playing.'

(35; *T* 6)
كِنت گاعِد أركِض بَعدِين عَدّول يَرّ اِلْقَميص وانْشَگّ
kint gāʕid ʔarkiḍ baʕdēn ʕAddūl yarr il-gamīṣ w-inšagg
'I was running then Addoul pulled the shirt and it got torn.'

The active participle *gāʕid* also occurs in the corpus preceded by the adverb *il-ḥīn* (now) to strengthen the idea of simultaneity and progressivity of the action, for example:

(36; *T* 2)
ألحِين گاعِد يِترَجَّاني عَلَشَان أَجِل رُوحتِي
il-ḥīn gāʕid yitraǧǧā-ni ʕalašān ʔaǧill rōḥt-i
'Now, he is begging me to postpone my going (to court).'

Another instance when *il-ḥīn* occurs with *gāʕid* shows the singular feminine agreement with the word *nās* (people):

(37; *T* 11)
والنَّاس كِلّهَا گاعدَة اِتچُوف والشَّي جِدَّام اِلْكَامِيرَا أَلْحِين اِلنَّاس كِلَّهَا گاعدَة اِتَّفَرَّج
w-in-nās kill-ha gāʕda tšūf w-iš-ši ǧiddām il-kāmira il-ḥin in-nās kill-ha gāʕda tfarraǧ
'People are watching. They are seeing this. It is happening right in front of the camera.'

Not surprisingly the agreement of *gāʕid* with the inanimate entities takes the feminine singular, as in the following clause where the progressive marker is referred to 'banks':

(38; *T* 20)
آگُول لِك فِي بِنُوك گاعدَهْ اتفَكّر تِعلِن يَعنِي تِشهِر افلاسّا
ʔagūl-li-k fī bunūk gāʕda tfakkir tiʕlin yaʕni tišhir iflāss-a
'I am telling you, there are banks who think to declare bankruptcy.'

Only two instances of negation of *gāʕid* were found: in the first example (39) *gāʕdīn* is negated by the particle *mā*, the most common for negating verbs, although interestingly, in the second example (40) *gāʕid* is negated by *mub*, showing that the participle is becoming more and more grammaticalised, since it is now perceived as a noun.

(39; *T* 4)
إنتُوا حَتّى اِلشّيب اِلّي فِ رَاسَه مَا گاعدِين تِحتَرمُونَه
ʔintu ḥatta š-šēb fi-rās-ah mā gāʕdīn tiḥtarmūn-ah
'You are not even respecting his age.'

(40; *T* 3)
مُب گاعِد لِي اتّرَزّز فِ هَالْكَفَترِيَا مَع هَالْخَايسَات
mub gāʕid-li itrazzaz fi-ha-l-kafatīrya maʕ ha-l-xāysāt
'I am not going to show off in this café with those losers.'

5 Final remarks

By using the QAC by Elmahdy et al. (2014), this article aimed at providing recent data concerning selected verbal prefixes—namely the *b-* prefix, *rāḥ* (and its lexical item *rāyiḥ*), as well as other prefixes found in the QAC which are *ḥa-*, *xa-*, and *xal-* —and the active participle *gāʕid* as progressive aspect marker in QA since there are currently no studies exclusively dedicated to this linguistic phenomenon in this Arabic variety.

The study also provided and discussed some forms and functions of the tokens (a total number of 629) and the data confirm that in QA the investigated verbal prefixes are used as future or intentive markers—as stated in the main previous studies of GA[22]—, and that the *b-* prefix also occurs as marker of irrealis as found in Persson (2008). Moreover, a section devoted to the active participle *gāʕid* in its function as progressive aspect marker was included because it emerged from the data that the use of *gāʕid* can be observed in contemporary QA and that it can also occur preceded by the auxiliary verb *kān* to refer to an accomplished progressive action that took place in the past.

[22] Mainly Johnstone (1967); Holes (1990; 2016); Brustad (2000); Persson (2008).

Although the QAC is partially available online, until now its data had never been utilised as a source in the field of Arabic dialectology. The QAC corpus proves to be a valuable source for future studies of QA and for comparing data from GA in the future. Furthermore, it is still open for further investigation, as discussing how the verbal prefixes and the active participle *gāʕid* could possibly impact on sentence syntax, as well as re-investigating them from a sociolinguistic perspective in order to search for differences in their use based on linguistic variables of Qatari speakers.

Information on authorship

The entire work is the result of constant collaboration between the authors who discussed and contributed to the final article: specifically, Najla Kalach wrote sections 2, 3.2 and 4; Muntasir Fayez Al-Hamad wrote sections 1, 3, 3.1, 3.3. Section 5 (final remarks) was written upon discussion by both authors who equally contributed to its writing.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Najla Kalach https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0807-5544
Muntasir Fayez Al-Hamad https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1104-1196

Abbreviations

AP	active participle
GA	Gulf Arabic
J	Al-Jazeerah
QA	Qatari Arabic
QAC	Qatari Arabic Corpus
SD	Sabah El-Doha
T	*Tesaneef*

References

Agius Dionisus, and Amir Harrack. 1987. 'Auxiliary Particles Preceding the Imperfective Aspect in Arabic Dialects'. *Arabica* 34: 164–180.

Al-amadidhi, Darwish Ghuloom Hussein Yousef. 1985. 'Lexical and Sociolinguistic Variation in Qatari Arabic'. PhD thesis, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh.

Almoaily, Mohammad. 2013. 'Language Variation in Gulf Pidgin Arabic'. PhD thesis, Newcastle: Newcastle University.

Bettega, Simone. 2017. 'A Comparison between Modern Data and Those Gathered by T.M. Johnstone between 1950 and 1960'. In *Lisan Al-Arab. Studies in Arabic Dialects. Proceedings of the 10th International Conference of AIDA Qatar University, 2013*, edited by Muntasir Fayez Al-Hamad, Rizwan Ahmad, and Hafid I. Alaoui, 85–100. Zurich: LIT.

Bizri, Fida. 2005. 'Le Pidgin Madam, un nouveau pidgin arabe'. *La linguistique* 41: 53–67. https://doi.org/10.3917/ling.412.0053.

Brustad, Kristen. 2000. *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic. A Comparative Study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti Dialects*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1991. 'Back to the Future'. In *Approaches to Grammaticalization. Vol. II*, edited by Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine, 17–59. Typology Studies in Languages 19, 2. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

De Bel-Air, Francoise. 2014. 'Demography, Migration, and Labour Market in Qatar'. *Gulf Labour Markets and Migration: Explanatory Note* 8: 3–17.

Durand, Olivier. 1991. 'I preverbi dell'imperfettivo in arabo dialettale'. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 65: 1–11.

Eades, Domenyk, and Maria Persson. 2013. 'Aktionsart, Word Form and Context: On the Use of the Active Participle in Gulf Arabic Dialects'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 58 (2): 343–367.

Elmahdy, Mohamed, Mark Hasegawa-Johnson, and Eiman Mustafawi. 2014. 'Development of a TV Broadcasts Speech Recognition System for Qatari Arabic'. In *Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC, May 2014)*, edited by Nicoletta Calzolari et al., 3057–3061. Reykjavik: European Language Resources Association.

Al-Hamad, Muntasir Fayiz. 2017. 'Teaching Arabic as a Second Language in Qatar'. *Linguistica Communicatio* 18 (1–2): 7–25.

Holes, Clive. 1990. *Gulf Arabic*. Croom Helm Descriptive Series. Oxford and New York: Routledge.

Holes, Clive. 2016. *Dialect, Culture, and Society in Eastern Arabia. Vol. 3: Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Style*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Ingham, Bruce. 1994. *Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian*. London Oriental and African Language Library 1. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Jarad, Najib Ismail. 2015. 'From Bodily Posture to Progressive Aspect Marker'. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 57: 89–111.

Jarad, Najib Ismail. 2017. 'Grammaticalization in Emirati Arabic'. *Arabica* 64 (5–6): 742–760.

Johnstone, Thomas M. 1967. *Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies*. London: Oxford University Press.

Al-Khateeb, Hadeel. 2014. 'The Impact of Neoliberalism on Qatar's Language Policy and Language Planning: Constructing a New Hybrid national Identity or Maintaining a National Arabic Identity?'. PhD thesis, London: University College London.

Maṭar, ʕAbd al-ʕAzīz. 1983. *Ḍawāhir nāḍira fī lahağāt al-Ḫaliğ al-ʕArabī*. Ad-Dawḥa: Dār Qaṭarī bin al-Fuğāʔat li-n-Našr wa-t-Tawzīʕ.

Mustafawi, Eiman. 2006. 'An Optimality Theoretic Approach to Variable Consonantal Alternations in Qatari Arabic'. PhD thesis, Ottawa: University of Ottawa.

Al-Najjar, Balkees. 1984. 'The Syntax and Semantics of Verbal Aspect in Kuwaiti Arabic'. PhD thesis, Salt Lake City: University of Utah.

Al-Najjar, Balkees. 1991. 'Grammaticalization of Lexical Markers in Kuwaiti Arabic'. *Folia Linguistica* 25 (3–4): 665–675.

Owens Jonathan, and Marat Yavrumyan. 2007. 'Participle'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 3: 541–46. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Pechcin, Katarzyna. 2017. 'Al-Kaškaša and Other Phonological Phenomena of Women's Speech in Modern Dialect of Doha'. In *Lisan Al-Arab. Studies in Arabic Dialects. Proceedings of the 10th International Conference of AIDA Qatar University, 2013*, edited by Muntasir Fayez Al-Hamad, Rizwan Ahmad, and Hafid I. Alaoui, 247–262. Zurich: LIT.

Persson, Maria. 2008. 'The Role of the *b-* Prefix in Gulf Arabic as a Marker of Future, Intent and/or Irrealis'. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 8: 26–52.

Qafisheh, Hamdi. 1977. *A Basic Course in Gulf Arabic*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press (Beirut: Librairie du Liban).

Retsö, Jan. 2014. 'The *b-* Imperfect Once Again: Typological and Diachronic Perspectives'. In *Proceedings of the Oslo Austin Workshop in Semitic Linguistics, Oslo, May 23 and 34, 2013*, edited by Lutz Edzard and John Huehnergard, 64–72. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148425

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

Ya ṛaḇḇí! Tanṭīni binéːt!: Ǧbēne in the Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye

Abstract This article offers a local version of the Palestinian folktale of Ǧbēne, audio recorded in 2018 in the town of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye in the Muṭallaṭ area. The tale of Ǧbēne represents the feminine passage from infancy to adulthood and marriage. These stages are marked by the opposition of white and black, which symbolically evoke complex cultural values. After a background to folktales in general, and in the Palestinian Arabic speaking area in particular, the tale of Ǧbēne is examined within its sociocultural context, with reference to its contemporary transmission and notes on plot, content, and cultural elements and comparisons of its different versions. The text is provided in transcription and translation, and accompanied by a linguistic analysis that highlights the features of the traditional Arabic variety spoken in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye through comparisons with other dialects, especially those spoken in adjacent areas inside the Muṭallaṭ region and outside it.

Keywords Palestinian Arabic, Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic, pausal forms, epenthetic vowels, Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, Palestinian folktales

1 The Tale of Ǧbēne in the Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye[1]

This article provides a linguistic and literary analysis of a version of the tale of Ǧbēne narrated by a grandmother to her granddaughter in the village of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, in the Muṭallaṭ region (Israel). In section 2, I provide a background

[1] I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their significant contribution to the improvement of this article and the Israel Folktale Archives named in honour of Dov Noy (IFA), at the Younes and Soraya Nazarian Library, University of Haifa—and in particular Michal Rubin, Digital Content and Special Collections—for the effective and patient assistance in retrieving all versions of the tale of Ǧbēne held in the IFA collections and for making them available to me for the purpose of this research.

© 2023 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.

to Palestinian folktales, their tradition and contemporary reception and research. Section 3 reports some information about the documentation of this tale. In section 4, I delve into the scope of the present work. In section 5, I provide a dialectological sketch of the Muṭallaṭ area, while section 6 is dedicated to some phonetic and morphological features of the dialect of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye. Section 7 describes various linguistic and lexico-semantic features and cultural elements shown in the text of the tale, including the symbolic implications of different colours as related to Ǧbēne's identity and to that of other literary figures. Transcription and translation of the text are provided in section 8. Section 9 adds further linguistic observations and conclusions.

2 Palestinian folktales: heritage, identity, and militant philology

In the first half of the twentieth century, collecting tales directly from the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Littmann (1954) noted the richness of the local narrative heritage. Other Western scholars, among them Arabists, anthropologists, psychologists, and writers, have been fascinated by the folktale heritage of Palestine (Crowfoot 1937; Geva-Kleinberger and Ben-Artzi 2013; Hanauer 1935; Patai 1998; Raufman 2018; Read MacDonald 2006; Meron and Kabha 1993; Meron et al. 2005; 2012; Perez and Rosenhouse 2022; Schmidt and Kahle 1930; Seeger 2023; Spoer 1931; von Mülinen 1908). Traditionally situated at the centre of trade routes used for millennia between three continents and two seas in a location that has been home to holy places for many religious currents, Palestinians preserve an astonishing living museum of narrative motifs in their folklore.

Since the Roman period and throughout the Byzantine and Ottoman eras, the Muṭallaṭ region, where Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye[2] is located, has served as a main artery between Arabia and the southern Levant on one side and the Galilee and the northern Levant on the other (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977). As mentioned in Cerqueglini (2022a), the paths of the *via maris/ṭarīq al-baḥr* have determined the linguistic and cultural geography of this area for millennia. Indeed, some minor segments of the *via maris* departed from the main artery along the unhealthy marshy coast eastwards in correspondence with Tel Afeq, directed to Šə̱kem/Nablus, while its main trunk continued northwards. It reached up to Tel Dor (modern Ḥadera, just west of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye), and there it split into two main trunks. One proceeded northward, toward the coasts of Lebanon and Anatolia,

[2] Toponyms are transcribed according to their local pronunciations, i.e. in the case of Arabic, accounting for dialectal differences, including distribution of help vowels. In the case of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, the emphatic pronunciation [ḳ] of */q/ is maintained as it reflects the original phoneme more closely than [k] and the emphasis is still heard among male speakers (Cerqueglini 2022a). Personal names are transcribed according to their local pronunciations wherever they do not have an official form in Latin letters.

while the other leaned eastwards, crossing the areas of Kufr Qar^{iʿ}, Umm ^{i}l-Faḥm, and Megiddo, and then crossed the Jezreel Plain, through the areas of Nazareth and Kufr Kanna toward Tiberias. From there, it proceeded to Ḥazor, crossing the Golan Heights, finally reaching Damascus.

Thus, throughout history, the network of roads that crossed the central regions of today's Israel has favoured the demographic and economic development of the Samarian hills on one side and the Jezreel Valley on the other, as two distinct circuits of the same system. The western offshoots of the Samarian hills, i.e. what we now call Mešullaš/Muṭallaṭ, as well as the Jezreel Valley, seem to have been areas of transit and diffusion of cultural and linguistic features and mixing between autochthonous rural and allochthonous Bedouin dialectal types.[3] In light of archaeological data, therefore, the internal differentiation of the Muṭallaṭ dialects becomes clear. Thus, the aspects of the convergence of the Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye dialectal type with the northern sector of the Muṭallaṭ (ʿArʿara, Kufr Qar^{iʿ}, Umm ^{i}l-Faḥm, Zalafe) and some aspects of regional convergence between the northern sector of the Muṭallaṭ and some village dialects of the Jezreel Valley (Talmon 2002; Procházka 2021) can eventually find their historical *Sitz im Leben*.

Fable seems to have been a very popular genre in traditional Palestinian folk culture. Through this narrative genre, ancestral values, norms, and warnings were transmitted orally from generation to generation in the symbolic and allusive forms of childhood entertainment. The world reflected in these stories is the rural, urban, and Bedouin traditional, premodern society of the southern Levant, jealous guardian of archaic customs and cultural codes, yet constantly exposed to intensive and diverse commercial contacts and cultural influences. Modern Palestinian collective identity is rooted in this world, its values, and its popular mythologies, and from them it draws its lifeblood (Jayyusi 2007; Sa'di and Abu-Lughod 2007; Sayigh 1979; Swedenburg 1990). Thus, according to Aboubakr (2014), after the Nakba the preservation, transmission, and study of Palestinian folklore became a form of memory and resistance to cultural uprooting.

The goal of keeping Palestinian identity alive and preserving the memory of life before the Nakba has led a stream of intellectuals of Palestinian origin to engage in the extensive collections and study of the traditional narrative heritage (Aboubakr 2019; Al-Barġūṭī 1979; As-Sarīsī 2004; Amin 2003; Kanaana 1994; Muhawi 2001; Muhawi and Kanaana 1989; Nabūʾānī 2011; Nimr 2007; Sirhan 2014). Through the popularisation of traditional children's literature and an en-

[3] The affrication of /k/, generally recognized as unconditional, is attributed by Palva (1984) to the penetration of this Bedouin feature into Central and Southern Palestinian rural dialects and considered typical of local rural dialects by Jastrow (2004). Zuʿbi (2021: 311) attributes the affrication of /k/ and the preservation of the interdental series and grammatical distinctions between some masculine and feminine forms in ʿArʿara (northern Muṭallaṭ) to both traditional rural and Bedouin traits.

cyclopaedic and systematic collection of the narrative heritage, they actively resist the loss of identity to which the Palestinian populations seem to be destined by land confiscation, relocation, exile, and diaspora. This is how Ramona Wadi reviews Farah Aboubakr's essay *The Folktales of Palestine* (2019), based on materials collected by Muhawi and Kanaana (1989):

> Farah Aboubakr's treatise *The Folktales of Palestine* argues that Palestinian memory should not be framed solely through resistance and offers a detailed analysis of Palestinian folktales and their importance in shaping, nurturing and imparting Palestinian identity. Palestinian dispossession requires a strong memory and a narrative based on continuity. Recollections of Palestine before 1948 are paramount, hence the importance of oral narratives and storytelling that promote a constant reference to Palestinian culture, land, traditions, villages and society. Palestinian folktales, argues Aboubakr, 'are instrumental in strengthening communal bonds and in ensuring the survival of a people's oral traditions'. (Wadi 2019)

Furthermore,

> Both the stories and the process of storytelling itself help to define social, cultural and political identity. For Palestinians, the threat of losing their heritage has engendered a sense of urgency among storytellers and Palestinian folklorists. Yet there has been remarkably little academic scholarship dedicated to the tradition.[4]

Regarding cultural reappropriation, in a 2011 interview, Sharif Kanaana focused his attention on the construction of modern Palestinian identity after the Mandate period and the relationship of the Palestinians who remained in Israel after 1948 with their identity. Kanaana, who was born in the village of ʿArrābe in the Galilee, emigrated to the United States, and then returned to Ramallah, expresses himself on Israeli Palestinian identity as follows:

> As for Palestinian identity, I would say it [the book] went through something similar to what I went through myself […]. In 1948, the Palestinians who remained inside the Israeli borders felt they were completely lost. No communication was allowed with the rest of the Arab world, not even by mail or phone. As a result, their identity became diluted; they wished to be accepted in the Israeli Jewish society. However, […] Palestinians were rejected, and were thus impelled to search for their own identity. It didn't take Palestinians too long to discover that identity, to discover their roots, which are now being strongly revived among the Palestinians of 1948 [Palestinian citizens of Israel] as rejection by Israelis continues to intensify.

[4] 'Description'. Accessed 30 May 2023. https://bloomsbury.com/us/folktales-of-palestine-9781788314268/.

> I went through the same process as an individual; after all, the business of searching for your own identity is the business of locating things that symbolize it. For me, these symbols were in folklore. (Myers and Rohana 2011)

The link between memory and political commitment is also evident in other projects. For example, the five-volume encyclopaedic work *Mawsūʿat al-ḥikāyāt al-ḥurāfiyya al-filasṭīniyya* (*Encyclopedia of Palestinian Folk Tales*), edited by Sharif Kanaana and Nabil Alqam (2021–2022), was published by Tāmer Institute for Community Education, an NGO founded during the events of the First Intifada (1989). Tāmer is engaged in providing education to Palestinian youth disadvantaged due to the sociopolitical situation and a lack of means and 'focus[es] principally on the rights to education, identity, freedom of expression, and access to information'.[5]

The cultural engagement of generations of Palestinian intellectuals educated in the homeland and abroad with the conservation and the promotion of the rural and urban Palestinian heritage, within and outside academia, was not limited to the collection of folk narrative and involved additional fields of investigation, such as proverbs (ʿAbbās and Šāhīn 1989; Aġbāriyya 1955; ʿArafāt 1990; Isleem 2009; Lubānī 1999; Mahmud and Albarmil 2021; Zibin and Altakhaineh 2014, among others);[6] material culture, language, and customs, which also reveal connections with past cultures of the area (ʿAbbās 1989; Al-Ḥurūb 2015; Farsun 2004; Halayqa 2014; Khoury 2022; Lubānī 2006a; 2006b; 2009; 2018; Naguib 2008; Sarḥān 1989); folk songs and music (Kanaaneh et al. 2013); and the documentation of the local Arabic varieties (Al-Ḥīḥī 2009; Al-Barġūṯī 2001; Halloun 1997; Lubānī 2006c; 2007; 2016; Othman and Neu 2008; Shahin 1995; 1999; Sobeḥ 2019; Zuʿbi 2014)[7] and traditional historical narratives, especially those related to the Nakba. Regarding the last topic the projects 'Zochrot', launched in Israel,[8] and the American University of Beirut's 'Palestinian Oral History Map'[9] are of particular relevance.

Thanks to its charm, popularity, and the communicative power of its universal symbols, the folk tale is fundamental in all cultures in defining and shaping

---

[5] 'TAMER Institute for Community Education'. Accessed 29 May 2023. https://tamerinst.org/en/pages/about-tamer.

[6] Names of people and places that do not have an official or commonly used transliteration are rendered in transcription.

[7] What is expressed in this paragraph also applies to the local nomadic dialects, which have been studied in the last several decades by a growing number of native-speaking researchers. Data concerning nomadic varieties are not included in this article as they are beyond the scope of the present research.

[8] 'Zochrot'. Accessed 29 May 2023. https://zochrot.org/.

[9] 'Palestinian Oral History Map'. Accessed 29 May 2023. https://libraries.aub.edu.lb/poha-viewer/map/en/#.

collective identities (Bar-Yitzhak 2005) and remains central in safeguarding and recovering Palestinian culture within the Palestinian Territories and outside, in the Palestinian diaspora, and in disseminating and promoting it. The most important example of this phenomenon remains the *Speak, Bird, Speak Again*, an anthology of forty-five folk tales collected and edited by Ibrahim Muhawi and Sharif Kanaana, mentioned above, and first published in English in 1989 by the University of California, Berkeley. In Kanaana's words, the book was the result of his personal process of identity reappropriation after several years of living abroad (Myers and Rohana 2011). It became so popular and was considered to contain such valuable testimony on Palestinian history, society, and culture that a French version was published by UNESCO in 1997, followed by an Arabic edition in 2001. Yet despite its importance in preserving the endangered Palestinian heritage, in May 2007 the book was banned from school libraries throughout the Palestinian territories by the Ministry of Education of the newly-elected Hamas government, allegedly over mild sexual innuendo, probably due to the presence of vernacular body part terms.[10] This step was part of the Islamic radicalization process that Hamas was pursuing then and continues to promote, especially in Gaza (Khoudary 2019).

The folk heritage of the Muṭallaṭ region has been documented by Meron and Kabha (1993) and Meron et al. (2005; 2012), who report several stories from this area, especially from Wādi ʿĀra, in the northern part of the Muṭallaṭ. However, these tales were 'somewhat adapted for the learners', according to Zuʿbi (2021: 312).

3 The documentation of Ǧbēne's tale

Muhawi and Kanaana's 1989 anthology contains written testimony of the tale of Ǧbēne in English translation accompanied by some anthropological notes and interesting comparisons with other tales from the same corpus. In the Arabic edition, the text, obviously transcribed in Arabic characters, respects the original dialectal forms in which the tale was narrated. As the introduction to the online English version indicates,[11] the stories were collected in the Galilee, the Gaza area, and the West Bank. The place of elicitation and the identity of the informant of the story of Ǧbēne are not mentioned. Recent folkloristic and linguistic analyses of the tale of Ǧbēne within the Galilean Bedouin milieu can be found in Perez and Rosenhouse (2022).

[10] 'PA Orders Book of Folk Tales Pulled from Schools'. 2007. Accessed 29 May 2023. https://ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3372783,00.html.

[11] 'UC Press E-Books Collection, 1982–2004'. Accessed 29 May 2023. https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft4s2005r4;brand=ucpress.

Fifteen versions of Ǧbēne's tale are preserved in the Israel Folktale Archives (IFA). They all have the Hebrew translations, while only some also have an Arabic transcription: IFA 23153, 24011, 23139, 20301, 24273, 22414, 22424, 22180, 17079, 16715, 17394, 17412, 23987, 25050, and 20984. The records IFA 17394 and 17412 are Bedouin versions, while IFA 23987 and 20984 are Druze versions. The other eleven versions—either catalogued as 'Muslim' or without reference to the religious identity of the narrator—are accompanied by the name of the collector, the name of the narrator and almost always by the place of recording. Nine versions of the tale come from different places in the western and eastern Galilee, from Akko to Muʿāwiya, Šfārʿam, Kfar Iksāl, Səǧūr, and Yāfit in-Nāṣra.

The version of Ǧbēne's tale—provided with an English translation—in Raufman (2018) is IFA 23139 (collected by ʿArīn Ḫālid, from Šfārʿam; narrated by Salīm Yaḥyā, an Israeli Muslim informant from Kufr Qariʿ). This version is particularly important because it stems from the Muṭallaṭ area. It was elicited in the village of Kufr Qariʿ—five kilometres north of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, four kilometres west of Umm il-Faḥm—in the northern part of the Muṭallaṭ region, at the boundary with the Lower Galilee. Raufman's contribution focuses on anthropological, psychological, and symbolic aspects of the fable and provides detailed comparisons between the contents and the plot of the different documented versions of the tale.

As further evidence of the internal sociocultural differentiation within the Muṭallaṭ area, IFA 23139—meaningfully shorter than the narration presented here—is quite different from it in terms of cultural elements. Additional details about it are provided in the discussion of the text (section 9).[12]

4 Scope of the present work

The version of Ǧbēne's folk tale presented in this article is intended to show further testimony of this charming folk tale and, above all, provide documentation of the rural Muslim Arabic dialect of the central-northern Muṭallaṭ spoken in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye. The text was narrated in 2018 by a woman who was then seventy-six years old to her granddaughter, Taqwa, who was then about twenty-two years old. Since the linguistic map of the Muṭallaṭ has been indelibly marked by the years since the foundation of the State of Israel (Cerqueglini 2022a), I sought an informant who authentically represented the traditional dialect of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye. Indeed, families and even entire villages uprooted from the Shefela and the coastal region (Furaydīs, Jaffa, Qannīr, Salama, Summayl, Šēḫ Muwannis,

[12] Unfortunately, for most of the IFA texts, the file recordings have not been preserved and there is no phonetic transcription, only the Arabic (non vocalised) written version. Therefore, except for some shallow lexical comparisons, a systematic comparative dialectological analysis is impossible.

Ṭanṭūra, Umm Ḫālid, Yāmūn, among others) moved eastward during Israel's War of Independence, immigrating into the territories defined today as the Muṭallaṭ region and Jordan (Arnold 2004).[13] The woman, who was born and lived in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, claimed her family was originally from that city or in any case had lived in it for many generations.[14]

5 The Muṭallaṭ dialectal area

While some linguistic regions in the Southern Levant have been studied and systematically described (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019; Henkin 2010; Rosenhouse 1984; Shawārbah 2007; 2012; Seeger 2009; 2013), the Muṭallaṭ region, central in ancient and recent linguistic history, remains almost completely unexamined, with the sole exception of a sketch of central rural Palestinian types by Palva (1984), articles by Jastrow (2004; 2013), Cerqueglini (2021; 2022a; 2022b), Majadly (2012), and Zuᶜbi (2021), and some data from the northern Muṭallaṭ fringes mentioned in *Atlas of the Arabic Dialects of Galilee* by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019). One purpose of this article is to add a linguistic document in one of the Muṭallaṭ varieties to the existing body of knowledge.

The Muṭallaṭ region (Hebrew: Ha-Mešullaš) lies along the border with the Palestinian Authority (PA), between Umm ⁱl-Faḥm to the north and Kufᵘr Qāsim to the south. It comprises the eastern Plain of Sharon, between Nahal Taninim to the north, the Yarkon River to the south, the Israeli Central Plain to the west, and the Samarian Mountains to the east. The Muṭallaṭ, with its sedentary, agricultural lifestyle, is considered linguistically homogeneous (Jastrow 2004). Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic (TMA) is considered a conservative rural Muslim dialect characterised by the preservation of interdentals, voiceless uvular (among men) and pre-uvular (among women) articulation of **q*, affrication of **k*, the preservation of *-h-* in the 3rd person pronominal suffixes *-ha*, *-hum*, and *-hin*, and the preservation of long unstressed vowels. The vowel system is considered unitary and defined as conservative, with three short vowels (/a/, /i/, /u/) and five long vowels (/ā/, /ē/, /ī/, /ō/, /ū/). The old diphthongs */ay/ and */aw/ became /ē/ and /ō/, respectively. Long stressed vowels in open syllables are shortened when they lose stress, but this kind of shortening does not take place if the syllable is closed, differently from Cairene Arabic and other neighbouring sedentary Palestinian varieties, but similarly to Galilean Bedouin dialects. A series of exceptions to this general rule is produced by the suffixation of the negation *-š/-iš*, which

[13] Furthermore, as reported by Zuᶜbi (2021: 312), some areas of the Muṭallaṭ experienced sporadic waves of immigration throughout history, such as the immigration of Egyptian peasants from the Delta region at the time of Muḥammad ᶜAlī into the ᶜArᶜara area.

[14] Even though some references are made to the different versions of the tale, any systematic comparisons of narrative and cultural elements fall outside the scope of the present work.

causes the reduction of the long vowels even when they remain accented (*šufnāč* 'we saw you [f.sg.]' vs. *ma šufnáčiš* 'we did not see you [f.sg.]') (Jastrow 2004).

In private conversations, young Muṭallaṭ Arabic speakers pointed out that 'Muṭallaṭ Arabic' seemed to them too general a linguistic category. They supported their claim with the fact that the so-called Muṭallaṭ had by no means in the past ever represented a unitary region with a deep historical identity like that of the Upper Galilee, the Lower Galilee, the Carmel, or the Jerusalem area. They often pointed to epenthetic vowels as an example of dialectal variation within the Muṭallaṭ. Because epenthetic vowels have different weight across TMA varieties, their presence causes different placement of stress: for 'I hit' there is *ḍárab^{i}t* and *ḍaráb^{i}t*. Jastrow proposes these forms as full alternatives, without further considerations of geographical and social order.

The Muṭallaṭ became a geographic and military concept when the term *mešullaš* 'triangle' was coined in Hebrew to indicate the area of Kuf^{u}r Qāsim, Ǧalǧūliya, and Kuf^{u}r Bara (originally: the 'Small Triangle', to differentiate it from the 'Big Triangle' between Ǧanīn, Ṭūlkarem, and Nablus). Here, Israelis had established control before the 1948 war. This situation in itself generated a sense of solidarity and belonging among the people of the area. The concept of a unitary region later extended to the entire area along the border with the West Bank, from the Green Line northwards and westwards, as people living there suffered from similar vicissitudes of separation, loss, and subjection to military control. Nonetheless, linguistic and cultural differences are still apparent among them and are especially striking in terms of lexical choices. Probably the area defined in the past as the 'Small Triangle', i.e. the southern part of the Muṭallaṭ, north-northeast of Tel Aviv, has a unitary, conservative, linguistic identity, most prototypically reflecting the features described by Jastrow (2004), while proceeding toward the north, inter-dialectal differentiation within the Muṭallaṭ is noteworthy, also due to the contact with Bedouin and sedentary Galilean varieties and stylistic prestige tendencies developed over time. In fact, linguistic evidence suggests that the areas of the Jezreel Plain (Marǧ ibn ʿĀmir) and Ḥūla Valley once shared features considered today typical of the Muṭallaṭ dialectal type, dismissed as considered rustic and of low prestige (Nevo 2006; Procházka 2021; Rosenhouse 2002).

Due to the absence of major urban centres of acculturation, the diffusion of linguistic models, and the innovative nature and rural character of Muṭallaṭ society, the traditional varieties spoken in this area are still quite well preserved, especially among elderly women. Contrary to other regions, such as the Galilee and Jerusalem, the population of the Muṭallaṭ is homogeneously Sunni Muslim. According to Jastrow (2004), the religious unity of the Muṭallaṭ is one of the main reasons for its dialectal homogeneity. Interestingly, Jastrow (2004) emphasises the linguistic uniformity of the Muṭallaṭ area, yet in the title of his contribution, he refers to its 'dialects'.

Cerqueglini (2021; 2022a; 2022b) and Zuʿbi (2021) have recently revealed the coexistence of both uniformity and differentiation within the 'Muṭallaṭ linguistic region' considering its sociohistorical background. Indeed, in addition to the fact that the Muṭallaṭ only became a sociopolitical entity after 1948, intermarriage between people from its different cities and micro-areas from south to north, was quite rare in the past and remains so. Community seclusion is customary in the Muṭallaṭ, even within a shared religious and socioeconomic landscape. As in all communities, jokes, sayings, and preconceptions circulate to ironically stigmatise the attitudes and traits of people from neighbouring communities, marking neat distinctions between different social identities. Despite the undoubtedly unitary character of some general, structural characteristics, social differentiation seems to be reflected in several linguistic features. Linguistic features differ to varying extents from place to place, sketching a nuanced picture. Thus, for example, the final *imāla*, the affrication of **k*, the de-emphasizing/fronting of **q*, and the pre-pausal lowering of -ī(C)# are realised to different degrees and present with varying frequency and distribution among the speakers of different settlements (Cerqueglini 2022a). To give an idea of what this means, the distribution of feature variation across the different areas of the Muṭallaṭ could be conceived as similar to the dialectal diversification profiled in the dialectological maps drawn by Seeger for the rural area around Ramallah (2013: XVIII–XXX).

According to Cerqueglini (2022a), based on corpus data, the Muṭallaṭ dialectal region can be divided into four dialectal micro-areas: Umm ^{i}l-Faḥm/Zalafe/^{ʿ}Ar^{ʿ}ara/Kufr Qar^{iʿ} (Northern TMA), Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye (Northern-Central TMA), Ṭīra/Ṭaybe/Qalansawe (Central TMA), Kuf^{u}r Qāsim/Kuf^{u}r Bara/Ǧalǧūliya (Southern TMA). Across these microareas, many of the features recognized as distinctive in central Palestinian dialects in general (Palva 1984) and TMA dialects more specifically (Jastrow 2004) are found to vary or to be present to different extents, while lexical patrimony and heritage are quite differentiated.

6 The Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic Variety Spoken in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye

Today, Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye is a city of some 31,000 inhabitants located along the Green Line, about thirty kilometres north of the Tel Aviv's metropolitan area. The separation wall erected between Israel and the West Bank in 2000 divided the original settlement in two, creating a western enclave (Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye) in Israel and an eastern one (Bāḳa š-Šarḳiyye) in the Palestinian Authority.

According to Majadly (2012) and Cerqueglini (2022a), the dialect of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye has some specific traits not present in other Muṭallaṭ areas and thus represents a dialectal type in its own right that can be considered both geographically and dialectologically as representing a transition between the central area

and the northern Muṭallaṭ, whose dialects are more exposed to the influences of the Galilean types.

In this section, I report the observations on the dialectal features detected in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye present in the (unfortunately sparse) existing literature. I refer here in particular to some phonetic and morphological traits also detectable in the text of the tale reported here. A more detailed discussion of the linguistic features in light of the data provided by the text of the tale is found in section 8.

6.1 */q/ > /k/

The distinctive features typical of TMA (*/q/ > /k/ and */k/ > /č/) are found in what Palva defines as 'Rural Central Palestinian' (1984), consistently with the data reported in Bergsträsser (1915) and Cantineau (1938). The */q/ > /k/ is also shared by some Carmel Coast varieties (Jastrow 2009). Cerqueglini (2022a) reports that the quantitative data regarding the fronting or de-emphasizing of */q/ are quite homogeneous across the four TMA areas. Yet in the variety spoken in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, there is a clear gender-based difference in the degree to which the fronting is realised. Among men, */q/ is pronounced with higher energy than it is among women, similarly to what Abudalbuh described (2011) regarding the gender-based differences in the realisation of emphasis in some Jordanian varieties. Among women, the emphasis is not audible, as shown by the data reported in this text, in which */q/ is transcribed as it always is and consistently pronounced by this female informant, i.e. [k], according to the notation proposed by Jastrow (2004; 2013), which is different from the back velar realisation [ḳ] documented by Zuʿbi in ʿArʿara (2021: 319). According to Nevo (2006) and Procházka (2021), in some villages in the southern part of Marǧ Ibn ʿĀmir—Iksāl, Mqēbli, Ṣandala, and Qūmye—reflexes of */q/ vary between [k], medio-palatal [ḳ], and velar [q].

6.2 */k/ > /č/

In 1915, Bergsträsser marked in his maps a vast diffusion of the affricate pronunciation of */k/ in the southern Levant, across Bedouin and rural areas. This feature is also spread over northern and central Jordan, the Syrian Ḥawrān,[15] and among the so-called 'Šāwi dialects' (Younes and Herin 2016; Procházka 2003), where it develops in proximity to frontal vowels (Procházka 2021). Cantineau (1946), Cowell (1964), Lewin (1969), and Grotzfeld (1980) have written about the treatment of */k/ and its affrication in the *großsyrisches Raum*. According to Procházka (2021), affrication does not take place in the Ḥūla Valley, where the

[15] According to Christie (1901: 110), the dialects of the Jezreel Plain correspond to Ḥawrānis and Bedouin types.

prepalatal /k/ has been preserved, as it has in most Galilean types (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: map 62) and in Southern Lebanon. In contrast, in most Marǧ ibn ʿĀmir villages, speakers tend to maintain the pronunciation [k], yet based on information provided by older speakers, the affricated pronunciation [č] was common in the past.[16]

According to Palva, the affrication of */k/ > /č/ takes place in rural central Palestinian dialects in all environments. He reports the phenomenon in both *dīč* ('cock [sg.]') after /i/, a frontal vowel, and *dyūč* (pl.), after /u/, a back vowel, following Cantineau (1946). Palva (1984) first noted that the behaviour of the palatalization of */k/ > [č] was quite unclear and significantly decreased from south to north. Jastrow (2004) reports some comparative examples of affrication of suffixed 2nd person singular and plural pronouns between Umm ⁱl-Faḥm and Kufᵘr Bara. Both varieties have *dārak* 'your (m.sg.) house', *dārič* 'your (f.sg.) house', *dārčin* 'your (f.pl.) house' but 'your (m.pl.) house' in Umm ⁱl-Faḥm is *dārkum*, while in Kufᵘr Bara is *dārčum*. The general impression is that the affrication of */k/ in the northern system is more consistently relatable to contextual allophony and probably reflects a more consistent rule system of possible Bedouin origin. The allophonic system seems to have spread southwards, where it has lost its consistency through massive overextension.[17] In the northern regions, it seems indeed to correlate with the presence of front vowels, as Palva and Jastrow have aptly noted, while proceeding toward the south, the local systems seem more chaotic. The system has some peculiarities in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye. In the text presented here, the affricate realisation [č] of */k/ seems to take place systematically in most contexts, with very few exceptions.

6.3 Final *imāla*

Similarly to what Seeger (2009; 2013) reported regarding the villages around Ramallah, and Procházka (2021) and Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: maps 23, 46) stated regarding the Jezreel and Ḥūla Valleys, the use of the final *imāla* of the feminine singular ending seems to follow different phonetic rules in the different Muṭallaṭ areas. For example, according to Zuʿbi (2021: 315), in the northern Muṭallaṭ village of ʿArʿara, the final *imāla* follows the same rules as in

[16] Interestingly, according to Procházka (2021), the difference between the several villages lies in the number of words that exhibit the feature of affrication, as shown in Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: map 62).

[17] According to Palva (1984) and as reported by Procházka (2021), the Jezreel Plains and the northern Muṭallaṭ have been affected by the same trend in which the original allochthonous Bedouin allophonic system for the affrication of */k/ first affected the northern regions and later extended southwards, losing its original profile as the original complementary allophonic distribution lost its transparency.

Nazareth and Kufr Kanna (Havelova 2000; Zuʿbi 2017; 2022), in contrast to other Muṭallaṭ areas (Cerqueglini 2022a).

With the exclusion of the emphatic contexts and after /r/, where the *imāla* rising is not realised (Levin 1971), the *imāla* height in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye seems to phonologically be consistently /-i/. Cerqueglini (2022a) notes that in the northern Muṭallaṭ areas, the realisation of the final *imāla* is often of middle type [-e] in contrast with the expected [-i] common to some Galilean types and Nablus (An-Nūrī 1979),[18] while in the southern areas of the Muṭallaṭ it has the realisation [-i]. Cerqueglini (2022a) observes that in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, the final *imāla* rising, always excluded by emphatic contexts both synchronically (*bēṣa* 'white [f.]') and diachronically (**bāqa* > [*bāka*]) seems to correlate with the height of the vowel of the preceding syllable (*midrasa* 'school'[19] but *mʿallimi* 'teacher [f.]').

However, in calculating local *imāla* outcomes, one cannot ignore the effects of morphology, both diachronic and synchronic, as Blanc (1966) intuited, masterfully followed by Abo Mokh and Davis (2018).[20] Several facts are worth considering in this context. Indeed, different realisations of final *imāla* are found in the text reported here. For example, the name of the main character Ǧbēne, from the nominal pattern **ǧubayna*, and *fārde* 'wedding party' are both spelled with a final *-e*, clearly distinguished from the final *-i* audible in words like *ǧibni* 'cheese piece'. Another exception to the general rule is the word *ḫarāzi* 'pearl', with a final *-i* (lowered to pausal *-e*) after a syllable containing *-ā-*. A possible explanation for this phenomenon may be found in the fact that the three 'exception words' are part of the specific lexicon of this tale and its plot. Therefore, they might have been learned and handed down among the speakers of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye with the characteristics of a different dialect. Indeed, the elderly grandmother sometimes seems to search in her memory for the exact words, just as she attempts to remember the precise order in which Ǧbēne's family members are asked for permission to go to the party. Efforts are represented in the recording by hesitations, repetitions, and self-corrections.

In the case of *ḫarāzi*, the word the informant uses the most in the narration is the plural form *ḫarazāt* 'pearls', which occurs three times and is the routine dialectal form to refer to jewellery made with pearls, while 'pearl', in the singular form, is seldom used and it is generally pronounced *ḫarūza* in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye.

---

[18] This tendency is shared by some village varieties of the Marǧ ibn ʿĀmir dialect (Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger 2019: maps 23, 46; Procházka 2021).

[19] Concerning the passage from *ma-* to *mi-* in the vocalisation of the prefix in *nomina loci*, this originally Bedouin feature affects a number of lexical items in the northern Muṭallaṭ and Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, as well as in the Jezreel Valley (Procházka 2021) and is probably a relic of Bedouin dialectal influence. In the text proposed here, in section 8.1, line 39, the form *mutraḥič* 'your place' shows the rural *mu-* prefix.

[20] For an extensive discussion on diachronic and sociohistorical methods in Arabic dialectology, see Al-Wer et al. (2022).

The word *ḫarāzi* appears in the tale reported here only once, in *pausa*, together with its verb in the singular form, yet the entire sentence is then corrected and rephrased in the plural (section 8.1, line 41, transcription). The use of the singular probably reflects the memory of the original version in which the informant learned the tale. When we compare different versions of the tale, it appears that a single precious and magical blue pearl (Raufman 2018) capable of maintaining a channel of communication between mother and daughter was given to Ǧbēne by her mother. In particular, as regards *ḫarāzi* 'pearl', the high *imāla* in the end might represent the phonetic rules of a different variety, probably a local Bedouin one.[21]

For the other two cases, the name of Ǧbēne and the word *fārde*, other explanations are possible. As Shachmon (2011) observed, the height of the *imāla* may vary between internal and pausal forms. As this text demonstrates, the traditional variety of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye seems to show an alternation in the degree of the *imāla* in names that have a final *-i* within prosodic units, as they have a final *-e* when they appear at the end of prosodic units, i.e. a lowering takes place in their pausal forms. Ǧbēne may thus be the pausal form of *ǧbēni*, assumed as the basic form of the personal name, just as it happens for Ġarbiyye, and not Ġarbiyyi, in the city's name.

The cultural word *fārde*, which has been widely diffused in Palestinian Arabic-speaking areas though the archaic, mysterious language of the tales, deserves special attention. In the tale reported here, it always appears at the end of a prosodic unit in the form *fārde*, with a final *-e*. The final *-e* may thus always occur here as a 'regular', local pausal form. Nonetheless, in *fārde*, the final *-e* may also reflect the original Persian pronunciation *parde* from Classical Persian *parda* 'curtain, veil', Iranian Persian *parde* (MacKenzie 1971: 65; Nourai 2011: 361), or, much more plausibly, its Ottoman Turkish derivate *perde* 'curtain', in which the *-e-* in the first syllable is pronounced openly before the *-r-*, close to a quite elongated *-ä-* (Kélékian 1911: 319). In Palestinian dialects, the word is pronounced *fārde*, as I transcribe it here, or *fārda* 'Parda', as Raufman transcribes it (2018).

---

[21] Indeed, some elements of Ǧbēne's plot—such as the camel, the *amīr* as an authority figure, and the custom of letting girls graze the herds of sheep and camels—indicate that this tale originated in a Bedouin milieu. Furthermore, Ǧbēne is accompanied by a black slave. African slaves were customarily trafficked by the Bedouins and used as attendants, especially during long journeys such as the *ḥiǧǧa*. Members of some Negev Bedouin lineages explain the presence of families of African origin in their village who bear their family names as the result of their families' progenitors bringing back black male slaves from the *ḥiǧǧa*. The slaves were bought in the markets of Arabia to attend them on their long journeys. Later, the slaves were integrated into the household—maintaining a subordinate rank—and could start their own families under the protection of the Bedouin family, marrying black-skinned women (Cerqueglini 2022c). In fact, the socioethnic layering of the composite Negev Bedouin society is a much more complex topic masterfully explained in Henkin (2010).

The word might have entered the local Palestinian lexical stock during the period of Ottoman rule. This word appears in many languages across the Balkans, the Middle East, and Asia in relation to the practice of women's seclusion either during wedding ceremonies or once a woman has acquired marital status (Britannica 2008). In some cases, the final vowel reflects an original *-a*, in others an original *-e*: Georgian *parda*; Hindi *pardā*; Kazakh *perde*; Punjabi *parda*; Urdu *pardah*; Uyghur *perde*; Uzbek *parda*. The languages that have inherited this word through Ottoman Turkish prevalently show reflexes of a final *-e* (with further adaptations to local morphologies): Albanian *perde*; Bulgarian перде́; Greek μπερντές; Laz ფერდე; Macedonian перде; Romanian *perdea*; and Serbo-Croatian перда/*perda* (Meninski 1680, 1687).

6.4 Epenthetic vowels

In comparison to other sedentary dialects of the Galilee and the Bedouin dialects of the southern Levant, TMA varieties in general do not easily tolerate -CC groups, especially at the words' boundaries, particularly at the ends of words. This phenomenon is reflected in the nominal and verbal morphologies. The main reference work on epenthesis in central rural Palestinian varieties is that of Palva (1965), who accounts for the existence of different epenthetic systems in the Lower Galilee and mentions the phonological laws that rule the functioning of the epenthetic system of Ṭurʿān. As Amir et al. (2014) and Cleveland (1967) aptly suggest, vowel systems vary across the Palestinian dialects not only with regard to vowels' phonological vs. allophonic values but even in terms of their acoustic constituents and articulatory features. These aspects of variation should also be studied in the realm of epenthetic vowels. For instance, Cleveland (1967: 48) reports that in the dialect of Dawayimeh (close to Hebron), the 'intercalary vowel' is generally /i/, yet it may appear as [u] following environmental conditioning (*bínit* 'girl' vs. *ʿúẓumti* 'my body').

Consonantal clusters divided by epenthetic vowels may appear at the beginnings of words, in medial position, in coda, or across word boundaries. According to Cerqueglini (2022a), different TMA areas have different rules for epenthesis regarding the nature of the consonantal cluster as divided and the articulatory type and length of the epenthetic vowel used as a divider. To these conditions, prosodic rules constraining the distribution of the different vowel types should be added, as this article shows through the transcription of the text and its linguistic analysis.

Research on the epenthetic vowels in the Muṭallaṭ is not very developed, despite their evident pervasiveness. As Piggot (1995) and Abu Salim (1980) have pointed out, the comparative study of the epenthetic vowels across language systems requires meticulous and complex work. According to Cerqueglini (2022a), in northern TMA, as in some of the Lower Galilean types described by Palva

(1965), the epenthesis is absent in word-medial position when the second word radical consonant is /r/ or /l/. In central TMA varieties, the epenthetic vowel is used with all consonantal groups, and generally realised as a very short and quite centralised [ᵊ]. In southern TMA, the epenthetic vowel tends to be consistently /ⁱ/. A [ᵃ] vowel appears after a pharyngeal sound in all TMA varieties. Regarding the Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye dialectal type, Cerqueglini (2022a) also observed that epenthesis is quite a pervasive phenomenon: dental (or, more in general, frontal) consonants seem to attract the frontal vocalic realisation [ⁱ], while in other cases [ᵉ] (sic) is used. This preliminary sketch is reviewed and partly modified in the present analysis.

The complexity of the system of rules governing epenthesis in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye is one of the most evident aspects in the transcription of the text reported here due to the existence of different qualities and lengths of the epenthetic vowels, that are seemingly dependent on both phonetic and prosodic conditions. In contrast to other sedentary and Bedouin Levantine Arabic varieties (Cleveland 1967; Klimiuk 2013; Palva 1965; Rosenhouse 1984), here allophonic alternation of the help vowels does not seem to be connected with vowel harmony but rather with the consonantal environment.

Allophonic alternation of the /-ⁱ-/ help vowels is marked in the transcription. In general, the epenthetic vowel before the consonant *-l-* in the article is always [ᵊ]. Dental and frontal consonants may prime a more fronted realisation [ⁱ], for example in the preposition *l-*, i.e. *ⁱl-*. The pharyngeal sounds ʿ and *ḥ* prime the use of the low allophone [ᵃ]. Some cases of the effect of vowel harmony on epenthetic vowels appear in this text.

The articulatory length of the epenthetic vowels—i.e. CⁱC vs CᵊC vs CiC vs Cé:C—seems to alternate in relation to prosodic conditions (internal forms, pausal forms, and emphasised pausal forms). For example, the basic form of the word for 'girl' is *binᵊt*, becoming *binit* in *pausa* and *bínéːt*, with an elongated and stressed vowel, in emphasised pausal forms. These aspects will be explored in the linguistic analysis of the text. In fact, the general trend of the lowering of the articulation point of the vowels in the pausal/pre-pausal forms (*i* > *e*; *u* > *o*), studied by Shachmon and Faust for some Galilean varieties (2017), in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye affects not only long final vowels or final *imāla* of the feminine forms but also epenthetic vowels.

6.5 The 3rd person masculine singular suffix

Also in this case, similarly to what Shachmon (2011) and Seeger (2009; 2013) observed in other dialectal types, the realisation of the 3rd person masculine singular suffix seems to follow different phonetic rules in the different areas within the Muṭallaṭ. In particular, it is in general accepted that the 3rd person masculine singular suffix is *-u* in the entire Muṭallaṭ (Shachmon 2011). According to Cerque-

glini (2022a), it is spelled as *-u* in the northern Muṭallaṭ, while in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye and in the southern Muṭallaṭ areas it is instead realised as *-o*. Nonetheless, more research is needed on the conditions ruling vowel lowering /u/ → [o]. Indeed, in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, consistently with what happens in the case of the feminine singular nominal ending *-i* and in the quality of the epenthetic vowels *-i/ᵊ-*, the pausal forms of the 3rd person masculine singular suffix *-u* also seem to undergo a lowering. In the case of *-u*, the resulting realisation is [-o].

7 Between snow white and Cinderella: Ǧbēne and other colourful ladies

The story of Ǧbēne has been extensively studied both in comparison with other stories from traditional Palestinian folklore (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989) and the world folklore heritage (Raufman 2018). Its narrative type has been identified in 'an oicotype of ATU 403' (Raufman 2018), i.e. it is a local development of the plot type ATU 403, corresponding in the anthropological literature to the 'Black and White Bride' story type—based on the German tale *Die weiße und die schwarze Braut* collected by the Grimm brothers and first published in 1815 (Rölleke 1975)—to which Snow White and Cinderella also belong, to different extent. The tale symbolically refers to the female transition from childhood to adulthood, i.e. to fertility and marriage, symbolised by the opposition of white and black. The name Ǧbēne—local pronunciation of **ǧubayna*, the singulative and diminutive form of *ǧibn* 'cheese'—means 'small piece of cheese',[22] referring to the white colour associated with the girl's miraculous birth, beauty, and innocence. Ǧbēne is born indeed to a childless woman. Different versions of the tale include various scenarios in which Ǧbēne's mother prays or wishes for the birth of a baby girl white as cheese, inspired by the beauty and the whiteness of pieces of cheese or snowflakes.[23]

In fact, in the rural Palestinian culture, the fresh, firm, and clear complexion of young girls is traditionally compared in sayings and proverbs to the cheese from which the liquids had been squeezed (*ǧibne maʿṣara*). As Dalman (1939 6: 303) reports, *ǧibne maʿṣara* was the title of a popular song that went: *ḥadd el-ʿaǧiye ǧibn w-ed-dōr lissa boh umeʿaṣṣerūh ha-l-ḳidde mā boh danas moiye* 'Die Wange des Mädchens ist wie Käse, worin noch Labmagen ist und den man so ausdrückte, daß keine Spur von Wasser darin bleibt.'

---

[22] According to Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) the cheese referred to in the tale is made from sheep's milk. It is white and comes in slabs with rounded corners (pl. *qrāṣ*; sg. *qurṣ*) about three inches square by half an inch that are stacked in brine. For *qurṣ*, Seeger (2022: 814) proposes 'rundes, flaches Objekt, Scheibe, Töpferscheibe; Stück; Brotfladen'.

[23] The motif of snow as inspiring the conception of a baby girl in a childless woman is found in the tale *Die Geschichte von Fraulein Schneechen* (Littmann 1984: 332). In Littmann's tale, the girl is 'white as snow and red as blood' (Littmann 1984: 332).

Once she reaches maturity, the girl is invited out. No one in the family seems to be willing to take responsibility for giving her permission to go. Her relatives' attitude probably represents the effect of traditional Arab societies' beliefs and customs, which consider the beginning of sexual maturity a problematic period in women's life, implying first social contacts with men and the risk of losing virginity and honour, with consequences for their own social respectability and that of their family members. Ǧbēne is eventually somehow allowed to go. Different versions of the tale give different reasons for the invitation. In some versions Ǧbēne is deceived by some peers and abandoned outside the village, with the excuse of going to pick fruits from trees[24] (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989), while in others, such as the one reported here, she is invited to a wedding party (*fārde*). The insistent and collective invitation to a wedding party—made by a group of peers or unspecified figures—alludes to the arrival of sexual maturity, the pressure of sexual desires, and the urgency of marrying and beginning her reproductive life within the collectively recognized framework. Indeed, Ǧbēne is placed by her mother on a camel, as if she herself were going to get married, according to an ancient Bedouin custom.

The exact meaning of *fārde* in the Palestinian tales remains elusive. Or rather, it seems to have acquired different meanings according to the marriage customs adopted by the different Bedouin or rural societies of the southern Levantine linguistic area. In the southern Levant, the word does not refer to a curtain, veil, or secluded space, but to a procession, either accompanying the bride from her father's house to the groom's, as customary among the Bedouin, or 'fetch[ing] a bride from another village' (Raufman 2018), as told in IFA 23139. In her English version of IFA 23139, Raufman (2018: 178) leaves the word untranslated as 'Parda', and the passage of the tale where this custom is explained is translated as follows:

> One day, when Ǧbēne was sixteen or seventeen years old, the people in the village wanted to go out and bring a bride, in a custom called Parda (*fārda*)—almost all the people from the village went to the Parda—men, women, children—each one who had a donkey or horse to ride, following, with the bride riding in a howdah.

In fact, in this part of IFA 23139, two meanings of *fārde* are conflated. One refers to the bride's people taking her, veiled and riding a camel, to the house of the groom, while the other refers to the people of the village going to another village to take a bride. In other words, the original Bedouin and the later rural customs merge here. Indeed, among some Bedouin groups, the bride, dressed up and veiled, rides a camel during the festive wedding parade that leads her from the paternal tent to the tent of the groom erected for the wedding season in the

[24] In Muhawi and Kanaana's version (1989), *dōm* is the name of the fruit. It is probably identifiable with the Christ-thorn tree, a wild tree that bears edible fruit.

same encampment. Customarily, Bedouins have preserved strict endogamy over time, marrying the *bint al-ʿamm*, the daughter of the paternal uncle, as the first and preferable option. Bringing brides from other villages seems a local custom of Palestinian rural societies. Indeed, in his dictionary of sedentary Palestinian varieties, Seeger (2022: 758) translates *fārde* (pl. *fārdāt*) as 'Hochzeitsgefolge; Brautzug; Abholen einer Braut aus fremdem Dorf'.

In the version of the tale from Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye reported here, it is not clear whether the original sense of *fārde* as 'collective parade for the bride' is still transparent for the narrator. She first says *ʿiriṣ*, the routine Muṭallaṭ word for 'wedding party', yet corrects herself afterwards, using the word *fārde*, which belongs to the plot of this tale, as explained in a note by Muhawi and Kanaana (1989). The informant seems to consider both *fārde* and *ʿiriṣ* synonyms for 'wedding party'.

Naturally, going to a party or otherwise leaving the village means being alone for the first time. Once consent has been obtained from the whole family, or, in some versions, from the whole village community, Ǧbēne can go. The mother then gives her a jewel, a pearl, or a pearl necklace, which will act as a channel of communication between her and her daughter. Through the pearls the mother will be able to go to the rescue of her daughter twice, saving her from the machinations of the slave, but the third time this does not happen again. Far from the protection of the family, Ǧbēne is confronted with her misadventures, marked by the colour black, represented by the black servant and the coal. In some cases, she dyes herself black so as not to be recognized when she manages to return to her own village with the help of a knight (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989).[25] In other versions, such as IFA 23139 and the version reported here, the black servant who was supposed to lead Ǧbēne's camel to the wedding party takes Ǧbēne down from her mount, paints Ǧbēne black and herself white, and thus disguised manages to ride Ǧbēne's camel and eventually marries a prince. The act of riding metaphorically alludes to sexual intercourse. Its allusive meaning is revealed by the desire of the servant to ride instead of Ǧbēne. In short, the wedding invitation turns into a disappointment for Ǧbēne, who loses her status and has to attend the servant's wedding rather than celebrate her own.

Through the exchange of colours between Ǧbēne and the servant, the cosmic order is subverted. What is white becomes black, and what is black becomes

[25] The self-camouflage is reminiscent of the story of Sackcloth hiding in a sack so as not to marry her father (Tale 14. Muhawi and Kanaana 1989). Self-camouflage also represents an attempt at self-protection in the story of Ǧbēne in the version reported by Muhawi and Kanaana (1989). The girl does not want to be sexually attractive to the men who offer to help her get home and once in the village she does not want to be recognized by the same envious people who betrayed her. In the tale of Cinderella, too, the girl is covered by black coal, which conceals both her beauty and her real social status. Thus, she remains unattractive to suitors, who consider her stepsisters instead, but at the same time the black coal protects her from the sexual aggressiveness of males, eventually allowing her to preserve her honour and marry a prince.

white. The opposition between black and white seems to be a fundamental dichotomy in human cultures and languages. It seems that cross-linguistically there are no chromatic systems, whether hue-oriented (Berlin and Kay 1969) or brightness-oriented (MacLaury 2005), that do not recognize this opposition as primary. Indeed, this primary opposition probably derives from the universal experience of the daily alternation between light and darkness (Hemming 2012), where light allows discernment while darkness blunts it. The experience of colour distinction is associated with the appearance of the first light of the sun at dawn, a sacred time in astral and monotheistic religions. An example of this association in Islam is the passage of *Surat al-Baqara* 2–187 where the time of the beginning of the religious daily fasting is indicated by the verse '[…] and eat and drink until the white thread appears to you distinct from the black thread, then keep your fast till the nightfall.' An example from Judaism is the definition of the colour *teḵelet* in the Mishnah: *Teḵelet* is the colour of the stripes on the prayer shawl. Because it is similar to white, it cannot be seen before daylight; the moment when the stripes can be distinguished from the white parts of the shawl defines the time when the morning prayer can be recited (*Mishnah*, *Berakhot* 1.2) (Sovran 2013).

Further 'embodied' anthropological interpretations of the opposition of white and black, based on the physiology of the human body, claim white to be associated with milk, an essential food; black with faeces or decomposing, dead, materials; and red, the third colour to be cross-linguistically distinguished and named, with blood (Palmer and Schloss 2010). These colours are the richest in symbols across cultures. In particular, in Arab culture—especially in its primaeval expressions, still represented in some Bedouin societies—white and black are associated with social respectability and female and male honour (Kressel and Wikan 1988). The colour name *iswid* 'black (m.sg.)' is so loaded with ominous meanings that it is avoided for taboo reasons, so the words *azraq*, originally 'grey/blue' and *asmar* 'dark' are used instead (Borg 2009).

In the tale, the harm, dishonour, and humiliation caused to Ǧbēne by the black servant are symbolically embodied by the verb *šaḥḥar* or *šaḥḥir* 'schwärzen (jn, etw); schwarz machen (jn); unglücklich machen (das Leben); entehren, in Schande bringen, entjungfern (eine Frau)' (Seeger 2022: 518). The verb literally means 'to blacken' and metaphorically refers to slander, humiliation, and damage done to someone's life, especially a woman's, by dishonouring her. Soot is the material used to blacken Ǧbēne, either by the servant or by herself, in different versions. The word for soot is *šaḥḥār/šuḥḥār* (Seeger 2022: 518). A common Arabic curse is *Allāh yišaḥḥrak* 'May Allāh blacken you' or among the Bedouins *Allāh yisawwid wiǧhak* 'May Allāh blacken your face'.[26] The 'face', *al-wiǧh*, represents the legal subject and his/her authority and responsibility in traditional Bedouin law and

[26] Muhawi and Kanaana (1989) report that the verb 'blacken' also appears in Tale 1, 'Tunjur Tunjur Tunjur' (paragraph 11). The mother shouts at daughter pot who stole goods *ya mšaḥḥara*

in other, less conservative, sedentary Arab societies. Therefore, 'to blacken the face' means to socially and legally shame someone. In fact, black is such a powerfully ominous and symbolically loaded colour as to apparently entail opposite meanings, especially among the Bedouins, for whom black represents disgrace, dishonour, and shame, with all their social consequences: moral contempt, social isolation and, eventually, ruin, yet is also the basic, dominant, colour of the fabric used for women's dresses, and not simply to protect them from the sun's rays. In the Bedouin and, more generally, the Arab social order, women are entrusted with the honour of their families, including their male relatives. Violations of the honour code are punished. Once, they were mainly resolved through physical violence (Kressel et al. 1981). Therefore, women are burdened with the responsibility of preserving honour, whether through sexual conduct or in other aspects of their social lives. Thus, black accompanies women and marks them as the holders of a great power and its ambiguous, yet revered, codes. In other words, Ǧbēne's black disguise may simply allude to her entrance into sexual life which, even in the accepted form of marriage, still involves physical intercourses and the loss of virginity. It is no coincidence that brides throughout the Arab and Muslim world wear not only veils but also heavy facial and body makeup—in traditional societies usually in white, black, and red (Hemming 2012; Prasse 1999; Shinar 1999; Stewart 1999). Makeup stereotypes their facial features, making them unrecognisable to protect them not only from evil eye and bad spirits but also from personal dishonour, shrouding in mystery the delicate existential passage during which they are about to lose their feminine honour.

At this point in the plot, when black turns white and white turns black and all order is subverted, falsehood and injustice seem to destroy Ǧbēne's fate and promote that of the servant girl instead. But as often happens in fairy tales, the unfortunate young woman finds help in the elements of nature, which conspire to restore the cosmic order. She finds shelter in a tree—considered an omen of a wealthy marriage in the local folklore (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989)—and the animals she grazes, affected by the girl's sad song, become involuntary helpers. The *amīr*, willing to enquire about his animals' depression and lack of appetite, meets the girl and hears her story. Ǧbēne's singing is a central element of the plot. In other tales related to the transition to sexual maturity, the singing motif is associated with birds, symbols of fertility, whose names are used in Palestinian Arabic to allude to the sexual organs.[27]

Both Ǧbēne and the black servant are invited to bathe and thus the servant's machinations are revealed. In IFA 23139, the servant is kindly forgiven, while in

---

'O blackened one!' 'You [should be] ashamed!' Children were directly exposed through tales to the complex and nuanced code of honour, which involved rules of social and sexual conduct.

[27] Examples of the symbolic and allusive function of birds, expressing both male and female sexuality, are present in tales 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 in Muhawi and Kanaana (1989).

the version reported here, she is beheaded and burnt, to the surprise of the young listener. Yet afterwards, the servant is mistakenly mentioned again, proving that in earlier versions of the tale, the black servant's misbehaviour was not taken seriously enough for her to be punished. Once the servant is dismissed, Ǧbēne finally receives the marriage proposal from the *amīr*. However, she is already at the *amīr*'s house and away from her family, so her marriage ceremony risks diverging from the common order of events, according to which first the girl's hand is requested and then a farewell party takes place at the bride's place before she can join the marital household. In the version reported here, the *amīr* and Ǧbēne seem to go in search of the girl's family together. Since the narrator of the story reported here seems not to be sure about the exact sequence of the events or not remember them clearly, her granddaughter, Taqwa, asks her for more details about how Ǧbēne and the *amīr*'s life together actually began. In IFA 23139, the *amīr* arrives at Ǧbēne's village and asks her father for permission to marry her. In the end, a party in which the whole community participates for seven days is organised.

Lines 92–93 in sections 8.1 (transcription) and 8.2 (translation) report the motif of the meeting and mutual recognition between parents and daughter after the completion of the initiatory journey. The parents' recognition is gradual: initially, due to the crying, they are unable to recognize the girl as the daughter they thought was missing. The motif of the parents' tears is ritual and symbolic: during the experience of the rite of passage, the little girl symbolically disappeared to make way for the woman (Grambo 1971). Even the difficult recognition is part of the fulfilment of the ritual: it underlines that the woman is profoundly different from the little girl she was before. Eventually, the recognition marks the reintegration of the woman into the society in her adult status. The symbolic and ritual value of the final mourning for the child and the recognition of the adult is evident also in other Palestinian folktales, such as the tale of 'Šāṭer Ḥasan and His Nine Brothers' (Perez and Rosenhouse 2022).

Finally, a conservative aspect of the text presented here is the closing formula, in which the listener is invited to reciprocate by telling a story in turn. Instead, in the text reported here, as sometimes happens especially with female narrators, there is no opening formula.

Beside the colour symbolism, additional motifs present in the version of the tale of Ǧbēne reported in this paper can be found also in other folktales from Bedouin and sedentary Palestinian milieus (e.g. Perez and Rosenhouse 2022: 183–199, 255–267, 305–321).

8 *Qiṣṣət ʾǦbēne*: an almost all-female story

As mentioned above, the text reported here was narrated by a female informant in her seventies to her granddaughter, Taqwa, a psychology student in her twenties. It is important to emphasise that the two women speak different gen-

erational varieties. The narrator, who will simply be called 'Grandmother' from now on, speaks the traditional dialect of the city of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye and has never studied or been heavily exposed to other varieties of Arabic or foreign languages. Taqwa, on the other hand, has not only mastered Hebrew and written Arabic, but uses here a conversational variety that is not only 'educated', i.e. influenced by high, written registers of Arabic (Badawi 1973; Blanc 1960; Kaye 1994; Rosenhouse 2007) but also adapted to inter-dialectal communication within the Palestinian Arabic linguistic koine (Henkin 2016), in which many features of her Muṭallaṭ dialectal background disappear. For example, Taqwa does not show sensitivity to the dialectal rules governing the alternation of internal and pausal forms and the distribution of help vowels. From a macroscopic point of view, Taqwa's vocabulary is different from that of her grandmother; she does not say *ḫurrāfa*, according to the traditional lexical usage (Muhawi and Kanaana 1989), but *qiṣṣa* (transcription, line 1). The intergenerational lexical difference becomes clear when Taqwa interrupts her grandmother and asks her to explain the meaning of the unfamiliar word *ṭurṭamaniyyi* (transcription, line 34).[28] Grandmother explains that this word referring to Ǧbēne's slave is a synonym of *sōda* 'black', simplifying the meaning of this cultural word and restricting it to a synonym of 'black', the main connotation repeatedly associated with Ǧbēne's slave during the narration. Indeed, this word belongs to a sociohistorical and semantic sphere inaccessible to Taqwa and her generation. Such cases of meaning negotiation exemplify the complex phenomenon defined as intergenerational conversational repair and studied by Henkin in Negev Arabic varieties (2023). Therefore, regarding the features of the traditional Muṭallaṭ variety of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, only the parts of the reported text attributed to the elderly informant (Grandmother) need to be considered here.

The text, narrated by a woman to her granddaughter, is a story in which men and women seem to wield different forms of power and authority, as was often highlighted in the folklore literature in the Arabic-speaking world (Perez and Rosenhouse 2022). The tale highlights women's decision-making powers in marriage planning, i.e. in shaping family and society. In this version of it, an aunt or grandmother of Ǧbēne has the final say on allowing her to go to the party. Another figure who appears in this version of the tale is the mother of the *amīr*, who eventually drives away the fraudulent bride and consecrates the legitimate one through the revealing bath. The bath probably alludes to the ritual washing that preceded the bride's dressing. This custom remains a fundamental part of Arab marriage rituals, carried out with more and more elaborate forms over time,

[28] The word *ṭurṭamaniyyi* probably represents a popular reinterpretation of the Arabic word *turkumān*, which ultimately entered Arabic from the Persian *turkmān*. This word, which originally described some Turkish groups of central Asia, probably passed into local Levantine popular use to generally indicate foreigners and slaves from remote and exotic places.

which can include elements such as the first complete shaving of the girl's body, makeup, and the rite of the henna.

The version of the story presented here is predominantly feminine also from a purely grammatical point of view. Not only most of the characters are women but even the animals that Ǧbēne takes care of are always associated with feminine verbal forms that are still clearly distinguishable from the masculine ones in traditional Muṭallaṭ dialects, according to the distinct morphological patterns precisely described by Jastrow (2004).

Nonetheless, a remarkable exception to this pan-feminine tendency is found here in the preliminary interactions between grandmother and granddaughter, in which the grandmother addresses Taqwa using the 2nd person singular 'you' in the masculine grammatical gender. The masculine forms are clearly audible in the recording, reported in the transcription (section 8.1), line 3: *w-ⁱnta ṣġīr… hassa ḫatyārit*, 'when you were young (m.), now you grew (m.) old'. These data were confirmed by Taqwa. The sentence in line 3 is actually mixed in terms of the interlocutor's gender. Grandmother begins with the feminine form *ḫarraftič* 'I told to you (f.)' and continues with the two masculine forms reported above. In the traditional Muṭallaṭ dialects, the female speech is notoriously characterised by the use of masculine grammatical forms, often participles and adjectives, with feminine referents (Dbayyat 2004). In this case, the masculine gender might have been used for apotropaic reasons, a sort of grammatical gender 'disguise' to protect the granddaughter from evil spirits. Nevertheless, the use of masculine forms for feminine referents in the traditional Muṭallaṭ dialects, as in other Palestinian Arabic varieties, has been reported in literature among women peers (Barontini and Ziamari 2009; Rosenhouse 1998; Rosenhouse and Dbayyat 2006; Saʾar 2007; Walters 1991; Zuʿbi 2021), and masculine forms (3rd and 2nd person singular) are used for the inclusive generic person (Henkin 2019).

8.1 Transcription

The transcription proposed here represents the phonological rules of the dialect under examination, including areal features, i.e. long vowels become short (and are represented as such) in open unstressed syllable (Bauer 1926; Blanc 1953; Elihai 1977; Jastrow 2004). However, allophonic variants are transcribed instead of their relative phonemes with regard to the elements discussed in section 6, i.e. the allophones [č] and [k] of the phoneme /k/ (6.2); the different pronunciations of final *imāla*, including prosodic variants (6.3), epenthetic vowels and their prosodic variants (6.4), and the 3rd masculine singular suffixed pronoun and its prosodic variants (6.5). The phoneme /q/ is always pronounced [k] and written as such in the traditional variety spoken by grandmother, like the plosive allophone of the phoneme /k/ (6.1). Taqwa pronounces the phoneme /q/ with pharyngeal

emphasis. The affricate [ǧ] is the common reflex of OA /ǧ/.[29] The symbol {ẓ} is used here to simply represent the interdental fricative, voiced, emphatic phoneme (without spirantisation). Since prosodic norms are active in the traditional dialect and produce allophonic alternations, the text is marked for minor breaks (|) and major breaks (||).

Taqwa:
1 *as-salām ʿalēkum | sitti. || čif ḥālič? || ḏāčri qiṣṣət ᵊǦbēne | lli ḫarraftīni iyyāha*
2 *w-ana ṣġīri? || hassa | ḫarrfīni iyyāha oḫra marra! ||*

Grandmother:
3 *ḫarraftič iyyāha | w-ⁱnta ṣġīr…|| hassa ḫatyārit ||*[30]

Taqwa:
4 *ṭayyib | sitti || ḫarrfīni iyyāha oḫra marra | ʿašān ʿalay taslīm waẓīfi ||*

Grandmother:
5 *fī ha-l-mara*[31] *| ma l-hā-š*[32] *ulād || fī yōm | likyat bāb ᵊs-sama*[33] *maftūḥ*[34] *|| willa hī*[35] *bitkūl: |*

---

[29] According to Procházka (2021), the dialects of the Marǧ ibn ʿĀmir area also exhibit this feature, though Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: map 63) notes both [ǧ] and [ž] for Mqēble. The dialect of the Ḥūla Valley predominantly features a voiced sibilant [ž], with some instances of [ǧ], reflecting the Galilean situation reported by Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: map 64).

[30] This sentence opens with a second singular feminine form and shifts to the use of the masculine instead, as detailed at the beginning of this section.

[31] In this text, the determinative article *-l-* is almost without exception accompanied by the residual demonstrative particle *ha-*. It seems that the form *hal-* is undergoing grammaticalization and the article *-l-* is being replaced by the new *hal-*.

[32] In this example of negative existential sentence, the enclitic personal pronouns (feminine singular, in the example) is lengthened and stressed, as described in Jastrow (2004: 174).

[33] The epenthetic vowel associated with the definite article is systematically articulated as a short schwa [ᵊ].

[34] Lit. 'she found the sky's door/direction open'. This is a variation on the common expression 'to face toward the sky's door/direction', used to refer to praying to God for the realisation of a desire.

[35] The short *hī* form, instead of the long *hiyya* form, is the regular one in this variety. *Hiyya* is also found, in this variety and in this text, for particular uses, such as the pragmatic topic marking 'it was she who …' (line 78).

6 *‘ya*[36] *ṛaḇḇí:!*[37] || *tanṭīni*[38] *binéːt!*[39] || *miṯᵊl kurṣ ᵊğ-ğibin!*[40]*’* ||
7 *kammal*[41] *ᵊl-mara* | *simiᶜ minnha rabbna* | *w-ẓallat ḥibla* || *ğābat binᵊt*[42] | *miṯᵊl kurṣ ᵊğ-ğibin*[43] ||
8 *hassa* | *čibrat ha-l-binit* || *ᶜazamūha ᶜala ᶜiris* || *biddha trūḥ ᵊl-binit* ||
9 *rāḥat l-imm-ha* | *kālat ᵊl-ha*: |
10 *‘imm Ǧbēne!* | *ḫalli Ǧbēne trūḥ maᶜána ᶜa-l-fārde!’* ||[44]
11 *kālat ⁱl-ha* | *‘rūḥi kūli l-abū-ha!’* ||
12 *‘abū Ǧbēne!* | *ḫalli Ǧbēne trūḥ maᶜána ᶜa-l-fārde!’* ||
13 *kāl:* | *‘kūlu la-sᵊyīd-ha’* ||

---

[36] The pronunciation of *yā* is short (*ya*) throughout the text, similarly to what was found in Belinkov’s data (2014: 24).

[37] The vowel length in the unstressed open syllable here is not the original morphological length of the suffixed possessive pronoun. Indeed, it is regularly shortened in this variety because it is unstressed and found in an open syllable. In this case, the lengthening is due to the position of the syllable at the end of a prosodic unit. The syllable is particularly emphasised by the final rising intonation of the invocation, which preserves the articulatory height of the vowel /i/, preventing its lowering, and it is heard as stressed because of the prosodic rising pitch. This is thus a pausal form, and it is transcribed accordingly. The *r* and the double *b* consonants in the invocation of God are pharyngealised in accordance with a typically Bedouin linguistic practice.

[38] The verb *anṭa* ‘to give’ (Seeger 2022: 1017) is often used in this traditional variety instead of *aᶜṭa*.

[39] This pausal form has some interesting peculiarities. The epenthetic vowel is clearly lowered /i/ > [e], prosodically lengthened, and stressed. These traits correlate with a particular emotional load expressed in the intonation. This is not the only case in which the epenthetic vowel is stressed in this text. Other instances are *maᶜána* (line 10), *ḫālít-ha* (line 21), and *ᶜam-mít-ha* (line 23). The stressed epenthetic vowel is reminiscent of Cairene Arabic forms, such as *ᶜindína* ‘at our place’ (Woidich 2006: 141).

[40] The routine pausal form of *binᵊt* is *binit*, with the epenthetic vowel fully articulated with the same length as a morphological short vowel. Interestingly, the vowel in *pausa* is not lowered toward [e].

[41] The 3rd person masculine singular form *kammal* seems to be used with a feminine subject, ‘the woman finished talking’. This time the unmarked form might have been triggered by the sentence initial position. One of the reviewers suggests a different interpretation: ‘God granted the woman(’s wish)’, in which case the masculine verb would regularly agree with God (m.s.) as the implicit subject. The verb *kammal* is indeed habitually used in contexts of fulfillment of wishes.

[42] The regular, non-pausal, form *binət* appears here.

[43] Pausal form of *ğibᵊn*, showing a fully articulated short *-i-* vowel, without lowering.

[44] In the oral transmission of the tale, subjects might have been often altered and substituted. So, the plot should be reconstructed *ad sensum* in some passages, keeping in mind the different versions of the tale. In Muhawi and Kanaana’s version (1989) a group of couples asks Ǧbēne’s family members to let the girl go with them. Here, too, it is clear from the construction scheme of the requests that it is some plural subject asking Ǧbēne’s mother to let the girl go with them, and not the girl herself.

14 *‘sᵊyīd ᵊǦbēne! | ḫalli Ǧbēne trūḥ maʿána ʿa-l-fārde!’* ||
15 *kāl:* | *‘kūlu la-sītt-ha’* ||
16 *‘sītt*[45] *ᵊǦbēne! | ḫalli Ǧbēne trūḥ maʿána ʿa-l-fārde!’* ||
17 *‘kūlu la-ḫāl-ᵊha’* ||
18 *‘ḫāl ᵊǦbēne! | ḫalli Ǧbēne trūḥ maʿána ʿa-l-fārde!’* ||
19 *‘kūlu la-ʿamm-ᵊha’* ||
20 *‘ʿamm ᵊǦbēne! | ḫalli Ǧbēne trūḥ maʿána ʿa-l-fārde!’* ||
21 *‘kūlu la-ḫālít-ha’* ||
22 *‘ḫālt ᵊǦbēne! | ḫalli Ǧbēne trūḥ maʿána ʿa-l-fārde!’* ||
23 *‘kūlu la-ʿammít-ha’* ||
24 *‘ʿammt ᵊǦbēne! | ḫalli Ǧbēne trūḥ maʿána ʿa-l-fārde!’* ||
25 *kāmat ᵊǦbēne*[46] *| rāḥat maʿáha*[47] *ʿa-l-fārde.* ||

Taqwa:
26 *saᵓalu kull ⁱl-ʿēli?*[48] ||

Grandmother:
27 *ᵓā!* || *kull*[49] *ʿelít-ha*[50]*…* || *rāḥat maʿáha… maʿáhum ʿa-l-fārde* || *račča͟būha ʿa-ǧ-ǧamal* |
28 *w-ḥaṭṭat immha bᵊ-rakabātha ḫarazāt* || *šāyfe:?*[51] || *ḥaṭṭat…*|| *ha͟dōl ᵊl-ḫarazā:t*[52]*… byiḥčēn*[53] ||

Taqwa:
29 *čēf byiḥčīn?* ||

---

[45] Length in *ī* is clearly audible, even though the genitive construction represents one prosodic word, *sītt ᵊǦbēne*, which is stressed on the *ē* in *Ǧbēne*.

[46] The use of the verb *kām* here might have preserved its original sense of ‘getting up’ or ‘standing up’ or expressed an inchoative sense of beginning of the action.

[47] Lit. ‘she went with her’. The pronoun is corrected in line 27 to ‘she went with them’, according to the original plot.

[48] In the variety spoken by Taqwa, there is no sign of alternation between internal and pausal forms.

[49] The word *kull* is the only case in the text where */k/ is pronounced as a plosive sound. According to Jastrow (2004), back vowels can block the shift to the affricate realisation of /k/. This word is probably part of the conservative lexicon that did not undergo the affrication that stemmed from Bedouin influences (Palva 1984; Procházka 2021).

[50] The long *ē* is shortened because the accent is on the epenthetic vowel, realised as a fully articulated *-i-* vowel.

[51] This pausal form has a lowering of final *-i* to *-e*. The final vowel undergoes prosodic lengthening.

[52] Stylistic emphasis expressed by prosodic lengthening.

[53] This pausal form, with final *-ī* lowered to *-ē*, should be compared to the same verb in non-pausal position in line 30.

Grandmother:

30 *byiḥčīn yaʿni.* || *in ḥād katalha w-nādat ʿala immha* | *bitrūd ʿalīha immha.* || *ḥaṭṭathin*

31 *bi-rakbātha ʾimmha* | … *ḫarazāt. ṭayyib.* || *rāḥat.* || *ṣārat ʾl-ʿabde.*[54] || *w-hī tisḥab*

32 *b-ha-ğ-ğamal.* || *tkūlha:* | *‘nízli, nízli!*[55] || *ana dōri biddi arčab.’* ||

33 *čān kālat:*[56] | *‘ē,* | *yumma,* | *ē!* || *ʾl-ʿabdi biddha tnazzilni* | *w-tirčab mōẓáʿi:!’*[57] ||

34 *čān kālat ʾil-ha:* | *‘sūki,* | *ya ʿabdi* | *yā ṭurṭamaniyyi,* | *sūki!’* ||

Taqwa:

35 *šū ṭurṭamaniyyi?* ||

Grandmother:

36 *sōda:!*[58] … || *‘sūki,* | *yā ʿabde!* || *sūki bi-ha!’* || *yiruddēn ʾl-ḫarazāt.* ||

37 *ṭayyib.* || *ẓallat timši, timši, timši* | *ta wuṣílin*[59] *ha-l-ʿēn.* | *ṭāḥin bʾ-ha-l-ʿēn* | *biddhin yukʿúdin*[60]

38 *yišráben.*[61] || *ṭayyaḥatha tišrab* | *kammʾn*[62] *ʾl-ḫarazāt sakáṭin*[63] *bʾ-l-ʿēn.* || *ṭayyib.* ||

---

[54] Pausal form of *ʿabdi*, with lowering of the final *-i* to *-e*.

[55] Probably from an original form **inizli*, according to a pattern attested in the paradigms proposed for ʿArʿara by Zuʿbi (2021: 54–55). The helping vowel, realised in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye as a fully articulated short vowel, is stressed and the word-initial epenthetic vowel falls.

[56] The verb ‘to be’ in the 3rd person masculine singular form is used as a phrasal verbal construction, accompanying another inflected perfect form. Here it is not translated. The result of the entire construction is translatable as a preterite (Blau 1960: 121).

[57] Length persists in the first syllable despite the stress on the second, a fully articulated epenthetic vowel realised as *-a-* in an (emphatic and) pharyngeal environment. The final *-i*, originally a long enclitic 1st person singular possessive pronoun, is regularly shortened as it is found in an open, unstressed syllable. It receives a prosodic lengthening as it is found in a *pausa*.

[58] The informant seems unnerved by the interruption and probably embarrassed or surprised by the question. The final *-a* is prosodically lengthened.

[59] In chronological order, from **wúṣiln* > *wúṣilʾn* > *wuṣílin* > *wuṣílʾn*. Consistently with the phono-syntactic treatment of the help vowels as fully articulated short vowels in the variety presented here, the 3rd person feminine plural forms of the perfect are stressed on the penultimate syllable instead of the first one (Jastrow 2004: 171).

[60] Consistently with note 59, the 3rd person feminine plural forms of the imperfect are stressed on the penultimate syllable instead of the first one (Jastrow 2004: 171).

[61] A pausal form, with lowering of the fully articulated help vowel (see notes 59 and 60).

[62] Local form of the quantitative/temporal syntactic connector ‘until’ (see also line 44).

[63] See note 59 on the stress position.

39 *kāmat*[64] *ʿa-ṭ-ṭarīk,* | *kālat ᵃl-ha:* | *ʻtaʿāli.* | *tīḥi,* | *dd*[65] *arčab muṭráḥič.*ʻ[66] ||
40 *nādat ʿala immha,* | *raddēn*[67] *ᵃl-ḫarazāt min ᵃl-ʿēn.* || *ʾā.* | *raddat nādat ʿala immha,* | *abʿadin*
41 *ʿan ᵃl-ʿēn* | *baṭṭalat trudd ᵃl-ḫarāze*[68] || … *baṭṭalin ᵃl-ḫarazāt yiruddēn.* || *kāmat,* | *masčatha* |
42 *w-nazzalatha ʿan ᵃǧ-ǧamal* | *w-rāḥat.* || *ǧābat ᵃš-šḥār* | *w-šaḥḥaratha* | *w-hī rāḥat ʿala ha-*
43 *š-šīd,* | *tbayyaẓat,* || *ʿimlat ḥālha bēẓa miṭⁱl aš-šīd,* || *šwayyᵃt ᵃš-šīd* | *w-bayyaẓat ḥālha* |
44 *w-ričbat hī ʿa-ǧ-ǧamal.* || *rūḥ ya yōm,* | *tāʿ ya yōm*[69], || *kammᵃn faw… futin ʿa-dār…*
45 *fatin*[70] *ʿa-dār… amīr.* ||
46 *wakⁱt ma fatin ʿa-dār ᵃl-amīr,* | *kāmat haḏīč,*[71] | *šāfha bēẓa,* | *kām ⁱtǧawwazha.*[72] ||

Taqwa:
47 *ᵃl-ʿabdú:?*[73] ||

---

[64] In this case, the verb *kām* may have an existential interpretation.

[65] The pseudoverb *bidd* 'to want, to wish' appears several times in this text, used with suffixed pronouns to express volitional or deontic functions (e.g. 'to wish, to have to'). However, as suggested by one of the reviewers, *dd-* is in fact the shortened form of *widd*, i.e. the Bedouin version of the same word 'to want, to wish' (*bidd* is its sedentary version). Thus, the form *dd-* reveals the presence of a further Bedouin linguistic feature.

[66] The word is stressed on the penultimate syllable, consistently with the phonotactic rules of this variety.

[67] The *-ē-* is the local regular outcome for the perfect forms of the C2 = C3 verbs.

[68] Pausal form for *ḫarāzi*.

[69] See note 115 for a comment on this expression and its translation.

[70] In this sentence, both *fatin* and *futin* appear. The two alternative forms of the 3rd person feminine plural perfect of *fāt* 'to enter' are representative of the behaviour of the category of the verbs with a second *w*. The form *futin* reflects the Old Arabic state of the art. According to a more recent development, *fatin* is the regular 3rd person feminine plural perfect and *futin* is the feminine plural imperative (Jastrow 2004: 173; see also Benmamoun [1995]) on the origin of the imperative forms in Arabic). The stem vowel resulting from the C2 *w/y* and the thematic vowel, originally long, is regularly shortened in the 3rd person feminine plural perfect form, as described by Jastrow (2004).

[71] This (f.), the servant.

[72] Here, the phrasal verb *kām* may express an *Aktionsart*, 'immediately married her'.

[73] Strong prosodic lengthening and rising in questions characterises the speech of Taqwa and her generation.

Grandmother:

48 *ʾā!* || *tǧawwaz ᵃl-ᶜabde!* || *hassa* | *wakⁱt ma ⁱtǧawwazha* | *kāmat haḏīč,*[74] |

49 *rāḥ,* | *ḥaṭṭ ⁱl-ha wazz, w-ᵃǧmāl, w-dinya…* | *w-rāḥ ḥaṭṭ ⁱl-ha* | *w-ṣārat tirᶜa taḥᵃt šaǧara.* ||

50 *hassa* | *taḥt ha-š-šaǧara* | *naṣbat ᵃǧ-ǧorbaḥiyye,*[75] || *w-ṣārat titǧarbaḥ.* | *w-hī titǧarbaḥ…*

51 *šu tṣīr tkūl…?*[76] ||

52 *‘ya ṭyūrin ṭāyre*[77] || *ya wuḥūšin dāyre*[78] || *sallímin*[79] *ᶜa-immi w-ᶜa-abūy.* | *w-kū-lu:* |

53 *‘Ǧbēni rāᶜyi*[80] || *tirᶜa wazz w-tirᶜa nūk* | *w-tkayyil tiḥt ᵃd-dālyi.’*[81] || *čun*[82] *ǧīn*[83] *ha-l-wazzāt*

54 *w-ha-…nūk…*[84] *ha-ǧ-ǧmāl.’* ||

---

[74] The verb *kām* may have an existential sense here.

[75] Interestingly, the verb *naṣab* means ‘to stand, to stand up, to rise’ (Seeger 2022: 1010), and the word *ǧorbaḥiyye* is related to the action of pulling oneself up, *tǧarbaḥ* ‘sich hochziehen’ (Seeger 2022: 148). I interpret this word as ‘(song of) consolation’.

[76] The phrasal verb *ṣār* can be interpreted here as an inchoative *Aktionsart* or not be translated (Blau 1960: 121).

[77] The feminine ending *-i* is lowered to *-e* due to the effect of the *pausa*.

[78] The plural nouns *ṭyūrin* and *wuḥūšin* both end with a final *-in*. The *-in* syllable is short and not accented, the stress is clearly audible on the *-ū-* in both words. The final *-in* seems thus not connected with the plural ending *-īn*, but rather reminiscent of a nunated form. In Bedouin dialects, ‘*tanwīn* residues’ in the form of *-in* occur often, especially in poetry (Cerqueglini 2022d).

[79] Jastrow (2004: 173) comments on this form that it represents the preservation of an Old Arabic feature. Interestingly, the animals are addressed in the feminine plural form consistently throughout the tale.

[80] The pausal lowering is prevented by the presence of the *y* consonant before the feminine ending, as in *dālyi* (line 53).

[81] The pausal lowering is prevented by the presence of the *y* consonant before the feminine ending, as in *rāᶜyi* (line 53), with which the word rhymes.

[82] As one of the reviewers suggested, the form *čūn* for the 3rd person masculine singular imperfect has been explained for Bedouin and Bedouinised Galilean varieties as derived from the imperfective **y(i)kūn* > *y(i)čūn* by apheresis and has influenced **kān* > *čān* at a later stage. Indeed, in Bedouin dialects **k* > č seems to have occurred first near front vowels, and later mixed in all vocalic environments. The text here shows *čun* (with a short *-u-*) in a syntactic context where a phrasal perfective form is required (*čān*). In fact, *čun* instead of *čān* is frequently found in the traditional Muṭallaṭ varieties, especially in phrasal constructions. The *-ū-* > *-u-* shortening may be due to prosodic reasons, i.e. the phrasal verb and the following conjugated verb are pronounced as one stress unit.

[83] The form *ǧīn* is the local 3rd person feminine plural perfect form from *ǧāʾ* ‘to come’.

[84] This hesitation shows that the word *ǧmāl* is preferred over *nūk*, typically Bedouin, outside the metrical and traditional constraints of the refrain.

55 *yukʿúdin bḥaddha | w-iṣírin*[85] *yiʿayyíṭin maʿáha. || w-hī tʿayyiṭ. | kaʿdat tʿayyiṭ hī wiyyāhin. ||*
56 *ṣarin*[86] *ha-ǧ-ǧamal w-ha-l-wazzāt | kull ma akálin*[87] *| yiẓʿáfen*[88] *|| kull ma akálin | yiẓʿáfen, ||*
57 *kull ma akálin | yiẓʿáfen… ||*
58 *kāl yōm: | ‘biddi arūḥ ašūf | šu*[89] *btiʿmal*[90] *hāy b-ha-l-wazz w-b-ha-ǧ-ǧamal. ||*
59 *lēš hēč byiẓʿáfen’ ||*
60 *rāḥ | tḥabba fōk ʾš-šaǧara lli btitǧarbaḥ*[91] *ʿalēha. ||*
61 *kāmat taḥᵃt ʿal-ha-l-ʿēn | w-hī ǧbēne ⁱsimha || willa hī | šu ma kallič illa kurᵘs*[92] *ǧibin || bēẓa bēẓa ||*
62 *libsat awaʿīha, | w-raddat riǧᵃᶜat | w-kaʿᵃdat titǧarbaḥ. || ma kaʿᵃdat titǧarbaḥ, |*
63 *ṣārat tkūl: | ‘ya tyūrin ṭāyre || ya wuḥūšin dāyre || sallímin ʿa-immi w-ʿa-abūy. | w-kūlu*
64 *‘ǧbēni rāʿyi, || tirʿa wazz w-tirʿa nūk | w-tkayyil tiḥt ʾd-dālyi.’ ||*

---

[85] The personal prefix *yi-* is simplified to *i-*.

[86] In this case, the verbal form from a C2 = *w* root shows a shortened stem vowel *-a-*. The meaning of this phrasal verb can be interpreted as inchoative: ‘the animals started to become weak, no matter what they ate’.

[87] ‘Whatever they ate’, ‘no matter what they ate’. The verbal form resembles the one shown in the paradigms proposed by Zuʿbi (2021: 333) for the hamzated verbs in the ʿArʿara variety. Yet according to Zuʿbi’s transcription, the epenthetic *-i-* vowel is not realised in ʿArʿara as a fully articulated short vowel, implying that the stress rules are different there than in the variety of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye analysed here.

[88] The fully articulated epenthetic vowel *-i-* in the last syllable is clearly lowered to *-e-*, probably due to the effect of the *pausa*. This behaviour contradicts the cases of the pausal forms *binit* and *ǧibin*, where the epenthetic vowel becomes fully articulated as a short vowel and is not lowered. It seems to me that the verbal forms represent an older wave of full articulation of epenthetic vowels, integrated as such in the system and thus lowered in *pausa*. The epenthetic vowels in the nominal forms are very short inside prosodic units and lengthened only in *pausa*, so their pausal forms are not (yet) integrated into the morphology as the basic forms are, and therefore they are not lowered. This preliminary (not conclusive) modelling of subsequent diachronic changes in the articulation of the epenthesis entails the hypothesis that the fully articulated *-in* of the feminine plural verbal form represented the original pausal form for *-ⁱn*. Furthermore, pronominal morphology can undergo cross-class influence. Regarding the 3rd person feminine plural enclitic pronoun after preposition, for example, Zuʿbi (2021: 326) reports for ʿArʿara *ʿalēhin* > *ʿalēhen* ||. The pausal form could have spread from enclitic pronouns to verbal subject-suffixes. More comparative research should be conducted on this topic.

[89] The interrogative pronoun is pronounced shortly.

[90] This is one of the few *b-* imperfective forms used in the text. Two *b-* imperfective forms are used in this direct speech, clearly representing the marking strategy for the present tense.

[91] This is another example of *b-* imperfective form, in this case marking a repeated action such as ‘she used to find comfort’.

[92] In this word, the epenthetic vowel is adapted to the stem vowel by vowel harmony.

65 *kaʿádin b-ḥaddha ha-l-wazzāt, w-ha-ǧ-ǧamal | w-ṣarin yinhúkin.* ||
66 *hassa | rāḥ ʿala dārhum, | saḥab ḥālo | w-rāḥ l-ammu w-kāl-lha:* ||
67 *ʻakullič | hassa ruddi mayyi | w-biddič tḥammami marʾati, |*
68 *biddič tḥammamīhin ʿa-ṭintēn.*ʼ ||
69 *kālat [i]l-ha: | ʻtaʿāli, | taʿāli biddi aḥammamič.*ʼ[93] ||
70 *kālat [i]l-ha: | ʻlāʾ!* || *biddiš tḥammimīni, | ya mart ʿammi!* || *hassa [ʾ]tḥám-mamʾt.*ʼ[94] ||
71 *kālat [i]l-ha: | ʻlāʾ!* || *kāl-li ǧōzič | ʻḥammimīhaʼ!* || *ana biddi aḥammimič.* ||
72 *kāl: | ʻlaw ma raddatiš [t]ḥammimīha, | hassa bakṭaʿ rāsič!ʼ* || *[i]tḥammami!ʼ* ||
73 *ma dārat ʿalīha šwayyit ha-l-mayyi, | willa hī kālbi sōda sōda.* || *šāyfeː?* ||

Taqwa:
74 *hmm…*

Grandmother:
75 *ṭayyib.* || *ḥaṭṭat-ha ʿa-ǧānəb.* || *ǧābat hadīč | [ʾ]ǧbēne l-… ʿa-s-sīḥ.* || *ḥaṭṭat ʿalēha l-m[w]ayye.* ||
76 *min awwal ma ḥaṭṭat ʿalīha*[95] *šwayy[i]t*[96] *ha-l-m[w]ayyi | ma akallič | illa kalbat miṭ[ə]l kur[u]s*
77 *ǧibin.* || *bēẓa.* || *kāl-ha: | ʻenti, lēš enti ʿāmli hēča b-ḥālič?ʼ* ||
78 *kālat lo:*[97] || *ʻhiyya,*[98] *| [ʾ]l-ʿabdi, | ʿimlat biyyi hēč!* || *hī ʿimlat biyyē.*[99] ||
79 *dārat ʿalay ana šḥār | w-hī dārat ʿa-ḥāl-ha šīd.* || *w-šū ana biddi aʿmal?*ʼ[100] ||
80 *kāl-ha: | ʻḫalaṣ!ʼ* || *ḥaṭṭ*[101] *| masač [ʾ]l-ʿabdi | w-ḥarákha.*[102] ||

---

[93] Deontic use of *bidd-*. See note 121.

[94] The *pausa* seems not to have any effect on the regular, very short realisation of the epenthetic vowel or the stress.

[95] The form *ʿalēha* is the regular one, yet in this case *ʿalīha* appears.

[96] After *-y-* the articulation of the epenthetic vowel is *-i-*.

[97] The enclitic *-u* pronoun of the 3rd person masculine singular (see line 66) is lowered to *-o* by effect of the *pausa*.

[98] Long form of the 3rd person singular feminine independent pronoun, used in alternation with the basic form *hī*. In this context, the use of the long form could mark a 'presentative' intention, translatable as 'it was her'. The final *-a* could go back to a predicative accusative, cross-linguistically widespread for presentative pronouns, as in English 'it was *me*, *her*, *them*' or Florentine Italian '*Te* tu se' grullo!' ('The crazy one is you!').

[99] In this line, it is possible to see the internal and the pausal form of *biyyi* 'to me'.

[100] Deontic use of *bidd-*.

[101] Here the verb 'to put' seems to have a phrasal function, which could be ingressive/inchoative, and is nonetheless translatable, in my opinion, with the adverb 'immediately' rather than 'he started …'

[102] The vowel is stressed because of the suffixed pronoun.

Taqwa:
81 *ḥarᵃkhá:?*[103]

Grandmother:
82 *wᵃlla:*[104] | *… masačha* | *kaṭaᶜ rāsha* | *w-ramāha,* | *w-tǧawwaz ᵃǧbēne* ||
83 *w-kālha* | *'wīn ahlič?'* || *dallatu ᶜala ahílha.* || *rāḥ,* | *raččabha* | *w-rāḥ* |
84 *hū w-iyyāha ᶜind ahílha.* ||
85 *likyat…* | *liki immha w-abūha w-l-ᶜimme.* | *min čuṭur ma humme*[105] *mᶜayṭīn ᶜalīha* |
86 *ma humme maᶜlumīn-š*[106] *innha ǧbēne.* ||

Taqwa:
87 *ṭāb…* | *ma aḥaḍūha ᶜa-l-ᶜirṣ…* | *muš… ma raǧǧᶜūš…* ||

Grandmother:
88 *ma raǧǧᶜūš ᶜalēhen.*[107] || *ma aḥaḍūha ᶜa-l-ᶜiriṣ…* || *raḥin… ᶜind ᵃl-amīr* | *w-ẓallēn ᶜind ᵃl-amīr.*[108] ||

Taqwa:
89 *ṭayyib*

Grandmother:
90 *min waktin ᵃl-ᶜabdi ma ǧawwazat ᵃl-amīr…* | *biddha tirǧaᶜ ᶜa-l-fārde.*[109] ||

Taqwa:
91 *ṭayyib*

---

[103]The rising intonation and the lengthening correlate with surprise and questions in the koineised variety of the youth, especially among young women.

[104]The final *-a* is prosodically lengthened.

[105]Zuᶜbi (2021: 335) reports *hummi* in ᶜArᶜara, while Jastrow (2004) reports both *humm* and *hummi* as alternative forms.

[106]The original *-ū-* is shortened because in the negative construction it ends in an open syllable and loses its stress.

[107]The form *ᶜalēhin* is found here in its pausal form *ᶜalēhen*, with lowering of the last vowel. Zuᶜbi (2021: 326) reports the same pausal form in ᶜArᶜara.

[108]Ǧbēne and the slave had remained at the *amīr*'s place since they arrived there on their way to the *fārde*. Ǧbēne was already living in the groom's house when the wedding was organised.

[109]Ǧbēne is the subject of this sentence, whose sense is difficult to interpret in relation to the plot.

Grandmother:
92 *rawwaḥat.* || *likyat immha w-abūha byišufūš*[110] ||
93 *massaḥat hēč ʿinēn* | *immha kāmat fattaḥat* | *massaḥat ʿinēn* | *w-abūha fattaḥ* | *w-ʾl-amīr aḥaḍ*
94 *immha w-abūha* | *w-rāḥ kaʿᵃdhum*[111] *ʿindo.*[112] ||
95 *w-hāy ḫurrafíti*[113] || *w-ʿalēč ʾbdālha.* ||

8.2 Translation

The translation is as close as possible to the original. Since the story is well known and the grandmother has certainly told it many times, often the subjects are implied, and the listener must deduce them from the context of the narration. In these cases, additions have not been made in the body of the translation but in footnotes.

Taqwa:
1 Hello, grandmother. How are you? Do you remember the story of Ǧbēne that you told me
2 when I was small? Now tell it to me once again!

Grandmother:
3 I told you when you were small. Now you are grown old …

Taqwa:
4 All right, grandmother. Tell it to me once again, as I have to complete an assignment.

Grandmother:
5 There was this woman who had no children. One day she found heaven's direction open, and so she said:
6 'Oh God! Give me a daughter! Like a piece of cheese!'
7 The woman finished talking, our Lord heard her, and she got pregnant. She gave birth to a daughter like a piece of cheese.
8 Now, the daughter grew up, and they invited her to a wedding party, to which the girl wanted to go.
9 She went to her mother and told to her:

---

[110]The stress is on the last syllable, as described by Jastrow (2004: 174).

[111]The phrasal verb *rāḥ* can express intentionality and future action. In this case it seems to retain its original meaning 'to go'.

[112]Pausal form of *ʿindu*.

[113]The stress is clearly audible on the penultimate syllable.

10 ‘Oh Ǧbēne’s mother! Let Ǧbēne go with us to the *fārde*!’
11 She said to her, ‘Go ask her father!’
12 ‘Oh Ǧbēne’s father! Let Ǧbēne go with us to the *fārde*!’
13 He said, ‘Ask her grandfather!’
14 ‘Oh Ǧbēne’s grandfather! Let Ǧbēne go with us to the *fārde*!’
15 He said, ‘Ask her grandmother!’
16 ‘Oh Ǧbēne’s grandmother! Let Ǧbēne go with us to the *fārde*!’
17 ‘Ask her maternal uncle!’
18 ‘Oh Ǧbēne’s maternal uncle! Let Ǧbēne go with us to the *fārde*!’
19 ‘Ask her paternal uncle!’
20 ‘Oh Ǧbēne’s paternal uncle! Let Ǧbēne go with us to the *fārde*!’
21 ‘Ask her maternal aunt!’
22 ‘Oh Ǧbēne’s maternal aunt! Let Ǧbēne go with us to the *fārde*!’
23 ‘Ask her paternal aunt!’
24 ‘Oh Ǧbēne’s paternal aunt! Let Ǧbēne go with us to the *fārde*!’
25 And so Ǧbēne set off with her to the *fārde*.

Taqwa:
26 They asked the entire family?

Grandmother:
27 Yes! All her family. So she went with her … with them to the *fārde*. They put her on the camel
28 and her mother put pearls in her harness. Do you see? She put … Those pearls could speak.

Taqwa:
29 How come they could speak?

Grandmother:
30 They could speak, just like that. If someone would try to kill her and she cried to her mother, her mother could talk back to her. She put them
31 in her harness, her mother, pearls. Well. She went. The servant started to pull
32 the camel. She says to her, ‘Get down! Get down! Now it is my turn to ride.’
33 And she said, ‘Ah, mother, ah! The servant wants to get me off the camel and ride in my place!’
34 And she told to her: ‘Drive, o slave, o *ṭurṭamaniyyi*, drive!’

Taqwa:
35 What is *ṭurṭamaniyyi*?

Grandmother:

36 Black! ‘Drive, o servant, drive her!’ echoed the pearls.
37 Well. She kept going, going, going, until they reached the spring. They went down to the spring, in order to sit
38 and drink. She made her lower, until the pearls sank into the water. Well.
39 She went back to the path, she told her, ‘Come, get down. I want to ride in your place.’
40 She called her mother, the pearls replied from inside the spring. Yes. She called her mother again, as they went far
41 from the spring, the pearls stopped replying … stopped the pearls replying. She[114] immediately took her
42 and got her down [from] the camel, and went to bring some coal, and she blackened her. Then she went to the
43 lime and made herself white. She made herself white like the lime, just a bit of lime and made herself white.
44 And she rode the camel. So on and on,[115] until ent … entered the house …
45 entered the house … of an *amīr*.
46 Just as they entered the house of the *amīr*, this (f.) stood up, he saw her white, and immediately married her.

Taqwa:

47 The servant?

Grandmother:

48 Yes! He married the servant. Now, when he married her, this (f.) was there,
49 he set off to give her [a] herd, camels, and land, he set off to give her (these) and she started grazing [them] under a tree.
50 Now, under the tree a song of consolation arose, and she started to cheer up … and she cheered up.
51 What did she start saying …?
52 ‘O flying birds, o wandering beasts! Greet my mother and my father and say:
53 ‘Ǧbēne is a shepherdess. She grazes sheep and grazes camels and lies down under a vine.’ The sheep

[114]The servant gets Ǧbēne down from the camel.

[115]The Arabic *rūḥ ya yōm, ṭāʿ ya yōm* means ‘go one day, reach another day’, with two imperative masculine singular forms. This construction is similar, for instance, to the Italian expression: *E cammina cammina*… (lit. ‘and go, go …’, i.e. ‘going on and on …’) characteristic of the language of folk tales. Such use of the imperative can be described as an expression of the narrative imperative noted by Henkin (1994) in the traditional Negev Bedouin narrative style.

54 and the camels … The camels came around,
55 sat next to her and started crying with her. And she cried. She kept crying, she and them.
56 The camels and the sheep started losing weight, no matter what they ate. Whatever they ate, they lost weight.
57 Whatever they ate, they lost weight.
58 One day he said: 'I want to go and see what she does to the sheep and the camels.
59 Why are they losing weight like that?'
60 He went to hide in the tree from which she found consolation.
61 She was there under … at the spring. And her name was Ǧbēne. And she was indeed no less than very white.[116]
62 She put on her clothes, went back again, and sat cheering up. And she sat cheering up.[117] As soon as she sat cheering up,
63 she started saying: 'O flying birds, o wandering beasts! Greet my mother and my father and say:
64 'Ǧbēne is a shepherdess. She grazes sheep and grazes camels and lies down under a vine.'
65 The sheep and the camels sat beside her and started braying.[118]
66 Now[119] he went to their home, followed his decision, and went to his mother and told her:
67 'I tell you, bring some water now. I want you to wash my wife.
68 I want you to wash both of them.'
69 She told to her[120]: 'Come. Come as I will wash you.'[121]

---

[116]*ma akallič*, lit. 'no less than you (f.)'. This expression is repeated in the bath scene. It is simply translatable as 'no other than', omitting the enclitic personal pronoun. In any case, the presence of the enclitic II feminine singular pronoun symbolically explicates the ideal relationship between the character of the tale and the girls to which the tale is addressed, revealing the ethical messages hidden in the story.

[117]Repetitions are frequent in the narrative style of this informant. They represent repetition or extended duration of an action.

[118]'To bray', usually attributed to donkeys, is the actual translation of the Arabic verb (Seeger 2022: 1036).

[119]The temporal adverb *hassa* 'now' is used as a discourse marker. In this case, it is used to signal a scene change in the narrative sequence.

[120]The *amīr*'s mother speaks to the servant.

[121]'I will wash you' is a compromise translation. The generally accepted English translation of *biddi* is 'I want', lit. 'my will (is)'. Nonetheless, in this and other cases in this text, *bidd-* does not express a personal wish, but a more generic intentionality, variously interpretable either as a future action that will take place shortly or, even better, as a deontic expression, i.e. 'I have to', 'I should'). Another example of deontic use of *biddi* is found in line 79.

70 She told her:[122] 'No! I do not want you to wash me, o wife of my paternal uncle![123] I just washed.'
71 She told her: 'No! Your husband told me: 'Wash her!' I will wash you.
72 He told: 'If she does not want you to wash her, here I cut your head. Wash!'
73 As soon as she poured some water on her, she turned truly very black. Do you see?

Taqwa:
74 Hmm …

Grandmother:
75 Well. She put her aside. She brought this, Ǧbēne, to the water tank. She put water on her.
76 From the very moment she poured a bit of water on her, she turned out just like a piece
77 of cheese. White. He told her: 'Why did you do this to yourself?'
78 She told him: 'She, the servant, did this to me. She did to me!
79 She sprinkled me with coal, while she sprinkled herself with lime. What should I have done?'
80 He said to her: 'That's it!' He took the servant and burnt her.

Taqwa:
81 He burnt her?

Grandmother:
82 Of course! He took, cut her head [off] and threw it away and married Ǧbēne.
83 And he told her: 'Where is your family?' She directed him toward her family. He went. He put her on horseback and went
84 he and her to her family.
85 She found … He found her mother and her father and the maternal aunt. Because of their great crying for her,
86 they could not recognize that she was Ǧbēne.

Taqwa:
87 well … What is the reason they took her to the marriage? They did not … They did not come back …

---

[122]The servant replies to the *amīr*'s mother.

[123]As in traditional Arab Bedouin societies, couples are created from paternal cousins, the wife of the paternal uncle coincides with the mother-in-law.

Grandmother:
88 They did not come back to them. They did not take her to the wedding party. They (f.) went to the *amīr* and stayed at the *amīr*'s place.

Taqwa:
89 OK.

Grandmother:
90 Since the servant married the *amīr*, she wanted to go back to the *fārde*.

Taqwa:
91 OK.

Grandmother:
92 She went back home. She met … Her mother and her father could not see
93 she wiped her eyes, so her mother stood up, opened and wiped her eyes and her father opened (his eyes) and the *amīr* took
94 her mother and her father and went to set them up at his place.
95 And that was my tale, and now it is your turn to reciprocate.

9 Further linguistic observations and conclusions

To the best of my knowledge, this is one of the very few texts transliterated from the original traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic, especially from Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye. The informant narrated the tale, once learned by heart down to the smallest details, even in terms of vocabulary and intonation, as if each element had a value to be handed down. At some points, the narration accelerates and becomes elliptical—subjects are not explicated and it is necessary to understand from the context who is doing what—precisely because the story was well known and preserved in everyone's memory.

The transliteration and translation of this text has allowed me to systematically analyse the functioning of some linguistic features described by Jastrow (2004), Cerqueglini (2021; 2022a; 2022b), Zelinkov (2014), and Zuʿbi (2021) regarding the Muṭallaṭ dialects in general and the variety spoken in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye in particular, in comparison with other, typologically and/or geographically related, dialectal types. With reference to the preliminary observations set forth in section 6, some preliminary conclusions can now be drawn regarding the dialect of Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye, although obviously a more extensive corpus is needed for a definitive description of this dialectal variety. Concerning the phonological aspects (sections 6.1 and 6.2), here it can only be said that the pronunciation of */q/ is systematically non-emphatic, while the pronunciation of */k/ is systematically affricate, with few exceptions listed in the notes. Further observations

and hypotheses should be proven by a broad survey that includes the dialects of Muṭallaṭ and the surrounding areas, through which it is possible to reconstruct the diachronic phases of the development of the phonetic and phonological system of Muṭallaṭ Arabic.

Concerning the final *imāla* of the feminine singular nominal morpheme (section 6.3), we can conclude that it undergoes a lowering in pause from the regular form /-i/ to [-e]. In the text reported here, there is no evidence of the '*midrasa* vs. *mʿallimi*' pattern mentioned by Cerqueglini (2022a). However, an examination of a larger corpus reveals traces of it. This is not surprising. The final *imāla* originally characterised Bedouin dialects and then came to characterise rural dialects that assimilated and sometimes reinterpreted, Bedouin features. As observed regarding the affrication of */k/, the absorption of the Bedouin rules is not complete, and it is often re-analyzed, and traces of rural sedentary systems prior to Bedouinisation are still present to different extents across the different Muṭallaṭ varieties from north to south. An extensive analysis of these forms and their importance for the reconstruction of the diachronic developments that occurred in this linguistic region is not possible in this paper and will be undertaken in future studies.

Regarding epenthetic vowels (section 6.4), their distribution appears very clearly in this text. The help vowel is generally realised as a very short schwa [ᵊ] and often appears in dental/frontal consonantal environments as [ⁱ], while close to pharyngeal sounds /ᶜ/ and /ḥ/ the epenthetic vowel rather sounds [ᵃ]. Phonologically, epenthesis in this variety may stretch back to an original /ⁱ/ whose described realisations represent allophones. Epenthetic vowels can undergo processes related to word-internal vowel harmony, which is particularly evident in the proximity of a /u/ vowel.

It is worth emphasising that in many cases help vowels are treated as fully articulated short vowels (examples are detailed in the footnotes) and are often stressed, and therefore their presence impacts morphophonology. Nonetheless, not all epenthetic vowels are treated as fully articulated short vowels. From a relative chronological perspective, this may mean that the epenthetic vowels date back to different times, and some have undergone adaptations while others have not. A more specific exploration of this topic is needed.

Interestingly, epenthetic vowels undergo processes of lengthening in *pausa*, in general from [ᵊ] to the fully articulated short [i]. Extra lengthening and lowering can be heard in cases of emphasised *pausas* to [é:]. Emphasised *pausas* can be produced because of emotional load, as in the case of the word [*binéːt* ||] that appears in the title of this article. The 3rd person singular masculine enclitic pronoun (section 6.5) is pronounced [u] within prosodic units and lowered to [o] in *pausa*.

The analysis of this text has yielded consistent data for the TMA variety spoken in Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye regarding the pausal forms of the nominal feminine sin-

gular marker, epenthetic vowels, and the 3rd person singular masculine enclitic pronoun. In all these cases, pausal forms productively oppose prosodic unit-internal basic forms.

In the cases of the nominal feminine singular marker and the 3rd person singular masculine enclitic pronoun, pausal forms are achieved by lowering the point of articulation of the vowel (/i/ > [e]; /u/ > [o]). This process brings to mind the findings of Shachmon and Faust (2017) on pausal forms in Galilean Arabic varieties.

As regards the epenthetic vowels, they are realised in pause as fully articulated short vowels and, depending on the type of intonation and on the emphasis of the expression, can also undergo lengthening and be stressed.

Furthermore, as Jastrow (2004) noted, long vowels in open unstressed syllables are regularly shortened, while they remain long in closed syllables. The same is true for long vowels in final word position (Farwaneh 2016). Therefore, in the expression 'O God! Give me a daughter', which also appears in the title of this article, the word 'my God' has a short final vowel (*ṛabbi*). The original enclitic long *-ī*—the possessive morpheme of the 1st singular person—has been shortened in an open unstressed syllable. Nonetheless, the same word appears in *pausa*, and so the vowel is prosodically lengthened. Furthermore, due to the rising pitch of the intonation, the final vowel is perceived as stressed. Therefore, I used the notation *ṛaḇḇíː* || 'my God!'.

Another interesting aspect of this text is the abundance of phrasal verbs that contribute to giving aspectual nuances to the actions. However, as specified for the individual cases in the footnotes, it is not always possible to definitively determine whether the verb has preserved its original meaning or has been grammaticalized as an aspectual marker, as there are no evident morphological cues.

A final linguistic note must be devoted to the use of feminine verbs and pronouns in reference to the animals that frame the scenes of Ǧbēne's lament. The choice of the feminine grammatical gender could simply be due to the particular non-human, collective status of the animals in question. In any case, in the first part of line 88 of the text, *ma raǧǧʿūš ʿalēhen*, lit. 'they (m.) did not go back to them (f.)', the choice of the feminine plural enclitic pronoun is not clear to me. It may represent an occurrence of the the use of *-hin* (*-hen* in *pausa*) for a masculine referent (i.e. Ǧbēne and the *amīr*). We know from Procházka (2021) and Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019: maps 89, 127–129) that the dialects of the nearby Ḥūla Valley possess no gender distinction in the plural with verbs or pronouns. The dialects of the Jezreel Plain have feminine plural forms, consistently used with verbs, but not always with pronouns. At least in the 3rd person, the speakers in some villages (for instance, Naʿūra, Qūmye, Ṭamra, and Dabbūrye) do not distinguish between feminine and masculine plural pronouns and use either *-hum* and *-hin* as free variants or *-hin* for both genders. The hypothesis is seductive, yet this ambiguous example is not sufficient to support it, and a larger

corpus should be examined for Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye. In fact, even though the Ḥūla and Jezreel valleys are geographically close, they show many aspects of difference from the central Muṭallaṭ area. Differences are found even between Bāḳa l-Ġarbiyye and ʿArʿara, as the comparative observations sketched in the footnotes that accompany the transcription and translation of the text examined here demonstrate.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

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

References

ʿAbbās, Fuʾād. 1989. *Al-ʿĀdāt wa-t-taqālīd fī al-mawrūṯ aš-šaʿbī al-filasṭīnī*. Al-Qāhira: Al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb.

ʿAbbās, Fuʾād, and ʿUmar Šāhīn. 1989. *Muʿğam al-amṯāl aš-šaʿbiyya al-filasṭīniyya*. ʿAmmān: Dār al-Ǧalīl li-n-Našr.

Aboubakr, Alkhammash. 2014. 'The Folktale as a Site of Framing Palestinian Memory and Identity in *Speak, Bird, Speak Again* and *Qul Ya Tāyer*'. PhD thesis, Manchester: University of Manchester.

Abo Mokh, Noor, and Stuart Davis. 2018. 'What Triggers ˈimāla: Focus on a Palestinian Variety with Phonological Analysis'. *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics* 32: 35–53.

Abudalbuh, Mujdey. 2011. 'Effects of Gender on the Production of Emphasis in Jordanian Arabic: A Sociophonetic Study'. *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* 32: 20–47.

Abu Salim, Issam. 1980. 'Epenthesis and Geminate Consonants in Palestinian Arabic'. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 10 (2): 1–11.

Aġbāriyya, Riḍā. 2016. *Al-Mubīn fī amṯāl Filasṭīn: 2800 miṯl wa-kināya wa-taʿbīr wa-muṣṭalaḥ ʿalā al-alsina al-filasṭīniyya*. Ḥayfā: Maktabat Kull Šayʾ.

al-Barġūṯī, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. 1979. *Ḥikāyāt ğann min Bāni Zayd*. Bīr Zayt: Birzeit University Press.

al-Barġūṯī, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. 2001. *Al-Qāmūs al-ʿarabī aš-šaʿbī al-filasṭīnī: Al-Lahğa al-filasṭīniyya ad-dāriğa*. Rām ʾAllāh and Al-Bīra: s.n.

al-Ḥīḥī, Marwa. 2009. 'Der arabische Dialekt von Bēt-lahim'. MA thesis, Heidelberg: Universität Heidelberg.

al-Ḥurūb, Isḥāq. 2015. *Aṭlas at-turāṯ ar-rīfī al-filasṭīnī. Atlas of the Palestinian Rural Heritage*. Bethlehem: Diyar Publisher.

al-Wer, Enam, Uri Horesh, Deema Alammar, Hind Alaodini, Aziza Al-Essa, Areej Al-Hawamdeh, Khairia Al-Qahtani, and Abeer Ab Hussain. 2022. 'Probing Linguistic Change in Arabic Vernaculars: A Sociohistorical Perspective'. *Language in Society* 51: 29–50.

Amin, Jhanara. 2003. 'The Golden Necklace'. *Marvels & Tales* 17: 251–257.

Amir, Noam, Ofer Amir, and Judith Rosenhouse. 2014. 'Colloquial Arabic Vowels in Israel: A Comparative Acoustic Study of Two Dialects'. *Journals of the Acoustics Society of America* 136: 1895–1907.

an-Nūri, Muḥammad. 1979. ʻDirāsa ṣawtiyya wa-ṣarfiyya li-lahǧat madīnat Nāblus al-filasṭīniyya'. MA thesis, Al-Qāhira: Ǧāmiʿat al-Qāhira.

ʿArafāt, Sālim. 1990. *Malāmiḥ aš-šaḥṣiyya al-filasṭīniyya fī amṭālihā aš-šaʿbiyya*. Al-Qāhira: Al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb.

Arnold, Werner. 2004. 'Die arabischen Dialekte von Jaffa und Umgebung'. In *Approaches to Arabic Dialects: A Collection of Articles Presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by Martine Haak, Rudolph de Jong, and Kees Versteegh, 33–46. Brill: Leiden.

as-Sarīsī, ʿUmar. 2004. *Al-Ḥikāya aš-šaʿbiyya fī al-muǧtamaʿ al-filasṭīnī*. Irbid: Modern World Books.

Badawi, El-Said (Badawī, as-Saʿīd). 1973. *Mustawayāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muʿāsira fi Miṣr*. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Maʿārif bi-Miṣr.

Barontini, Alexandrine, and Karima Ziamari. 2009. 'Comment des jeunes femmes marocaines parlent masculin: tentative de définition sociolinguistique'. *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 13: 153–172.

Bar-Yitzhak, Haya. 2005. *Israeli Folk Narratives: Settlement, Immigration, Ethnicity*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Bauer, Leonhard. 1926. *Das palästinische Arabisch. Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen*. 4th ed. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

Behnstedt, Peter, and Aharon Geva-Kleinberger. 2019. *Atlas of the Arabic Dialects of Galilee (Israel)*. Leiden: Brill.

Belinkov, Yonatan. 2014. 'The Arabic Dialect of Ǧisir IzZarga: Linguistic Description and Preliminary Classification, with Sample Texts'. MA thesis, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.

Benmamoun, Elabbas. 1995. 'The Derivation of the Imperative in Arabic'. *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics* 9: 151–164.

Bergsträsser, Gotthelf. 1915. 'Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina'. *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 38: 169–222.

Berlin, Brent, and Paul Kay. 1969. *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press.

Blanc, Haim. 1953. *Studies in North Palestinian Arabic*. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society.

Blanc, Haim. 1960. 'Style Variations in Arabic: A Sample of Interdialectal Conversation'. In *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, edited by Charles Ferguson, 81–156. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Blanc, Haim. 1966. *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Blau, Joshua. 1960. *Syntax des palästinensischen Bauerndialekts von Bīr-Zēt*. Walldorf Hessen: H. Vorndran.

Borg, Alexander. 2009. 'Linguistic and Ethnographic Observations on the Color Categories of the Negev Bedouin'. In *The Desert Experience in Israel*, edited by Paul Hare and Gideon Kressel, 91–116. New York: University Press of America.

Britannica, the Editors. 2008. 'Purdah'. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 9 May 2008. Accessed 1 July 2023. https://britannica.com/topic/purdah.

Cantineau, Jean. 1938. 'Remarques sur les parlers des sédentaires syrolibanopalestiniens'. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 40 (1): 80–88.

Cantineau, Jean. 1946. *Les parlers arabes du Ḥōrân*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Cerqueglini, Letizia. 2021. 'Changes in Muṭallaṭ Arabic Color Language and Cognition Induced by Contact with Modern Hebrew'. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences: Illinois Working Papers* 2021: 1–17.

Cerqueglini, Letizia. 2022a. 'Observations on Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic Internal Differentiation'. In *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology. Fieldwork—Community—Change*, edited by Maciej Klimiuk, 87–112. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing.

Cerqueglini, Letizia. 2022b. 'The Golden Season of Olive Harvesting: A Text in Central Traditional Muṭallaṭ Arabic'. In *Semitic Dialects and Dialectology. Fieldwork—Community—Change*, edited by Maciej Klimiuk, 297–302. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing.

Cerqueglini, Letizia. 2022c. *Space and Time in aṣ-Ṣāniᶜ Arabic. A Cross-Generational Study*. Leiden: Brill.

Cerqueglini, Letizia. 2022d. 'Negev Bedouin *daḥīyah* Songs: Celebrating Brotherhood Above War and Love'. *Folia Orientalia* 59: 95–126.

Christie, William M. 1901. 'Der Dialekt der Landbevölkerung des mittleren Galilä'. *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 24: 69–112.

Cleveland, Ray. 1967. 'Notes on an Arabic Dialect of Southern Palestine'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 185: 43–57.

Cowell, Mark. 1964. *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic. Based on the Dialect of Damascus*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Crowfoot, Grace. 1937. 'Custom and Folk Tale in Palestine: The Dowry or Bride Price'. *Folklore* 48 (1): 28–40.

Dalman, Gustaf. 1939. *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina. Band 6: Zeltleben, Vieh- und Milchwirtschaft, Jagd, Fischfang*. Schriften des Deutschen Palästina Instituts 9. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann.

Dbayyat, Nisrin. 2004. 'Masculine Address Forms to Females in Colloquial Arabic Female Speech in two Regions in Israel'. MA thesis, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.

Elihai, Yohanan. 1977. *Milon ᶜivri-ᶜaravi meqif la-safa ha-ᶜaravit ha-medubberet*. 2 vols. Jerusalem.

Farsun, Samih. 2004. *Culture and Customs of the Palestinians*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Farwaneh, Samira. 2016. 'Sequential Constraints on Codas in Palestinian Arabic'. In *Challenging Sonority: Cross-linguistic Evidence*, edited by Martin Ball and Nicole Müller, 122–143. Sheffield, UK and Bristol, CT: Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Geva-Kleinberger, Aharon, and Yossi Ben-Artzi. 2013. *Ha-Karmel šel Fon Mulinen*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magness Press.

Grambo, Ronald. 1971. 'Ritual Crying in Folk Tradition'. *Anthropos* 66 (5–6): 938–945.

Grotzfeld, Heinz. 1980. 'Das syrisch-palästinische Arabisch'. In *Handbuch der Arabischen Dialekte*, Wolfdietrich Fischer and Otto Jastrow, 174–189. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Halayqa, Issam. 2014. *Traditional Agricultural and Domestic Tools in Palestinian Arabic: An Ethnographic and Lexical Study*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

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.

Havelova, Andrea. 2000. 'The Arabic Dialects of Nazareth: A Dialectological and Sociolinguistic Description'. PhD thesis, Haifa: University of Haifa.

Hemming, Jessica. 2012. 'Red, White, and Black in Symbolic Thought: The Tricolour Folk Motif, Colour Naming, and Trichromatic Vision'. *Folklore* 123 (3): 310–329.

Henkin, Roni. 1994. 'On the Narrative Imperative in Negev Arabic and Russian'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39 (2): 245–83.

Henkin, Roni. 2010. *Negev Arabic: Dialectal, Sociolinguistic, and Stylistic Variation*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Henkin, Roni. 2016. 'Functional Codeswitching and Register in Educated Negev Arabic Interview Style'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 79 (2): 279–304.

Henkin, Roni. 2019. 'Inclusive Generic Person in Women's Discourse in Israeli Hebrew and Negev Arabic'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 150: 53–74.

Henkin, Roni. 2023. 'Intergenerational Interviews in Negev Arabic Negotiating Lexical, Discursive, and Cultural Gaps'. *Pragmatics*. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.20051.hen.

Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter, and Kamal Abdulfattah. 1977. *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century*. Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft.

Isleem, Nasser M. 2009. *Popular Proverbs: An Entrance to Palestinian Culture*. S.l.: Alucen Learning.

Jastrow, Otto. 2004. 'The Arabic Dialects of the Muṭallaṭ (Israel)'. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 29: 166–175.

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 and 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 Ali Ahmad Hussein, 263–267. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jayyusi, Lena. 2007. 'Iterability, Cumulativity, and Presence: The Relational Figures of Palestinian Memory'. *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.

Kanaana, Sharif, and Nabil Alqam (Kanāʿana, Šarīf, and Nabīl ʿAlqam). 2021–2022. *Mawsūʿat al-ḥikāyāt al-ḫurāfiyya al-filasṭīniyya*. Rām ʾAllāh: Tāmer.

Kanaaneh, Moslih, Stig-Magnus Thorsén, Heather Bursheh, and David McDonald. 2013. *Palestinian Music and Song: Expression and Resistance since 1900*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kaye, Alan. 1994. 'Formal vs. Informal in Arabic: Diglossia, Triglossia, Tetraglossia, etc. Polyglossia-Multiglossia Viewed as a Continuum'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 27: 47–60.

Kélékian, Diran. 1911. *Dictionnaire turc-français*. Constantinople: Mihran.

Khoudary, Hind. 2019. 'To Sing Is Not a Right in the Gaza Strip'. Accessed 30 May 2023. https://972mag.com/hamas-gaza-freedoms-music/.

Khoury, Jeries (Ḫūrī, Ǧarīs). 2020. *Huwiyyat al-adab wa-adab al-huwiyya: Dirasāt fī al-fūlklūr wa-l-adab al-filasṭīnī*. ʿAmmān: Dār aš-Šurūq li-n-Našr wa-t-Tawzīʿ.

Khoury, Jeries (Ḫūrī, Ǧarīs). 2022. *Lāfitāt filasṭīniyya: Dirāsāt wa-mudāḫalāt fī al-haḍāra wa-l-adab al-filasṭīniyyīn fī al-bilād*. Ḥayfā: Maktabat Kull Šayʾ.

Klimiuk, Maciej. 2013. *Phonetics and Phonology of Damascus Arabic*. Warsaw: Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Warsaw.

Kressel, Gideon, Alessandro Bausani, Joseph Ginat, Roger Joseph, A. M. Khazanov, Simha Landau, Emanuel Marx, and Moshe Shokeid. 1981. 'Sororicide/Filiacide: Homicide for Family Honour [and Comments and Reply]'. *Current Anthropology* 22 (2): 141–158.

Kressel, Gideon, and Unni Wikan. 1988. 'More on Honour and Shame'. *Man* 23 (1): 167–170.

Levin, Aryeh. 1971. ‘Imāla ba-dyalektim ha-ʿaravim’. 2 vols. PhD thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Lewin, Bernhard. 1969. *Notes on Cabali: The Arabic Dialect Spoken by the Alawis of “Jebel Ansariye”*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Littmann, Enno. 1984. *Arabische Märchen. Aus mündlicher Überlieferung gesammelt und übertragen von Enno Littmann*. Frankfurt: Insel.

Lubānī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī. 1999. *Muʿğam al-amṯāl al-filasṭīniyya*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.

Lubānī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī. 2006a. *Muʿğam al-alʿāb aš-šaʿbiyya al-filasṭīniyya*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.

Lubānī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī. 2006b. *Muʿğam al-aṭʿama al-filasṭīniyya*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.

Lubānī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī. 2006c. *Muʿğam al-ʿāmmī wa-d-daḫīl fī Filasṭīn*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.

Lubānī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī. 2007. *Muʿğam al-alfāḍ at-turāṭiyya fī Filasṭīn*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.

Lubānī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī. 2009. *Muʿğam al-aʿrās aš-šaʿbiyya al-filasṭīniyya*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.

Lubānī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī. 2016. *Muʿğam alfāḍ al-miḫyāl aš-šaʿbī al-filasṭīnī*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.

Lubānī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī. 2018. *Muʿğam al-ʿādāt w-at-taqālīd fī Filasṭīn*. Bayrūt: Maktabat Lubnān Nāširūn.

MacKenzie, D. 1971. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press.

MacLaury, Robert. 2005. ‘So-Called Brightness in Color Ethnography: Potentials for LCD Technology in Fieldwork and Categorization Research’. *Cross-Cultural Research* 39 (2): 205–227.

Mahmud, Muhamad, and Hasan Albarmil. 2021. ‘Denotations of Resistance in the Palestinian Proverbs: A Semio-Sociological Approach’. *Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences* 5 (10): 91–75.

Majadly, Haifaa. 2012. ‘The Arabic Dialect of Baqa al-Gharbiyya. Aspects of Phonology and Morphology’. *Al-Majmaʿ: Studies in Arabic Language, Literature, and Thought* 6: 37–80.

Meninski, Franciszek à Mesgnien. 1680. *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae, praecipuas earum opes à Turcis peculiariter usurpatas continens, nimirum Lexicon Turkico-Arabico-Persicum*. Vienna.

Meninski, Franciszek à Mesgnien. 1687. *Complementum thesauri linguarum orientalium, seu onomasticum latino-turcico-arabico-persicum, simul idem index verborum lexici turcico-arabico-persici, quod latinâ, germanicâ, aliarumque linguarum adjectâ nomenclatione nuper in lucem editum*. Vienna.

Meron, Yoram, and Riad Kabha. 1993. *Agadot ha-wadi: Mivhar sippure am me-Wadi Arah*. Jerusalem: Minerva and Givat Haviva, The Jewish-Arab Center for Peace.

Meron, Yoram, Riad Kabha, and Rafa Abu Rya. 2005. *Legends of the Villages from the Galilee and Its Heights*. Vol. 1. Jerusalem: Minerva and Givat Haviva, The Jewish-Arab Center for Peace.

Meron, Yoram, and Riad Kabha. 2012. *Legends of the Villages from the Galilee and Its Heights*. Vol. 2. Jerusalem: Minerva and Givat Haviva, The Jewish-Arab Center for Peace.

Muhawi, Ibrahim. 2001. ‘Gender and Disguise in the Arabic Cinderella: A Study in the Cultural Dynamics of Representation’. *Fabula* 42: 263–283.

Muhawi, Ibrahim, and Sharif Kanaana. 1989. *Speak, Bird, Speak Again—Palestinian Arab Folktales*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Myers, Robin, and Shadi Rohana. 2011. 'Interview: Sharif Kanaana on Palestinian Folklore and Identity'. Accessed 29 May 2023. https://electronicintifada.net/content/interview-sharif-kanaana-palestinian-folklore-and-identity/9825.

Nabūʾānī, Saʿīd Aḥmad. 2011. *Al-Ḥikāya aš-šaʿbiyya at-turāṭiyya*. Šfārʿam: Dār al-Mašriq li-t-Tarǧima wa-ṭ-Ṭibāʿa wa-n-Našr.

Naguib, Nefissa. 2008. *Women, Water and Memory: Recasting Lives in Palestine*. Leiden: Brill.

Nevo, Moshe. 2006. 'Notes on the Arabic Dialect of Iksāl'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 46: 26–58.

Nimr, Sonia. 2007. *Ghaddar the Ghoul and Other Palestinian Stories*. S.l.: s.n.

Nourai, Ali. 2011. *An Etymological Dictionary of Persian, English and other Indo-European Languages*. S.l.: s.n.

Othman, Omar, and Thomas Neu. 1996. *Qāmūs il-Quds. A Dictionary of the Spoken Arabic of Jerusalem*. Jerusalem: Modern Arab Press.

Palmer, Stephen, and Karen Schloss. 2010. 'An Ecological Valence Theory of Human Color Preference'. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107 (19): 8877–8882.

Palva, Heikki. 1965. *Lower Galilean Arabic: An Analysis of Its Anaptyctic and Prothetic Vowels: With Sample Texts*. Helsinki: s.n.

Palva, Heikki. 1984. *A General Classification of the Arabic Dialects Spoken in Palestine and Transjordan*. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.

Patai, Raphael. 1998. *Arab Folktales from Palestine and Israel*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

Perez, Yoel Shalom, and Judith Rosenhouse. 2022. *Bedouin Folktales from the North of Israel*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Piggot, G. L. 1995. 'Epenthesis and Syllable Weight'. *Natural Languages and Linguistic Theory* 13: 283–326.

Prasse, Karl. 1999. 'Berber Color Terms'. In *The Language of Color in the Mediterranean. An Anthology on Linguistic and Ethnographic Aspects of Color Terms*, edited by Alexander Borg, 167–74. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International.

Procházka, Stephan. 2003. 'The Bedouin Arabic Dialects of Urfa'. In *AIDA: 5th Conference Proceedings, Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe (AIDA): Cádiz, September 2002*, edited by Ignacio Ferrando and Juan José Sánchez Sandoval, 75–88. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Cádiz.

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.

Raufman, Ravit. 2018. '"White as Cheese": A Discussion of "Jbene", the Palestinian Oicotype of ATU 403'. *Folklore* 129 (2): 161–180.

Read MacDonald, Margaret. 2006. *Tunjur! Tunjur! Tunjur! A Folktale from Palestine*. S.l.: s.n.

Rosenhouse, Judith. 1984. *The Bedouin Arabic Dialects. General Problems and a Close Analysis of North Israel Bedouin Dialects*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rosenhouse, Judith. 1998. 'Women's Speech and Language Variation in Arabic Dialects'. *Al-ʿArabiyya* 31: 123–152.

Rosenhouse, Judith. 2002. 'Phonetic Trends of Colloquial Arabic Dialects in Israel'. In *"Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!": 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik: 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Werner Arnold and Hartmut Bobzin, 599–611. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rosenhouse, Judith. 2007. 'Some Aspects of Diglossia as Reflected in the Vocabulary of Literary and Colloquial Arabic'. In *Approaches to Arabic Linguistics Presented to Kees Versteegh on His 60th Birthday*, edited by Everhard Ditters and Harald Motzki, 653–674. Leiden: Brill.

Rosenhouse, Judith, and Nisreen Dbayyat. 2006. '"Gender Switch" in Female Speech in an Arabic Dialect in Israel: A Contribution to the Study of Urbanization in Arabic Dialects'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 48 (2): 169–186.

Saʾar, Amalia. 2007. 'Masculine Talk: On the Subconscious Use of Masculine Linguistic Forms among Hebrew- and Arabic-Speaking Women in Israel'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 32 (2): 405–429.

Sa'di, Ahmad H., and Lila Abu-Lughod, 2007. *Nakba Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sarḥān, Nimr. 1989. *Mawsūʿat al-fūlklūr al-filasṭīnī*. ʿAmmān: Dāʾirat aṭ-Ṭaqāfa.

Sayigh, Rosemary. 1979. *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*. London: Zed.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2009a. *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.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2023. *Palästinensische Märchen gesammelt, übersetzt und herausgegeben von Ulrich Seeger*. Hamburg: Tredition.

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.

Schmidt, Hans, and Paul Kahle. 1930. *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*. Göttingen: Vandenhoed und Ruprecht.

Shinar, Pessah. 1999. 'Quelques observations sur le rôle de la couleur bleue dans le Maghreb traditionnel'. In *The Language of Color in the Mediterranean. An Anthology on Linguistic and Ethnographic Aspects of Color Terms*, edited by Alexander Borg, 175–199. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International.

Sirhan, Nadia. 2014. *Folk Stories and Personal Narratives in Palestinian Spoken Arabic. A Cultural and Linguistic Study*. London: Palgrave Macmillian.

Sovran, Tamar. 2013. 'Color Terms'. In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by: Geoffrey Khan. Accessed 1 July 2023. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-4241_ehll_EHLL_COM_00000820.

Ṣubḥ, Ranā. 2019. 'Muʿǧam alfāḏ tarbiyat al-ḥayawānāt al-mustaʾnisa fī lahağāt al-Ǧalīl'. PhD thesis, Ḥayfā: Ǧāmiʿat Ḥayfā.

Spoer, A. M. 1931. 'Palestine Folktales'. *Folklore* 42 (2): 150–156.

Stewart, Devin. 1999. 'Color Terms in Egyptian Arabic'. In *The Language of Color in the Mediterranean. An Anthology on Linguistic and Ethnographic Aspects of Color Terms*, edited by Alexander Borg, 105–120. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell International.

Swedenburg, Ted. 1990. 'The Palestinian Peasant as National Signifier'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 63 (1): 18–30.

Talmon, Rafi (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.

von Mülinen, Eberhard. 1908. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels*. Leipzig, Geographischer Anstalt von Wagner & Debes.

Wadi, Ramona. 2019. 'The Folktales of Palestine'. Accessed 31 May 2023. https://middleeastmonitor.com/20190720-the-folktales-of-palestine/.

Walters, Keith. 1991. 'Women, Men, and Linguistic Variation in the Arab World'. *Perspectives in Arabic Linguistics* 3: 199–229.

Woidich, Manfred. 2006. *Das Kairenisch-Arabische*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Younes, Igor, Herin, Bruno. 2016. 'Šāwi Arabic'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong. Accessed 29 May 2023. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1570-6699_eall_SIM_001011.

Zibin, Aseel, and Abdel Rahman Altakhaineh. 2014. 'Informativity of Arabic Proverbs in Context: An Insight into Palestinian Discourse'. *International Journal of Linguistics* 6 (1): 67–83.

Zuʿbi, Amal. 2014. 'Ha-dyalektim ha-aravim šel naṣeret 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. 2021. 'Some Remarks on the Arabic Dialects of ʿArʿara in the Triangle Region (al-Muṭallaṭ)'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 111: 311–350.

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.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148426

Wiktor Gębski
University of Cambridge, United Kingdom | wmg24@cam.ac.uk

Between Analogy and Language Contact: A Case Study of Grammatical Change in Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic Dialects

Abstract Analogy and language contact represent endogenous and exogenous factors of language change. Although both processes have been discussed in the realm of Arabic dialectology, they are usually treated as two unrelated scenarios. The central question that this study posits is whether those are two functionally independent phenomena, or they can operate synergetically. The primary focus of this paper is two typologically distinct Jewish dialects, i.e. sedentary Gabes (Southern Tunisia), and exhibiting numerous Bedouin features Wad-Souf (Eastern Algeria). Based on new data obtained from fieldwork, this paper accounts for five cases of grammar evolution within verb morphology and syntax through the lens of analogy and language contact. It raises the possibility that under certain circumstances, language change can occur at the intersection of endogenous and exogenous factors.

Keywords analogy, Judaeo-Arabic, Maghreb, syntax, morphology, language contact

1 Introduction

This paper attempts to unearth some of the most conspicuous cases of grammatical change in North African Judaeo-Arabic, with a particular focus on Wad-Souf (eastern Algeria), and Gabes (southern Tunisia). The methodology utilised in this study draws primarily from analogy and language contact. Although the scholarship of the former has a long history in linguistics, it has not received a systematic description in the field of Arabic dialectology, particularly within the Maghrebi dialects. Some scholars do mention analogical processes in morphology (Ratcliffe 2011; Heath 2002), but the scholarship is lacking in-depth analyses based on new data emerging from fieldwork. Moreover, since the syntax of North African Arabic is generally understudied, it is not surprising that virtually nothing is known

© 2023 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.

about analogical processes in this field.[1] The lack of sufficient text corpora of Maghrebi Arabic, on which potential surveys could be based, is presumably one of the reasons for this lacuna. On the other hand, there exist a number of valuable studies on contact between Arabic and its neighbouring languages, including Modern Hebrew (Manfredi and Tosco 2018; Sibony 2022). To the best of my knowledge, however, the interaction between analogy and language contact in Arabic dialects has never been closely studied.

The core data of this paper entails Jewish varieties of Maghrebi Arabic. The data for Jewish Tripoli (Libya) comes from Yoda (2005), for Jewish Tunis from Cohen (1964) and (1975), while for Jewish Gabes (Southern Tunisia) and Jewish Wad-Souf (Eastern Algeria) the data have been obtained by the author during fieldwork in Israel.[2]

The paper has the following structure: In section (1) a theoretical overview of two types of analogy is discussed, namely extension and reanalysis. Since the majority of data in this paper is related to verbs, section (2) provides a brief summary of the verbal system of North Africa Judaeo-Arabic. Subsequently, section (3) entails an analysis of 5 selected cases of language change in Jewish Gabes and Wad-Souf and is divided in two subsections: entity (3.1) entails cases motivated internally, while in entity (3.2) are discussed two phenomena, where analogy was catalysed by language contact. Finally, conclusions and further research questions are outlined in section (4).

2 Analogy—theoretical remarks

Analogy constitutes one of the most basic mechanisms of human reasoning, which, *inter alia*, enables the acquisition of new languages. It has been described by Hofstader and Sander (2013) as 'core of cognition', while Blevins argues that analogy is a 'search for predictability' (2009). Undoubtedly, due to its prominent role in human cognition, analogy has a major impact on language development. By applying known patterns and correlations, speakers are able to create new, more predictable language forms. In what follows, I will briefly outline major aspects of analogy utilised as a methodological tool in the exploration of the diachronic evolution of grammar.

---

[1] An exception to this rule is Moroccan Arabic, whose syntax has been thoroughly described by Dominique Caubet (1993).

[2] Data for Jewish Gabes comes from an extensive fieldwork conducted in Israel and France between December 2018 and March 2022. The total number of native speakers of Jewish Gabes participating in the research is eight. Out of four men and four women, seven have completed basic secondary education, while one of them has obtained a higher academic degree. Data for Jewish Wad-Souf comes from two stints of fieldwork in Israel (March-April and July-August 2022), during which two native speakers, a woman and a man, aged respectively 74 and 72, were interviewed. The male speaker has obtained a higher academic degree, while the female one has completed basic secondary education.

The cognitive force of analogy has been translated into numerous studies in linguistics. Indeed, it has been one of the most discussed topics in general linguistics in the last century, particularly in the American descriptivist tradition (Blevis 2009: 2; Bloomfield 1933: 275). A vast literature demonstrates analogical processes in the world's languages, mainly in the Indo-European family (Kuryłowicz 1947; Anderson and Jones 1974; McMahon 1994; Hopper and Traugott 2003). Analogical change is most conspicuous in morphology, but it operates in phonology and syntax as well. In morphology, it can be defined as the creation of new morphemes and words by means of an extension of already existing grammatical rules (Ratcliffe 2011). In contrast to grammaticalization, analogy does not produce new grammatical rules but rather attracts existing forms to follow certain paradigms (McMahon 1994: 71).[3]

Broadly speaking, we can distinguish two main types of analogy: extension and reanalysis.[4] Analogical extension is a phenomenon occurring primarily within verbal and nominal morphology, by which irregular verb forms are altered in order to conform to the dominant pattern. This mechanism can be observed in the diachronic development of the verb *aimer* 'to love' in French (Trask 1996). In Old French, as can be seen below, forms of 1PL and 2PL were irregular, since they did not possess /i/ in the first syllable:

	Old French	Modern French
1SG	*aim*	*aime*
2SG	*aimes*	*aimes*
3SG	*aimet*	*aime*
1PL	amons	*aimons*
2PL	amez	*aimez*
3PL	*aiment*	*aiment*

Under the pressure of the prevailing pattern featuring /ai/ in the first syllable, the irregular form has been analogically altered. In a similar vein, analogical extension in nominal morphology entails the generalisation of the dominant pattern, as a result of which a prevailing prefix or suffix eradicates marginal and weaker

[3] Some scholars interpret analogy as a type of grammaticalization, and not as a separate process. Hopper and Traugott define two mechanisms of grammaticalization, i.e. analogy and reanalysis (2003: 39).

[4] In linguistic literature there exists also another commonly applied term, namely 'levelling'. Nevertheless, in the present paper, following Garrett (2008: 125–143), the idea of 'pure analogical levelling' is rejected, and the paradigmatic levelling of irregular verb forms is treated as a case of analogical extension of pre-existing forms.

variants. This is exemplified by the diachronic development of the English plural marker /s-/, which gradually replaced /-a/ and /u-/ suffixes, e.g. *giefa* > *gifts, scipu* > *ships* (Campbell 1959: 222).

Whereas analogical extension changes the morphological surface of the form, reanalysis is a process by which the speaker changes the perceptual interpretation of a form, without altering its morphology. As a result, a form acquires new applications and starts occurring in a new context with simultaneous preservation of its external surface, giving rise to new linguistic structures (Madariaga 2017). This process is exemplified by the reanalysis of the lexical item *mente* 'mind' in Latin, which initially formed the expression *calmamente* 'with calm mind'. The second component of this newly created item was reanalysed as an adverbial marker and subsequently actualised, producing forms like *particularmente* 'particularly', *sinceramente* 'sincerely', *obviamente* 'obviously' in Spanish.

Nevertheless, recent decades have brought a decline in the study of analogical change, primarily due to the marginalisation of morphology by the generative school, particularly at its early stages (Blevins and Blevins 2009: 9; ten Hacken 2020: 2). In one of his works, Chomsky states explicitly that 'analogy is simply inappropriate in the first place' (1986: 32). The disregard harboured by generativists towards analogy, combined with its ubiquitous presence in descriptive grammar in the 20th century, have led many scholars to approach analogy with a high degree of suspicion, questioning its methodological effectiveness. However, considering the central role of analogy in human cognition, its importance for the study of the historical development of grammar should not be diminished.

Of particular significance in this paper is the interplay between analogy and language contact. Although these two phenomena tend to be analysed separately, I argue that in certain cases the language change is brought about by the synergy of both. The functional convergence of the endogenous and exogenous factors of a language change was observed by Willis: '[…] even canonical endogenous scenarios may be catalysed by language contact: syntactic analogy may be favoured if the input to acquisition is limited by the presence of another language in the community, and typologically driven change may be the product of language use (production or processing considerations)' (Willis 2017: 492). One can imagine that the catalysing role of language contact is not limited to syntax only but operates within morphology too. Under certain circumstances, a prolonged period of bilingualism is prone to stimulate language-internal processes, like for instance analogy. In the present paper, I shall like to discuss such a possibility in Cases (4) and (5), where language contact with Berber and Israeli Hebrew respectively is suggested to have accelerated an analogical change in Judaeo-Arabic.

3 Overview of the verb system of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic

Since most of the data in this paper involve verb morphology, let us first provide a brief overview of the verb system of North African Arabic. Although there might be quantitative differences in the distribution of the verb stems within the dialects in question, the following table presents the general verb patterns attested in Judaeo-Arabic spoken in Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. As can be inferred, IV and IX forms of Old Arabic (OA) are generally absent.[5] As a result, some of the properties of those forms have been passed on to other stems. In addition, like other North African dialects of Arabic, the dialects in question possess the XI stem, which corresponds to the IX stem in the Eastern group (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014: 383). Consequently, there are nine verbal stems in total, each possessing a regular form ($C_1C_2C_3$) (C standing for consonant), a second radical geminated form ($C_1C_2C_2$), and forms with first radical semi-vowel (w/y C_2C_3), second radical semi-vowel (C_1 w/y C_3) and third radical semi-vowel (C_1C_2 w/y). Thus, the system of the verbal forms of Maghrebi Judeo-Arabic can be represented as follows:[6]

Stem I	$C_1C_2əC_3$
Stem II	$C_1əC_2C_2əC_3$
Stem III T-passive	$C_1āC_2əC_3$ $təC_1C_2əC_3$
Stem V	$tC_1əC_2C_2əC_3$
Stem VI	$tC_1āC_2əC_3$
Stem VII	$nəC_1C_2əC_3$
Stem VIII	$C_1TəC_2C_3$
Stem X	$staC_1C_2əC_3$
Stem XI	$C_1C_2āC_3$

Table 1. Overview of the verb stem in the Jewish varieties of Maghrebi Arabic

[5] For the development of the IV stem in Moroccan Arabic see Aguadé (2012).

[6] The list includes suffix forms of the strong verb solely. Except for a purely dialectal T-passive stem, which has no antecedent in OA, all the other stems have been numbered according to their correspondence to OA.

Stem I in North African Arabic is by far the most common, with a large variety of roots represented. In Classical Arabic, as well as in many modern dialects, the basic stem, i.e. stem I, appears in three vowel sub-groups, each including verbs with a certain meaning (Fischer 2002: 98). This diversity has been considerably reduced in the majority of North African to /ə/ and locally to /a/. Thus, instead of Classical *kabura*, one finds *kbər* 'he grew big', instead of *kataba* – *ktəb* 'he wrote', and instead of *barida* – *brəd* 'he was cold'. Laryngeal and pharyngeal consonants tend to co-occur with /a/, i.e. *dbaḥ* 'he slaughtered', *lʿab* 'he played'. In the Jewish dialect of Tripoli, the vowel reduction is particularly radical since the ultrashort /ə/ remains stable even in the proximity to gutturals (Yoda 2004: 142). Contrary to this, the Muslim dialect of Tunis, for instance, preserved all three short vowels of the suffix conjugation, which subsequently gave rise to six variants of the prefix conjugation (Singer 1984: 331).

The phenomenon described above has a serious impact on the semantic structure of the entire verbal system, particularly stem II, since in Classical Arabic the distinction between 3MSG suffix stem and imperative SG is based on the different vowel qualities. Hence, when all the short vowels have been reduced, there is no possibility to express such differentiation. For instance, in Jewish Gabes, the aforementioned forms are the same, i.e. *ṣə́kkər* 'he closed' and 'close (MSG)!'. In Jewish Tripoli this problem of ambiguity has been resolved by differentiation of the stress position, i.e. in perfect forms, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, while in imperative ones on the ultimate, *ʿəllə́m* 'he taught', but *ʿə́llləm* 'teach!' (Yoda 2005: 142). The dialect of Marāzīg, on the other hand, seems to reflect the OA /i/ vowel of the imperative, i.e. *baṭṭal* 'he stopped', but *baṭṭil* 'stop!' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2011:333). Other dialects, like for example the Muslim dialect of Tunis and the dialect of Sūsa, do not distinguish the suffix stem from the imperative through vowels with different qualities, despite possessing a set of three short vowels (Singer 1984: 368; Talmoudi 1980: 99).

4 Analysis

4.1 Internally motivated development

In this section, I shall discuss three cases of analogical change, where no external factor was detected. The first two cases exemplify an analogical extension within conjugational patterns, while the third one demonstrates how the purposive particle was reanalysed as a discourse dependency marker.

Case 1: Extension of the pattern 3rd radical weak of stem I

It has been previously pointed out that analogical extension involves the unification of verb paradigms by adjusting irregular forms to the dominant pattern.[7] In what follows, I present a case of the analogical extension within the verb system of Jewish Wad-Souf. The conjugational pattern of the 3rd radical weak of the stem I is extended analogically to the geminate verbs of the stem I:

Source: stem I, 3rd radical weak, *mša* 'to go'

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*mša*	*yəmši*
3FSG	*mšāt*	*təmši*
2MSG	*mšēt*	*təmši*
2FSG	*mšēti*	*təmši*
1SG	*mšēt*	*nəmši*
3PL	*mšāw*	*yəmšu*
2PL	*mšētu*	*təmšu*
1PL	*mšēna*	*nəmšu*

Output 1: stem I, geminate, *ḥabb* 'to like, to love'

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*ḥabb*	*yḥabb*
3FSG	*ḥabbət*	*tḥabb*
2MSG	*ḥabbēt*	*tḥabb*
2FSG	*ḥabbēti*	*tḥabbi*
1SG	*ḥabbēt*	*nḥabb*
3PL	*ḥabbu*	*yḥabbu*
2PL	*ḥabbētu*	*tḥabbu*
1PL	*ḥabbēna*	*nḥabbu*

[7] One of the traits of the Maghrebi dialects, namely the /n-/ prefix on the 1SG verb conjugation is in fact an example of analogical levelling, as is the disappearance of feminine forms in 2nd person singular and plural in the prefix conjugation in the vast majority of North African varieties.

This development is attested in virtually all varieties of spoken Arabic and is not confined to Jewish Wad-Souf. However, in this dialect, the expansion of the pattern of the 3rd radical did not stop in stem I but went on to stem II geminate. It is worth noting that the expansion of this pattern is not fully accomplished and both the original and analogically altered forms have been recorded in free speech. The altered form is therefore a variant, which coexists alongside the source form. Once the irregular form was produced in the interview, the speaker was asked to elicit the conjugation of the verb 'to think', which is presented as Output 2. First, however, let us consider the original form, whose conjugation was uttered by the same informant on another occasion:

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*xammәm*	*yxammәm*
3FSG	*xammәmәt*	*txammәm*
2MSG	*xammәmt*	*txammәm*
2FSG	*xammәmti*	*txammәmi*
1SG	*xammәmt*	*nxammәm*
3PL	*xammәmu*	*yxammәmu*
2PL	*xammәmtu*	*txammәmu*
1PL	*xammәmna*	*nxammәmu*

As can be seen below, the original form of the MSG *xammәm* tends to be shortened to *xamm*, particularly in a fast stream of speech. Due to the phonetic reduction, the third radical merges with the geminated second radical, giving rise to a form, which is identical to that of the stem I geminated. Subsequently, this form is reanalysed as belonging to the stem I and therefore following the pattern of *ḥabb – ḥabbēt*, opening the pathway for the analogical extension of this conjugation. Hence the expected form of 1SG and 2MSG *xammәmt* 'I/you (m) thought' is replaced by analogically deduced *xammēt*:

Output 2: stem II, geminate, *xammәm* 'to think'

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*xamm(әm)*	*yxammәm*
3FSG	*xammәt*	*txammәm*
2MSG	*xammēt*	*txammәm*

	S-stem	P-stem
2FSG	*xammēti*	*txammi*
1SG	*xammēt*	*nxammәm*
3PL	*xammu*	*yxammu*
2PL	*xammētu*	*txammu*
1PL	*xammēna*	*nxammu*

Case 2: Extension of the stem I conjugation pattern on stems VIII (2nd radical weak) and XI

Another example of the analogical extension of the conjugational pattern of stem I is attested in the verbal morphology of forms VIII and XI in Wad-Souf. Those marginal stems, characterised by an infixed /t-/ after the first radical, and by a long /ā/ after the second radical respectively, under the pressure of stem I, have lost their distinguishing morphological features. I shall start the discussion of this phenomenon from stem VIII. As far as I could establish, no sound root occurs in stem VIII neither in Jewish Gabes, nor in Jewish Wad-Souf.[8] This is primarily to the fact, that sound roots occurring originally in stem VIII shifted either to the T-passive stem, e.g. **ltəmm* > *tləmm* 'to gather' in Jewish Wad-Souf, or to stem V, e.g. **ntfax* > *tnəffax* 'to get swollen' in Jewish Gabes.[9] The original form of stem VIII is, however, attested in the Bedouin dialect of Douz, where the infixed /t/ morpheme remains after the first radical, e.g. *ʾnt^{i}fax – yint^{i}fix* 'to get swollen' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014: 370). When the second radical is a weak consonant, i.e. /y/ or /w/, it shifts to a long /a/ vowel, which occurs throughout both the suffix and the prefix conjugations. Let us now consider the regular conjugation of the verb 'to choose' (root: √xyr) in stem VIII 2nd radical weak in Jewish Gabes:

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*xtār*	*yəxtār*
3FSG	*xtārt*	*təxtār*
2MSG	*xtārt*	*təxtār*
2FSG	*xtārti*	*təxtāri*

[8] Several sound roots in stem VIII are attested in Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005: 179). The situation in Jewish Tunis, on the other hand, resembles that of the two dialects under investigation, i.e. only several irregular roots are attested in this stem.

[9] This matter is discussed in a greater detail in Case 4.

	S-stem	P-stem
1SG	*xtārt*	*nəxtār*
3PL	*xtārna*	*yəxtāru*
2PL	*xtārtu*	*təxtāru*
1PL	*xtāru*	*nəxtāru*

Against this background, let us now consider the conjugation of the same verb in Jewish Wad-Souf:

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*xtār*	*yuxtar*
3FSG	*xtārt*	*tuxtar*
2MSG	*xtārt*	*tuxtar*
2FSG	*xtārti*	*tuxtri*
1SG	*xtārt*	*nuxtar*
3PL	*xtārna*	*yuxtru*
2PL	*xtārtu*	*tuxtru*
1PL	*xtāru*	*nuxtru*

Inasmuch as the suffix stem preserves the original long /ā/ vowel, in the prefix conjugation it is significantly reduced, while the infixed /t-/ is reanalysed as a part of the root. Hence, the conjugational pattern of the prefix form follows the I stem pattern in analogy to the type *rgud – yurgud* ‘to fall asleep’:[10]

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*rgəd*	*yurgud*
3FSG	*rəgdət*	*turgud*
2MSG	*rgədət*	*turgud*
2FSG	*rgətti*	*turgdi*
1SG	*rgədət*	*nurgud*
3PL	*rəgdu*	*yurgdu*
2PL	*rgəttu*	*turgdu*
1PL	*rgədna*	*nurgdu*

[10] The thematic vowel.

The example below demonstrates even further extension of the stem I pattern, involving also suffix forms in Jewish Wad-Souf:

Stem XI, *ḥmār* 'to blush'

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*ḥmār*	*yáḥmar*
3FSG	*ḥāmrət*	*táḥmar*
2MSG	*ḥmart*	*táḥmar*
2FSG	*ḥmarti*	*táḥmri*
1SG	*ḥmart*	*náḥmar*
3PL	*ḥamru*	*yáḥmru*
2PL	*ḥmartu*	*táḥmru*
1PL	*ḥmarna*	*náḥmru*

The long /ā/ inserted after the second radical, which is the hallmark of stem XI, is reduced in all forms except for 3MSG and 3FSG, resembling the regular conjugational pattern of the stem I, e.g. *ḍḥak* 'to laugh'. In addition, in the prefix conjugation, the stress is placed on the penultimate syllable, and not on the ultimate syllable containing the shortened /ā/ (see the parallel conjugation in Jewish Gabes below). The quantitative reduction of the long /ā/ triggered analogical subduction of form XI under the pattern of stem I. Interestingly, in Jewish Gabes, this analogical extension is not attested and both stem VIII and XI preserve their long /ā/ vowel, preventing the expansion of the conjugational pattern of stem I. Let us consider the conjugation of the verb *ḥmār* 'to blush' in Jewish Gabes:

	S-stem	P-stem
3MSG	*ḥmār*	*yəḥmār*
3FSG	*ḥamrət*	*təḥmār*
2MSG	*ḥmārt*	*təḥmār*
2FSG	*ḥmarti*	*təḥmri*
1SG	*ḥmārt*	*nəḥmār*
3PL	*ḥamru*	*yəḥmāru*
2PL	*ḥmartu*	*təḥmāru*
1PL	*ḥmarna*	*nəḥmāru*

Case 3: Reanalysis of the subordination particle as a discourse dependency marker

This case deals with the reanalysis of the subordination particle /bāš/, which, as explained by Cohen, consists of the preposition /b/ and the interrogative particle /āš/ 'what' (1975: 258). The etymology of this item suggests that originally it served to introduce adverbial clauses of purpose, i.e. parallel to Spanish *para que*, which also include the 'what' element. This usage is exemplified by the following sentences from Jewish Gabes:

(1)	*yəlžəmma*	*ṭaḇḇaṣ*	*bāš*	*təḏxəl*
	must.FSGX.3FSG.her	bend.PFX.3FSG	SUB	enter.PFX.3FSG

'She had to bend over in order to enter.'

(2)	*xūya*	*kīf*	*yži*	*aʿṭīy*
	brother.mine	when	come.3MSG.FSGX	give.IMP-him
	flūš	*bāš*	*yaʿməl*	*šəbbāt*
	money	SUB	make.PFX.3MSG	Shabbat

'When my brother comes, give him money so that he can have Shabbat.'

Similarly, in Jewish Wad-Souf, where the particle /bāš/ has two allomorphs, i.e. /bəš/ and /məš/:[11]

(3)	*ġarblu*	*l-ṛṃəl*	*bəš*	*ywəlli*	*kull*	*ṇḍīf*
	sift.FSGX.3PL	DEF-sand	SUB	become.PFX.3PL	all	clean

'They were straining the sand in order to make it all clean.'

In those sentences, the realisation of the state of affairs[12] included in the subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause in that the main state of affairs (SoA) had to occur to enable the realisation of the dependent SoA. As I demonstrate in the following paragraph, this logical contingency has furnished a further expan-

[11] It appears that this allomorphic variation is free and is not conditioned phonologically. Nevertheless, new portions of data and further research should cast more light on this matter.

[12] Following the terminology proposed by Cristofaro, the events coded by the main and the dependent clause shall be referred to as 'states of affairs' (SoA). This term has been borrowed from Functional Grammar (Siewierska 1991) and is more precise than 'event', as the latter implicates dynamicity and punctuality (Cristofaro 2005: 25).

sion of the primarily purpose marking particle /bāš/ to introduce content clauses and order complements. Let us now consider the following sentence from Jewish Gabes (4) and Jewish Wad-Souf (5):

(4)	*hūwa*	*qaṛṛəṛ*	*bāš*	*yṣakkər*	*əl-ḥānūt*
	he	decide.FSGX.3MSG	SUB	close.PFX.3MSG	DEF-shop
	wa	*yəmši*	*mən*	*blād*	
	and	go.PFX.3MSG	from	city	

'He decided that he will close the shop and leave the city.'

(5)	*ṛāṣ*	*əl-blād*	*ḥkəm*	*ʿal*	*yahūd*	*məš*	*yṣakkru*	*əḥwānət*
	head	DEF-city	order.FSGX.3MSG	on	Jews	SUB	close.PFX.3PL	shops

'The mayor of the city ordered Jews to close their shops.'

The dependency of the subordinate SoAs in sentences (4) and (5) is different from that in purpose clauses, where there is a close semantic link between the independent and dependent SoAs, e.g. in (1) the semantic integration between the action of bending over and entering. A closer look at the two clauses in (4) and (5) reveals that the semantic relationship between the two clauses is not as close as in purpose clauses and the SoAs are more independent. Nonetheless, the logical link between the two SoAs is similar, i.e. the occurrence of the SoAs in the dependent clause is subject to the occurrence of the main SoAs. In this way, /bāš/ has been extended onto semantically independent but logically linked content clauses. Thus, /bāš/ in (4) essentially introduces the content of the decision, while the same particle in (5) introduces the content of an order or request.

However, Jewish Wad-Souf attests to even further development of this particle. Namely, in this dialect, it occurs in a non-subordinate context:

(6)	*kān*	*məš*	*yəšru*	*ḥāža*	*u*	*ybīʿu*	*ḥāža*
	to be.FSGX.3MSG	SUB	buy.PFX.3PL	thing	and	sell.PFX.3PL	thing

'They **would** buy or sell something.'

	hāða	*hūwa*	*ma*	*kān*
	this.MSG	he	REL	to be.FSGX.3MSG

'This is what it was.'

[HE]*avál*[HE]	*bəš*	*yətṣaḥḥbu*	*ṣaḥba*	*gəlb*	*ʿal*	*gələb*	*glil glil*
but	SUB	befriend.PFX.3PL	friendship	heart	on	heart	hardly

'But they **would** hardly be heartfelt friends.'

The fragment has been excerpted from a middle of a narrative about relationships between Jews and Muslims in Wad-Souf. As can be seen, the subordinate particles /məš/ and /bəš/ do not introduce a syntactically embedded clause. The first sentence of the fragment would be grammatically correct also without /məš/ and would have the meaning of past habitual. Why did the speaker choose to insert the purposive subordinator? The explanation lies in the reanalysis of this particle as a discourse dependency marker. Since in subordinate clauses it encodes a contingency of the embedded clause on the main clause, it was analogically reanalysed as a marker of a higher level dependency, namely the discoursive one. Hence in sentences, where the subordinate particle does not introduce a subordinate clause, it marks a contingency of a segment of discourse on the previous parts of the narrative. Such a continuation is usually expressed by an elaboration in order to provide more details of what has just been said. The general framework of the symbiosis between Jews and Muslims in Wad Souf was outlined before by the sentence: *ygūlu l-məṣlmīn hūma tamīm, yaʿni mūš tāʿna ḥna, mūš məntāna; ma ygarrbūhəm yāṣər* 'they were saying that the Muslims are impure, it means they are not like us, they are not from us; they (i.e., the Jews) would not get too close to them'. After this segment of discourse, the /məš/ particle comes to mark that the story it precedes depends on what has been previously outlined and functions as elaboration.

Crosslinguistically, purposive clauses provide fertile ground for the emergence of new grammatical markers and constructions (Schmidtke-Bode 2009). Interestingly enough, within the Semitic family, the pathway of evolution from the purpose clauses to discourse dependency forms is attested in some varieties of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA). Let us first have a look at a purpose clause, which in NENA can either be introduced by a *ta* 'to' particle, or asydentically (Khan 2021: 181). As can be seen, in those dialects, the bare present stem *qatəl* functions as a subjunctive:

(7) Christian Barwar (Khan 2021: 177)

*ṣəlyɛ = le*ˈ	*ta-t-ʾázəl*	*ʾùrxa.*ˈ
go.down.PTCP = cop.3MSG	to-comp-go.SBJV.3MSG	way

'He went down in order to set off on the road.' (A15:5)

However, the same subjunctive verb form is found outside of the subordinate context, i.e. without being preceded by an embedding verb:

(8) Christian Urmi (Khan 2016 2: 122)

májjət = da	*ʾá*	*náša*	*xəšlə*ˈ	*ɟášəḵ*
indeed = also	this	man	go.pfv.3MSG	see.**SBJV**.3MSG

ʾó	*bétu*	*súra*	*víyyə = va*	*xa*	*yacca*
that	his.house	small	become.PTCP = cop.pst.3MSG	a	big

máx	*bátət*	*màlcə*	*víyyə = va.*ˈ
like	house.of	kings	become.ptcp = cop.pst.3ms

'Indeed the man went off and **saw** that his small house had become huge, it had become like the house of kings.' (A 54:5)

The syntactic dependency encoded by the /t-/ particle in example (7) is extended functionally to mark also discourse dependency in example (8) by means of reanalysis. Since the event expressed by the purpose clause is posterior to the main, embedding clause, the subjunctive form of the purposive clause was reanalysed as factual and started being used in the context of past habitual, or when a sequence of events takes place (Khan 2021:180). In those instances, the subjunctive form continues the line of narration started by a regular narrative past form, on which it is temporally and logically dependent. It seems that the same temporal implicature underlines the development attested in Jewish Wad-Souf, where the 'dependant' verb forms are flagged by the purposive particle.

4.2 Convergence of internally and externally motivated factors

In the second part of the analytic section of this paper, I shall discuss two cases of analogical extension, whose target form resembles forms found in a donor language. Under these circumstances, the analogical change is analysed as being catalysed by language contact.

Case 4: Extension of the /t-/ passive prefix

It has been shown in Table 1 that some verb stems occurring in Classical Arabic are only scarcely attested in the Maghrebi dialects (form VI and XI), while others have uneven geographical distribution (IV, VII). This is particularly the case with stems expressing passivity and reflexivity. Depending on the region the passive voice of stem I is realised either through the /n-/ prefix, i.e. nəC_1C_2əC_3, or the /t-/ prefix, i.e. təC_1C_2əC_3.[13] In a number of dialects, both stems exist and are

[13] The syllabic structure of the /n-/ stem is not uniform across the region. While in both Jewish Tripoli (Yoda 2005:177) and in Jewish Gabes the schwa is places after the /n-/ prefix, in

used interchangeably, while in others the two competing forms fulfil different pragmatic functions. Moreover, as will be demonstrated, in Jewish Gabes and in other dialects of the region a secondary process takes place, attesting to an analogical change. In the present section, I argue that the replacement of the OA n-stem by a dialectal t-stem passive took place in analogy to stems V and VI, which form passive of forms II and III respectively, stimulated by language contact with Berber.[14] The /t-/ prefix in those dialects is reanalysed as a marker of passivity, opening a pathway to its extension over the stem VII. In the following paragraphs, I will first describe the distribution of the two stems across North Africa, proposing subsequently a reconstruction of the analogical process leading to the emergence of the /t-/ stem.

Let us first discuss the distribution of the /n-/ and the /t-/ stems in selected dialects of Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria. Within the Libyan dialectological landscape, the passive stem with an /n-/ prefix seems to prevail. Indeed, it occurs in Jewish Tripoli, although the /t-/ stem seems to be sporadically employed too to express passivity (Yoda 2005: 177). The /n-/ stem is well attested and stable also in the Muslim variety of Tripoli (Pereira 2008: 109). In the Muslim dialect of Benghazi, the /n-/ stem is dominant, but a limited number of verbs form passive voice with an infixed /t-/ (Benkato 2014: 79). Overall, it could be tentatively established that Libyan Arabic exhibits a preference towards the /n-/ stem.[15]

The Tunisian varieties seem to be more heterogeneous in terms of their expressions of the passive. Within the Bedouin varieties of Tunisian Arabic, the central and northern dialects employ the /t-/ type passive, while the southern ones utilise the /n-/ type (Basset 1950: 215). The /n-/ stem is attested among others in the Bedouin dialect of Marāzīg (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014: 361).[16] In terms of sedentary dialects, according to D. Cohen, some vestiges of this conjugation can be found also in the Jewish dialect of Tunis (Cohen 1975: 125). Nevertheless, this prefix seems to be perceived as unusual and artificial, since its speakers tend to use a hybrid prefix /tən-/ consisting of the combination of the /n-/ prefix and the morpheme /tə-/, which are naturally associated with passivity and reflexivity. As a result, one can find forms like *tə́nḍ̣rab* 'he was hit' (Cohen 1975: 124). The /n-/ prefix has completely disappeared from both the Muslim dialect of Sūsa, in which the reflexive-passive function was acquired subsequently by the pattern

---

the dialect of Douz the vowel is placed after the first radical and the initial consonantal cluster is resolved by an epenthetic vowel, i.e. *ənfiṭam* 'he was weaned' (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014: 361).

[14] The emergence of the T-passive in analogy to stems V and VI was first proposed by Aguadé and Elyaacoubi (1995:65).

[15] Naturally more studies are required in order to confirm this hypothesis.

[16] Bin Murad reports that the formerly Bedouin population inhabiting the region of Nifzawa (southern Tunisia) used the VII and the VIII forms interchangeably in order to encode the passive voice of the stem I, while in the rural community dwelling in the north of the same region the T-passive form prevails (Ritt-Benmimoun 2014: 360).

tifᶜal (Talmoudi 1980: 103), and the Muslim dialect of Tunis (Cohen 1975: 125). In these dialects the function of the OA form VII was inherited by the conjugation with the prefix /t-/.[17] Marcel Cohen points out that this type of prefix in the passive conjugation precedes historically the infixation present in the form VIII and is typical to Tunisian dialects (Cohen 1912: 227). On the other hand, the dialects of Djerba feature both the /n-/ stem, as well as the /t-/ stem. The Ibadite variety demonstrates preference towards the /t-/ variant, while the Malakite one favours the /n-/ stem. In addition, the Malakite variety of Ababsa has developed an alternative /l-/ prefix, which is presumably a phonetic variant of /n-/. The /n-/ variant is also attested in the Jewish variety of Djerba Arabic (Behnstedt 1998: 69). In Jewish Gabes the use of passive stems is generally limited, with both the /n-/ and the /t-/ stem being only scarcely attested.

Within the Algerian dialects, the /n-/ stem is very well attested in the Bedouin dialect of Oulad Brahim of Saida (Marçais 1908: 99), as well as in the sedentary dialects of Tlemcen (Marçais 1908: 99) and Oran (Guerrero 2015: 226), where the /n-/ stem has outranked the /t-/ form as the main device for expressing passivity. However, Marçais points out that in some dialects spoken east of Oran (Mazouna, Mostaganem) it is the /t-/ stem that has prevailed (1908: 99). Similarly, the /n-/ stem serves as a principal way of encoding the passive in Jewish Algiers, where the /t-/ prefix has mostly intensive meaning (Cohen 1912: 218). On the other hand, in Jewish Wad-Souf, the /n-/ stem is non-existent, and the /t-/ stem serves as the sole means for expressing the passive: *l-mᶜāž ədd́əbḥu* (by assimilation of the /t-/ to /d/) 'the goats have been slaughtered', *hūwa təḍŕəb* 'he has been beaten', *əl-*[HE]*sod*[HE] *təkšə́f* 'the secret was revealed'. Similarly, in the north of Constantine and in Djidjelli (Marçais 1956: 193). Grand'Henry reports the prevalence of the /t-/ stem in the Arabic spoken in the region of Mzab (1976).

This brief comparison suggests that neither Tunisian nor Algerian Arabic can be unequivocally classified as /t-/ or /n-/ dialects, as the distribution of those forms is uneven and diverse. It is important to notice that the state of affairs in Morocco is similar. Virtually in all non-Saharan Muslim varieties of Moroccan Arabic, both variants coexist (Heath 2002: 355). In some Jewish dialects, like Debdou, Ksar Es-Souk and Oujda, as well as in the urban belt Rabat-Meknes-Fes the /n-/ stem is the only option. In the western dialects of Jewish Moroccan Arabic, the two forms in question have different grammatical functions, namely the /n-/ stem is usually used with human referents, while the /t-/ stem accompanies non-human nouns. Heath has attested several examples from the hybrid /tn-/ and /nt-/ passives (2002: 355).

---

[17] As has been observed by D. Cohen, the usage of ungeminated /-t/ prefix is one of the characteristics of the Eastern Maghrebi dialects, since both Moroccan and Algerian dialects tend to use a geminated prefix /tt-/, i.e. *ttaᶜmal* 'to be done' (Cohen 1912: 228, Cohen 1975: 124).

In the Jewish dialect of Gabes, the dominant strategy of expressing the passive is different from the binary system described above.[18] Besides the monopartite /n-/ and /t-/ stems, which are attested only scarcely, often the speakers choose an active verb with an impersonal subject, followed by a direct object, e.g. *qəṭlū* 'they killed him', instead of the anticipated *nəqṭə́l* or *təqṭə́l* 'he was killed'. This development, involving a bipartite construction, i.e. a verb and a personal pronoun, conforms to Kuryłowicz's 1st law of analogy, stating that bipartite (complex) markers tend to replace monopartite (simple) ones (1947). This is exemplified among others by the periphrastic future in spoken French (*je vais voyager* instead of *je voyagerai* 'I am going to travel') and some varieties of Spanish (*voy a cantar* instead of *cantaré* 'I am going to sing'), which often comes to replace the monopartite future tense form. As pointed out by McMahon, the analogical change from single to double marking is motivated by disambiguation (1994: 77). This explains why in Jewish Gabes the 3MSG form of the VII stem *nəqtə́l*, which can be interpreted as 1S form of the prefix stem, or *təqtə́l*, which resembles 2MSG and 3FSG of the prefix stem, is replaced by more overtly marked form *qətlū*.

In those dialects, where the /t-/ stem is attested, the /t-/ morpheme of stems V, VI, and VIII, analysed as a marker of passivity, has been extended analogically onto the formation of the passive of from I. From the point of view of analogical reasoning, the "irregular" and non-/t-/ OA /n-/ stem has been fully or partially eradicated since it did not match the mirror-like system of verbal stems. Thus, the analogical development which took place in some dialects of Maghrebi Arabic can be summarised as follows:

if stem II $C_1əC_2C_2əC_3$ (active)
+ /t/ = stem V $tC_1əC_2C_2əC_3$ (passive)
and:
stem III $C_1āC_2əC_3$ (active) + /t/ = stem VI $tC_1āC_2əC_3$ (passive)
then:
stem I $C_1C_2əC_3$ (active) + /t/ = $tC_1C_2əC_3$ (passive)

The survey presented above shows that the distribution of the /n-/ and the /t-/ passive variants is conditioned neither geographically, nor communally. The sole regularity that can be observed is an absence of the /t-/ passive in the Libyan dialects mentioned above. If we accept a hypothesis that the prefixed /t-/ stem was not part of the verb system imported from the Arabian Peninsula in the 7th century CE, but rather emerged regionally at a later stage through the

[18] In order to ascertain similar tendency in other dialects a thorough investigation should be conducted, which, however, due to the limitation of the present article and insufficient data, was not feasible.

analogical extension of the /-t/ prefix of stems V and VI, the question naturally arises where this innovation started. Since the /t-/ stem is poorly attested in Libya, and its distribution in Algeria and in Tunisia seems to be rather random, we could suppose that its diffusion is related to nomadic movements across the region. According to Catherine Taine-Cheikh, the occurrence of the /t-/ stem is much higher in the western dialects than in the eastern ones, where we still find traces of the internal vocalic passive (Taine-Cheikh 1983: 76). One should not exclude therefore a possibility that the analogical extension of this prefix was stimulated by language contact with Berber, where the /t-/ prefix functions as a marker of the passive in many dialects. Heath points out that the shift from infixed to prefixed /t-/ passives was influenced probably by Berber, which has similar prefixed /t-/ passives (2002: 356). Below one can find several examples of the /t-/ passive in Berber:

Dialect	Active	Passive
Awjila (eastern Libya)	*ămt* 'to bury'	*ittemt* 'to be buried'
Touareg of Iwellemmeden	*elmed* 'to learn'	*tălmăd* 'to be learnt'
Kabyle	*gzem* 'to cut'	*ṭṭegzem* 'to be cut'
Chleuh	*šš* 'to eat'	*ttš* 'to be eaten'
Figuig (eastern Morocco)	*sek* 'to build'	*ttwasek* 'to be built'

Table 2. Formation of the passive in Berber (based on Kossmann 2002)

Indeed, the /t-/ prefix is a common marker of passivity in many varieties of Berber. Although language contact and analogy tend to be perceived in linguistics as two separate phenomena, cases like this form ground to an intersection of those two factors. Namely, when a target form of an analogical change is similar to a form found in a language in contact, the latter can act synergetically as an additional factor of a language change. In the case of the /t-/ prefix, it is plausible that since within Arabic, there had existed a potential for the analogical extension of the /t-/ passive marker, the language contact with Berber stimulated and accelerated this development, triggering the loss of the stem VII in some varieties. It is worth noting that the emergence of the /t-/ passive stem is not limited only to the Maghreb. Also in some dialects of Upper Egypt and the Levant, where the Berber influence is not expected, we observe the loss of the /n-/ stem (Nishio

1995: 209). It is rather difficult to establish whether we deal here with two independent phenomena, or there exists some sort of historical continuum between those dialectal families.[19]

Case 5: Extension of the strict agreement pattern

The patterns of grammatical agreement have recently gained a lot of attention in the scholarship of both literary and dialectal forms of Arabic. The general interest in grammatical concord resulted in several pioneering studies, casting new light on its diachronic development. In dialectology, agreement patterns in Tunisian Arabic are well-described thanks to the studies on Southern Bedouin dialects of Tunisian Arabic (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017), as well as the urban north (Procházka and Gabsi 2017). There exist numerous studies on this phenomenon in Cairene Arabic (Belnap 1991, 1993, 1994, 1999), the Libyan dialect of Fezzan (D'Anna 2017), and Omani Arabic (Bettega 2018). Similarly, also in the realm of Quranic and Classical Arabic, the topic has received a lot of scholarly attention (Reckendorf 1921:24; Freguson 1989; Belnap and Shabaneh 1992, 1994; Dror 2013, 2016; D'Anna 2020). Finally, the problem of grammatical concord in both written and spoken forms of Arabic has been extensively treated in Bettega and D'Anna (2023). Against this background, grammatical concord in Jewish varieties of North African Arabic remains *terra incognita*. The exception to this tendency is the grammar of Jewish Tripoli, where Yoda mentions that plural nouns always agree with their arguments (Yoda 2005: 285).

A study of grammatical concord in Judaeo-Arabic has the potential to make a significant contribution to our knowledge of this grammatical phenomenon for two reasons. Firstly, there exists a wealth of textual Judaeo-Arabic sources, which reflect both the literary and the colloquial language alike, and therefore might reveal invaluable information about the diachronic development of the agreement. Secondly, since Judaeo-Arabic dialects in the second half of the 20th century were transplanted from their natural environment into Hebrew-speaking Israel, one can assume that the Israeli Hebrew system of strict agreement has affected the Judaeo-Arabic. The study of this phenomenon can be crucial for establishing the sensitivity of grammatical concord in a language contact situation. To this end, in the following paragraphs, I will analyse several examples of grammatical concord in a few dialects of North African Arabic, simultaneously providing historical data where possible. I argue, that, as in the previous case, the

[19] The emergence of the /t-/ stem in the eastern dialects might have been stimulated by the passive verb forms with the /t-/ prefix in Aramaic (Bunis 2018: 185). One can imagine a situation, where during the Arabization of North Africa this form spread westwards and was further promoted by a parallel form in Berber.

generalisation of the strict agreement in modern dialects of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic took place at the intersection of analogy and language contact.

One of the most striking features of the syntax of the surviving varieties of Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic is their strict grammatical agreement. This tendency stands in striking contrast to the Muslim and Bedouin dialects, where plural controllers low in animacy and individuation trigger agreement with 3rd personal singular feminine. This type of agreement in the present study will be called 'deflected'.[20] The situation prevailing in those varieties has in fact long historical tradition. Some modern dialects, like Cairene and Damascus Arabic, reflect similar variation between strict and deflected agreements as found in Old Arabic sources (e.g., pre-Islamic poetry) and Christian Middle Arabic, reflecting colloquial language (Belnap and Gee 1994: 131). In contradistinction to this tendency, in Classical Arabic a rapid generalisation of the rule of deflected agreement with nonhuman controllers took place.[21] Against this historical background, two questions arise regarding the evolution of the agreement in Judaeo-Arabic. Firstly, do Judaeo-Arabic sources reflecting the spoken language point to a similar level of variation, or rather the distribution of the deflected agreement in this variety has always been rather limited? And secondly, has the prevalence of the strict agreement in modern varieties been caused by language contact with Israeli Hebrew, or is rather rooted in the internal development of Judaeo-Arabic?

In order to better understand the nature of the agreement in Judaeo-Arabic, let us first discuss this phenomenon in non-Jewish Arabic from a diachronic perspective. As pointed out below, we can assume with a high degree of certainty that, in contradistinction to Classical Arabic, the system of agreement in non-Jewish Arabic has been relatively stable, exhibiting variation between the strict and the deflected options. Belnap and Gee in their quantitative study of the occurrence of different variants of agreement in textual sources from between the 6th and the 14th century demonstrate that the agreement with nonhuman plural heads was almost equally distributed between feminine singular, feminine plural, and broken plural. For instance, in works of Imruʾ al-Qays from the 6th century, those categories account respectively to 38%, 31%, and 31% of the occurrences, while in Al-Xansāʾ from the 7th century to 48%, 27%, and 25% (Belnap and Gee 1994: 132). Those proportions are disrupted from the 7th century onward when the deflected agreement becomes the only option for non-human heads. The explanation for this development is rather complex, but we can assume that along with the introduction of the Quran and activities of grammarians and non-native speakers of Arabic intellectuals, written

[20] Following Belnap and Gee (1994) and Ritt-Benmimoun (2017).

[21] As argued by Belnap and Gee, the generalisation of the pre-existing deflected agreement in CA might have taken place due to the scribal practices of non-native speakers of Arabic, who were unsure of the rules of variation between the two types of agreement (Belnap and Gee 1994:141).

Arabic became more prescriptive and more detached from the spoken language (Belnap and Gee 1994). As stated above, many modern dialects of Arabic still reflect the OA system, which exhibits the two types of agreement. This is also the case in North African dialects when the head is low in individuation and generic. Several examples from Muslim Tunis can be found below:[22]

(9) *l-klēb* *bdēt* *tēkəl*
DEF-dogs start.FSGX.3FSG eat.PFX.3FSG
'The dogs started eating.'

(10) *kīf* *l-ʿabēd* *bdēt* *təžri* *l-qṭaṭēs* *harbət*
when DEF-people start.FSGX.3FSG run.PFX.3FSG DEF-cats flee.FSGX.3FSG
'When people started running, the cats fled.'

However, controllers with a higher degree of individuation are in strict agreement with their targets:[23]

(11) *ər-ržēl* *qāʿdīn* *yošrbu* *fi-qahwa*
DEF.men sit.AP.PL drink.PFX.3PL in-coffee
'The men are drinking coffee.'

As confirmed by Procházka and Gabsi, the deflected agreement with human controllers is rather rare and limited to *nās* and *ʿabēd* as collectives denoting people, but other groups of nouns demonstrate a wide array of variation (2017: 245). A similar tendency is attested in the Bedouin dialect of Nifzāwa (Tunisia) and in Benghazi (Libya) (Ritt-Benmimoun 2017; Benkato 2014: 88).[24]

Against this background, in several Jewish dialects of North African Arabic the strict agreement is the only available variant. This has been already pointed out by Yoda for Jewish Tripoli (2005). Jewish Gabes (Southern Tunisia) and Wad-Souf (Eastern Algeria) are additional two dialects, where, at least synchronically, we observe this tendency:

---

[22] Based on author's own data.

[23] As pointed out by Brustad, also the gender of the controller can affect the choice of agreement, with masculine nouns being more individuated and animate (Brustad 2000: 38).

[24] To a lesser extent in the south-Libyan dialect of Fezzan, where the deflected agreement account to only 10% of occurrences of plural heads. Nevertheless, the data for this dialect do not contain abstract and less individuated nouns, and therefore is not representative for the distribution of the deflected agreement (D'Anna 2017: 119).

Jewish Gabes (Tunisia)

(12) *l-ʿaṣāfir* *əlli* *šəfthəm* *āməš* *žāw* *mən* *ṣ-ṣaḥra*
DEF-birds REL see.FSGX.1SG.them yesterday come.FSGX.3PL from the-desert
'The birds that you saw yesterday had come from the desert.'

(13) *tlāta* *baṭṭīxāt* *li* *baʿṭəthəm* *bəntək* *fīhəm* *ramz*
three watermelons REL send.FSGX.3FSG.them daughter.your in.them hint
'The three melons that your daughter sent you, there is a hint in them.'

(14) *ḍāṛ* *l-aʿrīš* *əbdāw* *yġannīw*
house DEF-groom start.FSGX.3PL sing.PFX.3PL
'The family of the groom started singing.'

(15) *ənnša* *žāw* *yəṭlbu* *l-ma*
women come.FSGX.3PL ask.PFX.3PL DEF-water
'Women came to ask for water.'

Jewish Wad-Souf

(16) *kān* *ṣəkkāt* *kānu* *yəḍṛbu* *nsāwīnhəm* *maʿrūfīn*
be.FSGX.3MSG families be.FSGX.3PL hit.PFX.3PL women.their know.PP
'There were families, which were known for hitting their women.'

(17) *kānu* *nās* *ygūlu* *hāði* *əṣ-ṣəkka* *ṣəkkət* *əẓ-ẓəbda*
be.FSGX.3PL people say.PFX.3PL this.FSG DEF-family family DEF-butter
'People would say: this family is very mild (literally: this family is a family of butter).'

(18) *l-mʿāz* *mātu* *bi-l-mṛāḍ*
DEF-sheep die.FSGX.3PL in-DEF-disease
'The sheep perished because of the disease.'

(19) *l-wulād* *l-kull* *xaržu* *mən* *mádrasa*
DEF-children DEF-all exist.FSGX.3PL from school
'All the children went out of school.'

(20) *kānu* *ʿanda* *tlāṭa* *arbʿa* *xarrāfāt* *tʿāwəḍ*
be.FSGX.3PL at.her three four tales repeat.PFX.3FSG
ʿalīm *kull* *márra* *hāðākum* *xarrāfāt*
on.them.3PL every time those.3PL tales
'She had three or four tales, she would repeat them every time, those tales.'

The examples clearly indicate that strict agreement is the general rule in those dialects, regardless of the level of individuation, human/non-human distinction, or abstract/concrete. Since neither the dialect of Gabes nor that of Wad-Souf preserved the feminine forms of the plural, all the plural controllers are followed by targets in the masculine form of the plural. This tendency is particularly surprising in the case of Wad-Souf. Inasmuch as Gabes is a first-wave, sedentary dialect, Wad-Souf exhibits numerous Bedouin features, e.g. realisation of /q/ as /g/ as in *ygūlu* 'they say', preservation of interdentals, as in *hāði* 'this FSG', or plural *nsāwīn* 'women', instead of the sedentary form *nsa.* One would expect, therefore, that this explicitly conservative dialect would also reflect the Bedouin-type pattern of agreement, characterised by a wide range of variation between the strict and deflected options. Since no case of deflected agreement in this conservative variety has been attested, it seems that in the past its distribution was only marginal, or that it has never been an option. This assumption is further confirmed by a statistical survey of agreement in Jewish Tunis. Below one can find a table summarising the study based on Cohen's text corpus from 1964:[25]

	Verbs	%	Adjectives	%	Pronouns	%	Total %
Masculine plural	104	**90**	17	100	31	100	**93**
Feminine singular	11	**10**	0	0	0	0	**7**
Total	115		17		31		

Table 3. Agreement patterns in Jewish Tunis (Cohen 1964)

[25] If a plural head is followed by more than one target in the same person, it has been counted as one. Generic sentences without a subject always contain verb in 3PL and therefore have not been considered in the survey. The transcription system of the examples from Jewish Tunis has been adapted from the source.

The corpus in question contains mainly transcriptions of free-speech narratives related to the Jewish community in Tunis, but several poems have been included too. The survey has revealed several striking tendencies. Firstly, the deflected agreement occurs only in verbs. No occurrences of the deflected agreement have been found in adjectives or pronouns. Secondly, out of 163 occurrences of plural heads with their targets, only 11 are in 3FSG, which amounts to only 7% of all the examples. It is important to notice, however, that out of the 11 samples of deflected agreement, 3 appear in poetry, where, they were apparently conditioned by rhyme, like in the following example (Cohen 1964:123):

(21)

yūm	*žəmʿa*	*ʿal-bəkrīya*
day	Friday	early
rūḥi	*xaržət*	*wəntfāṭ*
spirit.mine	leave.FSGX.3FSG	and.extinguish.FSGX.3FSG

'Early on Friday, my soul left and extinguished.'

ḥīn	*šəmʿat*	*ənnāš*	*bīya*
immediately	hear.FSGX.3FSG	people	in-her
ẓġāṛ	*u-kbāṛ*	*aʿlīya*	*bkāt*
small.PL	and-big.PL	on-her	cry.FSGX.3FSG

'Immediately people learn about it, young and old cry over me.'

Another unexpected tendency is that all the 11 occurrences of deflected targets accompany human controllers, those are usually *nāš* 'people', *nša* 'women', or *ʿawwadīya* 'musicians'. Surprisingly, non-human controllers, low in individuation, trigger strict agreement: *daxlu ləqṭāṭoṣ* 'the cates entered', *wel-fonctions ntaḥḥa yəlzəmməm yəbdāw doubles* 'her functions must start being double' (Cohen 1964: 136, 49). This significantly differs from the situation found in Muslim Tunis, where animals treated as whole and abstract nouns trigger deflected agreement (Procházka and Gabsi 2017).

The data from Jewish Tunis is of paramount importance, as it has been recorded in its natural environment, without any interference from Israeli Hebrew. The question arises whether this type of marginal deflected agreement with non-individuated plural human controllers reflects a situation common for all the varieties of spoken Judaeo-Arabic of the region, or dialects utilised different types of agreement. Unfortunately, a diachronic survey, which could potentially elucidate this issue, is hindered by a lack of available textual Judaeo-Arabic sources from the Maghreb, reflecting the spoken language. Nevertheless, various studies on pre-modern Judaeo-Arabic suggest that the deflected agreement has never

reached the same level of distribution as in the Muslim varieties, remaining rather marginal throughout history.

Blau points out that strict agreement is almost the rule in verb-subject alignment. Both animal and non-animate heads trigger strict agreement in this type of sentences. Interestingly, the only exception to this rule is human controllers, in which case the verb occasionally is in 3FSG (Blau 1961: 131). Similarly, non-human controllers are in strict grammatical agreement with their targets in subject-verb alignment. On the other hand, human controllers sporadically trigger the deflected agreement (Blau 1961: 132). This situation reveals a striking resemblance with Jewish Tunis, where no cases of non-human heads with the deflected agreement have been attested. The rule of strict grammatical agreement has been attested also in sources containing the Egyptian *šarḥ*, i.e. translations of the Bible into Judaeo-Arabic. Although one can argue that this tendency can stem from the verbatim translation of the Hebrew text, where strict agreement prevails, Hary argues that strict grammatical concord is a feature of both Classical Judaeo-Arabic and colloquial Jewish Egyptian (2009: 275). This evidence could potentially point to the difference between the Judaeo-Arabic system of agreement, and the Muslim one, where, as argued before, the deflected agreement remained as an option with non-individuated plural heads.[26]

After discussing patterns of agreement from a comparative perspective, let us now return to the question posited in the first paragraphs: has the strict agreement of some Jewish dialects of the Maghreb (Tripoli, Gabes, Wad-Souf) been triggered by Israeli Hebrew, or is it rather a result of the internal evolution of Judaeo-Arabic? The textual evidence from Judaeo-Arabic, in conjunction with Cohen's transcriptions from 1964, suggests that the system of agreement of Judaeo-Arabic differs from that of pre-Classical poetry and modern Muslim dialects continuum. Namely, in the latter group, the deflected agreement exists as an option with both human and non-human plural controllers, while in the former it is primarily applied with human ones, and only to a very limited extent. It is rather difficult to offer a historical explanation of how this discrepancy emerged, as the past of spoken language is poorly documented. Nevertheless, one can assume that the correlation between

[26] I am aware of two types of Judaeo-Arabic sources, where the deflected agreement appears with non-human plural heads. I have spotted a couple of those cases in Egyptian folktales and letters of merchants also from Egypt and the Maghreb (Connolly 2018, Wagner 2010). Nevertheless, since no transcription corpus is available, nor a systematic description of agreement in those sources exists, it is difficult to draw any conclusions. Naturally, Judaeo-Arabic did not evolve in complete isolation and therefore one should assume that there were cases of interference of the Muslim variety or its imitation. Wagner points out that the Egyptian varieties of Judaeo-Arabic, which were more central within the Muslim empire, were generally more progressive than the peripheral Maghrebi ones, which retained more conservative features (2010: 14). Thus, examples of deflected agreement with non-human controllers from Egyptian sources should be taken with a pinch of salt, as they might have been affected by the non-Jewish varieties.

deflected agreement and non-individuated controllers has never been fully adapted in spoken Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic. This state of affairs might be tentatively accounted for by languages, which Jews had been speaking before the first wave of Arabization of the Maghreb, i.e. Late Latin, Berber, and presumably Punic, as in neither of those languages the deflected agreement exists. The liturgical usage of Hebrew and Aramaic, which essentially do not possess the deflected agreement either (Levi 2013), could also potentially contribute to the emergence of the Judaeo-Arabic system of agreement. Nevertheless, if we accept the assumption that there existed a limited usage of deflected agreement in different Jewish dialects of Arabic, how do we explain its complete absence in Jewish Tripoli, Gabes, and Wad-Souf? *Prima facie* the easiest explanation is the influence of Israeli Hebrew, which does not utilise agreement with 3FSG and the strict agreement is a general rule. However, as the above study demonstrates, the deflected agreement in Judaeo-Arabic has never been used to the same extent as in the Muslim one. Thus I would like to raise the possibility that, as in the case of the /t-/ prefix, the rejection of the deflected agreement came about at the intersection of language contact and analogy. Since within Judaeo-Arabic itself there existed a potential for the analogical extension of the strict agreement, i.e. the deflected agreement has never been fully adapted as a viable option, the language contact with Israeli Hebrew triggered the definite extension of this pattern. Consider the following examples from Israeli Hebrew (Glinert 1989: 187, 193):

(22)	*yeshnam*	*kshayim*	*o*	*en?*
	there.are.3MPL	difficulties(PLM)	or	NEG
	'Are there difficulties or aren't there?'			

(23)	*me'ot*	*horim*	*ba'im*
	hundreds	parents	come.3MPL
	'Hundreds of parents come.'		

As can be inferred, both unindividuated, non-human (example 22) and human (example 23) controllers trigger in Modern Hebrew the strict agreement. It is important to note that the speakers of Judaeo-Arabic were immersed into the Hebrew-speaking environment of the newly created State of Israel very rapidly, facing often various forms of cultural discrimination from the Ashkenazi population. The linguistic policy of Israel, which encouraged all the Jews to speak only Hebrew, has eventually led many speakers to abandon the active usage of their native Arabic dialect, creating space for language attrition and loss of language complexity. Those socio-linguistic factors presumably explain why the deflected agreement has disappeared from Maghrebi Judaeo-Arabic dialects spoken in Israel so abruptly.

In sum, it is plausible that the analogical extension of the strict pattern in Judaeo-Arabic had been operating at different stages of the historical development of this language, preventing the spread of the deflected agreement, whose presence is attested in historical sources (cf. footnote 26). In this way, in the second half of the 20th century, the deflected agreement, additionally weakened by Israeli Hebrew, has been altogether replaced in analogy to the strict one, which historically had been by far the most common variant.[27]

5 Concluding discussion

This article was concerned with processes of analogical extension and reanalysis in Jewish dialects of North African Arabic. Based on the data from Gabes and Wad-Souf, I have demonstrated five instances of analogical change, three of which occur within verb morphology, and two within syntax. The analytical part was divided in two sections.

In the first section, I discussed cases of endogenous analogical change. In case (1), I discussed the extension of the pattern 3rd radical weak over stem II geminate in Wad-Souf. A similar phenomenon was demonstrated in case (2), in which the conjugation of verbs historically belonging to stems VIII 2nd radical weak and XI is altered to conform to the conjugational pattern of stem I. In case (3) I discussed the reanalysis of the subordinative particle /bāš/, demonstrating the trajectory of its development towards a discourse dependency marker. I have drawn several parallels with the distribution of the /t-/ particle in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic.

On the other hand, section (2) explored the possibility of convergence of analogy and language contact. Case (4) entailed an attempt to explain the conditions under which the /t-/ passive stem emerged in some dialects. It has been argued that this extension was furnished by analogical forms of stems V and VI. Nevertheless, as has been demonstrated, various dialects of Berber also form the passive voice by means of the /t-/ morpheme. This example of language change was analysed as having occurred due to the conjunction of analogy and language change, which was enabled by the existence of the target form in the donor language, in this case—Berber. A multifactorial analysis was also offered in case (5), where patterns of agreement in Judaeo-Arabic were discussed from diachronic

[27] Using the Optimality Theory, the divergence between the Jewish and Muslim dialects in terms of their choice of the agreement pattern can be accounted for by distinct ranking of the output constraints (Prince and Smolensky 1993; Archangeli 1999). The Evaluation mechanism in the Jewish dialects ranks the rule of grammatical agreement between the subject and its modifiers higher than the level of its individuation and animacy. On the other hand, the evaluation of the input in the Muslim dialects is conditioned by the requirement to adjust the grammatical form of the modifier to the identity of the subject.

and cross-dialectal perspectives. The data from Jewish Gabes and Jewish Wad-Souf clearly indicates that similarly to Jewish Tripoli, those dialects do not feature agreement of plural heads with 3FSG. It has been argued that the deflected agreement was eliminated at the intersection of the analogical extension of the predominant, strict grammatical concord, and contact with Israeli Hebrew, where only strict agreement exists. Based on historical data (Cohen, Blau, Hary), it has been shown that the deflected agreement in Judaeo-Arabic has been always very limited, occurring primarily with plural heads denoting people. This tendency stands in contrast to Muslim sources, where the deflected agreement is prone to occur with non-human controllers. It is therefore plausible, that the analogical extension of the strict agreement in Judaeo-Arabic has been active at all stages of its development, eradicating systematically the deflected variant. Its final elimination was presumably catalysed by language contact with Israeli Hebrew.

The central problem addressed in this study was the functional convergence of analogy and language contact. I have argued that in cases where the target form of a language-internal analogical process resembles a form found in a donor language, those two factors can act synergetically. The tension between internal development and language contact is naturally not confined to analogy. In fact, continuing the parallels with NENA, Geoffrey Khan seems to suggest that the emergence of the discourse-dependent forms might have been stimulated by analogous forms in Northern Kurdish (Khan 2021: 189).

Finally, I would like to posit a question about whether there is a correlation between analogy and the social isolation of the speech community. In the context of North Africa, does Arabic spoken by Jewish communities living in confined areas, in isolation from the Muslim population, feature more cases of analogy? One can easily imagine that the severance from the normative and conservative influence of mainstream Arabic would open a pathway for analogical change. In a similar vein, Marcel Cohen elaborating on the morphology of Jewish Algiers observes: 'Ce parler très évolué, particulièrement détaché de l'influence conservatrice de l'arabe littéraire et des parlers de nomades, a subi profondément dans sa morphologie l'influence de l'analogie, niveleuse des particularités dues aux circonstances phonétiques' (1912: 175). Drawing parallels with the two Jewish dialects discussed in this paper, we observe that Wad-Souf features much more cases of analogical change than Gabes. The reasons for this state of affairs may lie in the social reality of those communities. Indeed, the Jews of Gabes were not confined to one quarter, but very often lived among Muslim families, exposed to their Arabic form. This was not the case in Wad-Souf, where, similarly to Ghardaïa (Tirosh-Becker 2015: 189), the Jewish population was confined to one neighbourhood.[28] The social isolation of this community could possibly render an explanation for the plurality of cases of analogical change in this variety of Arabic.

[28] Based on the information provided by the informants.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Wiktor Gębski https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2577-6553

References

Aguadé, Jordi, and Mohammad Elyaacoubi. 1995. *El dialecto* árabe *de Skura (Marruecos)*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Aguadé, Jordi. 2012. 'Verbs Reflecting Classical Arabic Form IV Patterns in Moroccan Arabic'. *Romano-Arabica* 12: 7–15.

Aguadé, Jordi. 2018. 'The Maghrebi Dialects of Arabic'. In *Arabic Historical Dialectology*, edited by Clive Holes, 29-64. Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 30. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, John, and Charles Jones, eds. 1974. *Historical Linguistics. Volume 1: Syntax, Morphology, Internal and Comparative Reconstruction*. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Archangeli, Diana. 1999. 'Introducing Optimality Theory'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1): 531–552.

Arnold, Werner. 1990. *Das Neuwestaramäische: V. Grammatik*. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.

Bahloul, Maher. 2011. 'Agreement'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 1: 43–48, Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Basset, André. 1950. *Initiation à la Tunisie*. Paris: Maisonneuve. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.

Behnstedt, Peter. 1998. 'Zum Arabischen von Djerba (Tunesien) I'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 35: 52–83.

Belnap, Kirk R. 1991. 'Grammatical Agreement Variation in Cairene Arabic'. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.

Belnap, Kirk R., and Osama Shabaneh. 1992. 'Variable Agreement and Nonhuman Plurals in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic'. *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics* 4: 245–262.

Belnap, Kirk R., and John Gee. 1994. 'Classical Arabic in Contact: The Transition to Near-Categorical Agreement Patterns'. *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics* 6: 21–149.

Belnap, Kirk R. 1999. 'A New Perspective on the History of Arabic Variation in Marking Agreement with Plural Heads'. *Folia Linguistica* 33 (1–2): 169–186.

Benkato, Adam. 2014. 'The Arabic Dialect of Benghazi, Libya: Historical and Comparative Notes'. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 59: 57–102.

Bettega, Simone. 2018. 'Agreement Patterns in Omani Arabic: Sociolinguistic Conditioning and Diachronic Developments'. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 12 (2): 143–163.

Bettega, Simone, and Luca D'Anna. 2023. *Gender and Number Agreement in Arabic*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Blau, Joshua. 1961. *Diqduq ha-aravit ha-yehudit shel yamey ha-beynaym* [*A Grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic*]. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Blevins, Jim, and Juliette Blevins. 2009. 'Introduction: Analogy in Grammar'. In *Analogy in Grammar: Form and Acquisition*, edited by James P. Blevins and Juliette Blevins, 1–12. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. New York: Henry Holte & Co.

Brustad, Kristen. 2000. *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
Bunis, Ivri. 2018. 'The Morphosyntax of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic from the Byzantine Period'. PhD thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Campbell, Lyle, and Alice C. Harris. 1995. *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cantineau, Jean. 1960. *Cours de phonétique arabe*. Paris: Klincksieck.
Caubet, Dominique. 1993. *L'arabe marocain.* Études chamito-sémitiques. Paris and Louvain: Éditions Peeters.
Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Knowledge of Language.* New York: Praeger.
Cohen, David. 1964–1975. *Le parler arabe des juifs de Tunis. 1. Textes et documents. 2. Étude descriptive et historique*. The Hague: Mouton.
Cohen, Marcel. 1912. *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*. Paris: Champion.
Connolly, Magdalen. 2018. 'Linguistic Variation in Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic Folk Tales and Letters from the Ottoman Period'. PhD thesis, Cambridge: University of Cambridge.
Cristofaro, Sonia. 2003. *Subordination.* Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
D'Anna, Luca. 2017. 'Agreement with Plural Controllers in Fezzānī Arabic'. *Folia Orientalia* 54: 101–123.
D'Anna, Luca. 2020. 'Collectives in the Qurʾān Revisited: Another Possibility of Semantic Agreement'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 65 (1): 147–169.
Dror, Yehudit. 2013. 'Adjectival Agreement in the Qurʾān'. *Bulletin d'études orientales* 62: 51–76.
Dror, Yehudit, 2016. 'Collective Nouns in the Qurʾān: Their Verbal, Adjectival and Pronominal Agreement'. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 61 (1): 103–137.
Ferguson, C. A. 1989. 'Grammatical Agreement in Classical Arabic and the Modern Dialects: A Response to Versteegh's Pidginization Hypothesis'. *Al-ʿArabiyya* 22: 5–17.
Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 2002. *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*. Translated from German by Jonathan Rodgers. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Garrett, Andrew. 2008. 'Paradigmatic Uniformity and Markedness'. In *Linguistic Universals and Language Change*, edited by Jeff Good, 125–143. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Glinert, Lewis. 1989. *The Grammar of Modern Hebrew.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Grand'Henry, Jacques. 1976. *Les parlers arabes de la Région du Mzāb (Sahara Algérien)*. Leiden: Brill.
Guerrero, Jairo. 2015. 'Preliminary Notes on the Current Arabic Dialect of Oran (Western Algeria)'. *Romano-Arabica* 15: 219–233.
ten Hacken, Pius. 2020. 'Classical Generative Morphology'. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, edited by Mark Aronoff. Accessed 20 February 2023. https://oxfordre.com/linguistics/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.001.0001/acrefore-9780199384655-e-575?rskey=25UhNt&result=2.
Hary, Benjamin. 2009. *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judaeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt.* Leiden: Brill.
Heath, Jeffrey. 2002. *Jewish and Muslim Dialects of Moroccan Arabic.* Routledge: New York.
Hofstader, Douglas, and Emmanuel Sander. 2013. *Surfaces and Essences: Analogy as the Fuel and Fire of Thinking.* New York: Basic Books.
Hopper, Paul, and Elisabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2008. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Barwar.* Leiden: Brill.
Khan, Geoffrey. 2021. 'Verbal Forms Expressing Discourse Dependency in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic'. In *Studies in the Grammar and Lexicon of Neo-Aramaic*, edited by Geoffrey Khan and Paul M. Noorlander. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kossmann, Maarten. 2002. 'L'origine de l'aoriste intensif en berbère'. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris.* 97: 353–370.
Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1947. 'La nature des procès dit analogiques'. *Acta Linguistica* 5: 17–34.
Levi, Yaakov. 2013. 'Agreement: Biblical Hebrew'. In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Accessed 14 April 2023. https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-hebrew-language-and-linguistics/agreement-biblical-hebrew-EHLL_COM_00000501?s.num=2&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.encyclopedia-of-hebrew-language-and-linguistics&s.q=agreement.
Madariaga, Nerea. 2017. 'Reanalysis'. In *The Cambridge Handbook of Historical Syntax,* edited by Adam Ledgeway and Ian Roberts, 70–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Manfredi, Stefano, and Mauro Tosco, eds. 2018. *Arabic in Contact.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Marçais, Philippe. 1956. *Le parler arabe de Djidjelli (nord constantinois Algérie)*. Paris: Maisonneuve.
Marçais, William. 1908. *Le dialecte arabe des Ūlâd Bṛāhîm de Saïda (Département d'Oran)*. Paris: Honoré Champion.
McMahon, April. 1994. *Understanding Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Meillet, Antoine. 1912. 'L'évolution des formes grammaticales'. *Scientia (Rivista di Scienza)* 12 : 384–400. Reprint: Meillet, Antoine. 1948. *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*. Vol. I. Paris: Champion, 130–148.
Pereira, Christophe. 2008. 'Le parler arabe de Tripoli (Libye): phonologie, morphosyntaxe et catégories grammaticales'. PhD thesis, Paris: INALCO.
Prince, Alan, and Paul Smolensky. 1991. *Optimality Theory: Constraint Interaction in Generative Grammar*. Piscataway, NJ: s.n.
Procházka, Stephan, and Ines Gabsi. 2017. 'Agreement with Plural Heads in Tunisian Arabic: The Urban North'. In *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends – Recent Developments – Diachronic Aspects*, edited by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun, 239–260. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.
Ratcliffe, Robert. 2011. 'Analogy'. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Lutz Edzard and Rudolf de Jong. Accessed 28 November 2022. https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-arabic-language-and-linguistics/analogy-EALL_COM_0014?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.encyclopedia-of-arabic language-and-linguistics&s.q=ratcliffe.
Reckendorf, Hermann. 1921. *Arabische Syntax.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.
Ritt-Benmimoun, Veronika. 2014. *Grammatik des arabischen Beduinendialekts der Region Douz (Südtunesien)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Ritt-Benmimoun, Veronika. 2017. 'Agreement with Plural Heads in Tunisian Arabic: The Bedouin South'. In *Tunisian and Libyan Arabic Dialects: Common Trends – Recent Developments – Diachronic Aspects*, edited by Veronika Ritt-Benmimoun, 261–287. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.
Schmidtke–Bode, Karsten. 2009. *A Typology of Purpose Clauses.* Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Sibony, Jonas. 2022. 'Phonetical and Phonological Adaptations of Hebrew Loanwords in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic'. *Romanica-Arabica* 21: 103–124.
Siewierska, Anna. 1991. *Functional Grammar.* London and New York: Routledge.
Singer, Hans-Rudolf. 1984. *Grammatik der arabischen Mundart der Medina von Tunis.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 1983. 'Le passif en ḥassāniyya'. *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques* 1: 61–104.
Talmoudi, Fathi. 1980. *The Arabic Dialect of Sūsa (Tunisia)*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.
Tirosh-Becker, Ofra. 2015. 'Two Judeo-Arabic Translations of the Scroll of Antiochus from Ghardaïa (Algeria)'. In *The Festschrift Darkhei Noam*, edited by Carsten Schapkow, Shmuel Shepkaru, and Alan T. Levenson, 185–213. Leiden: Brill.
Trask, Larry. 1996. *Historical Linguistics.* London: Arnold.
Wagner, Esther-Miriam. 2010. *Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah.* Leiden: Brill.
Willis, David. 2017. 'Endogenous and Exogenous Theories of Syntactic Change'. In *The Cambridge Handbook of Historical Syntax',* edited by Adam Ledgeway and Ian Roberts, 70–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Yoda, Sumikazu. 2005. *The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tripoli (Libya): Grammar, Text and Glossary*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148427

M i s c e l l a n e a

Arshin Adib-Moghaddam
SOAS University of London, United Kingdom | aa106@soas.ac.uk

The 'Eastern' Origins of 'Western' Philosophy: Against Eurocentricism

Abstract The article sets the signposts of a theft in history, as it charters the way the discipline of Philosophy has been narrated as a 'western' system of thought. We follow the global sources of Philosophy and establish how better knowledge and education can develop, once the myths of the past are overcome.

Keywords philosophy, eurocentricism, racism, global history, Kant, Avicenna

Ideas are never really confined to one locus. This article takes this seemingly common-sensical statement and turns it into a contribution to a larger intellectual agenda which is systematic and strategic, as it is rooted in a joint effort by critical scholars to demonstrate how ideas travel. In particular, the idea that Philosophy—or indeed other disciplines—are not global in their constitution continues to be a widespread fallacy. In fact, it is an urgent matter to address this untruth, as it continues to be taught as 'scientific' at prestigious university departments until the present day.[1]

Against this obstinate Eurocentrism, the present article demonstrates connections in a concrete and explicit manner, as it shows how so called 'western' philosophy, in particular in its renaissance and enlightenment manifestation, is located in the ideas of philosophers in the 'East' and here in particular the '*al-ḥik-*

[1] See Davis (2017).

© 2023 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.

ma' tradition of the classical philosophers (e.g. Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd [Averroes], Farabi), which developed in the Arab/Persian/Muslim realm and which in turn is imbued with Indian, Hellenic, ancient Roman, North African, and Zoroastrian traditions among other rhizomes of global thought. In this way, the present article takes advantage of recent strides in the social sciences. In this critical scholarship, there has emerged an emphasis on an integrative reading of world history in general and the production of systems of knowledge such as academic disciplines in particular.[2] My emphasis on philosophy as global thought serves as a contribution to that debate.

1 Philosophy as Global Thought

Despite the institutionalised efforts to cleanse the western archives from any impingement of the 'other' during the European enlightenment and in many ways thereafter, there have emerged in the last decades intellectual movements that are reversing this 'theft of history'.[3] A wide range of critical theories and practice, from Post-Colonialism and Post-Structuralism to Global History, Global Thought and Comparative Philosophies are reclaiming a seemingly lost intellectual mosaic that is spread out on a global canvas.[4] Understood as a globalised system of thought, philosophy, as the root discipline of the Humanities/social sciences and as an intellectual practice (and not so much as a structured discipline to be studied at the University), lends itself to such a 'decolonial' endeavour perfectly, because philosophy simulates the possibility of freedom. It is in this way that a global rooting of philosophy suggests an impulse that is essentially breaking any Eurocentric shackles.[5] If a philosopher's task is synonymous with the love for truth and aversion to falsehood as the 12th century Hispanic-Muslim philosopher Ibn Rushd professed,[6] then philosophy chimes with our innate quest for betterment of the human condition, at least when philosophy is forcefully freed from the scourge of conformity and self-censorship which is prevalent, even in contemporary academia.[7] Ibn Rushd followed a dotted line of philosophical thought from Oriental-Greece to Occidental-Persia and the Mediterranean. This article traces such loose intellectual itineraries and relocates them at the same time, not in order to create another hierarchy of knowledge or to recentre philosophy around a particular period of time or 'eastern' geography. Rather, we are trying to demonstrate that philosophy carries a global heritage that has been denied by

---

[2] See among other Hobson (2004).

[3] The phrase is Goody's (2007).

[4] See the contributions in Stone and Mohaghegh (2017).

[5] On the emancipatory promise of art and philosophy see Adorno (2013).

[6] Averroes 1974: 72.

[7] On the qualities of a philosopher see further Averroes (1974: 72–73).

privileged gatekeepers, in many ways until today.

There is a second factor why philosophy qualifies as global thought that escapes geographical confinement in the 'west' or anywhere else for that matter. As an intellectual pursuit, philosophy (much in the same way as art) is located in historically contingent constellations that defy simple definitions. Of course, there have been efforts to 'define' philosophy. The etymology of the term binds it back to ancient 'Greece', itself a hybrid conglomerate of inter-cultural influences—*philein sophia*, or 'philosophia' meaning lover of wisdom. However, unless one continues to argue that it was only in ancient Athens or during the European enlightenment that such love of wisdom was systematically expressed and taught, it is very difficult to hold on to the notion that western Philosophy *is* Philosophy and exclusively so.

If philosophy is synonymous with the love for wisdom, then there is evidence for such pursuit in every civilisation that existed before Plato and Aristotle's contributions, for instance in the 'ganjis' of the Achaemenid empire (founded 550 BC) in 'Persia', literally 'treasuries' or spaces for books pertaining to Zoroastrian religion and scientific knowledge for medical and administrative purposes that in turn informed the 'houses of wisdom' (*buyūt al-ḥikma*) immortalised in the 1001 nights depicting 8th century Baghdad. Confucius and Sun Tzu, the sages of philosophy in ancient 'China' philosophised over a hundred years before Plato. Pre-Buddhist thinkers and Hindu ascetics presented comparably sophisticated philosophical systems of thought that predated the ancient Greek philosophers. More recent discoveries aid and abet this global heritage, for instance in the 1990s when Peruvian researchers unearthed archaeological sites of the Norte Chico civilisation along the Peruvian coast whose truncated monuments, pyramids and complex governance systems suggest a dense philosophical heritage that dates back to the third millennium BC, the earliest known in the 'western' hemisphere. In fact, the trajectory of complex ideas such as philosophy, their travel itinerary so to speak, escapes any artificial encampment. As such, philosophy does not have a singular origin and it shouldn't be taught as such. There is no text or object that could be consolidated as foundational despite stringent efforts in the 'western' canon to that end.

But even Eurocentric depictions which claim philosophy (and related concepts such as art and architecture) for the 'west' have failed to mute the critical promise that many philosophers believe in. The emergence of the aforementioned critical theories and their concomitant practices are contemporary manifestations of this rather more inclusive trend. Hence, the systematic effort to reduce philosophy to the 'west' and to gentrify its genealogy from the impact of the 'other' has failed, exactly because philosophy has to escape the mould of any locus (or locality) in order to exist. Whenever a limit is defined for philosophers, it is immediately overturned. Otherwise, philosophy as the love for truth, the pursuit of wisdom (*ḥikma*), an exercise in freedom of thought, would

be rather more concomitant to a tyranny of misinformation or the folly of ideological propaganda.[8]

My rather abstract introductory suggestions will become clearer and more specific in the next paragraphs when I will explore the nexus of philosophy and global thought with insights that are taken from several cultural loci. This is to show that the love for the truth, wisdom or freedom that philosophy simulates and calls for has been a universal sentiment and not merely 'western'. Every philosophical tract is an interregnum, a suspension, an interruption and interference in the humdrum affairs of society. In this way philosophy continues to entice despite the vulgar commodification of the university and the publishing industry.[9] Once philosophy ceases to provoke, it ceases to exist as an intellectual activity. We have not reached this point, exactly because the counter-argument is being written into our archives yielding a better science via novel forms of critique and negation. This decolonial dialectic has thrown a lifeline to the survival of philosophy as global thought. It is in this constructive interaction that we will demonstrate where philosophy is in the process of finding its true calling and hybrid 'identity'.

2 Hybrid Knowledge versus Eurocentricism

The roots of Philosophy in global thought can be adequately explained by focusing on the way classical 'Muslim' philosophers who lived in Europe, North Africa and throughout Asia dealt with contentious subjects such as rationality and knowledge. The confines of this article do not allow me to give a full account of these issues of course. But I hope to sketch a forward-looking modality in classical 'Muslim' philosophy which I think inherently critical and inclusive.[10] In the philosophy of polymaths such as Abu Nasr Farabi (870–950 CE) and Ibn Sina (Latin: Avicenna, 980–1037 CE), even in their poetry, life takes on a forward-looking modality adequate to this idea of the capacity for change which is always the pre-requisite for any critical theory based on reason. Their emphasis on learning and constant renewal created hope and possibility, an optimistic call for the betterment of the human existence which was at the heart of the European enlightenment, in particular in its Kantian itineration encapsulated in his notion of *Vernunft* (reason). In that vein, in his *ʿuyūn al-ḥikma* Ibn Sina writes that *al-ḥikma,* (which he uses to mean the same as 'philosophy') is 'the perfection of the human soul through conceptualisation [*taṣawwur*] of things and judgment [*taṣdīq*]

[8] Some of these sections are based on Adib-Moghaddam (2017: 35–46).

[9] See Adorno's classic *The Culture Industry* (2001).

[10] I am using quotation marks for 'Muslim' because the classical philosophers under scrutiny here did neither live an orthodox, religious life, nor did their ideas have particularly Islamic connotations. At the same time, they self-identified as 'Muslim'.

of theoretical and practical realities to the measure of human ability.'[11] Learned individuals are encouraged to follow a path of finding this supreme knowledge, not least in order to transcend the humdrum affairs of their everyday reality and to attain a higher form of contentment and happiness.

Ibn Sina went on in his later writings to distinguish between Peripatetic philosophy and what he called 'Oriental philosophy' (*al-ḥikma al-mašriqiyya*) which was not based on ratiocination alone, but also engaged with revealed knowledge (it also set the stage for the influential treatises of Sohravardi, and here especially his *Kitāb ḥikmat al-ʾišrāq*). There is a particularly striking poem by Ibn Sina about the fate of the human soul, which exemplifies this emphasis on congruence between rational analysis and metaphysical opportunity that was central to the canons of these classical philosophers:

> Until when the hour of its homeward flight draws near,
> And 'tis time for it to return to its ampler sphere,
> It carols with joy, for the veil is raised, and it spies
> Such things as cannot be witnessed by waking eyes.
> On a lofty height doth it warble its songs of praise
> (for even the lowliest being doth knowledge raise).
> And so it returneth, aware of all hidden things
> In the universe, while no stain to its garment clings.[12]

The ultimate object here is the perfection of the intellectual faculties of the individual, who does not carry an exclusive identity. There is no realm of knowledge that is exclusive to Muslims or any other religion/nation in the writings of Ibn Sina; no discernible schematic dichotomy that permeates his narratives. Ibn Sina searches for a supreme truth, not a supreme civilisation or race. He and many of his contemporaries managed to write their poetry and philosophy without the emergence of a discourse that would legitimate subjugation of the 'other', without a hysterical call for arms. In this sense their concept of 'reason' was not identitarian. Rather the contrary, their writings called for freedom of thought through the pursuit of knowledge, primarily in the form of philosophy.

This emphasis on reason and rationality as a pursuit of knowledge that can be achieved by everyone who is sufficiently disciplined and qualified, can be discerned with equal force from the writings of Ibn Rushd (Latin: Averroes, 1126–1198). This Hispanic-Muslim genius took on the assertion of Plato, that the 'Greeks' are superior to other peoples in their ability to receive wisdom, by relocating wisdom to individuals in his own homeland Andalusia and today's Egypt, Syria and Iraq. In Ibn Rushd too, then, we find hybridity. Like Ibn Sina before him, Ibn Rushd did

---

[11] Ibn Sina (1954: 16).

[12] Quoted in Walzer (1962: 26).

not claim that only 'Muslims' can be philosophers or attain wisdom. Ibn Rushd explicitly affirmed the various loci of philosophical knowledge known to him. Such worldly consciousness may explain why systematic racism as a science taught at universities never really emerged in (Western) Asia (and Africa and Latin America), and why it became a typically European abomination during modernity and the concomitant enlightenment. It was in modern Europe, in other words, where the Platonic emphasis on the superiority of the 'Greeks' was hijacked and turned into a racist mandate to rule over the 'barbarian other' thus invented.[13] Quite suddenly, Muslim (and Jewish) philosophy was cleansed from the archives as none of the standard philosophy books taught in the newly established, highly restrictive modern universities acknowledged previous forms of philosophy or denigrated them as 'backward', even 'barbarian'. Thus, standard histories of the discipline such as Jean Félix Nourrisson's *Tableau des progrès de la pensée humaine depuis Thalès jusqu'à Hegel* (*Account of the Progress of Human Thought from Thales to Hegel*) (1858, 6th ed. 1886) or Albert Stöckl's *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie* (*Handbook of the History of Philosophy*) (1870), did not even mention Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sina, Maimonides or any other Muslim or Jewish philosophers.[14]

The trend continued well into the 20th century.[15] Stunted by this ignorance of the global canons of knowledge, even Bertrand Russell, in his *History of Western Philosophy* (1946), was tempted to assume that 'Arabic philosophy is not important as original thought. Men like Avicenna and Averroes are essentially commentators.'[16] Apart from the fact that Russell conflates a supposedly 'ethnic' category such as 'Arab' with being 'Muslim', he relegates even Ibn Rushd (Averroes), who was born in southern Spain, out of the canon of 'western' philosophy, indeed out of Europe itself by deeming him 'Arab' and therefore 'foreign'. Other contemporaries, such as Joseph Burgess, indulged in open mockery of these actively 'othered' systems of knowledge. In his *Introduction to the History of Philosophy* published in 1939, he claimed that the 'Western spirit ... is inclined to regard this Nirvana business as a lot of twaddle, unbecoming a man of common sense and sound judgment.'[17]

Such attitudes did not develop in systematic terms in the 'East' or in the 'Global South'. It was only during the European enlightenment and thereafter, when Philosophy and other disciplines were claimed exclusively by 'white European man' of a certain age and social class. The colonial period afforded them that luxury. Since then, this untruth of Philosophy as a particularly 'western' discipline has been mass-taught via a Eurocentric curriculum in the burgeoning mod-

---

[13] See further Adib-Moghaddam (2008).

[14] See further Strickland (2019).

[15] See further Attar (2012).

[16] Russell 2013: 346.

[17] Burgess 1939: 17.

ern educational system.[18] Consequently, there was no cadre of new philosophers emerging, which could appreciate a hybrid understanding of seeking knowledge, exactly because other philosophies were simply banished from the archives or categorised as 'unworthy' to study.

Conversely, all of the classical philosophers from the 'East' under scrutiny here, were hybrid in their thinking, which is why they could become polymaths, both poets and scientists, engaged in theology and mysticism, interested in philosophy and 'metaphysics' as much as in the empirical world. Exactly because of their multi-cultural approach, they did not advance a concrete concept of 'identity' steeped in a racialised narrative, that could signify a monologue within one race or that would organise their contemporaries within a militant, coherently formulated epistemology/ideology. Theirs was an emancipative philosophy almost entirely depleted of identity politics or a concrete and dichotomous notion of 'self' and 'other'. Hence their ideas qualify as 'global thought' and they should be read and studied as such. In the case of these cosmopolitan Hispanics, Indians, Arabs and Persians, the historical circumstances they were writing in, the presence of functioning hybrid polities, the absence of a concrete notion of 'racial identity', did not merit, or require them to write in a stridently ideological mode or to establish a racist syntax for governance on that basis.[19]

We have established that in terms of method, too, the classical 'Muslim' philosophers were not mono-cultural. They employed complex methods drawn from various knowledge systems: Zoroastrian, African, nomadic, Persian, Arab, Indian, Central Asian, Hellenic, Roman etc. Their epistemological diversity allowed them to study how truth conditions can be rationalised through the study of language, judgement, nature, syllogisms, deductions and inductions. *Falsafa* (philosophy) was considered to lead to the knowledge of all existing things qua existent (*ʾašyāʾ al-mawǧūda bi-mā hiya mawǧūda*) and philosophy itself was deemed to be the art of arts and the science (*ʿilm*) of sciences. What came surreptitiously into existence in the writings of these philosophers, in short, was nothing less than the renewal of philosophy as a critical practice, world-view *and* form of life. For Ibn Rushd, as indicated, these qualities of 'wisdom' should not be thought the prerogative and purview of one 'class of humans'.

> This opinion would only be correct if there were but one class of humans disposed to the human perfections and especially to the theoretical ones. It seems that this is the opinion that Plato holds of the Greeks. However, even if we accept that they are the most disposed by nature to receive wisdom, we cannot disregard [the fact] that individuals like these—

[18] See further Davis (2017: 115–118).

[19] Of course, the violence exercised over the Muslim worlds during the colonial period changed all that and it was then when 'Islamism' was born. See further Adib-Moghaddam (2008).

> i.e. those disposed to wisdom—are frequently to be found. You find this in the land of the Greeks and its vicinity, such as this land of ours, namely Andalus, and Syria and Iraq and Egypt, albeit this existed more frequently in the land of the Greeks.[20]

Before Ibn Rushd set out this rather more inclusive 'history of wisdom' (and by extension philosophy), Farabi traversed and falsified similar Platonic boundaries in a related debate about 'origins'. From the perspective of this Persianate-Muslim thinker, the lineage of philosophy can be traced from the Chaldeans to Iraq and to Egypt and thereafter to the Greeks from whom the Syrians and finally the Arabs retrieved it.[21] In addition, Maimonides, the Hispanic-Jewish contemporary of Ibn Rushd, deemed the Persians, Syrians and Greeks 'the most learned and expert of the nations'.[22]

It has been established in the scholarly literature on the subject matter, that all of this happened in close dialogue with the Aristotelian and Platonic tradition and ancient philosophy described as 'Greek' in general. But even until today, certainly in the standard disciplinary engagement with philosophy, there is no systematic effort to theorise philosophy as global thought, as an amalgamation of the innate quest of a select number of humans dotted around world history to seek reasoned knowledge. In too many schools and universities all over the world, pupils and students are still educated into believing either a nationalised narrative or a religious one. Both tend to express a hegemony of knowledge that is both untrue and laden with various forms of misogyny and racism, exactly because such forms of political and social discourses are by definition exclusionary.[23]

3 Muslim Secularism and the European 'Twaddle' about God

The aforementioned Burgess articulated a general cliché about the classical philosophers that is still regurgitated today. Burgess was certainly also under the influence of the German giant of idealist thought George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) who relegated 'Muslims' to an infantile stage of history because of their supposed 'God complex'. In a similar vein, Burgess wrote that, 'Occidental thought … is impatient with philosophies that hint of other-worldliness because it wishes to keep its feet firmly planted on solid, scientifically supported ground.'[24] Therefore, according to Burgess, Europeans could afford to ignore the 'East'. In this way, 'western' thought was rendered scientific, whereas the rest of the world was declared 'superstitious'.

---

[20] Averroes 1974: 13.
[21] Averroes 1974: 13.
[22] Averroes 1974: 13.
[23] See further Babbitt and Campbell (1999).
[24] Burgess 1939: 17.

But patience is required for the truth to come to the fore and certainly for good scholarship to be archived for future generations. It is true that for the classical philosophers of the so called 'Muslim enlightenment', in many ways up until Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), reality is not exhausted by explaining what offers itself to immediate knowledge and perception. The understanding of the surrounding world must also include an aspect of future potentiality, a 'utopia' wherein the discrepancy between the present and the future opens up. This is why in the philosophy of Farabi and especially in Ibn Sina's intricate *Daneshnameh-ye Alai* ('Treatise on Knowledge'), philosophy takes on a forward-looking modality adequate to this idea of the capacity for change as indicated. In Ibn Sina's view: the contingent existent (*mumkin al-wuğūd*) is always relative to the necessary being (*wāğib al-wuğūd*).[25] Within such a dialectic, one is alerted to know the present in order to bridge the gap between the ontology surrounding us and the transcendental promise which is relegated to God, without, however, forcing a total causality upon this process. If Burgess would have cared to dig deeper into the true history of philosophy, he would have been forced to acknowledge, that the world Ibn Sina conceptualised is essentially 'secular', exactly because God is placed in another realm of existence, not out of political expediency, but out of acknowledgement that total knowledge can never be attained, thus creating the impulse for continuous betterment of the human condition in the here and now.

Furthermore, in all of that which happened eight centuries before Nietzsche proclaimed the 'death of God', we fail to see a fundamental, ontological, hermeneutical or epistemological boundary to the ideas of the most prominent enlightenment thinkers. The idea of Descartes that reason is the chief source of human knowledge and that God is displaced to what can be experienced by the senses, is comparable to Ibn Sina's view that human kind is in charge of its destiny, as God occupies another realm which is by definition unattainable.

Equally, John Locke's (1632–1704) view that the chief source of knowledge is the ability to observe and experience our surroundings, and that religious dogma is therefore superfluous, is concomitant with the argument of Farabi articulated in his *Enumeration of the Sciences*, that relegates religious knowledge to theology (*fiqh*) and jurisprudence (*kalām*) identifying philosophy as the master discipline enveloping every other knowledge system, even the Islamic law itself.[26] In fact, Ibn Rushd went even further. The ideal ruler, in clear lenience to Plato, would be a philosopher a 'king, lawgiver, and so also is Imam, since *imām* in Arabic means one who is followed in his actions. He who is followed in these actions by which he is a philosopher, is an Imam in the absolute sense.'[27] Hence, Philosophy rules supreme, even as a form of governance in the happiest of cities, conceptualised

[25] See further Nasr and Aminrazavi (1999: 196 ff.).

[26] See further Mahdi (2001).

[27] Averroes 1974: 72.

by Ibn Rushd as the democratic arche-type: 'This city is the one of which most of the multitude hold that it is the city to be admired, for every man asserts on the basis of unexamined opinion that he deserves to be free.'[28]

Finally, in the late 18th century, it could be argued that Immanuel Kant forcefully denied that even theological knowledge is possible, because it is only our surrounding reality in terms of time, space, causation and substance that can be experienced, conceptualised and therefore systematically ordered. Everything that goes beyond this reality, i.e. the 'other-worldly' can't be grasped, neither through theology nor 'meta-physics'. However, even before his *Critique of Pure Reason* and its more secular musings, Kant framed the concept of 'God' in terms of the *allgenugsam*, the single all-sufficient being. This seems very comparable to the *wāǧib al-wuǧūd* idea of Ibn Sina, the first cause upon which the physical world rests. The idea of Kant that the perfection of the physical universe surrounding us is 'an undeniable proof of their (i.e., all physical things) common first origin, which must be an all-sufficient highest mind in which the natures of things were designed in accordance with unified purposes',[29] is a clear nod to the first cause that Ibn Sina's theory rested upon about seven centuries before Kant. We think it is clear that they are at least comparable, even if we could only sketch this point in this short perusal, in order to support our argument that this engagement with the 'other-worldly' binds 'East' and 'West' together in a tango with God.

The world of the philosopher and poet Omar Khayyam (1048–1123), one of the most prominent students of Ibn Sina, is a good place to unravel further the contribution of the idea of God to secular/Muslim philosophy and to invite the reader to a global understanding of philosophy. The world-view of Khayyam can be called 'critical' and secular because of the libertarian momentum that his concept of God elicits. To his mind, God was the necessary being or *mumtaniᶜ al-wuǧūd* in Arabic (Ibn Sina termed God *wāǧib al-wuǧūd* as indicated). By necessity human beings were relative to this other-worldly constant, this *allgenugsam*, exactly in the same way as Kant imagined at a later stage in world history.

Other concepts such as 'freedom'—hijacked from global thought and claimed to be 'western' only—are equally central to the ideas of Khayyam. In the world portrayed in his poetry, living a free life is immanent to existence because in relation to God, reality is thought to be socially engineered. In the absence of the godly ordained, perfected order, individuals are at liberty to live their lives in pursuit of freedom and happiness. For Khayyam the absence of the necessary being or the *allgenugsam* in Kantian terms, continuously entices the relative being, that is the individual in his/her pursuit of such perfection.

In Khayyam's world there is doubt exactly because in relation to the other-worldly realm, which remains unattainable, this world we are living in is dis-

[28] Averroes 1974: 111.

[29] Quoted in Pasternack and Fugate (2021).

orderly, intransigently complex and not comprehensible in its entirety, prompting us to seek more knowledge in pursuit of human betterment. 'Whenever it is said that such and such an attribute has a necessary existence in such and such a thing', Khayyam asserted,

> what is meant is that it exists in the mind and the intellect, *and not in reality*. Similarly, whenever it is said that the existence of such and such an attribute is dependent upon the existence of some other attribute, what is meant is *existence in mind and the intellect*.[30]

Khayyam reveals himself here as an early 'postmodernist'. He was convinced that our surrounding world is constructed because the realm of actual reality belongs to God. In other words, in his philosophy Khayyam alerted us to the fact that relative to God, the socially engineered world surrounding us can be entirely invented, despite of the ultimate truth escaping humanity. Khayyam expressed the momentum thus ensued in his famous quatrains:

> Since neither truth nor certitude is at hand
> Do not waste life in doubt for a fairy land
> O let us not refuse the goblet of wine
> For sober or drunk in ignorance we stand.[31]

All of this secularity may explain why Khayyam lived the life of a rebel, intoxicated by wine and his love for poetry. Khayyam expressed his alien reality, thus giving the lie to notions of religion (including Islam) as a total system immune from the grim impact of historical events. As the inspirational Mutazillite movement centred around Basra and Baghdad professed between the 8th and 10th century: Even the 'Koran, as the speech of God, was created'.[32] Hence, religion was thought to be historically contingent. In Khayyam's words:

> Eternity!—for it we find no key;
> Nor any of us past the Veil can see.
> Of Thee and me they talk behind the Veil
> But when that parts, no more of Thee and me.[33]

The failure of Khayyam to redeem himself, the fact that neither his poetry nor his 'drunkenness' could bring him closer to God, is also, paradoxically, the source

---

[30] Khayyām 1999: 478.
[31] Quoted in Aminrazavi (2006: 281).
[32] Fakhry 2014: 63.
[33] Quoted in Aminrazavi (2006: 283).

of the irresistible secular merit of his poetry and philosophy. Khayyam presaged that the individual is constantly obliged to bridge the gap between this alien world and the necessary and absolute Divinity designated as God. Yet this utopia is by definition unattainable—sameness with God is the 'impossible ontology' or *mumtaniʿ al-wuǧūd* in Ibn Sina's words. In this way, Khayyam and the Avicennian tradition tried to establish an essentially secular world-view, which also explains the 'non-religious', rather hedonistic life-style that these free-thinkers lived. Certainly, God as *mumtaniʿ al-wuǧūd*—the impossible ontology which explains the inherently secular order—precedes the notion of Kant that an 'ethical community' requires 'God' as the 'presupposition of another idea, namely, of a higher moral being through whose universal organization the forces of single individuals, insufficient on their own, are united for a common effect.'[34] For Kant, as well, the idea of God as an unattainable ontology, requires that we carry our own fate and that no religious doctrine can help us to establish a godly ordained order on earth.

This idea of Kant is at least comparable to Khayyam's assertion that humanity is dependent on the idea of 'God' as a divine, unattainable moral entity.[35] Mysticism (Sufism), poetry, the arts and above all philosophy become the inevitable routes to seek respite from the mundane world and to simulate closeness with God. They hold out the promise, never to be kept, of a realm of consciousness where the individual could at last find an image of perfect equilibrium, of sensuous pleasure that would rescue her from the antinomies of her present existence. As such, philosophy (and poetry) embody a much perfected form of ontological negation. In this way for Khayyam and Kant, the idea of God functions as a propeller for a productive form of criticism and as an incubator for secular expressions of critique and philosophy. This relegation of God to a meta-physical 'no man's land', would also explain why some of these classical philosophers were harassed and in the case of the Iraqi-Persian mystic Mansur al-Hallaj (858–922), executed for their 'heresy' by the orthodoxy of the day.

However, for too long these resemblances, that would prompt every thorough teacher to check a paper for plagiarism, never really entered into any of the standard books about the history of Philosophy because of the false claim that the enlightenment didn't 'twaddle' with God or that Averroes and Avicenna were mere commentators of Plato and Aristotle. All of this makes one sympathise with those intellectuals who have argued that the theft of knowledge during the European enlightenment, was a convenient political strategy to legitimate the civilising mission at the heart of colonial conquests and its various underlying racisms. Certainly, by today's standards, the godfather of the '*Vernunftsgedanke*', Immanuel Kant was a racist. Undoubtedly, contemporary critical scholars correctly argue that the philosophy of luminaries such as John Locke (1632–1704),

[34] Kant 1996: 97. See also Palmquist (2009: 10).

[35] Nasr 1996: 81.

David Hume (1711–1776), etc, foundational as they were for the European enlightenment, must be indicted because they believed and tried to explain quite 'scientifically' that Black, natives, and other peoples were not only barbarians, but racially inferior and therefore in need of correction by 'European' civilisation. All of this has been established in the most recent critical scholarship about the Enlightenment and rightly so.[36]

4 Embraces of self and other

We have argued that there was a conscious and concerted effort to claim Philosophy for Europe, as a means to buttress a hegemonic discourse. In its political manifestation, this Eurocentricism fed into the colonialist *Zeitgeist* and its underlying misogyny and racism. Even those readers who deny that there was a link between the untruth professed by Eurocentric scholars about the history of philosophy, must acknowledge that the examples curated for this article provide enough evidence to assume that by denying the global loci of philosophical thought, enlightenment philosophers were implicated in an ignorant denial of global history.[37]

How likely is it that Descartes, Kant, Hegel or Locke never heard of Avicenna, when medieval European philosophy was heavily influenced by him? If they didn't, how credible are they as philosophers?

Of course, there were instances of mutual recognition, too. But mostly they can be located in the period *before* the enlightenment. For instance during the medieval period, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) heavily borrowed from Ibn Sina and his theory of creation:[38] 'It was Avicenna, not Aristotle', it is established, 'who had described the subject of metaphysics as things that *can* exist without matter, thus bifurcating the subject-matter of metaphysics' which heavily influenced Aquinas's metaphysics.[39] Later on in the pre-Enlightenment period, histories of philosophy nodded to eastern sources of knowledge, without offering any systematic engagement, for instance in the first history of philosophy written in English in 1656 authored by Thomas Stanley. But contemporary scholars of racism and Eurocentricism in European Philosophy have rightly demonstrated that almost any book entitled 'history of philosophy' published over the last two centuries promoted the myth that 'philosophy began in ancient Greece about 2600 years ago … was subsequently developed by other Greeks and later the Romans' and

---

[36] Said's work continues to gain currency in that regard. See, for instance, his *Culture and Imperialism* (1994). See also the work of Dabashi, for instance his *Europe and Its Shadows: Coloniality after Empire* (2019).

[37] For further examples for this influence see Hasse (2020).

[38] See López-Farjeat (2012).

[39] Houser 2013: 6 (emphasis in original).

was then perfected 'by other European thinkers, principally those from Germany, France, and Britain.'[40] Western philosophy as exclusive Philosophy could only be invented through this theft and denial of global thought. It is in this sense that the title of this paper should be understood: It is only in the process of extremist 'othering' that an exclusive self could be designed, institutionalised and enacted. It is in this way that 'eastern' philosophy gave birth to 'western' philosophy *qua* Philosophy, it is so that it is its origin.

All of these instances of wilful distortion fed our suspicion that the enlightenment project was also a grand ideological misnomer and a fatalistic betrayal of knowledge that contributed to several tragedies of European history until today. Perhaps this trend started with Immanuel Kant indeed, as the important work of Lloyd Strickland, Jia Wang and others suggests.[41] That said, for our argument it is central to capture that any philosophical system, certainly the so called 'western' one, is rooted in global loci of thought. Hence, the history of philosophy as the root knowledge system of the social sciences and the Humanities has to be reconquered and written as global thought. As one Junior-year student at the University of Illinois demanded with reference to her institution:

> We must begin offering non-Western philosophy courses here at the University of Illinois. Not only must they be offered, but they need to be more than optional. The curriculum needs to be restructured in order to incorporate these truly modern, global philosophers.[42]

As we have argued at the start of this paper, there have been some very recent efforts to overcome the entrenched insularity of so called 'western' philosophy from other systems of thought. For instance, Bryan von Norden authored a multicultural manifesto to that end which amounts to a powerful indictment of the way philosophy is taught in North America.[43] Likewise, Peter Adamson, Julian Baggini and the aforementioned Lloyd Strickland have started to address some of the Eurocentric traditions that this article tried to identify, too.

Furthermore, Philosophy as 'world thought' is celebrated by UNESCO on every third Thursday of November and this can be seen as the institutional manifestation of critical approaches to the ethnocentric legacies of philosophy in Europe, North America and Australia. In fact, although recent data suggests that in the United States 'Philosophy confers a relatively small proportion of its degrees on traditionally underrepresented racial/ethnic minorities when compared to the

[40] Strickland and Wang 2023: 76.
[41] Strickland and Wang 2023: 76.
[42] Martinez 2021.
[43] See Van Norden 2017.

other disciplines profiled by the Humanities Indicators … the share has grown since 1995', especially boosted by graduates from 'Hispanic decent.'[44]

Optimistically, I do believe—and in my other writings have tried to demonstrate—that today we can appreciate the archives filled with the work of eastern and western, northern and southern thinkers in a truly comparative manner.[45] It is not at least thanks to the availability of a counter-archive to Eurocentric readings of philosophy, that we have enough knowledge at hand to free ourselves from the shackles of tribal thinking.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Arshin Adib-Moghaddam https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4880-1993

References

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. 2008. 'A (Short) History of the Clash of Civilisations'. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 21 (2): 217–234.

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. 2017. 'Global Thought: Lessons from other Philosophers (and Artists)'. In *Manifestos for World Thought*, edited by Lucian Stone and Jason Bahbak Mohaghegh, 35–46. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin. 2023. *Is Artificial Intelligence Racist? AI and the Future of Humanity*. London: Bloomsbury.

Adorno, Theodor W. 2001. *The Culture Industry*. London: Routledge.

Adorno, Theodor W. 2013. *Aesthetic Theory*. London: Bloomsbury.

Aminrazavi, Mehdi. 2006. 'Martin Heidegger and Omar Khayyam on the Question of "Thereness" (*Dasein*)'. In *Islamic Philosophy and Occidental Phenomenology on the Perennial Issue of Microcosm and Macrocosm*, edited by Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka, 277–287. Dordrecht: Springer.

Attar, Samar. 2012. 'Suppressed or Falsified History? The Untold Story of Arab-Islamic Rationalist Philosophy'. In *The Role of the Arab-Islamic World in the Rise of the* West, edited by Nayef R. F. Al-Rodhan, 116–143. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Averroes. 1974. *Averroes on Plato's* Republic. Translated by Ralph Lerner. London: Cornell University Press.

Babbitt, Susan E., and Sue Campbell, eds. 1999. *Racism and Philosophy*. London: Cornell University Press.

Burgess, Joseph B. 1939. *Introduction to the History of Philosophy*. London: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.

---

[44] 'Racial/Ethnic Distribution of Degrees in Philosophy'. *American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, circa 2019. Accessed 20 July 2023. https://amacad.org/humanities-indicators/higher-education/racialethnic-distribution-degrees-philosophy.

[45] See further Adib-Moghaddam (2023).

Dabashi, Hamid. 2019. *Europe and Its Shadows: Coloniality after Empire.* London: Pluto Press.

Davis, Bret W. 2017. 'Dislodging Eurocentrism and Racism from Philosophy'. *Comparative and Continental Philosophy* 9 (2): 115–118.

Fakhry, Majid. 2014. *A History of Islamic Philosophy*. 3rd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.

Goody, Jack. 2007. *The Theft of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hasse, Dag Nikolaus. 2020. 'Influence of Arabic and Islamic Philosophy on the Latin West'. *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, 17 January 2020. Accessed 20 July 2023. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arabic-islamic-influence/.

Hobson, John. 2004. *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Houser, R. E. 2013. 'Avicenna and Aquinas: Essence, Existence, and the *Esse* of Christ'. *The Saint Anselm Journal* 9 (1): 1–21.

Ibn Sina. 1954. ʿUyūn al-ḥikma. *Avicennae fontes sapientiae*. Edited by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Badawī. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Kant, Immanuel. 1996. 'Religion within the Bounds of Bare Reason'. In *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason in Religion and Rational Theology*, translated by George di Giovanni, edited by Allen W. Wood and George di Giovanni, 39–216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Khayyām, ʿUmar. 1999. 'The Necessity of Contradiction, Free Will and Determinism. From *Ḍarūrat al-taḍādd fi'l-ʿālam wa'l-jabr wa'l-baqā*". In *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia. Vol. I: From Zoroaster to ʿUmar Khayyām*, edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Mehdi Aminrazavi, 476–480. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

López-Farjeat, Luis Xavier. 2012. 'Avicenna's Influence on Aquinas: Early Doctrine of Creation in *In II Sent.*, D. 1, Q. 1, A. 2'. *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 79 (2): 307–337.

Mahdi, Muhsin S. 2001. *Alfarabi and the Foundation of Islamic Philosophy*. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Martinez, Andrea. 2021. 'Eurocentric Philosophy Education Lacks Diverse Thought, Ideas', *The Daily Illini*, 22 February 2021. Accessed 20 July 2023. https://dailyillini.com/opinions-stories/2021/02/22/eurocentric-philosophy/.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. 1996. *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia*. Edited by Mehdi Aminrazavi. London: Curzon.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, and Mehdi Aminrazavi, eds. 1999. *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia. Vol. I: From Zoroaster to ʿUmar Khayyām*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nourrisson, Jean Félix. 1886. *Tableau des progrès de la pensée humaine de Thales jusqu'à Hegel*, 6th ed. Didier.

Van Norden, Bryan W. 2017. *Taking Back Philosophy: A Multicultural Manifesto*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pasternack Lawrence, and Courtney Fugate. 2021. 'Kant's Philosophy of Religion'. *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, 19 April 2021. Accessed 20 July 2023. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/kant-religion/.

Palmquist, Stephen R. 2009. 'Kant's Religious Argument for the Existence of God: The Ultimate Dependence of Human Destiny on Divine Assistance'. *Faith and Philosophy* 26 (1): 3–22.

Russell, Bertrand. 2013. *History of Western Civilisation*. Collectors Edition. London: Taylor and Francis.

Said, Edward. 1994. *Culture and Imperialism.* London: Vintage.

Stöckl, Albert. 1870. *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*. 2 vols. Kirchheim.
Stone, Lucian, and Jason Bahbak Mohaghegh (eds.). 2017. *Manifestos for World Thought*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
Strickland, Lloyd. 2019. 'How Western Philosophy Became Racist'. *Institute of Art and Ideas*, 10 January 2019. Accessed 20 July 2023. https://iai.tv/articles/the-racism-of-the-western-philosophy-canon-auid-1200.
Strickland, Lloyd, and Jia Wang. 2023. 'Racism and Eurocentrism in Histories of Philosophy'. *Open Journal of Philosophy* 13: 76–96.
Walzer, Richard. 1962. *Greek into Arabic: Essays on Islamic Philosophy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148428

Václav Blažek
Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic | blazek@phil.muni.cz

An Excerpt from the 'Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja: Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology'

Abstract The contribution summarises the Beja lexicon connected with natural phenomena, including astronomical, temporal, and geographical terminology. Every lexeme is documented in available sources and etymologized in areal or genealogical perspectives. In the case of borrowings, the ambition is to trace primary donor-languages, usually Arabic or Ethio-Semitic, sometimes Nilo-Saharan. The inherited lexemes are identified, if no convincing donors were determined, while there are promising comparanda in other Cushitic, Omotic or other Afroasiatic branches.

Keywords Beja, Cushitic, Afroasiatic, geography, meteorology, astronomy, terminology, etymology

The idea of *Etymological Dictionary of Beja* has its origin in one Viennese café in summer 1990, where I met with Andrzej Zaborski, one of the greatest specialists for Cushitic languages and specifically Beja. Thanks to Zaborsky's energy and the positive reaction of Bernd Heine and Hans-Jürgen Sasse I have got Humboldt's fellowship for this project and study of materials at the institutes headed by these scholars, Institute of African Studies and Institute of Linguistics at the University of Cologne respectively. In the end of the stay (1993–1994) the raw manuscript was in principle ready. Unfortunately, it was a real manuscript, written by hand. Only after the computer revolution in my home organized by my wife Marcela, I was able to start gradually rewriting the thick file into the electronic text. In 2003 the first two parts were published: 'Fauna in Beja Lexicon' (Blažek 2003a) and 'Beja Kinship and Social Terminology' (Blažek 2003b). The first version of 'Natural Phenomena, Time and Geographical Terminology in Beja Lexicon' was published in two parts (Blažek 2005; 2006).

The current version, however, represents the radically updated and supplemented text. Thanks to the longer period expired from finishing the first version

© 2023 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.

of the manuscript, the new data from the Beja lexicon can be included (namely Hudson ms. rewritten by Blench; Starkey field data for Ammar'ar; a rich Beja-English lexicon by Wedekind or valuable grammatical research of Vanhove). The same may be said about new special studies devoted to various Cushitic languages (e.g., the reconstruction of the Agaw protolanguage by Appleyard; new descriptions of Rendille by Pillinger and Galboran; Dasanech by Tosco; Konso by Ongaye Oda; Tsammakko by Savà; South Cushitic by KM) and other Afroasiatic branches (e.g. EDE I–III by Takács or SED by Militarev and Kogan). These new standards were already applied to the most recent parts of the 'Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Beja', devoted to the anatomical and botanical lexicon (Blažek 2020; 2021).

The richest sources of Beja natural phenomena and geographical terminology are five dictionaries: Munzinger (1864), Almkvist (1885, including older records), Reinisch (1895), Roper (1928), Wedekind (2007), a specialised article of Hess (1919), and from the recent time field records of Hudson rewritten by Blench (1996) and of Starkey for Ammar'ar (2004). Unfortunately, the complete lexical data collected by Vanhove in Sudan are not yet available. For the present study the relevant lexemes from her grammar of Beja were included (Vanhove 2017).

Lexical data

'aá f. 'time, period', *tə'aá* 'now', *ont'aá*, *ontəaá* 'now, at this time' (Rp) = *tʔa*, *ontʔa* 'maintenant' (Vh) = *'át* 'tempo', cf. *ont'á* 'ora, adesso' (Ci) = Bi *ónt*^{a} 'now' (Th) = *oond'aab* and *oont'aab* adv. 'now, this time', where *oon* = 'this' (Wd)
Eg (MK) *3.t* 'Zeit; Augenblick', *m t3 3.t* 'jetzt' (Wb. I: 1; Zyhlarz 1932–1933: 165, #1: Eg + Beja; Vycichl 1983: 56 connects it with *3.t* 'Kraft', deriving it from Eg *w3y* 'einlassen' [OK], 'kommen' [MK]).

'abbạ f., acc. *'abbaat* 'dry water course, khor' (HuB) = *ʔaba* 'oued' (Vh) = *'aba* f. 'khor' (Rp) = *'abä*^{h}, indet. *abaat* 'Trockental, Wâdī' (Hs) = *aba* f. 'Fluss, Bach' (Re) = *taba*, pl. *tabat* 'Torrent' (Mu) = Am *to'abat* 'khor, valley' (Star) = *abaat* f., def.sg. *tu'aba*, def.pl. *ti'aba* 'river, brook, khor' (Wd)
Leslau (1987: 6) seeks a source in the EtSe root *ʕ-*b*-y* 'to be big', continuing in Amh *Abbay* 'Blue Nile', i.e. 'the big one'. In that case Gz *ʔabbāwi* 'river, the Blue Nile' should be 'created' according to the Amh pattern and the Cushitic counterparts (at least Oromo) would be borrowed:
Cu: (C) Bilin *aba*, pl. *af* 'ein gegrabener Brunnen, eine Zisterne' (Re) = *ʔäba* 'well' (Appleyard 2006: 167) || (E) Or (Tu) *abã*, nom. *abofni* 'river', or it represents a variant of the common Oromo designation of the Blue Nile, cf. Macha *Abbaya*, Guji *Abayi*, Borana *Abaya* (LVC).
Be: (E) Siwa *taba*, pl. *tibâwin* 'fossé d'écoulement des eaux captées dans les sources et servant; l'irrigation des jardins' (La).

Mukarovsky (1987: 298) added Chadic comparanda: (W) Ron: Sha (Jg) *ʾaƀáh* 'river' || (C) Musgu (Ba) *ba* id., Girvidik *ba* id. (Meyer-Bahlburg) || (E) Tumak (Cp) *baa* id., but the last two examples are probably borrowed.
Note: Takács (EDE II: 160–161) thinks about a relation of Siwa and Musgu with Eg (BD) *bʕbʕ.t* 'stream' (Faulkner 1981: 81) = 'Bach, Flusschen' (WPS 1999: 293).

ábaab-háakwili m. 'Venus, as an evening star' (Rp) = Am *ababharkowri* 'Evening star' (Star)
A compound of *ab* 'kid, young goat' and intensive imperative from the diminutive of *hakwir* v.1 'to tie' (Rp)

afạ 'yesternight' (HuB) = *ʔafa* adv. 'ce soir (passé)' (Vh) = Am *afa garab* 'yesterday evening' (Star) = *áfa* 'yesterday evening' (Rp) = *afa* m. 'die vergangene Nacht; Gestern', *afa-née* 'seit gestern' (Re) = *áf*(*a*) 'gestern' (Al) = *afa* 'night' (Bu) = *afa* adv. 'last night'
Dahalo *ʔáfiṭeeṭe* 'shadow' (Ehret 1980: 281 compared it with Asa *firiya* id., reconstructing PSCu **ʔafi-*; later he compared this proto-form with Beja; see 1987: #193). Reinisch (1895: 8) compared *afa* with Som *aawo* and *ʕaawo* 'Nacht, späte Abend', *ʕaawa* 'heute Abend' (Reinisch 1902: 66) = *cawo* 'night, good fortune' (Luling). A regular counterpart of ECu **-f-* can be Beja *-w-*, but probably not vice versa: cf. Beja *tawíigay* 'mosquito', *ta*(*u*)*wɛg* 'mosquitoes' (Rp) vs. ECush **takf-* > Som *tagfi* 'flea' (Ab); Arbore *táfḳe* id. (Hy); Or: Wellega *tafk-ii* id. (Gg); see Sasse (1982: 177).

éefo f. 'die Hausflur, der allen besuchern zugängliche vordere Teil des Hauses' (Re) = *to'efo* 'äußeres Haus, Flur' (Mu)
Perhaps borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz *ʔafʔā*, *ʔafʔa* 'out, outside (part), outdoors, outward, outside of, on the outside, beyond', Ti *ʔafʔa* 'outside', cf. also Awngi (CCu) *af* 'outside, outdoors', apparently of the same origin (Leslau 1987: 9).

afla m. 'Zeit, Stunde, besonders der gegenwärtige Augenblick', *afláay* 'jetzt', *afláan* 'jetzt, von jetzt an' (Re) = *aflaai* 'von jetzt an' (Al) = *aflei* id. (Mu) = *aflaa* and *aflan* 'then, now' (Wd)

affratt f., pl. *-a* 'cloud, white or rain, cumulus abstemious' (HuB) = *afrad* 'nuage' (Vh) = *afrad* f., pl. *-a* 'cloud (cumulus)' (Rp) = *afra* f. 'Wolke' (Re) = *áfrat* m. (sic) 'Wolke' (Al) = *ta áfrad* id. (Km)
Reinisch (1895: 9) connected it with Gz *qobār* 'fog, mist, darkness' and Ar *kafr* 'caligo nubium, darkness of night', cf. *kafrat* 'darkness' (Sg 890). Phonetically improbable. More promising seems to be a borrowing from Ar *ʕarfa* 'wind, odour' (Sg 687), *ʕarīf* 'first rain'; concerning semantics, cf. the Semitic cognates of the Arabic forms: Ug *ʕrpt* 'clouds', Akk *urpu*, pl. *urpâti* 'cloud(s)' (Gordon 1965: 461). Let us mention SSe parallels in Mehri *ʔāfōr*, EJibbali *ʔáfɔ́r* 'cloud' (Jh).

eegaab m., def. *w'eega* 'smoke' (Wd) = *eeḍa* and *eega* 'fumée' (Vh) = *eegạ* and *eedạ* m. 'smoke', *eegas* v. caus. 'to fumigate' (HuB) = *éga* and *ɛḍa* m. 'smoke', *ɛga* v. 2 'to smoke', caus. *ɛgas* v.2 'to fumigate' (Rp) = *eeḍa* n. 'smoke' (Tl) = *êga* m. 'Rauch, Dunst', *egaa-s* v.2 caus. 'Rauch machen', *egaa-t* refl. 'rauchen, ein brennender Gegendstand' (Re) = Halenga *erda*, *érḍa* and *éeḍa*, besides *éega* m. 'Rauch' (Lp) = *éega* m. 'Rauch' (Al) = *o'ēge* 'Rauch', *egáte* 'rauchen', caus. *egásiya* (Mu)
CCh: Musgu *agíŋ* (Krause) = *egien* (Decorse) 'Rauch'.
It remains to explain the variant with medial *-d-/-ḍ-/-rḍ-* (cf. Afar [PaHy] *ʕer* and *ʕir* 'smoke'?).

agab f., pl. *-ạ* 'mountain pass' (HuB)
From SudAr *agaba* 'negotiable path over hill' (Roper 1928: 2).

eeki f. 'mist' (HuB)
?Om: (N) Gonga **aaḳ-* 'cold' > Shinasha *aaḳ*, Anfillo *aḳo*, Kafa *aako* (Be);
?Ch: (W) SBauchi: Zaar *yàkŋ* 'cold' (JgIb II: 79).

'ákil m. 'sharp cold weather' (Rp) = *akil* m. 'cold weather' (Wd)

akratiheel m. 'heap of stones, prehistoric grave' (HuB)

akwhiit f., def. *tu'akwhi* 'night' (Wd) = *akŭhíit* adv. 'by night' (Rp) = *akwiit* f. 'night' (HuB) = *akohíitak* 'von Nacht' (Mu) = *akuît* 'gestern' (Se)
Derived by the *a*-prefix from *kŭhi*, *khwii* f. pl. 'first half of the night' (Rp), cf. *ámaag* 'bad' vs. *mig* v.1 'to do evil', *mag* v.1 refl. 'to be bad' or *akíš* 'miserly' vs. *kaš* v.1 refl. 'to be miserly' (Rp).
It resembles Kotoko (CCh) forms: Gulfei *áakiuu* 'Morgen', Shoe *akisu* 'morgen' (Lukas 1937: 147, 154).

ulbaat f., def.sg. *tu'ulba*, def.pl. *ti'ulba* 'tin, can' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ʕulba* 'box, chest, trunk' (Sg 719).

eeloogani f. 'storm' (Wd) = *iilogáni* f. 'whirlwind, dust-wind' (Rp) = *ilogáani* f., pl. *ilogáanya* 'Sturmwind, Orkan' (Re)
Reinisch (1895: 14) connected it with Ar *ʕalağān* 'commotio, cursus' (Freytag); cf. also Ti *ʕəllagīt* 'storm' (LH 451).

alák m., pl. *-a* 'Wolke, düsterer, trüber Himmel; Trübe, Düster'; *alak* v.2 'trübe, düster, dunkel sein' (Re)
Ch: (W) NBauchi: Diri *àlàkwá*, Warji *lakwai*, Siri *laŋkwa* (Skinner 1977: 15; Mukarovsky 1987: 127 NBauchi + Beja);

Reinisch (1895: 14) compared it with Ar *ḥalak* 'nigredo', but one would expect *h-* in Beja.

alal m. 'wind' (HuB) = *alaal* m., pl. *alăl* 'whirlwind, dust-evil' (Rp)
It is tempting to compare it with the Semitic parallels: Aram and Post-Biblic Hb *ʕalōl*, Syr *ʕalʕālā* 'whirlwind' (Leslau 1987: 78 connects the Semitic data with Gz *ʕawlo* 'tempest, whirlwind').

elli gubay (~ *eri guubå*) 'double stars in the handle of the Plough' (HuB)

allak f. 'muddy water' (HuB)
There is a suggestive parallel in Hausa of Sokoto (WCh) *àllàkaa* 'sand' (Matsushita), maybe connected with *laakaa* 'clay' = *laaka* 'mud' (Skinner 1996: 184).
Cf. Beja *lu̱k* [*lək*^{w}] 'Lehm, Ton' (Re) etc.?

eluleen̰a m. 'constellation of Great Bear' (HuB)

eelaat f., def.sg. *tu'eela* 'water hole' (Wd)
Cu: (E) **ʕeel-* > Saho *ʕeela* 'well' (Vergari), Afar *ʕèela* 'well' (PaHy); Somali *ʕeel* 'well' (Luling), Boni of Kilii *eel*, pl. *éélə* 'well' (He); Dasanech ʔéel 'water-hole' (To), Elmolo *éel* 'grave' (He); Oromo: Borana, Orma, Waata *eela* 'well, pit' (Stroomer), Konso *ela*, Dirayta *eel* 'well'; Sidamo *eela* 'low place, esp. where water can be found', Kambatta *eloo* 'well', *eela* 'pond, pool', Gedeo *eela* 'pond, pool', Hadiyya *eera* 'salt lake' (Sasse), *leera* 'pond, pool' (Hudson), Burji *eela* 'water-hole, pond, pool', *eelá* 'river' (Hudson 1989: 115); Tsamakko *ʕelko*, pl. *ʕelle* 'wells' (Savà), Gawwada *ʕelhó*, Gawwada of Dalpene *ʕelxó* 'water hole' (AMS); Yaaku *ɛɛl*, pl. *ɛlɛli* 'well' (Heine 1974–1975: 137; Sasse 1982: 67; Black 1974: 109, 113); ?(S) NWRift **ḥaala* 'well, waterhole' > Iraqw *ḥalaangw* ~ *ḥala* 'well', Gorowa *ḥaala*, Alagwa *ḥaala* (KM 147); Qwadza *xalito* 'waterhole' (Ehret 1980: 306, n. IX.D.14 added also Dahalo *helelaað-* 'to flow').
Eg (Pyr) *ʕ3ʕ* 'Wasserloch' (Wb. I: 166) = 'Wasserablass, Ablaufrinne, Feldbrunnen' (WPS 292), besides (Gr) *ʕrj.t* 'Art Gewässer' and (Gr) *ʕnj* 'Art Gewässer' (Wb. I: 209, 189), plus *ʕr* 'Tümpel' (WPS 292).
Berber: Ghadames *tala* 'puits alimenté par une source, équipé de leviers basculants pour puiser l'eau et l'élever au niveau d'écoulement voulu' (Lanfry 1973: 174); Ahaggar *tăhâla*, pl. *tihâliwîn* 'petite source' (Fc) < **tā-haHl-āH*, pl. **tī-haHl-īwīn* (Prasse 1974: 339, §FF.I.A.3).

elitneen 'Monday' (HuB) = *eletnéen* and *letnɛn* f. id. (Rp) = *litneent* f. 'Monday' (Wd) = *eletnéen*, *letníin* and *etnín* f. 'Montag' (Re) = *telletnên* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar (*yawm*) *al-ʔiṯnayn* 'Monday' (Wehr 95), lit. '(day)-of/on the two (obl.du.)'.

Am *omaa* ‘east’ (Star); see *mhaab*, def.sg. *oomha* ‘morning, dawn; east’ (Wd)

imai m. ‘North wind at the beginning of winter’ (HuB) = *’íima* m. ‘autumn, the season between summer rains and winter (Oct-Nov)’ (Rp) = *éema* and *íima* m. ‘Spätherbst und Winter (Okt-Feb)’ (Re) = *imáay* m. ‘Spätherbst’ (Al) = *eemab* ‘Winter (November-März)’ (Mu)
Cu: (E) Som *mayay* ‘dawn rain; heavy rain, downpour’ (Luling) = ‘ein zwei bis drei Tage lang andauernder leichter Regen’ (Re).

amadi m. ‘midnight, time of milking camels’, *amadaab* ‘unmilked’ (HuB)

amar m., def.sg. *w’amar*, def.pl. *w’amra* ‘cave’ (Wd) = *amar*, pl. *-a* m. ‘cave’ (Rp) = *’amer*, indet. *ameraab*, pl. *i ’amere*^{n} ‘Höhle, abris sous roche’ (Hs) = *améer*, pl. *-a* m. ‘Höhle’ (Re) = Am *amar* ‘cave’ (Star)
Reinisch (1893: 46, §77c; 1895: 19) assumed the metathesis from **ma’éer*, connecting it with Ar *maġār*, pl. *maġāʔir* ‘cave, grotto’ (Sg 1031). But in Beja, Ar *ġ* is substituted by *g*, cf. *garíb* < Ar *ġarb* ‘west’ or *bagál* < Ar *baġl* ‘mule’ etc. (Reinisch 1893: 25, §42).
Cu: (S) NWRift sglt. **maraʔiya* ‘cave’ > Iraqw *marʔi*, Gorowa *marʔi*, Alagwa *maraʔi*, Burunge *maraʔiya*, pl. **maraʔoo* > Iraqw, Gorowa *marʔoo*, Alagwa *maraʔoo*, Burunge *maraʔoo* ~ *maraʔiyoo* ‘caves’ (KM 203–204).
Woelfel (1965: 600–601) mentioned a similarity of the Beja word ‘cave’ and Guanche **amar* with a hypothetical meaning ‘cave’ reconstructed according to *Amartihuya*, the name of one cave on Palma. He tried to find an etymological background in Berber: (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *mar* ‘être ouvert’, Taitoq *imera* ‘il est ouvert, specieux’ (ibid.). Stroomer (p.c., Aug 1998) drew my attention to the Berber verbal root **H-r-H* (cf. Prasse 1973: 122–123), continuing in (E) Ghadames *ar* || (S) Ahaggar *ar*, Ayr, Iulemidden *ar* ‘ouvrir’.

amas adv. ‘at night’, *amasing’aab* adv. ‘midnight’ (Wd) = *amas* adv. ‘nuitamment’, *amsi* adv. ‘aujourd’hui’ (Vh) = *amass* m. ‘time from sunset to sunrise’, *amass angǫ* and *anass angǫ* besides *amass nigǫ* ‘midnight’ (HuB) = *ámse* adv. ‘oggi’ (Ci) = Ammar’ar *’amás* ‘in night’ (Do) = *ámse* adv. ‘today, one day’, *amsɛnók* adv. ‘one day, there came a day’, perhaps also *áamsei* f., pl. *aamsăya* ‘present’, esp. ‘by suitor to prospective mother-in-law’; further cf. *măs* m. pl. ‘late evening, night’, *áamas énga*’ ‘midnight’ (Rp) = *amás* m. ‘der späte Abend, die Dunkelheit, Finsterniss, Nacht’, *amas-í-ŋga* ‘in der tiefen Nacht, um Mitternacht’, abl. *amsée* and *amsíi* ‘heute’, d.i. ‘von gestern Abend bis jetzt vor dem Abend, da der Tag von Sonnenuntergang an’ (Re) = *’ámas* ‘heute Abend’ : *ámse* ‘heute’ (Al) = *amsee* ‘heute’ (Mu) = *emszíh* id. (Se)
Almkvist (1885: 4) and Reinisch (1895: 19) connected it with Ar adv. *ʔamsi* and *bi-l-ʔamsi* ‘yesterday, time just past’, *musya ʔamsi* ‘last night’, *misy/musy* and *masāʔ*

'evening' (Sg 77, 994, 1003). The Beja etymon could be both borrowed from Ar and inherited, regarding the suggestive cognates in other AA branches:
Cu: (S) **?amasi* 'night' > Iraqw *?amsi?* 'midnight', Gorowa *?amsi* 'night', Burunge and Alagwa *?amasi* 'night' (KM 55: NWRift **?amasi*); Qwadza *amasiya* 'tomorrow'; ?Maa *amá* 'night' (Ehret 1980: 297);
?Om: (N) Zayse *ansoo* 'oggi' (Ce);
Be: (S) Tuareg of Iulemmiden and Ayr *ăṇsu* 'passer la nuit' (Alojaly); (N) Rif, Iznacen, Senhaja *ens* id. (Renisio), Nefusi *ens* 'pernottare' (Beguinot) etc.
Eg (Pyr) *msw.t*, (MK) also *msy.t* 'Abendbrot; Mahlzeit' (Wb. II: 142);
Se: Akk *mūšu* and *mīšu* 'night', Hb *ʔɛmɛš* 'yesterday', Soqotri *imšin* 'evening', Ar *masā* (*m-s-y*), Gz *masya* 'to become evening', *məsət* 'evening', Ti *mäsa* and *məsət* id. resp. (Leslau 1987: 368), *ʔamsa* 'to pass the evening', *mäsē*, pl. *ʔamsuy* 'evening' (LH 121) > Bilin *mise*, pl. *amsuy* 'Abend' (Re; */s/* = *z* in his transcription).
Cohen (1947: #472) Beja + Bilin + Be + Eg + Se; Dolgopolsky (1973: 142) added the SCu and NOm data. All comparanda are summarised and evaluated in EDE (III: 558–562).

ana m. 'Tageslicht, der Morgen', *woo-án-i* (*deháay*) 'am Morgen' (Re)
Probably reanalyzed from *wána* adv. 'at dawn, early morning' (Rp) = *wana* adv. 'this morning' (Wd).

'ánda m. 'a deep fixed shadow'; f. 'a more mobile fleeting shadow' (Rp) = *n?andaa* 'ombre' (Vh) = *'andaaab* m. 'shade', def.sg. *ul'anda*, def.pl. *il'anda* (Wd)
Probably shortened from *'andala* 'shadow' (Rp) = *andalaab* m. 'shadow', def.sg. *w'andala*, def.pl. *y'andala* (Wd) = *andala* m. 'Schatten', *wuu-ándala* 'der Schatten' (Re) = *wándala* m. 'Schatten' (Al).
Cf. Ch: (E) Dangla *aando*, Migama *â:ndòŋ*, Jegu *ʔántìŋ*, Birgid *ʔàndàŋè* 'night', Kabalai *ànd*ə, Lele *ìndùwá* 'black' (JgIb II: 29, 257).

endi and *di* f., with art. *teendi*, acc. *di(i)t* 'iron' (HuB) = *indí* and *di*, with art. *to-ndí* f. 'ferro' (Ci) = *di* f., acc. *diit*, with art. *tuundi* (nom.), *tóndi* (acc.) 'iron' (Rp) = *deet* f., def.sg. *toondi*, def.pl. *teendi* 'metal, iron' (Wd) = *endi*, énde f., acc. *endiit*, with art. *túundi* 'Eisen' (Re) = *éndi*, *énde* f. id. (Al) = *to'endi*, acc. *endit* (Mu) id. = [*tó*]*nda* id. (Salt)
There are two etymological approaches, depending on inclusion (1) or exclusion (2) of *en-* as an integral part of the root:
(1) Reinisch (1895, 22) assumed metathesis from **ediin*, seeking an original source in EtSe: Gz *ḫaṣṣin* 'iron, sword, weapon, iron tool', Ti *ḥaṣin*, Ty *ḥaṣin*, *ḥənṣi* 'iron' (Leslau 1987: 267), perhaps via CCu, cf. Khamir *aǯin* 'Eisen, Lanze, Speer, Schlacht' (Re); cf. also Beja *hadíid* 'ferro' (Ci) and TiBA *ḥadi:dat* 'iron' (Nakano and Tsuge).

(2) Hudson (l.c.) sees in (*en*)*di* a derivative of *daai* ‘good’, with the article *endai* (Rp).

eŋga and *éŋge*, *éŋgi* f. ‘Mitte(n)’, *t-engáa-t tibaláay* ‘Mittelfinger’ (Re) = *te’engi* ‘Mitte, mitten’ (Mu) = *tingate tibalá* ‘Mittelfinger’ (Se), perhaps identical with *nĭgo̯* m. ‘waist, small of back, middle’, *nĭgo̯t* f. ‘middle finger’ (HuB).
Reinisch (1895: 23) connected Beja *eŋga* etc. with Bilin *anqay* ‘Loch, Höhle; Inneres, die Mitte, Zentrum, das Innere’; further cf. Qwara *anχay* ‘Inneres, Innerteil’, Khamir *aĝay* ‘Loch, Höhle’ (Reinisch 1887: 40); Awngi *aɣ* ‘inside’ < CCu **ʔanq-* ‘inside’ (Appleyard 2006: 87). Cf. also SSe: Mehri *ʕāmḳ*, East Jibbali *ʕamḳ* ‘middle’ (Jh).

anguudå m. ‘Egyptian’, adj. *angudaliib* (HuB)

enkhi ‘upper’ (Rp) = *imkhi* (~ *imkhay*) ‘above, upper’ (HuB)
The prep. *kehii* ‘at, at a position’ (Wd) = *khi*, *khaj* ‘sur’ (Vh) = *k*(*e*)*h*, *khw*, *kŭh* ‘on, over, above’ (Rp) with article (Roper 1928: 203).
Cu: (E) **kaʕ-* ‘to get up’ > Saho *-uy-kuʕ-* caus. ‘to lift, carry’; Som *kaʕ-*, Boni *kaʔ-*; Dasanech *ke*(ʔ)-, Elmolo *keʔ-* ‘to go away’, caus. *ke-is-* ‘to raise’; Oromo *kaʔ-* ‘to arise, get up, stand up; happen, occur’ (Gg), Konso *xa-*, Dirayta *ha-*; Tsamakko *kaʔ-* ‘to get up’ (Savà), Gawwada *xaʕ-* ‘to fly’, Dobase, Gollango *haʕ-* id.; Sid *kaʔ-* ‘to get up, go away’, Burji *kaʔ-* ‘to get up’; Yaaku *keʔe* ‘to put up, plant’ (Sasse 1979: 11–12, 36, 54; 1982: 112; Black 1974: 204); ?(S) Alagwa *yukuhus-* ‘to put load on top of another’ (Ehret 1987: 129 n. 562 Beja + Gollango *yak-* ‘to heap up’ + Alagwa).

onun (~ *enin*) f. ‘kohl, black antimon’ (HuB) = *enen* f. (Rp) = *hinint* f. ‘antimonium’, def.sg. *tuhinin*
Cf. *on* v.2 ‘to khol’ (Rp).

oont’aab and *oond’aab* adv. ‘now, this time’ (Wd)
See *’aá* f. ‘time, period’, *tə’aá* ‘now’, *ont’aá*, *ontəaá* ‘now, at this time’ (Rp).

ántiimhaa adv. ‘this year’ (Rp) = *antima* ‘this current year’ (HuB) = Am *antemha* ‘this year’ (Star)
A compound consisting of *entói* ‘here, in this place’ (Rp), plus *mase* f. ‘year’ (HuB) = *masseet* id. (Wd)?

ari f. ‘boundary stone or heap of stones’ (HuB) = *’are* m./f. (dim.), acc. *’ariib*/*’ariit* ‘hill covered with granite boulders’ (Rp) = *u ’ari*^{h}, indet. *ariib* ‘Fels’ (Hs)
Cu: (C) Bilin *ʔərora* ‘hill’ (Appleyard 2006: 84 compared it with Tigre *ʔərori* and *ʔərera* ‘slope’); Waag *ároa* ‘hill, mountain’ (Bk) || ?(E) Saho *arar* ‘mountain top’

(Re; Sasse 1979: 48 derived it from PECu **k'ar-* 'top'), Som (Ab) *aror* 'mountain slope';
?Eg *i̯3.w* 'Erdhügel, Kom, Tell', *i̯3.t* 'Stätte, Ort, (bewohnter) Erdhügel, Ruine, Tell, zerstörter Ort' (WPS 286; Wb. I: 26 only MEg *i̯3.t*);
Be: (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *târayt*, pl. *târaîn* 'escarpement rocheux formant un anneau sur tout le pourtour d'une montagne' (Fc) < **t-Harāy-t* (Prasse 1974: 72);
Ch: (E) Gabri *ara* 'mountain' (GD).

Am *araab* 'khor', maybe also *orab* 'stream', if *o-* does not represent the article (Star)
Cf. *ariba* 'to fetch water', *aruub* 'fetching water', *arbiib* m., def.sg. *w'arbi*, def.pl. *y'arbi* id. (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ʕaraba*, pl. *ʕarab* 'rapid stream', *ʕarib* 'great quantity of pure water' (Sg 682).

eru (*iri*) 'yesterday', *eru betkay* 'day before yesterday', *eru too suri* 'three days ago' (HuB) = *iru/iri/ura* 'yesterday' (Wd) = Am *era* 'yesterday' (Star) = *irooi* 'yesterday' (Tl) = *éri*, *íri*, *íru* adv. 'yesterday' (Rp) = *éèro*, *éere*, *íri* 'gestern Abend' (Re) = *éru*, *úra*, *úre* id. (Al) = *eró* 'gestern' (Mu) = *era* id. (Km) = *ourra/ura* 'hier' (Li)
Cu: (E) Arbore *ʔarráw* (Hy), Elmolo *arrau* 'evening' (He); ?Yaaku *mé'éri'* 'evening' (He).

aarbaa (*t'arbaa*) 'Wednesday' (HuB) = *arba'aat* f., def.sg. *tu'arb'a*, def.pl. *ti'arb'a* (Wd) = Am *arbaat* id. (Star) = *arbáa'* f. id. (Rp) = *arb'a* f. 'Mittwoch' (Re) = *árba* f. id. (Al) = *teârba* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *al-ʔarbiʕāʔ/al-ʔarbaʕāʔ* 'Wednesday'; cf. also Ti *ʔarärbəʕa* id. (LH 358; Leslau 1982: 7).

ard m. 'Land' (Re) = Am *ard* 'land' (Star)
Borrower from Ar *ʔarḍ* id.

erda and *erḍa* 'Rauch' (Lp), see *eegạ* and *eedạ* 'smoke' (HuB) etc.

Am *oreef* 'north' (Star)

erej m. 'Nebel' (Al)
Related with *erda* and *erḍa* 'Rauch' (Lp)?

arér m., pl. *árěra* 'Blei, Bleikugel' (Re) = *arer* id. (Mu)
Borrowed from EtSe: Gz *ʕarar* 'lead', Ti, Ty *ʕarār*, Amh *arär* id.; CCu counterparts are of the same origin: Bilin *arära* 'Schiesskugel, Bleikugel zum Schiessen', Khamir *arír* 'Blei' (Re), see Leslau (1987: 71).

irra m. ‘vertical bank of khor’ (Rp)
?ECu: Afar (PaHy) *àru*, pl. *arwa* ‘bank of stream’ or Konso *írrota* ‘mountain’ (Bl).

arri-mass ‘night before last’ (HuB)
A compound consisting of *arri* ‘after (time or position), behind’ and *amass* ‘time from sunset to sunrise’ (HuB).

arroi nii m. ‘misty cloud’ (HuB)
Cf. ECu: Konso *urratta* ‘mist’ or *oraaraa* ‘cloud in the sky’? (On)

arå̀wa m. ‘Nähe, Seite’, *arå̀wáa-y* ‘an der Seite, neben’ (Re); cf. *araaw* m., def.sg. *w’araaw*, def.pl. *y’araw* ‘friend; other’ (m.) (Wd)
Perhaps borrowed from Ti *ʔərfat* ‘side’, cf. Gz *ʔaraft* ‘wall; bulwark, partition of boards’ (LH 361; Leslau 1987: 37). The substitution of *-w-* by *-f-* in Beja is not unknown, cf. Beja *nawar* ‘Seil, Strick’ vs. Eg (MK) *nfry.t* ‘Strick mit dem man das Steuerruder lenkt’ (Wb. II: 262); the comparison was proposed by Reinisch (1895: 187) and accepted by Vycichl (1960: 260). The vacillation *f* ~ *w* is even attested in various records, cf. *šifig* ‘to haste’ (Rp) vs. *šewig* ‘eilen’ (Re).

ɛsɛ f. ‘blast, squall, gust’, *baramíit ɛsɛ* ‘gust of wind’ (Rp)

asir m., def.sg. *w’asir* ‘evening, prayer time’ (Wd) = *ʔasir* ‘après-midi’ (Vh) = *asír* m. ‘Nachmittag’ (Re) = *ásir* id. (Al) = [*w*]*assir* id. (Se) = Am *asir* ‘evening’ (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *ʕaṣr* ‘day or night, evening, morning, afternoon’ (Sg 700; Wehr 554).

issi (var. *bhissi*, i.e. **w-hissi*?) m. ‘sand’ (HuB) = *ʔassi*, acc. *ʔasseet* ‘sable’ (Vh) = *essé-t* ‘sabbia’ (Ci) = *asseet* ‘sand’ (Tl) = *asse*, *issɛ* (*issɛt*) ‘sand’; m. ‘coarse’, f. ‘fine sand’ (Rp) = *u ’isse*^{h}, indet. *issẹ̀ẹ̀b* ‘Staub, zerriebene Erde, unreiner Sand’ (= Ar *turāb*) (Hs) = *isa*, *íse* m. ‘feiner Sand’ (Re) = *úse*(*i*), *wíse* m./f. ‘Erdreich, Erdboden; Staub’ (Al) = [*te*]*esze* ‘Sand’ (Mu) = [*u*]*ussa* ‘Staub’ (Km)
Ch: (W) Hausa *yààshíí*; Ankwe *hɛ́ɛ́s*; Ron: Fyer *hós*; Karekare *aysi*, Galambu *wùsá*; Mburku *yáàshí*; Guruntum *washà*; Ngizim áisaw || (C) Tera *wuʔyi*, Chibak *wiaḥɛ*; Margi *shìshuà*; Ngwaxi (Hoffmann) *hashu*; Buduma *keesa* || ?(E) Sumray *gàwsīnī*, Tumak *kəsaŋ*, Ndam *kuusaayny*; Dangla *góósìne*; Kwan *gìsíny*; Mubi *sífnìyó* etc. ‘sand’ (JgIb II: 280–281; Stolbova 1987: 231, #794 reconstructed PWCh **8asi*). Maybe, some of these parallels do not belong here and represent cognates of Beja *haaš* ‘sand, dust, earth’ (see below).

iša and *aša* m. ‘Spätabend, Anbruch der Nacht’ (Re) = *ʔiiʃa* ‘soir’ (Vh)
Borrowed from Ar *ʕišāʔ* ‘evening’, *ʕašāʔ* ‘supper’ (Sg 696).

ušee m. 'district, place' (HuB) = *'ášay* m., pl. *'áśɛi* 'site, place, position (esp. of dwelling)' (Rp) = *u 'ašaay* 'Ort, Platz', *i 'äšey* 'verlassene Lagerstätte' (Hs) = *ye'eshei* 'verlassenes Lager' (Mu)
Almkvist (1885: 20) speculated about identity of this word and *úšay* (Al) = *eša* (Se) 'Harn', '… woran es jedenfalls auf einem verlassenen Lagerplatz kein Mangel ist'.

ašti f. 'silver, money' (HuB) = *ašteet* f., def.sg. *tu'ašti* 'silver' (Wd) = *ašte* f. 'silver', *aštɛt-kwotana* 'silversmith' (Rp) = *'ašta*, *'ášte* f. 'Ring, Silberring; Geld', *ášta kat'áana* 'Silberschmied' (Re) = Hdd *teshté* 'silver' (Wt) = *ášta*, *ášte* 'Silber, Geld' (Al) = *t'eshtē*, acc. *eshtéb* (corr. certainly *-t*) (Mu) = [*t*]*aschtéh* 'Silber', *woastetkotana* 'Silberschmidt' (Se)
The closest parallel appears in Afar *asta* 'the silver-headed stick of the sultan given as surety, mark of identification' (PaHy). A foreign origin of this cultural word is very probable, but the attempt of Reinisch (1895: 34) to identify Gz *ḫaṣada* 'to twist, make tight, bend, curve', *ḫʷəṣād* 'ring, hook, clasp, twisted' (Leslau 1987: 267) as a source is not convincing. On the other hand, Reinisch is probably right finding a borrowing from this EtSe source in Beja *hášša* m. 'Kreis, Rundung' (1895: 130).

atmúur m., pl. *atmír* 'plain' (Rp) = *atmuur* m., def.sg. *w'atmuur*, def.pl. *y'atmuura* 'bush species, in the plains' (Wd) = *u 'atmuur*, pl. *i 'atmir* 'jede Ebene mit feinem Kiese und Sand und von einer Ausdehnung von ½–1 Tagereise' (Hs) = *atmúur* m. 'die Wüste, besonders der nubische Teil zwischen Abu-Hammad und Korosko (Re)
Borrowed from Ar (El-ʕAbâbde) *ʕatmūr*, in Nağd *ʕöṭmûr* means 'kleinere Dünenwelle' (Hess 1919: 211).

atsuur m. 'country round Atbara river' (HuB)
Cannot it be a mistaken record of *atmúur* 'plain' (Rp)?

atrúun f., pl. átrin 'Natron' (Re) = *atruun* m., def.sg. *w'atruun* 'soda' (Wd) = Am *atrun* 'rock salt' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *naṭrūn* 'natron, borax' (Sg 1128), perhaps via Nile Nubian *atrúun* id. (Re).

aweeb m., def.sg. *w'awi*, def.pl. *y'awi* 'stone' (Wd) = *ʔawi*, acc. *ʔaweeb* 'pierre' (Vh) = *auwi* m. id. (HuB) = *aweeb* 'stone, rock' (Tl) = Am *'oweb* 'stone'; *awab* 'hill' (Star) = *'áwe* m. 'stone' (Rp) = *awe* m. 'Stein' (Re) = *áwe*, pl. *áwa/áwe* (Al) = *o'auee*, pl. *ye'aue* 'Stein', cf. *sikuauneb* 'Quarzit' < acc. **siku awn-eeb* '*bright stone' (Mu; cf. Reinisch 1893: 9–10, §16; 1895: 36) = *awey* (Bu) = *waueeh* (Kc) = [*wu*]*auiy* (Se)

Cu: (C) Bilin, Qwara, Kemant *amba*, Khamir *aba* (Re), Khamtanga *ábba* (Ap), Awngi *ambe* 'mountain' (CR) < **amb-* < **'anb-* < **ʔabn-* (?), cf. also the EtSe counterparts: Ti *ʔamba*, Ty *ʔəmba* 'table-mountain' (LH), Gafat, Amh *amba* > Gz *ʔambā* 'flat-topped mountain' (Appleyard 1977: 76; 2006: 102; Leslau 1987: 23);
Ch (W) **ʔabuni* 'millstone' (Stolbova 1987: 230) > Ankwe *fin*, Kofyar *fín*; Tangale *pin*, Karekare *bùní*; Kirfi *bíní*; Kariya *vun*; Jimbin *ávànà*; Zaar *vuun*; Ngizim *vànyí* || (C) Tera *vəna*; Wandala *úvrạ*; Gidar *búúnạ nạ ạrạ*; Musgu *fúni*; Zime-Batna *vànà* || (E) Kera *kuuni* (Newman 1977: 27, #63; JgIb II: 172–173; Stolbova 1996: 81);
PBe: (E) ?Ghadames *ụbənt*, pl. *ƀəntān* 'boulet de pierre à piler les noyaux' (Lanfry) || (S) Ayr *təwint*, Iulemmiden *təhunt*, pl. *šihun* (Alojaly), Taitoq *tahunt*, pl. *tihun* 'pierre' (Masqueray) || (W) Zenaga *tò'nt*^{h} 'enclume' (Nicolai) || (N) Shilh of Tazerwalt *taggunt* 'Stein', pl. tantum *aggun* 'Gestein' (Stumme), Sus *aggun* and *awwun* 'pierre' (Laoust); Kabyle *tawent* 'grosse pierre' (Dallet) ||| Numidian *bn* 'stone' (Rössler) ||| Guanche *tavonas* 'knives made of sharp stones', *tabona* 'piedra ó hacha cortante', *tauona* 'piedra que les seruia de cuchillo' etc., cf. also the place-name *Abona* (Woelfel 1965: 535–536, 599; Rössler 1964: 214 reconstructed PBe **abūn*; Kossmann 1999: #208 **taHunt*);
Eg (MK) *bnw.t*, (18th dyn.) *bnwj.t* 'Mühlstein; Art harter Stein, als Baumaterial', Coptic Bohairic ϵγνι, Middle Egyptian Coptic ογνϵ 'meule (inférieure)' < **'ewn*^{o} < **'ebnōyet* < **benwōyet* (Vycichl 1983: 48–49), while Eg (Med) *ỉbnw* 'ein mineralischer Stoff: Alaun?' (Wb. I: 63), Demotic *3bn* 'Alaun', Coptic Sahidic obn, Bohairic ωβϵn id. (Vycichl 1983: 154) is probably a WSe lw.;
PSe **ʔábun-* 'stone' > Akk *abnu*, Ug *ảbn*, Hb *ʔɛ̄bɛn*, Samaritan Hb *ʔå̄bən*, pl. *ʔå̄bå̄nəm*, Aram-Syr *ʔaḇnā*, EpSA *ʔbn*, Soqotri *ʔoben*, Mehri *ḥa-ubin*, Gz *ʔəbn*, Ti *ʔəbən*, Gurage *əmən*, Harari *ūn*; cf. also Ar *ʔabān* 'proper name of Petra' (Dolgopolsky 1986: 78; Leslau 1987: 4).
Lit.: EDE (II: 212–215) Beja + Ch + Be + Se.

'aawi f. 'noon; zenith', *hánat'aawi* 'forenoon' (Rp) = *aawiit* f., def.sg. *tu'aawi*, def. pl. *ti'aawi* 'forenoon' (Wd) = *awi* f. 'Morgen- und Abendröte, Dämmerungszeit' (Re) = Am *awiit* 'midday, noon' (Star)
Cu: (C) Awngi *áwá* 'sun' (Ht) = *awáa* and *awíi* 'sole, luce' (CR), Kunfäl *awi* 'sun' (Cowley), although Appleyard (2006: 130) identifies in these South Agaw forms the Omotic loans || ?(E) Konso and Dirayta *awwe* 'today' (Black) and/or Konso *aw-ḍ-* '(sun) appears and gives heat', *aw-s-aḍ-* 'to warm oneself' (Black), Oromo *ow'-* 'to become warm' (Black 1974: 101 POromoid **awɬ-*);
Om: (N) Wolayta, Dawro, Gamu, Dache, Zayse, Yemsa *awa* 'light of the sun, heat of the sun', Zala, Gofa, Koyra *awwaa* 'sun', Tsara *awaa* id., Shinasha *aawa* 'sun, day(light)', Anfillo, Kafa *abo* 'sun, day', Mocha *aabe* 'sun', *aabo* 'heat of the sun', Bench *ab* 'day, time' (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 302); Ometo > Gurage: Gyeto *ə̃wayä*, Ennemor *ə̃wāyä* 'sun, light of the sun' (Leslau 1986: 381).

'áawili and *'awli* m. 'all the country west of the crest of the Red Sea hills', cf. *'awil* v.1 'to move westwards from the Red Sea hills' (Rp) = *awila* v.2 'to move west' (Wd), besides Am *'awilib* 'west' (Star)
Perhaps derived from the Arabic verb *ʔāla* (*ʔ-w-l*) 'to return, come to a pass' etc. (Sg 94).

'awle m. 'Missjahr, Hungerjahr, Dürre, Hungersnot' (Re) = *áule* m. 'dürres, schlechtes Jahr (in Bezug auf die Ernte), Hungerjahr, Hungersnot' (Al)
Could it be related to *'awláay* 'Sturmwind' (Re)?

'awláay m. 'Sturmwind, Sturm' (Re) = *aulei* 'Bergwind' (Mu)
Borrowed from Ti *ʔawlay* 'wind', cf. Gz *ʕawlo* 'tempest, whirlwind, storm', Amh and Soddo *awlo nəfas* 'hurricane, whirlwind', similarly as Khamir *awla* (Reinisch 1895: 36; Leslau 1979: 113; 1987: 78).

áwri adv. 'noon (the period 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.); today' (Rp) = *ʔawri* adv. 'cet après-midi (passé)' (Vh)
It could be derived from *'aawi* 'noon; zenith' (Rp).
But there are two sets of possible external cognates derivable from 1) *(*ʔa-*)*bur-*; 2) **ʔawir-* > **ʔayir-*:
1) Cu: (E) Saho *abori* 'die Röte am Himmel' (Re); Boni *bóro'* 'tomorrow' (He); Elmolo *búrre* 'morning' (He); Oromo: Macha *boru*, Borana *bori* 'tomorrow' (LVC) || Dahalo *ɓùrra* 'morning' (Ehret 1980: 321 compared Dahalo with Som *berri* 'tomorrow', *bari* 'east', Oromo *beriye* 'dawn'; cf. also Bayso *bari* 'morning', Rend *bárío* 'dawn' (He), Burji *baráy* 'yesterday', while Sasse (1982: 34) reconstructed PECu **bar-*/**ber-*/**bor-* 'dawn, morning, tomorrow');
Om: (S) Hamer of Karo *bu*(*u*)*ri* 'to be morning' (Fl).
2) Cu (E) **ʔayr-* > Afar *ayro* 'day, sun', Saho *ayro* 'sun', Som Tunni *irrə* 'sun', Jiddu *ariyə* id., Bayso *arri* 'day, noon', *arii-ti* 'sun', ?Arbore *ʔarráw* 'afternoon' (Hy); Sidamo *arrišš*o, Alaba *aarriccu-t*^{a}, Kambatta *aarricco*, Hadiyya *eelli-nco*, ?Burji *hinʔ-ícco* 'sun' (Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 72–73; cf. Sasse 1982: 97) || Om: (N) Kafa *arraa* 'luce', *dač-arraa* 'mattino, alba' (Ce); EtSe counterparts can also be of ECu origin, cf. Harari *īr*, Selti, Wolane *ayr*, Ennaqor *ayir*, Zway *ar-it*, Gogot *aret* etc. (Cerulli 1951: 403; Leslau 1963: 30–31 also admitted a derivation from the Se root **ʔ-m-r*, cf. Gz *ʔamir* 'day, sun'); the variant **ʔawr-* perhaps continues in Arbore *ʔurró* 'today' (Hy), Elmolo *urrow* 'day' (Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 72); cf. further Oromo *orraa* 'daylight' (> Burji *orraa-ttée* 'day, daytime'), Rendille *orraḥ*, Boni *orah*, Som *orrax* ~ *qorrax* 'sun' with unclear *q-* (Sasse 1982: 156).
aaymam 'spending the day' (Wd) = *aiyim* v.1 'to rest in the shade' (HuB) = *'aayim* v.1 'to pass the noon-time (10 a.m. to 2 p.m.)', cf. *šíbo 'áayima* 'good day' (Rp) = *áayim*, *yaawim*, Barka *yaaym* v.1 'den Tag, die Zeit zubringen' (Re) = *áayim*

‘die Zeit in Stille und Schatten zubringen, ausruhen, im Schatten sitzen’, áymaam f. ‘Ausruhen’ (Al) = *yáim* v.1 ‘den Tag zubringen’ (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar *yawm*, pl. *ʔayyām* ‘day (of twenty-four hours), time’ (Sg 1242), *yawima* ‘per diem exstitit’ (Freytag).

Am *ay mhay* ‘Orion’s belt’ (Star)
Lit. ‘three goats’.

b

b’i, *bi’* m., acc. *b’ɛb* ‘day (as opposed to night)’, with article *imbi’*, *imb’i*, *embi’*, cf. further Hadendiwa *b’ika* = Am *b’oka* ‘every day, always’ (Rp) = *bʔeeb* ‘un jour’, *u:-mbʔe* ‘le jour’, from *nebaʔ* ‘être chaud, chauffer’ (Vh) = Am *bi’eb* ‘day’ (Star) = *embe* f. pl. ‘day’ (HuB) = *emb’ée* and émb’e m. ‘Tag’ (Re), cf. *naba’* ‘hot, warm’ (Wd) = *neba’* ‘heiß machen (die Sonne)’, *néb’a* ‘Hitze, Sonnenwärme’ (Re) = (é) *mbe* m. ‘Tag’ (Al) = *o’ĕmbee* id. (Mu) = [*wú*]*mbe* id. (Se)
(1) Cu: (E) Dullay **biʕ-ʕ-* ‘white’ > Harso-Dobase *píʕ-ʕ-a*, Gollango *píʕ-a* id. (AMS), Tsamay *biʕ* id. (Savà). In his objection against Dullay relationship with other forms in **b-*, Takács (EDE II: 152) ignores the fact that Dullay minus Tsamay **p* corresponds regularly with Tsamay and common Cushitic **b* (with exception of the other languages where the *Lautverschiebung* had operated, e.g. Konsoid) and not with *f* in other East Cushitic languages.
Eg (NK) *bʕ* ‘Bezeichnung des Sonnengottes’ (Wb. I: 446).
Ch: (W) Ron: Daffo and Bokkos *ɓwè* ‘sun, day; God’ (Jg) || (C) Dghwede *ḅiya* ‘to shine’, Glavda *mbi* id. (EDE II: 152 Beja + Eg + Ch).
(2) ?ECu: Som *ʕabo* ‘Dürre, Trockenheit’ (Reinisch 1902: 48 compared it with Saho *ʕamoo*, *ʕamuu* id.);
?Ch: (W) Ron: Daffo and Bokkos *ɓwè* ‘sun, day; God’ (Jg) || (C) Dghwede *ḅiya* ‘to shine’, Glavda *mbi* id.
?Se **ʕab*(*V*)*b-*: Akk *ebēbu*(*m*) ‘licht, rein sein’, *ebbu*(*m*) ‘licht, rein’ (AHw 180), Ar *ʕab*(*b*), *ʕabʔ* ‘sun-light’ (Sg 663), cf. Albright (1918: 222–223, fn. 1), where a possibility of relationship with Eg *ʕbw* (BD) ‘rein’, *wʕb* (Pyr) ‘reinigen, rein (sein)’ (Wb. I: 175, 280–281; Vycichl 1983: 230) is discussed.
Note: The Beja and Chadic forms are derivable from both alternative sequences **ʕ-b* and **b-ʕ*.

b’aluuk m., def.sg. *ub’aluuk*, def.pl. *ib’aluuka* ‘cloud’ (Wd) = *b’aluuk* m. ‘mist’ (Rp) = *ba’elúuk* m., pl. *b’áalek* ‘Nebelwolke’ (Re) = *baluk* m., pl. *-a̰* ‘mist’ (HuB)
It is tempting to compare it with Logone (CCh) *bəlukʷi* ‘Wolke’ (Lk).
Is there any connection with *baal* f. ‘cloud’ (Rp)?

baab m., def.sg. *oobaab*, def.pl. *eebab* ‘door, gate’ (Wd) = *baab* m., pl. *bab* ‘Türe’ (Re)

Borrowed from Ar *bāb* 'door, gate', similarly as Gz, Ti, Saho-Afar, Som etc. *bāb* id. (Leslau 1987: 85).

Bisharin *o-bâdĕ* 'west' (Th). Perhaps identical with *badi* m., pl. *badiiạ* 'sky just after the sun has sunk or early morning when sky is red' (HuB) = *bad'iib* m., def.sg. *ubad'i*, def.pl. *ibad'i* 'eve, dusk' (Wd) = *bade* 'twilight' (Rp) = *bád'a* or *báda* 'Dämmerungszeit am Abend oder Morgen', cf. *oo-bad'áay tuu-kláay* 'Fledermaus', lit. 'Dämmerungsvogel' (Re).
Reinisch (1895: 41) sought a source in Ar *biṣʕ* 'beginning of the night' (Sg 127), cf. also *baḍʕ* 'part of the night' (Sg 128). But an internal Beja etymology based on *badoiy* v.2 'to begin', n. act. *badoti* 'beginning' can also be admitted.

bado m. 'crack in the ground as in cotton soil', f. 'crack (small), furrow' (HuB) = *baadi* m., acc. *baadob* 'ground split by deep clefts in dry weather, boggy after rains' (Rp) = *báado* m. 'Furche, Ackerfurche' (Re) = *báado* m. (or f.) 'Furche' (Al) = Am *te-bad* 'rich silt soil', *badob* 'clay soil' (Star)
Usually connected with Ar *badda* 'to separate', Gz *bad*(*a*)*da* 'id., detach', Ti *bädäd bela* 'to scatter' etc. (Reinisch 1895: 41; Leslau 1987: 86), but the semantic difference is not trivial. Semantically seems to be a more hopeful comparison with Nile Nubian *badd* 'graben, pflügen' (Reinisch l.c.). Cf. also Ar *badwa* 'Talwand' (Wahrmund I, 1: 189).

badír m. 'Vollmond' (Re).
Borrowed from Ar *badr*, pl. *budūr* 'full moon' (Sg 111).

[*o*]*bha* 'Norden' (Bu)
There are at least two alternative etymologies:
(1) **bhar* 'sea' = 'north' from the point of view of Beja people;
(2) The original meaning was 'left'. In that case a hypothetical **b*[*əd*]*ha* would be comparable with ECu **bidḥ-* 'left' > Som *bidix*, Boni *bidah*, Oromo *bita-a* etc. (Sasse 1979: 16); concerning the cardinal points, cf. Gollango *piḥát-t-o* 'links; Süden' vs. *misk-ítto* 'rechts; Norden' (AMS) || Dahalo *ɓiḥíṭa* 'left' (Elderkin).

bhar m., def.sg. *oobhar*, def.pl. *ibhara* 'sea' (Wd) = *bhar* 'mer' (Vh) = *bahár* m., with art. *o-bhár* 'mare' (Ci) = Am *bahár* 'sea' (Star) = *bhar* 'river', *bharišiŋki* 'riverband' (Tl) = *bằhar*, *bəhar* m. 'sea; the Nile' (Rp) = *oo bhär*, indet. *bhȁ̀raab*, pl. *bhäre*^{h} 'Fluss (Nil), Meer' (Hs) = *beháar*, *behár*, *behéer* m., pl. *-a* 'Fluss, spez. der Nil', *úu-bhaar wuu-hámi* 'das bittere Wasser = das Meer' (Re) = **baher* m. 'Fluss' (Al) = *o'baher o'enaffer* 'das Süsswasser = Fluss', *o'baher o'hameb* 'das Salzwasser' (Mu) = *obhér enápher* 'Fluss', *obhér wohadén* 'Meer' (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *baḥr* 'sea, large river', cf. also EtSe: Ti *baḥr*, Ty *baḥri*, Amh *bahər*, *bar* 'sea' (Leslau 1987: 91).

bắhása, *bəhása* m. ‘spring (from mid-March to end April)’ (Rp) = Am *bahasa* ‘spring’ (Star)

bíhayɛ́ini f. ‘name of the second month following *haruud* (i.e. the month of Dhul Hijjah, derived from *harid* v.1 ‘to slaughter’) (Rp)
Derived from *hai*(*y*) v.2 ‘to be on the first of the new moon’ (Roper 1928: 161, 198, 200).

bal m. ‘rain cloud in distance’, *balaŋ̣* f., pl. *balane* ‘black rain cloud’ (HuB) = *baal*, pl. *-a* ‘nuage’ (Vh) = *baal* ‘cloud’ (Tl) = *baal* f., pl. *-a* ‘cloud’ (Rp) = *baal* m., pl. *bal* and *bal* m., pl. *-a* ‘Wolke’ (Re)
Cu: (E) Rendille *báal* ‘cloud’ (Pillinger and Galboran), Arbore *boolan* id. (Hy), cf. Beja *balaŋ̣* and the ECh counterparts with the same extension.
Om: (N) Gofa *buollaa* (Ce) = *bolla* (Fl) ‘sky’, Kullo *bola* id. (Borelli);
Ch: (C) Bata *boole* ‘Regen’ (Strümpell); Bachama *ɓwɔ̀lɛ̀y* ‘rainy season’ (Kr); Gisiga *bilvoŋ* ‘Gott’ (Lk) || (E) Sumray *bẹ̣láani* (Lk), Ndam *belan* (GD) ‘rain’, Tumak *bə̀là̀n* ‘pluie, ciel, Dieu’, *ná:m-bə̀là̀n* ‘pluie’ = ‘eau’ + ‘ciel’ (Cp).
Illič-Svityč (1971: #13) and Dolgopolsky (1973: 194) Beja + ECu + NOm + Ch.

bal’a f. ‘small, cultivated, green patch’ (HuB)

balad m., def.sg. *ubalad*, def.pl. *ibalada* ‘land’ (Wd) = *balad* ‘pays’ (Vh) = *balad* m. ‘town, country’ (HuB) = *belā́d* and *bélled* m. ‘Dorf, Stadt’ (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *balad* ‘city, district, province, country; house, dwelling’, cf. also Ti *balad* ‘pays, patrie’ (LH 273).

baláak m., pl. *balák* ‘Wildniss, Wald, Dickicht, Gestrüppe’ (Re) = *balak* ‘Dickicht’ (Mu) = Am *balag* ‘peripheral areas under Gash Delta Board’ (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *balqaʕ*, pl. *balāqiʕ* ‘uncultivated land and uninhabited country’ (Sg 142).

baloob m., def.sg. *ubalu* ‘copper’ (Wd) = *ballo* m. ‘copper’, f. ‘copper drum with skin stretched over it’ (HuB) = *báala* m. ‘ferro sottile’ (Ci) = *bale* m., acc. *balób* ‘copper’ (Rp) = *bálo* m. ‘Kupfer’ (Re) = *bálo* id., *túubalo* ‘Kupferstück’ (Al) = *belo* id. (Mu) = *baló* id. (Se)
Zyhlarz (1933: 163) found a source of the Beja ‘copper’ in Coptic Sahidic, Bohairic ⲃⲁⲣⲱⲧ ‘bronze, laiton’ < Eg (MK) *bj3-rwḏ* ‘métal solide’ (Vycichl 1983: 30–31).

bándar m., pl. *-a* ‘Stadt, Handelsplatz’ (Re)
Borrowed from Vulgar Ar *bandar* ‘workshop; harbour, port; emporium’ (Sg 144) or Nile Nubian and Donglawi *bándar* ‘Dorf’ id. (Reinisch 1895: 49).

baar m., pl. *bar* 'Geruch'; the form *baráam* m., pl. *barám* 'Luft, Witterung, Wind', lit. 'Geruch der zugetragen wird, durch die Luft kommt' is derived from the passive verbal stem, see Reinisch (1894: §317) *bar-am* v.2 'Geruch zugetragen werden durch die Luft, riechen, Witterung bekommen' (Re) = *baraam* m., def.sg. *ubaraam*, def.pl. *ibaram* 'wind; smell' (Wd) = *baráam*, pl. *barám* 'vent, odeur' (Vh) = *baram* m. 'wind, climate, storm', *beran* 'wave in wind' (HuB) = *baraam* 'wind' (Tl) = *baraam*, pl. *barăm* m. 'wind, weather', *baraam* v.2 'to smell' intr. (Rp) = Am *baram* 'wind', *baran and buram* 'air' (Star) = *barám* m. (pl.?) 'Luft, Wind' (Al) = *o'bĕrâm* 'Wind', *beram beram* 'Sturm' (Mu) = *bahramm* (Kc) = *baram* 'Wind', *baramta* 'Luft' (Km) = *barám* 'Luft, Wind' (Se)
Takács (EDE II: 6–8) has collected the set of cognates, derivable from AA **b-r* 'to blow' → 'soul', which can be a source of the Beja forms too:
Cu: (S) Alagwa *bur-* 'to fan', Qwadza *bul-* 'to blow' (Ehret 1980: 140 still adds Dahalo *ɓúri* 'fart').
Eg (OK) *b3* 'soul' (Wb. I: 411–412).
Ch: (C) Chibak *mbə̀r* 'blasen' (Hf) || (E) Kwang *bō:ré* 'to blow', *kà-bá:r* 'wind' (Jg), Kera *bò:rè* 'to blow' (Eb); see JgIb (II: 32–33, 80).
?Se: Ug *brl-t* 'spirit, life force; hunger, appetite, relish' (DUL 238).
With regard to this etymological chain, the old idea of Vycichl (1953) to interpret Beja *bar-úuk* m./*bat-úuk* f. 'thou' as 'thy soul', seems quite plausible (cf. his typological parallel in Tigrinya *nəssə-ḵa* m./*nəssə-ḵi* f. 'thou' = Ar *nafsika* 'thy soul').

bar m., def.sg. *oobar* 'countryside, hill area' (Wd)
Cf. *barar* m., def.sg. *ubarar*, def.pl. *ibarara* 'countryside, earth, rivulet' (Wd) etc.?

bireeb m., def.sg. *oobri* 'rain', *bireet* f., def.sg. *toobri*, def.pl. *teebri* 'sky' (Wd) = *biri* 'pluie' (Vh) = *bire* m. 'rain', f. 'sky' (Rp) = *birri* ~ *billi* (with the unetymological gemination) m. 'rain', f. 'sky', cf. *birri* f. 'vegetation springing up after the rain without being planted' (HuB) = *bʋreeb* 'rain' (Be) = *bireeb* 'rain', *teebri* 'sky' (Tl) = *bíre*, *bíri*, *bíle* m. 'Regen', with art. úu-bre, acc. *beréeb*, f. 'Himmel', with art. *túu-bre*, acc. *beréet*, v.2 *b*(*i*)*re* 'regnen' (Re) = *bíre*, *bére* m. 'Regen', f. 'Himmel' (Al) = *o'berē* 'Regen', *te'berē* 'Firmament' (Mu) = *óbra* 'Regen', *to'bra* 'Himmel' (Km) = *ōbra* 'Regen' (Bu) = *o berrah* 'pluie', *to berah* 'ciel' (Li) = [*té*]*bre* 'Himmel', [*ô*]*bre* 'Regen' (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 50) compared it with Kullo (NOm) *bóla* 'Himmel' (see *baal* m. 'cloud', Rp), Se **b-l-l* 'to moisten' > Akk *balālu*, Ug *bll*, Hb *bālal*, Ar, Gz *balla* 'id., wet, immerse in a liquid' (Leslau 1987: 96) and further with Kunama (NS) *bal* 'regnen', *a-ûlā* 'Regen'. All these comparanda imply the primary liquid *-l-*.
An alternative possibility assuming a primary **-r-* is represented by Sid (HECu) *birr-* 'to rain a heavy rain' (HG) [if it is not identical with HECu **birr-* 'to rain stop, sky clear', apparently borrowed from Amh *bärra* 'to (give) light' (Hudson 1989: 120)] and SOm 'God': Ari *ber-í*, Hamer *bar-jo*, Karo *bair-o* (Be).

Eg *bj3* ‘Gewässer am Himmel’ (Pyr), ‘Himmel’ (Gr) (Wb. I: 439) can reflect both **-l-* and **-r-* as the second radical. See EDE (II: 128) for other references.

buur m., def.sg. *oobuur*, def.pl. *ibuura* ‘earth’, *buurt*, def.sg. *toobuur* and *buut* f., def.sg. *toobuut* id. (Wd) = *bur* f., acc. *burt* and *but* ‘ground’ (HuB) = *’oo búur* ‘sandy country, sands’, *too búur* ‘country’ (Do) = *buur* f. ‘earth, land, land and sea, the wide world’, *buut* f. ‘earth, ground, land’ (Rp) = *too buur*, indet. *buurt* and *buut* ‘Gebiet (eines Volkes oder Stammes)’ (Hs) = *buur* f., pl. *-a*, acc. *buut* ‘Erde, Erdreich, Boden; Gebiet, Land’ (Re) = *búur* f., obj. *buut* ‘Erde, Boden, Erdreich’ (Al) = *to’but*, pl. *te’bura* ‘die Erde, Land, Gebiet’ = *to bút* ‘earth’ (Salt)
Cu: (E) Saho *bure* ‘Sand’, pl. *burer* ‘Sandhaufen’ (Re), *buuree* ‘sabbia’ (CR), Afar *bur*(*b*)*ura* ‘dust, power’ (PaHy); Som *burco* ‘sandy hill’ (Luling), ‘sand-dune’ (Ab), pBoni **bùúr* ‘dust’ (He), Rend *ebêr*, pl. *ebérre* ‘dust’ (He), Bayso *burre* ‘meadow-land’ (Hy); Arbore *bóore* ‘earth’ (Hy); Sidamo Habiela *berrinoo* ‘polvere’ (Ce) || Dahalo *ɓúrune* ‘dust’ (To).
Ch: (W) Angas *ɓur* ‘dust’ (Jg), *buur* ‘sand, dust’ (Foulkes); Ron: Daffo-Butura, Bokkos *ɓúrà* ‘dust’ (Jg); Karekare *bárbàr* ‘dust’ (Lk), Bade *bərbən-ən* ‘Staub’ (Lk) || (C) Margi *bárbàr* ‘dust’, Bura *burbur* id. Logone *búuraa* ‘Sand, Staub’, Buduma *bu̱rbu̱r* ‘Staub’ (Lk) etc. || (E) Dangla pl. *bùrintál* ‘dust’ (Fédry; cf. Skinner 1977: 19).
Se: Mehri *ḥəbrēr*, East Jibbali *ḥəbrér* ‘sand-dune’ (Jh).
Lit.: Dolgopolsky (1973: 315) Beja + ECu + Ch + Mehri; EDE (II: 34) Beja + ECu + Dahalo + Ch.
Alternatively, the Beja forms can be borrowed from Ar *bawr*, *būr* ‘uncultivated or fallow land’ (Sg 150).

barúud m., pl. *-a* ‘Pulver’ (Re)
Apparently of Semitic origin, but Ar *barūd* means ‘cold, cooling’, *barad*, pl. *burūd* ‘hail’ (Sg 121, 117) and in Ethio-Semitic the situation is analogous: Gz *barada* ‘to be cold’, Ti, Ty etc. *bäräd* ‘hail’ (Leslau 1987: 103). On the other hand, Saho *baruud* also means ‘Pulver’ (Re).

bírga adj. ‘hoch’ (Al)
Perhaps comparable with Oromo (ECu) *borga* ‘hill’ (Tu).

birka̱ m., pl. *birg’a* ‘pool’ (HuB) = *bírka*, *bérka* f. ‘See, Teich’ (Re) = [*te*]*berka* ‘Teich’ (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *birka*, pl. *birak* ‘pond, fountain-basin’ (Sg 120).

baram m. ‘wind, climate, storm’, see *baar* m. ‘Geruch’ (Re).

biraari m. ‘edge, margin’ (HuB)

Is it identical with the homonymous *biraari* m. 'hair on the back of woman's head, animal's neck' (HuB)?

barar m., def.sg. *ubarar*, def.pl. *ibarara* 'countryside, earth, rivulet' (Wd) = *bärer* m. 'Wâdī' (Hs) = *beréer* m., pl. *bérra* 'Steppe, Wüste' (Re) = *berr* m. 'Land, Wildniss' (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar *barriyya*, pl. *barārī* 'desert', *barrīt*, pl. *barārīt* id. (Sg 121).
Takács (EDE II: 32–35) includes the word into the chain of the lexical parallels: Cu: (C) Awngi *bär* 'radura, spiazzo, terreno scoperto' (CR) || (E) Saho *bárr-e* 'Wüste, Steppe' (Re), Afar *bàrr-i* 'country, land outside an inhabited place, the sticks' (PaHy); Som *bérri* 'country, land' (Ab) || (S) Qwadza *balyiko* 'bare ground' (Ehret 1980: 134).
Eg *b3.t* 'Steppe', although a direct relation with the homonym *b3.t* 'bush, thicket' cannot be excluded (Hannig and Vomberg 1999: 240).
Ch: (C) Gude *bàbárá* 'open space, plain, open level country without mountains' (Hoskison); Mafa *vara* 'terrain plat' (Barreteau and Bléis) || (E) Mokilko *bérè* 'plaine au pied de la montagne, espace plat dans la montagne où on peut célébrer des rites et des fêtes' (Jg).
Se **barr-* > Akk *barru* 'unbebautes Land' (AHw 107 from Aram); Hb *bar*, BibAram *bārā*, Syr *barrā* 'das freie Feld'; Ar *barr* 'Festland, Flachland, Steppe', Sabaic *brr* 'open country, plain'; Soqotri *bar* 'côté eloignement', Jibbali pl. *ɛbrór* 'far away desert', Mehri *bar* 'desert, land' (Jh); Tigre *barr* 'continent, région' (DRS 87).

biruur m. 'desert, place of few trees' (HuB)
Identical with the preceding entry?

bitik m., def.sg. *oobtik*, def.pl. *eebtik* 'middle', *bitki* postp. 'amidst, among', *bituuk* n.act. 'being in between, separation' (Wd) = *bětik* m. 'middle or middle one, waist'; *beetik* adv. 'in the middle of, between' (HuB) = *bitki* f. 'split, cleft, hairless, space between eyebrows', cf. *bitik* v.1 'to cleave, split, divide, be between' (Rp) = *bítka* f. 'Trennung', cf. *betik* v.1 'schneiden, auf-, ab-zerschneiden' (Re)
The verb is borrowed from Ar *bataka* 'to cut off' or Ti *bätka* id., cf. also Gz *bataka* 'to break, tear apart'. The same lw. of Ar or EtSe origin also occurs in Bilin *bätäk* 'schneiden' and Qabenna *butukko* 'to cut' (Leslau 1987: 112).

bitkayt m. 'day after tomorrow' (HuB)
Shortened from the idiom *lahait bitkayt* 'day after tomorrow' (HuB).

bayúk 'Schnee' (Se)
The closest parallel appears in Berber: (N) Shilha of Tafilalt *abŏkko* 'neige' (Laoust 1920: 189). Naït-Zerrad (1998: 49) quotes generally Shilha *abukku* 'neige'.

Accepting the semantic development to or from the semantic field ‘rain, cloud’, the following cognates can be added:
Cu: (C) Bilin *bəkʷána*, pl. *bəkʷán* ‘cloud’ (Palmer), Qwara *bekʷana* ‘Wolke’ (Re), Kemant *bukʷana* ‘brouillard’ (CR) || (E) Oromo Macha *boka* ‘rain’, Guji *bokea*, Borana *bokaha* (LVC), Waata *bókke’* (He), Wellega *bokkaa* (Gg) id., Som of Hawiya *bokkod* ‘pioggia’ (Ce);
Om: (N) ‘to rain’: Wolayta *bukk-*, Dawro *buk-*, Dache *bukk-*, Kachama *boḳ-*, Gamu *buḳḳ-* etc. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 316; cf. Dolgopolsky 1973: 270);
Ch: (E) Mubi *ʾbok* ‘regnen’, Jegu *boŋ* id. (Lk);
Be: (N) Snus *tbika* and *tbica*, Figig *tbica* ‘pluie’ (Naït-Zerrad 1998: 10).

d

di f. ‘iron’ (HuB, Ci) = *deet* f., def.sg. *toondi*, def.pl. *teendi* ‘metal, iron’ (Wd), see *endi*.

di m. ‘hole dug in ground as store’ (HuB) = *óo di* ‘le trou à fumigations’, *dĕĕb* ‘un trou à fumigations, pl. *dêêb* (Vh) = *de* m. (*deb*, pl. *deeb*) ‘hole made in the ground, usually either for a smoke bath or for storing grain’ (Rp) = *deeb* m., def.sg. *oodi*, def.pl. *eedi* ‘hole in ground for smoke bath’ (Wd) = *ọọ deʰ*, indet. *deeb*, pl. *ẹẹ deʰ* ‘Wassergrube, ungemauerter Brunnenn im Sande, z.B. am Meere, nicht im Fels’ (Hs) = Am *deb* ‘big holes for *dura*, a dug hole’ (Star) = *de* m. ‘Rauchbad der Frauen’ (Re) = *de* m. ‘Lache, Pfütze’ (Al)

doo m., pl. *du* ‘stream; pool that is hidden’ (HuB) = *o’do* ‘Wasserbecken in Fels’ (Mu) = Am *dat* ‘pond’ (Star)

di’ɛ ‘brand’, i.e. ‘stick burning at one end’ and maybe *diiy’e* m. ‘spark’ (Rp) = *diy’eb* ‘spark’ (HuB)
Cu: (E) Afar *diyyi* ‘carbon, powdered charcoal, soot’ (PaHy); Yaaku *daai*, pl. *daai’* m. ‘fire-stick’ (He).

də’ɛi m., acc. *də’ɛób* ‘artificial reservoir’ (Tebilol dial.), besides *d’i* m. ‘natural reservoir’ (Rp) = *day* m., pl. *daiạ* ‘pool where rainwater collects’ (HuB) = *u d’ayäʰ*, indet. *d’ayọb*, pl. *i d’ayäʰ* ‘flache Depression mit undurchlässigem Boden, in der das Wasser stagniert’ (= Ar *naqʕ*) (Hs) = *o’deyo* ‘Teich’ (Mu)
NOm: Yemsa *do’ya* ‘deep well, hole, water hole’ (Lb).

dibbạ m. ‘sandhill; small island’ (HuB) = Ammar’ar *tụ dibba*, *dibbat* ‘plateau’ (Do) = *debat* ‘small bank of earth’ (Star) = *dabba*, *debba*, *dibba* m. ‘loose dry soil; mound (of earth soil, sand); bank’, f. ‘moving sand hill(s)’ (Rp) = *u debbeʰ*, indet. *debbaab* ‘Sanddüne’, *debbaat* ‘Sand (der Wüste und des Niles)’ (Hs)

= *díbba*, *dúbba* f. 'Hügel, erhöhter Platz vor dem Dorfe, wo man zum Rate sich versammelt' (Re) = *dába* m. 'feiner weisser Sand' (Al)
There are two possible etymological solutions:
(1) Hess (1919: 211) derived it from Arabic *debbah* 'Sanddüne' (the dialect of Egyptian beduins), cf. Class. Ar *dabah* 'sandy tract' (Sg 353), further Ti *dabbat*, Ty *dəbbat* 'hill of sand' (LH 528).
(2) Dolgopolsky (1973: 50) compared it with the following Cushitic parallels: Cu: (C) **dəb*[*b*]-*a* (Appleyard 2006: 102) > Bilin *díbbaa*, pl. *díifef*, *díifuf* 'erhöhter Platz vor dem Dorfe, auf welchem die stimmberechtigten Männer des Ortes zu Beratung sich versammeln', Qwara *deba*, Dembea *debba* 'Berg' (Re), Kemant *däba* 'colline; petite plaine montante' (CR) || (E) Saho *díiboo* 'Steppe, Wüste', Afar *dúubuu* 'Steppe, Wüste, Wald' (Re) and/or *daàba* 'brow of hill' (PaHy); Som *dabo* 'Hügel, kleiner Berg' (Re) and/or *dibád* 'Aussenseite, freie Land, Steppe, Wüste' (Reinisch 1902: 98 derived it from *dib* 'Hinterteil, Schwanz'); Sid *dubbo* 'foresta' (Mo) = *dubboo* (Ce); Sasse (1976: 140) added Oromo *dib-u* and *dip-u* 'valle, vallata, gola' (Thiene) and Rendille *yib* 'desert, uninhabited land' (He) = *yíb* 'wild, uninhabited land' (Galboran and Pillinger) and reconstructed PECu **zib*-. But PECu **z*- indicates another correspondent in CCu (cf. Appleyard 1984: 42–43). If the primary meaning in PECu was '*uncultivated land', Khamtanga (CCu) *zɬba* 'earth, land' (Ap), Waag *zíbba* 'earth' (Bk) represent better cognates.
For Gz *diba* 'upon, on, onto, above, over', Ti *dib* 'on, over, to', Harari *dabba* 'raised ground', Leslau (1987: 119) assumes a Cushitic (Central?) origin.

dageen f., pl. -*g̣* 'fireplace' (HuB) = *dageent* f., def.sg. *tudageen*, def.pl. *tidageena* 'stone stove' (Wd) = *dágɛn* f., pl. *dagɛna* 'hearth-stone' (usually three) (Rp) = *dagéena* f. 'Feuerherd, die drei Steine worüber der Kochtopf gestellt wird' (Re) = *dagéena* f. 'Feuerherd' (Al) = *te'dagena* id. (Mu) = [*té*]*dagên* 'Küche' (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 62) compared it with Kunama (NS) *etingenā* id.

digwgwaat f., def.sg. *tudigwgwa*, def.pl. *tidigwgwa* 'copper' (Wd)

dhi f., acc. *dihiit* 'narrow valley' (HuB) = Ammar'ar *dăhi* f. 'ravine, gorge' (Rp)
Derived from *dah* 'to be thin, narrow' (Rp).

dahanu f. 'first day, beginning of the month' (HuB) = *deháana* f. 'der erste Tag des Monats', with art. *túu-dhaana* (Re), also *oo-terg-íit deháana* (Lp)
Reinisch (1895: 64) derived it from *daah* v.1 'klein, zart, mager, schwach sein', cf. n. ag. *deháana* 'der kleinste unter seinesgleichen'.

dĭhat f. 'charcoal, coal' (HuB) = *díhe* f. 'Kohle, Glutkohle' (Re) = *te'ha* 'Glutkohle' (Mu) = *tedihhet* id. (Se)

Probably derived from *dhoi* v.2 ‘to warm water by putting hot stones in it’, n. act. *dĩhati* (Hu) = *deha*(*i*) v.2 ‘to be/become warm’, *deho*(*i*) v.2 ‘to heat e.g. water/milk/food by putting into them stones previously made hot in fire’, *deha* m. ‘heat, warmth’ (Rp).

dehur m., def.sg. *oodehur* ‘noon, midday’ (Wd) = *dhor* m., pl. *dhwirạ* ‘noon’ (HuB) = Am *dhoor* ‘midday, noon’ (Star) = *dihir* and *duhur* m. ‘noon’ (Rp) = *dúhr* m., with art. *úu-dhur* ‘Mittag’ (Al) = [*wo*]*dürr* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *ḍuhr* ‘time immediately after noon’ (Sg 658).

deelaab m., def.sg. *udeela*, def.pl. *ideela* ‘hole, ditch’ (Wd) = *deela* m. ‘lair, den’ (HuB) = *dɛla* m., B. Amer *dili* m. ‘hole, esp. small hole in ground, heel-mark, burrow’ (Rp) = *déela* and *déera* m. ‘Loch, Grube, Brunnen’ (Re) = *délub* m. ‘Grube’ (Al) = Am *delab* ‘hole’ (Star)
Cu: (E) Som *dalool* ‘hole, opening, aperture’ (Luling) and/or *deli* ‘pitfall’ (Luling); ?Tsamakko *deelo* ‘flat plain’ (Savà) as the opposite of ‘mountain’?

dúluma f. ‘Finsternis’ (Re) = *tédelémma* id. (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar *ḍulma* and *ḍulmāt* ‘Finsternis’ (Wahrmund I, 2: 184).

Hdd *dim* f., pl. *-a* ‘ravine’ (Rp)
Cf. *damaak* m. ‘direction in which stream flows, towards the plains’ (HuB)?
Could it be related to HECu ‘deep’: Sidamo *diime*, Gedeo *ḍi’mo* (HG) and SOromo *ḍi*(*i*)*mmu* ‘depth (of river, well)’ (Stroomer)?

deem m., def.sg. *oodeem*, def.pl. *ideema* ‘area, quarter’ (Wd)
Perhaps borrowed from Ar *daymūm* ‘desert’ (Sg 380)?

dum’ara and *dim’ara* m. ‘gold’ (Rp) = *dim’araab* m., def.pl. *idim’ara* id. (Wd) = *dum’áara* m. ‘Gold’ (Re) = *demúurrara* ‘Gold’, *túu-demúurara* ‘Goldstück’ (Al) = *damarrạ* m. ‘gold’ (HuB) = *demmarab* id. (Mu) = *demourary* id. (Bu) = *dímmará* id. (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 66) found Nubian parallels: Mahas *šuṅgir*, Dongola *duṅgi*, Kenzi *dúgu*, Dair *tungi* ‘gold, money’ (Murray 1923: 157). All probably borrowed from Ar *dīnār* ‘a gold coin’ (Sg 382).

damaan m., def.sg. *udamaan*, def.pl. *idamaana* ‘time, season, epoch’, *daman* m., def.sg. *udaman* ‘century, world, age’ (Wd) = *deman* ‘long time ago, in the past’ (HuB) = Am *daman* ‘time’, *damana* ‘weather’ (Star) = *damaan* m. ‘weather, season, character’ (Rp) = *demáan* m. ‘Zeit’ (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *zamān* ‘time’, cf. also Gz *zaman* ‘time, period, season, year’, while Bilin *däbän*, pl. *däfän* ‘Zeit’, being itself a source of Afar *daban* ‘age, period

of time' (PaHy), was borrowed from some EtSe language where the dissimilation *m – n* > *b – n* was realised, cf. Ti, Ty, Amh and Argobba *zäbän*, besides Ty, Amh *zämän* 'time' (Leslau 1987: 638–639).

dangar m., def.sg. *udangar* and *dangart* f., def.sg. *tudangar*, def.pl. *tidangara* 'flat area' (Wd) = *dangaar* m., pl. *dangarạ* 'desert waste' (HuB) = *dángar* f., pl. *dangára* 'place, area cleared and set apart for particular purpose' (Rp) = *tu dingar*, indet. *dingart*, pl. *ti dingare*^{h} 'Ebene von geringer Ausdehnung' (Hs) = *dángar* and *díŋgar* f., pl. *-a* 'die Ebene, weites Flachland' (Re) = *dáŋgar* m. 'Ebene' (Al)
Cf. TiBA *dangarat* 'desert' (Nakano and Tsuge).

dangeer m., pl. *-a* 'stone suitable for throwing' (HuB) = *dangɛr* m., pl. *-a* 'stone(s) of suitable size for missiles' (Rp)
Cu: (C) **däng^{w}ər/*dəng^{w}ər* 'large stone, rock' (Appleyard 2006: 129-30) > Bilin *dängura* (Ap) = *dong^{w}əra*, pl. *donk^{w}ər* 'grosses Felsblock' (Re), Khamir *dig^{w}əra* and *dirwa* 'Stein' (Re), Khamta *dengúr* (CR), Awiya *denguerī* (CR); CCu > EtSe: Ti *dong^{w}ola*, Amh *dəngay*, *däŋgiya* 'rock, stone' etc. (Ls);
Om: (N) Mocha *diŋgaro* 'rock' (Ls);
Be: (S) Ahaggar *adrəġ*, pl. *idərġân* 'massif montagneux ayant à son sommet un plateau' < **ā-dirgih*, pl. **ī-dirgāhan* (Prasse 1974: 135).

dinna m. 'paradise' (HuB) = *dínne* f. 'Garten, Paradies' (Re) = *dinne* 'Himmel' (Mu)
Reinisch (1895: 68) derived it from Ar *ǧinna* 'garden' (Sg 247) while Almkvist (1885: 15) rejected this *communis opinio* and connected the Beja word with Ar *dunyā*, pl. *dunan* 'world' (Sg 375). For close semantics, and the fact that the borrowing of Ar *dunyā* is independently attested in Beja (see below), Reinisch was apparently right. The unexpected *d-* instead of *j-* (or *g-* in borrowings from EgAr) can be explained as a result of contamination of Arabic *ǧinna* 'paradise' and *dunyā* 'world', two words important for muslim religion.
See also *gannạ* 'paradise, heaven' (HuB).

dínya f. 'Welt' (Re) = Am *tu-dinia* 'world' (Star) = *duniạ* m. 'world' (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *dunyā* 'world' (Sg 375). See also *dinna* 'paradise' (HuB).

dar m., pl. *dăr* 'edge, bank of khor' (HuB), if it is not identical with *dar* 'côté' (Vh) = *dar* m., def.sg. *oodar*, def.pl. *idara* 'side' (Wd) < Ar; cf. *dirbani* m. 'steep bank of khor' (HuB)?
Cu: (C) Bilin *dar* 'der einem Tribus gehörige Bezirk; Familie; Wirtschaft, der erlebte Landbesitz' (Re), Khamtanga *däy*, Kemant *day*, Awngi *dar* 'side, bank, shore' (Appleyard 2006: 123 mentions Tigrinya, Amhara *dar* 'frontière, limite' < Sem *d-w-r* (DRS 239) as a possible source of the Agaw words) || ?(E) Konso *tarra* 'skull,

head' (Black), Dirayta *tarr* 'relatively higher ground', *tarratté* 'any high place' (Black), where *t-* can reflect both PECu **t-* and **d-*.
Om: (N) Ometo **dar-iya* 'mountain' > Zala *darya*, Wolayta *deriy*^{a}, Gofa *dere*, Chara *dera*, Kachama *dare* id., Gamu *dare* 'country' etc. (Lamberti and Sottile 1997: 348; the **-iya* indicates one of the nominal classes);
Be: (E) Siwa *ədrär*, pl. *idrārən* (Laoust 1932: 261), Ghadames *adurar*, pl. *durāren* 'montagne' (Lanfry) || (S) Ahaggar *adrar*, pl. *idraren* 'mont, massif montagneux, chaine de montagnes' (Foucauld), Iulemedden *adar*, pl. *adaren* 'Berg' (Barth) besides Ghat *adri*, pl. *idran* 'crevasse dans la terre' (Nehlil), Taitoq *ider*, pl. *idiren* 'fond' (Masqueray) || (N) Kabyle *adrar* 'montagne' (Dallet), Shilha *adrar*, pl. *idraren*, Tamazight *dari*, pl. *tedwari* id. (Cid Kaoui) etc. ||| Guanche of Tenerife *adara* 'monte', *adaar* 'cierta parte de costa peñascosa al Este de Tenerife; falaises escarpées; riveras escarpadas' (Woelfel 1965: 594–595).

door m., def.sg. *oodoor*, def.pl. *idoora* 'time, turn' (Wd) = *door* 'temps' (Vh) = *der* m., pl. *-o̱* 'times, sometimes', *derko̱* 'occasions' (HuB) = *dor* m., pl. *-a* 'turn', i.e. 'order of succession'; 'time', (*gaal*)*dor* adv. 'suddenly, once' (Rp) = *door* m., pl. *-a* 1. 'Zeit'; 2. 'Mal, vices', e.g. *gaal door* 'einmal', *mallé dóora* 'zweimal' (Re) = *door* m. 1. 'Zeit'; 2. postp. 'zur Zeit da, als' (Al)
Borrowed from Ar *dawr* 'circle, cycle, turn, age, period' (Sg 379).

daara f. 'halo, arena', *teɛtergtíit daara* 'lunar halo' (N.B. of good omen) (Rp)
Borrowed from Ar *dāra*, pl. *-āt* 'halo, circle' (Sg 350).

darab m., def.sg. *udarab*, def.pl. *idaraba* 'way' (Wd) = *darab* 'chemin' (Vh) = *darɑ̨b* m., pl. *darbɑ̨* 'way, path' (HuB) = Am *ʾu̱ darib*, pl. *ʾi̱darba* 'way, road' (Do) = Am *darib* 'road' (Star) = *deréeb* m., pl. *derā́b* and *deríb* m., pl. *dérba* 'der Weg' (Re) = *déreb* m. 'Weg, Pfad' (Al) = *dérreb* (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *darb*, pl. *dirāb* '(mountain-)path, road, street, gate' (Sg 358).

u derhi^{h}, indet. *derhiib* 'altes Gebäude, Schochgrab, alte Ruine' (Hs)

Am *dorhan* 'smoke' (Star)

daráak m., pl. *darák* 'die kalte Jahreszeit, Regenzeit, Winter' (Re) = *oo darak* 'Winter' (Bu)
The closest cognate appears in Iraqw (SCu) *daraqi* 'coolness' (Mous). The other parallels are problematic:
(1) Reinisch (1895: 70) compared it with Gz *dadak* 'frost, cold, highland' (Leslau 1987: 123) and further with Saho (ECu) *dadaaʕ* 'Regenzeit, kalte Jahreszeit (Jan-Ap), Jahresanfang, Jahr' (Re), cf. Afar *dadaʕ* 'short rainy season' (PaHy).

(2) Mukarovsky (1987: 289) found Chadic parallels: (C) Kotoko: Buduma *delagö* 'pluie' (Decorse), Gulfei *dalage* id., Makeri *ndelgo* id., Affade *dílko*, Kuseri *ntul*(*u*) *gọ* 'Himmel', So *antilga* 'God' (cf. Sölken 1967: 186), but cf. Kanuri *dálágə* 'rain cloud' (Cyffer).

dirukw m., def.sg. *oodrukw*, def.pl. *eedrukw* 'trough, watering place for animals' (Wd) = *dirikw* m., pl. -*a̰* 'pool made by side of a well to water animals at skin for drawing water', cf. *dirkwa̰* m. 'skin for drawing water' (HuB) = *dirúukw* m., pl. *dírkwa* 'water-trough', i.e. 'hole, near well, lined with clay' (Rp) = *ọọ druk*^{w}, pl. *děruk*^{w}*ä*^{h} 'Trog aus Lehm neben dem Brunnen, aus dem die Tiere saufen' (Hs) = *derúkw* m., pl. *dírkwa* 'Wassertrog aus Lehm neben der Zisterne, zum tränken des Viehes' (Re) = *déruk*, pl. *dérk*^{w}*a* 'Wassertrog' (Al) = *o'deruk* id. (Mu)
Cu: (C) **dädaq*^{w}*a* (Appleyard 2006: 102) > Bilin *däräq*^{w}*a* 'black earth from which pots are made', Qwara *dax*^{w}*a*, ?Khamir *rəq*^{w}*a* 'Ton(erde), Lehm' (Re; see also Appleyard 1984: 48), cf. Gurage *č̣əqara* 'mud' (Ls) || (S) Asa *deregiyo* 'mud' (Ehret 1980: 360).
Appleyard (2006: 45, 103) analyses CCu **däd̠äq*^{w}*a* as the partial reduplication, where the simple root would be preserved in Qwara *dax*^{w}*a* and corresponds to ECu **d̠oqq-*/**č̣oqq-* > Som *d̠ooqo* 'muddy water'; Oromo *d̠oqqee*, Konso *d̠oqqeta*, Dirayta *č̣oqqa*; Gawwada *č̣ooqqo*/*k̠ooqo*; Yaaku *č̣oqon* 'wet' etc. Kemant *šəxa* and Awngi *čəqi* 'mud, clay' are borrowed from a source of the type Amh *č̣əqa*, which itself was adapted from some source close to Dirayta *č̣oqqa* or Gawwada *č̣ooqqo*. In any case, Beja *dirukw* must represent an adaptation of the reduplicated form close to Bilin *däräq*^{w}*a*.

u dirre^{h}, indet. *dirraab* 'plastischer Ton mit dem der Kochtopf gemacht wird' (Hs)
(1) Cu: (E) Afar *d̠arri* 'shale, argil' (PaHy); Sam **d̠eri* 'clay pot' (Heine 1978: 80) > Som *d̠eri* 'cooking pot of clay' (Ab), Boni *d̠erg* (He), Rend *d̠íri* 'clay pot' (He; Lamberti 1986: 345 has recorded Rendille *diri*); Arbore *d̠eeré* 'cooking pot (earthenware)' (Hy).
(2) ?Cu: (E) Sid, Kamb *dora* '(red) clay' (HG); ?Som *dooro* 'Schmutz' (Re); ?Oromo *duri* 'schmutzig' (Tutschek);
?Ch: (W) Gwandara *dora* 'dirt'.
The alternative (1) implies *d̠-* instead *d-* in Beja.

diwil, *dauwil* 'near', *diwil* v.1 'to be near, to appear' (Rp) = *dawil* 'proche' (Vh) = *dawúl*, *dawíl* besides *dalíw* 'nahe' (Re) = *diwuul* n.act. 'being close' (Wd); cf. *dawlaat* f., def.sg. *tudawla*, def.pl. *tidawla* and *teediwal* 'country' (Wd)
Reinisch (1895: 72) connected it with Ar *ǧiwār* 'neighbourhood' (Sg 252) and Kunama *dawla*, *doola* 'nähe, nahe'. The latter comparison is certainly correct; it remains to determine a donor-language. The first parallel is apparently incorrect.

u duwaar, pl. *i duwer* ‘Zeltlager’ (Hs) = *duwéer* m., pl. *-a* ‘Verwandtschaft, Geschlecht, Stamm, Tribus’ (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *duwwār* ‘kreisförmiges Beduin-Zeltlager’ (Hess 1919: 212) and not from *ǧawwār* ‘farmer, peasant’ (Sg 252) how proposed Reinisch (1895: 72).

?*te dai* ‘moon’ (Salt), compatible perhaps only with *ondjim* id. (Bu)
If these old and apparently inexact records reflect a word different from the usual denotation of ‘moon, month’, viz. *tirig* m. ‘month’, *tirig* f. ‘month’ (Hu), in older records with voiced *d-*: *the dirik* (Kc) = *o’ědrik* (Mu), they can be compared with ECu (Macro-Somali) counterparts: Som *day*(*y*)*ax* ‘moon’, dial. Qallaafo *daynyax*, Rendille *yeyaḥ* (Heine 1981: 199 reconstructed PSam **záy*(*y*)*àḥ*); Bayso *diginni* id. (Nuuh and Ehret 1985: 252–257). Outside Cushitic, there is a possible cognate in Masa (CCh) *ndai* ‘Sterne’ (Lk). Doubtful.

doi m., pl. *doiyạ* ‘path’ (HuB) = Am *doy* ‘road’ (Star) = *ẹẹ dọọy* ‘die grosse Wüstenstrasse’ (Hs) = Bi *dooiă* pl. ‘vie’ (Huber 1898; see Cifoletti 1994: 61)
?Cu: (E) Som *daw* ‘way, path’ (Luling) = *dáu* ‘method, direction’ (Ab) = ‘Weg, Strasse’ (Re); Burji *daw*(*w*)*-a* ‘way, path’, Sid *doogo* ‘road’ (Sasse 1982: 54; Hudson 1989: 124 reconstructed PHECu **doogo* and included here Hadiyya *googo* id. without any explanation of the different initials; it seems better to assume two words for ‘path/road’: (i) **daw-*, (ii) **goog-* [see below apud *giig*], contamined in Sid *doogo*).
Note: Reinisch (1902: 120) compared Som with Nile Nubian, concretely Old Nobiin ⲁⲁⲅ, Mahas *dáwi* ‘way, road’ (Murray 1923: 32 connected the Nubian forms with Central Sudanic Bagirmi *dobu*).

dayaayt f., def.sg. *tudayaay*, def.pl. *tidayay* ‘ground’ (Wd) = *dayay* f., pl. *deeay* ‘earth, ground’ (HuB) = Am *daiyay* ‘earth, ground’ (Star) = *tu däyaay*, indet. *däyaayt*, pl. *ti deyey* ‘Erde, Land’ (Hs) = *dáya* f. ‘ebene, weite Fläche, Land’ (Re) = [*to*]*tayáh* ‘Erde’ (Km)
?Cu: (C) Khamir *dáadaa* ‘Wüste, Steppe, der freie Raum ausserhalb des Dorfes’ (Re); (E) ?Afar *daada* ‘piece of land for cultivation, plot of land’ (PaHy); Bayso *dida* ‘plain, flat country’ (Fleming 1964: 53) = *diida* ‘plain’ (Hy); Oromo: Borana, Orma, Waata *diida* ‘plains, fields, savanna; outside’ (Stroomer).
Lit.: Reinisch (1884: 352) Khamir + Oromo.
Note: Beja *dayay* is compatible with Khamir and ECu forms, if the rule **-dy-* > *-y-* operated in Beja. There is a good example in Beja *gwedi*, pl. *gwey* ‘eye’ (Al). Alternatively, the C + ECu forms can be explained as a result of reduplication.

ḍ

ḍ'(a) v.1/2 'to patch, to plaster (mud wall, garment, wound)' (Rp) = *doo'* m., pl. *dóo'a* 'Ton, Lehm, klebrige Masse', *doo'* (2) 'aus Lehm formen, Töpferei betreiben, bestreichen' (Re) = *doo'* '(auf)kleben' (Al)
Cu: (E) Som *ḍaaʕ* 'Schlamm, Kot, Ton, Lehm' (Re) || Dahalo *ɗóɗoʔa* 'mud' (To) = *ndodóʕo* id. (Eh);
Se: Ar *ṭāʔ* (*ṭ-w-ʔ*) 'mud', Gz *ṭeʔa* and *ṭeʕa* 'to besmear, anoint, cover over, plaster with mud' (Leslau 1987: 600).
Lit: Reinisch (1902: 125) Beja + Som + Gz.

tọọ ḍaa', indet. *ḍaa't*, pl. *tẹẹ ḍä'* 'Wasserloch im Felsen' (Hs)
?Cu: (E) Afar *ḍaḍḍaʕo* 'rock pool' (PaHy).

ḍ(ə)'aaš, *ḍaaš* m. 'cool wind from south in rainy season' (Rp) = *daš* m., pl. *d'hašo* 'wind preceding autumn rain' (Hu)
Om: (N) Male *čiiš-i* 'cold weather'; (S) Dime *čiič-* 'cloud, fog' (Hayward 1988: 266 reconstructs POm **č-*).

ḍib m., def.sg. *ooḍib*, def.pl. *eeḍib* 'time, period' (Wd) = *ḍib* in *u yiin ḍib* 'Westen, Sonnenuntergang' (Hs) = *too yíiṇ-ḍib* 'Sonnenuntergang, West', cf. *ḍib* v.2 'fallen, stürzen; untergehen (Sonne, Mond, Sterne)', *ḍuub* m., pl. *ḍib* ~ *d-* (Re) = *ḍib* 'to fall, set (sun, moon, stars)' (Vh) = *ḍib* and *dib* v.2 'to fall; set (sun)' (Rp) = *yin dib* 'sunset' vs. *dib* v.2 'to fall' (Hu) = *ḍibaa* 'to fall' (Wd).
Reinisch (1887: 95) compared it with Bilin *dibb* 'niederfallen, -stürzen'.

ḍeefáa, pl. *ḍéefa* 'porte' (Vh)

ḍhalayt f. 'charcoal, coal, ember, spark', def.sg. *tuḍhalay*, def.pl. *tiḍhalay* and *ḍhat* (Wd) = *ḍăhálay*, *ḍəhálay* f., pl. *ḍahálɛy* 'glowing ember' (Rp) = *d(ă)hlee* f. 'charcoal, coal' (HuB) = *dehaláay* f., pl. *dehaláy* 'Kohle, Glutkohle' (Re) = *dháley* f. pl. '(Holz-)Kohlen' (Al)
Cu: ?(C) Khamir *ẓildena* 'Kohle' (Re) || (E) **ċilḥ-* ~ **ċulḥ-* 'charcoal' (Sasse 1979: 22, 26, 30; Id. 1982: 104) > Saho *dilheno* 'Glutkohle' (Re), Afar *dikiiḥin* 'hot coals' (PaHy); Som *duxul*, Ashraf *dhuxul*, May, Tunne *dhọhọl*, Dabarre, Jiddu *dhuhul*, Garro *dhulah*, Boni Kilii *ulah*; Rendille *jilax* 'Holzkohle' (Lamberti 1986: 347; he reconstructed 'Old Somali' **ḍyulax-*); Oromo *ċil-ee* 'charcoal', Konso *ḍil-a*, D'irayta *ḍilh-a*; Dullay: Harso-Dobase, Gollango *ḍilḥ-e* 'Holzkohle' (AMS); Burji *il-i* 'ember'; Yaaku *ṭééh-ó* 'charcoal' (He) || Dahalo *ṭíliha* 'embers' (Eh).

ḍéekʷa m. ‘Tonplatte zum Brotbacken’ (Re)
The potential parallels can be organised according to the various original initials, viz. dental (1), glottalized dental (2), glottalized affricate (3):
(1) Cu: ?(C) Qwara *daxʷa* ‘Ton(erde)’ (Reinisch 1887: 111 connected it with Bilin *däraqʷa* id.) || Dahalo *ɗoḳḳe* ‘dust, mud’ (Elderkin);
Ch: (C) Nakatsa *ùdɨywa* ‘large water pot’, Zeghwana *nduɣwè* id., Glavda *ńdùɣwà* id.; Fali Gili *dəɣo* id., Higi Kamale *dùɣwì* ‘cooking pot’ (Kr);
(1) or (2) PBe **(w)a-/(w)i-d/ḍuqq-i* > (N) Shilha *ideqqi* ‘argile à poteries’; (E) Ghadames *ūḍəššḭ* (Lanfry) id. = *oudhetchi/uḍeč̣č̣i* (Calassanti-Motylinski), see Vycichl (1990: 40);
(2) Cu: (E) **ḍoḳḳ-* > Som *dhooq-o* ‘turbid water, mud’ (Ab); Oromo *ḍoqq-ee* ‘mud; excrement from horse or cow’ (Gg), Maca and Borana *dhoq-e*, Guji *doq-e* ‘mud’ (LVC), Konso *ḍooq-eta* ‘mud’ (Bl); Dullay: Gollango-Gawwada *ḍoqqolo* ‘Schlamm’ (AMS); Burji *ḍoḳḳ-ée* ‘mud, swamp’ (Sasse 1982: 65);
(3) Cu: (C) **caɣʷ-* (~ **-qʷ-*) > Bilin *šaqʷa*, Khamir *cawa*, Kemant *saɣʷa* ‘dung’ (Appleyard 1984: 36) || (E) **ç̣oḳḳ-* > D’irayta *ç̣oḳḳ-a* ‘mud’ (Bl); Dullay: Gawwada *ç̣ooqq-o* id. (Ss), Tsamakko *č̣́oo̱q-e* ‘mud’ (Hy); Burji *ç̣óḳḳ-ee* ‘excrements of horse or mule’ (Sasse 1982: 49);
Ch: (W) NBauchi: Warji *ç̣akwan-na* ‘small beer pot’ (Skinner) || (C) Fali Gili *tsàxwa* ‘small water pot’ (Kr) || (E) Bidiya *cookíyà* ‘grand vase’ (Alio) (Stolbova 1996: 47 reconstructs PCh **č̣ako*).

ḍọọm ‘Norden, unter, tiefer gelegen’, *ḍọọmaab* ‘nördlich’ (Hs) = *ḍóme* m. ‘der Norden’ (Re) = *ḍóome* m. ‘Norden’ (Al) = *dome-* ‘Nord’ (Li); cf. *ḍomaa* ‘to go east’ (Wd)
Probably identical to *ḍoom* ‘downhill, under’ (Vh), cf. adv. *ḍom* ‘downhill, downstream’, a derivative of the *ḍom* v.2 ‘to move downhill’ (Rp) = *ḍoom* adv. ‘downhill’, *ḍoomaa* ‘to move down’ (Wd). Other parallels can be perhaps found in HECu: Gedeo *ḍi’mo* ‘deep (of water)’, Sid *diime* ‘deep (esp. river)’ (HG).
Another, but less probable possibility consists in a borrowing from Gz *ḍim* ‘left’ < *ḍəgm* (Leslau 1987: 149).

ɖaw ‘forêt, jungle’ (Vh) = *daiw* m., pl. -å ‘khor with trees in it, forest’ (HuB)

f

fai ‘water course (small tributary)’ (HuB)

fuu’ m., pl. *fi* ‘smell’ (n.), cf. *fu* v.2 ‘to smell’, n. act. *fu’ti* (HuB) = *fi* m. pl. ‘air’ (Rp) = *fuu’* m., pl. *fi’* ‘Geruch’, cf. *fi’* v.2 ‘riechen, Geruch verbreiten’ (Re), and further n. act. *fú’ti/e* m. ‘Riechen’ (Al)
Ehret (1987: #185) compared it with Qwadza (SCu) *fi’-* ‘to sniff’. Onomatopoetic.

tu faaḍiʰ, indet. *faaḍiit* 'vom Meer zeitweise überschwemmten Teil oder Bucht der Küste (blindes Ende eines Wâdī-Armes)' (Hs)
Borrowed from Ar *fayḍ* 'Fluss oder Wasser, das über die Ufer tritt', cf. ʕôtêbic *fêḍe* 'grosse Verbreitung eines Wâdīs in einer Ebene, indem sich dasselbe in mehrere Rinnsale auflöst' (Hess 1919: 212).

Am *fufeen* 'wind' (Star)
Derived from the verb *fuuf* v.2 'to blow' (Rp) = *fuufaa* 'to blow (up)' (Wd).

Am *fugir* 'wind which comes from the North' (Star)

faham m., def.sg. *oofham* 'charcoal, coal' (Wd) = *faa*(*h*)*m* m. 'charcoal' (HuB) = *faháam* m., pl. *fahám* and *faam* m., pl. *fam* 'Kohle' (Re) = *fam* m. '(Holz-) Kohlen' (Al)
Borrowed from Ar *faḥm* or Ti *fäḥam* 'charcoal' (Leslau 1987: 157)

o̱o̱ fej, indet. *fäjaab*, pl. *i fäjäʰ* 'Klus, tiefer Einschnitt zwischen zwei Bergen von einiger Breite, nicht Wâdī' (Hs)
Borrowed from Ar *faǧǧ* 'broad valley path; saddle of mountain, defile, pass' (Sg 775), dial. (Yemen) *feǧǧ* 'pass (in hills)' (Hess 1919: 212).

fájr, *fadl*, *fádĭl* 'dawn, early morning' (Rp) = *fajír* m., pl. -a 'Morgen, Morgendämmerung' (Re) = Am *fajr*, Hadendoa *fadl* 'dawn' (Star) = *phâdjir* 'Morgen' (Se); cf. *fajir* m. 'morning prayer' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *faǧr* 'first light of the morning' (Sg 776) or Ti *fäjr* 'the (next) morning' (LH 674).

filfuu f. and *filfit* m. 'ground too hot to walk on, place where fire has been' (HuB)

fara'a̱ m., pl. *fara* (~ *fela̱*) 'difficult pass over mountain range' (HuB) = *far'a* f., dim. *fal'a* and falas f. 'agaba', i.e. 'negotiable path over hill', *liiliitît fál'a* 'corner of eye' (could it correspond to *fála* f. 'Augapfel' recorded by Reinisch?), *yáfiit fál'a* 'corner of mouth' (Rp) = *tu farä'*, indet. *farä't* 'die oberste einer Gebirgsstrasse' (Hs)
Borrowed from Ar *farʕa*, *farʕā?* 'der höchste Teil der Straße, die Stelle, wo sie endet' (Hess 1919: 212).

farhå m. 'clouds that white, on top of rain clouds' (HuB)

feter m., pl. *-å* 'name of the last two months of year', *fitrå* f. 'end of Ramadan with giving of alms' (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *fiṭr* 'breaking of the fast, feast following the month of Ramadan', *fiṭrat* 'alms, sacrifice' (Sg 769).

g

gáa'ra, *gár'a*, *gara* f. 'Hofraum, Raum um das Haus mit einer Umzäunung versehen' (Re) = *to'gara*, acc. *garat* 'Hof, Umzäunung' (Mu)
Borrowed from Ti *qaʕrät* 'Hofraum' (Re), cf. also Ty *qərʕat* id. and borrowed Bilin and Saho *qaʕrät* id., of the same origin (Reinisch 1887: 239; 1890: 230). The closest cognate to EtSe appears in Soqotri *qáʕer* 'maison, intérieur' (Leslau 1938: 380; 1979: 288; cf. Dolgopolsky 1973: 317) while Ar *qaʕr* 'bottom, ground, depth, pit' (Sg 847) differs in semantics.

giblạ f. 'direction of Mecca' (HuB) = *gabal* 'direction' (Vh) = *gíbla* f. 'der Nord, Direktion nach Mekka' (Re) = *te'gible* pl. 'der Nord' (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar *qibla* 'side towards which one turns, especially in prayer, direction of Mecca' (Sg 818).

gedi ~ *gegi/ŭ* ~ *gihă* m. 'pole-star' (HuB) = Am *igedi and gygi* 'Polar star' (Star) = *jaj'i*, *jɛ j(ʿ)i* m. id. (Rp) = *u ğaǧu*^{h} 'Polarstern' (Hs)
Borrowed from Ar *ğady*, pl. *ğidyān*, *ğadāyat* 'kid, he-goat; Capricorn', *ğudayy* 'polar star' (Sg 224), dial. (ʿÖteb) *el-ğedī* (Hs); cf. Gz *gadey* 'Capricorn' (sign of a zodiac) (Leslau 1987: 183).

gedím m., pl. *gídma* 'Rand, Seite, Ufer' (Re)
Is it a cognate of or a borrowing from EtSe: Gz *gədm* 'side, direction, breadth, transversal side', Ti *gədəm* 'edge, side', Ty *gədmi* 'side, flank', Amh *gədm* 'width, horizontal road' (Leslau 1987: 183)? The EtSe forms are isolated within Semitic; that is why their (Central) Cushitic origin is probable, cf. Bilin *gədum* 'Seite, Rand, Ufer' (with a 'Semitic' pl. *agdaam*), Khamir *gidem-š* 'ausgestreckt liegen' (Re). Ehret (1987: #44) compared the Beja and CCu forms with ECu **gudm-* 'shoulder' > Oromo *gurm-uu*; Burji *gudúm-a*, Hadiyya *gudum-o* (Sasse 1982: 85). Saho *gadim* 'Breite, Weite, Ausdehnung; Seite, Rand, Ecke' (Re) is borrowed from an EtSe source, maybe via CCu.

gídiimha, *gídɛmha* adv. 'last year' (Rp) = Am *gidemha* 'last year' (Star)
A compound consisting of *gidh*(*i*) 'beyond, behind' (Rp), plus *mase* f. 'year' (HuB)?

gaaf m., pl. *gǎf* 'dregs' (Rp)
Could it be connected with *gaaf* v.2 'to leave an unconsumed portion of food or drink' (Rp) or with *geef*, pl. *gaf* 'Flussufer' (Re)?

geef m., def.sg. *oogeef*, def.pl. *igeefa* 'river bank, bay' (Wd) = *ọọ gẹẹf*, indet. *gẹẹfaab*, pl. *i gẹẹfe*^{h} 'Steiufer des Nil und der Wâdīs' (Hs) = *geef* m., pl. *gaf* 'steiles Flussufer' (Re) = *geef* m., pl. *gǎf* 'steiles (Fluss-)Ufer' (Al)

Borrowed from Sudan Ar *gêf* 'steiles Flussufer', cf. Upper Egypt Ar *qêf* 'steile Felswand' (Hess 1919: 212).

giig m., def.sg. *oogiig* 'departure, passage', *giigaa* 'to go, leave' (Wd) = *giig* m., pl. *-a* 'Gang, Weggang, Abreise', *giig* v.2 'fort-, weggehen' (Re) = *giig* 'to go away' (HuB) = *giig* v.2 'to go; be about; die' (Rp) = *giig* '(fort)gehen' (Al) = *o'gig* 'Gang', *giigya* 'gehen', caus. *gigisya* 'schicken' (Mu) = *gîkszetene* 'ich verkaufe' (Se)
Cu: (C) Bilin *gug* 'Weg' (Re), Khamta *g^{w}əg* (CR) || (E) Had *googo* 'road', Kamb *goggoo* (Ce);
Om: (S) Ari, Galila *goog-í* 'road' (Be);
Ch: (W) Bolewa *goggo*, Dera *gokò* 'road', ?Tangale *wokò* 'path' (Kr).

gigiiri f. 'island' (HuB), besides *jadiira* id. (Nakano and Tsuge) = *jasire* 'Insel' (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧazīra*, pl. *ǧazā?ir* 'island' (Sg 233).

gagerhuš and *garhuuš* m. 'granite that is disintegrating' (HuB) = *garhuuš* m., def. sg. *ugarhuuš*, def.pl. *igarhuuša* 'sand stone' (Wd) = *u gerhuuš*, pl. *i gerhiš* 'zerfallener (verwitterter) Granit oder Sandstein' (Hess 1919: 212 also quoted ʿAbâbde [an Ar dialect of the Upper Egypt] *qerhûš*, pl. *qärāhîš*) = *auêb garhúš* 'Sandstein, mürber Stein' (Lp) = *gagerhuš* 'verwitterter Granit' (Mu)
Especially the form *gagerhuš* indicates an old compound, where the first component could be identified with Ti *gərgər* 'limestone, cliff, rock', Amh *gärgara* 'kind of stone to sharpen the scythe' (Leslau 1982: 30), while the second component resembles Beja *haaš* 'Sand, Staub' (Re).

ṭọọ gel, indet. *gelt*, pl. *ti gele^{h}* 'Wasserloch im Felsen' (Hs)
Probably borrowed from Ar *qalt* 'mountain-cave with water' (Sg 852), ʕõtêbic dzelte etc. (Hess 1919: 212); on the other hand, there are Gz *gol* 'cave' (Ls 1987: 189) and Saho-Afar *galaba*, pl. *galoob* 'Höhle, Felsenhöhle, Loch' (Re) = Afar *gabla*, pl. *gàboolu* 'cave' (PaHy) which are alternatively comparable with Beja.
There are also interesting NS parallels: Kenzi *gọ̲l-di* 'hole', Gulfan *kol-do* 'well'; Bagirmi *gulu* 'cave, waterhole' (Murray 1923: 63, 110), but the Arabic connection seems to be more probable.

gil m., pl. *-a* 'Grenze; bis (zu)' (Re) = *-gil* 'bis' (Al); cf. Am *gilhan* 'edge' (Star)?
Reinisch (1895: 95) compared it with Old Nobiin *kel* 'limit, end, boundary', Kenzi-Dongola *keel* id., *-keel-ir* 'at the edge of' etc. (Murray 1923: 95).
Less probable seems the solution of Zyhlarz (1933: 178, #112) proposing a comparison with Eg (Pyr) *ḏ̲rw* 'Ende, Grenze' (Vycichl 1983: 147, 219).

gál'a f. 'Festung, Burg' (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *qalʕa* 'fortress, fortification, castle' (Sg 853).

gaaliigay m., pl. *gaaliigee* ‘mountain path’ (HuB)

gimạ m. ‘mist’ (HuB) = *gimt* f., def.sg. *toogim*, def.pl. *teegim* ‘cloud’ (Wd) = *geem*, *giim* m., pl. *géema*, *gíima* ‘Nebel, Wolke’ (Re) = *o’gim* ‘Nebel’ (Mu)
Probably of EtSe origin, cf. Gz *gime*, *gum* ‘fog, cloud, dampness, mist, vapour’, Ti *gim* ‘fog, cloud’, Ty *gime*, *gəmä* ‘cloud, mist’, Amh *gum* ‘fog, mist’ etc. (Leslau 1987: 193), although a lw. from Ar *ġaym* ‘cloud’, which has an exact correspondent in Syrian *ʕaymā* ‘mist, fog, cloud’, is also not excluded.

gimạ f. ‘Friday’ (HuB) = *gím’a* and *gúm’a* f. ‘Freitag’ (Re) = *gúma* f. ‘Freitag’ (Al) = *gíma* ‘Woche’ (Km) = *tegümma* (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧumʕa* ‘week’, (*yawm*) *al-ǧumuʕa* and *ǧumaʕa* ‘Friday’ (Sg 245). Cf. also the palatal variant *jumaa’* and *jimaa’* id. (Rp).

gannạ f. ‘paradise, heaven’ (HuB) = *jannaat* f., def.sg. *tujanna*, def.pl. *tijanna* ‘paradise’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧanna* ‘garden, orchard; paradise’ (Sg 247). See also *dinna* ‘paradise’ (HuB).

Am *gunub* ‘coastal area, Red Sea hills’ (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧanūb* ‘south’ or *ǧanb*, pl. *ǧunūb* ‘coast, boundary, region’ (Sg 248–249).

gar ‘west’ (Hu) = [*o*]*ghar* ‘West’ (Bu)
Identical with the following entry. The expected *-ab* or *-eb* was reinterpreted as the accusative ending.

gereb m., with art. *oo ngereb* = *engereb* m., pl. *engrebạ* ‘evening, west’ (HuB) = *giirab* m., def.sg. *ungiirab* ‘evening, west’, def.pl. *ingiiraba* ‘evenings’, and *girab*, *ingirab* m., def.sg. *w’ingirab*, *oograb* (Wd) = *garíb* m., pl. *gárba* ‘West, Sonnenuntergang’, *engeráb*, pl. *éngreba* ‘Abend, West’, *mágreb* m., pl. *-a* id. (Re) = *gerab* m. ‘evening’ (Rp) = Am *gerab* ‘sunset’ (Star) = *engĕreeb* ‘Abend’ (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar *ġarb* and *maġrib* ‘sunset, west’.

Am *an-gareeb*, *angi* ‘Great Bear’ (Star)
Lit. ‘bedstead’, cf. *angáre*, acc. *angareb* ‘native bedstead’ (Rp) = *aṅgarée*, acc. *-b* ‘tragbares Bettgestell’. Reinisch (1895: 24) derived it from Ar *maqrī* ‘lectus’.

garáabi f., pl. *-a* ‘footpath’ (Rp) = *garabi* ‘chemin’ (Vh) = *geráabi* f., pl. *geráabya* ‘Fussweg durch die Wüste’ (Re) = *geráabi* f., pl. *-ya* ‘Wüstenweg’ (Al) = *garbiit* f., def.pl. *tigarbi* ‘path, way in the desert’; cf. *gaar’ib* ‘on foot’ (Hu)

Probably connected with Ti *gärab* 'road', Ty *gʷärbi* 'stony road' (Leslau 1982: 29). Reinisch (1895: 100) compared the Beja word with Ar *ġaraba* 'to pass away, disappear, depart', *ġurba* 'long journey, exile, emigration' (Sg 749).

girbạ m. 'foreign country', perhaps related to *gerabi* f. 'distance', *gerbenda* c. 'people inhabiting any distant country' and/or *girbib* 'dwelling to the west of the River; strange, foreign', apparently derived from *gereb* 'west' (HuB) = *gwirbaat* f., def.sg. *tugwirba* 'strange place' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ġurba* 'foreign country' (Sg 749).

gurbeebi m. 'mountain ridge' (HuB)

Am *gerdaga* 'salty earth' (Star)

gárha f. 'der Acker' (Re) = *gara* 'village, yard, enclosure' (HuB)
Borrowed from EtSe: Gz *garha* 'plough', *garāht, garh* 'field, arable land, farm, estate', Ti *gärhat* 'field', Ty *gərat*, pl. *gərahəw* (Leslau 1987: 202).

giriʃ 'argent' (Vh)

gas m. 'wave of sea' (HuB).

gos f., pl. *-a* 'bouldery hill with sand powdered base: moving sandhills' (Rp)
Cu: (E) **ge(e)š-* > Afar *gas-o* 'fence, wall'; Sid *geeša* 'fino a' (Mo), Burji *jees-a* 'border' (Sasse 1982: 110);
Om: (N) Kafa *gašo* 'river bank, edge, border', *geš* 'towards' (Ce).
Takács (EDE I: 225) adds Som *gees* m. 'side, corner, edge; horn', f. 'direction, side', adv. 'sideways' (Luling) ||| Eg (PyrT) *gs* 'side' (Wb. V: 191–194) ||| Se **giśś-* 'side, body' > Akk *giššu* 'hip, flank', post-Bib Hb *gäsäs*, Judaic Aram *gīsəsā* 'side, arm', Syriac *gessā* 'coxa, latus', Arabic of Daṭina *ǧišša* 'cadavre, corps mort', Mehri *gəśśēt* 'body, corpse', Jibbali *géśśt* 'side' (SED 90–91), but without the Beja example.

gestíir m. 'Zinn' (Re and Al) = *gestir* id. (Mu) = *kastir* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *qaṣdir* 'tin' (Sg 839) or from Ti *gasṭīr* id. (LH 581).

gw'ad m. 'side; eye, loop, noose, bud, spring of water; v.1 'to watch' (Rp) = *gwod* m., pl. *gwad* 'side, edge, margin; eye, spring of water; v.1 'to watch' (HuB) = *gwaad* and *kwaad* m., pl. *gwád* 'Rand, Seite', *gwad* and *gwaj* m., pl. *-a* 'Auge, Gesicht, Quelle' (Re) = *o'guedy*, pl. *e'guey* 'Auge' (Mu)
Cu: (C) **gʷədŋ/*gʷadŋ* 'side' (Ehret 1987: #59) || (E) Som *gawdi, goodi* 'Rand, Saum, Borte' (Re) || (S) **gʷeʔed-* (Ehret 1980: 372) > Asa *gideʔe* 'ribs'; Qwadza *geʔelito*; Iraqw *gweʔdo* 'anus' (Eh) = 'buttocks' (Ki);

Ch: (W) Bolewa *gàʔìdɪ* ‘face’ (Kr).
Note: The SCu and Bolewa parallels confirm Roper’s record *gw’ad*. A primary semantics could be ‘face’.

gwaab ‘plaine’ (Vh) = *gwob* m., pl. *gwo̱b* ‘heap of stones in the bed of a khor’ (HuB) = *gwãb* m./f. (with a dim. function) ‘broad open flat ground with little or no vegetation’ (Rp) = *o̱o̱ ngʷaab*, indet. *ingʷaab*, pl. *e̱e̱ ngʷåb* ‘flache, steinige Ebene’ (Hs); cf. *gaab* m., def.sg. *oogaab*, def.pl. *igaaba* def.pl. ‘ground flat, no vegetation’ (Wd)
Cu: (E) **gub*(*b*)- > Afar *gubb-i* ‘high spot in undulating country’; Dasenech *gum* ‘mountains’, Oromo *gubb-aa* ‘up, above’; Dullay: S’aamakko (Hy) *g’up-o*, Harso *gúpo* ‘mountain’; Burji *gúbb-a* ‘highland’ (Sasse 1982: 85) || Dahalo *gúβa* ‘plains’ (Ehret 1980: 238);
Ch: (C) Gava *ɣuɓà*, Nakatsa *ɣùba* ‘mountain’ (Kr);
Eg (Pyr) *gbb* ‘Erdgott; Erde, Erdboden’ (Wb. V: 164);
Se: Mehri *gōbi* ‘side of mountain’, East Jibbali *gɛ̄* id. (Jh).
Note: The semantic difference ‘mountain’ or ‘highland’ vs. ‘plain’ is not unusual, cf. Bulgarian *planina* ‘mountains’ vs. Czech *planina* ‘plain’.

gwoon m., def.sg. *oogwoon*, def.pl. *igwoona* ‘dunes’ (Wd)

Hdd and Bi *gwineb* ‘the land east of the crest of the Red Sea hills’ (BG) = *gwinéb* m. sg. ‘all the land to the east of the crest of the Red Sea’ (Rp)

Am *gwar arawe* ‘big deep well’ (Star)

h

haab m. ‘a red earth of which the sun-dried mud is impervious to water’ (Rp)

hoob m. ‘time’, *na hoob* ‘when?’ (HuB) = *hoob* ‘temps’ (Vh) = *hoob* m., def.sg. *whu* ‘time, season’ (Wd) = *hob* 1. ‘time, period’, cf. *gál hob* ‘once’, *ón hob* ‘at this present time’, 2. ‘when’, used as suffix to verb, cf. *barúu-tamián-hob* ‘when he ate’ (Rp, cf. § 147) = *hoob* 1. ‘Zeit, Mal, vices’, cf. éngal hoob ‘einmal’, *mallée hoob* ‘zweimal’; 2. ‘als, da, nachdem, während’ (in Temporalsätzen, see Reinisch 1894: §107) (Re) = *hoob* postp. ‘als, nachdem’ (Al)
Reinisch (1895: 107) connected it with Ar *sabba* ‘time’, Gz *soba* ‘when, at that time, then’ and Nile Nubian *šóobe* ‘Zeit’. Leslau (1987: 482) added Ty *sabu* and *šabu* ‘then’ and an overview of etymologies of the Semitic words. In spite of the suggestive semantic proximity, without a convincing explanation of the development from Se *s* to Beja *h* this solution cannot be accepted.

habi m. 'dusty wind' (HuB) = Am *habahai* 'hot east wind' (Star)
Is it connected with *hibi* f. 'early autumn, rainy season on plains' (HuB)?

hibi 'early autumn, rainy season on plains' (HuB) = *hibiit* f., def.sg. *tuhibi* 'rainy season, starting June', and *hubiit* f., def.sg. *tuhubi*, def.pl. *tihubi* 'rainy season' (Wd) = Am *hubeet* 'autumn' (Star) = *hibe* m. 'rainy season (July to mid Sept)', f. 'rainy season, rain or rainfall during that season', *hibɛb* v.1 'to spread the rainy season' (Rp) = *húbi* f. pl. 'Regenzeit, Herbst' (Al) = *te'hebi* 'Regenzeit' (Mu) = *tohût* id. (Se)
Cu: (E) Burji *haburšó* (HG) = *hubúrši* 'flood' (Sa) || (S) Qwadza *hubuko* 'rain' (Ehret 1980: 384);
Eg *ḥbb.t* (Med) 'frisches Flusswasser', (NK) 'Stelle des Flusses aus der man trinkt; Urwasser; Wasser' (Wb. III: 63; Faulkner 1981: 167).

hebbi 'foam, froth, scum' (HuB) = *hibibt* f., def.sg. *tuhibib*, and *hububt* f., def.sg. *tuhubub* 'foam, froth' (Wd) = Ammar'ar *hubbáat*, st. det. *tị́ húbba* id. (Do) = *hibib* f., pl. *hibba* 'foam, froth' (Rp) = *hebíb* f., pl. *híbba* 'Schaum' (Re) = *tehübba* id. (Se)
Cu: (E) **ḥumb-* (LECu by Black 1974: 107, but the cognate in Kamb allows to extend the level of the reconstruction) > Saho *ḥembo* 'froth, foam' (We) = *hinbó* ~ *himbó* 'Schaum, Geifer' (Re), Afar *ḥimbo* 'bubbles, froth' (PaHy); Som and Rendille *ḥúmbo* 'froth' (Heine 1981: 189 reconstructed pSam **ḥúmbò*); Or Wellega *hoomacca* 'foam' (Gg); Kamb *humbi* 'foam' (Ls);
Om: (N) Kafa *umbo* 'schiuma' (Ce), see Dolgopolsky (1973: 152) who connected Cu and Kafa.

hubaal 'viele und schwierige Sanddünen' (Hs)
Borrowed from Ar *ḥabl*, pl. *ḥibāl* and *ḥubūl* 'far-stretching sand-hill' (Sg 262; cf. Hess 1919: 214).

had m., pl. *-a* 'boundary, limit, frontier', *o rbai had* 'foot of mountain' (HuB) = *hadd* m., def.sg. *whadd*, def.pl. *yhadda* 'location, site', cf. *haddoyt* f., def.sg. *tuhaddooy* 'limit' (Wd) = *haddi*, *haddo* 'limit, boundary, extent' (Rp) = *ọọ had* 'Fuss des Berges resp. die Ebene, die unmittelbar an ihm liegt' (Hs) = *haad* m., pl. *-a* 'die Ebene, das Flachland; Grenze, bis zu/hin' (Re) = *had* 'until (e.g. tomorrow)' (Wd) = *o'hadd* 'Ebene' (Mu)
Reinisch (1895: 108) compared the form meaning 'Ebene' with Ar *hadūd* 'plain; steep precipice' (Sg 1169) while the latter meaning was connected with Ti *ḥadda* 'to delimit', *ḥad* 'aim, limit; till, about, because of', Ar *ḥadda* 'begrenzen' (LH 96), *ḥadd* 'limit, boundary' (Sg 266). But there are also promising ECu parallels: Burji *hádd-a* 'middle, centre; between', *urranánda hádda* 'hollow between mountains', Oromo (*h*)*add-a* 'fronte, frontone' (Borello) = Borana *adda* 'forehead' (Stroomer), see Sasse (1982: 89). A confusion of the genuine Cushitic word and Semitic borrowings?

had m. ‘Sunday’ (HuB) = *hadt* f., def.sg. *toohad*, def.pl. *teehad* ‘Sunday’ (Wd) = *haḍ* f. ‘Sunday’ (Rp) = *had* ‘erster’, only in *had yiin* or *had embí’* ‘Sonntag’ (Re) = Am *haṭ* ‘Sunday’ (Star) = *tachát* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *yawm al-ʔaḥad* ‘Saturday’, lit. ‘day-the one’ (Sg 1242), cf. Ar dial. (Upper Egypt) *yōm ilḥadd* id. (Nishio 1994: 277).

hooḍ ‘trou naturel d’un oued, réservoir, mare’ (Vh) = *hooḍ* m., def.sg. *whooḍ*, def.pl. *yhooḍa* ‘mud’, and *hood* m. ‘cistern, lake, puddle’ (Wd) = *hood* m., pl. *-a* ‘Teich, See’ (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ḥawḍ* ‘reservoir, cistern, watering-place’ (Sg 304).

hud f., pl. *hid* ‘thunder’, *hud* v.2 ‘to thunder’ (HuB) = *huudt* f., def.sg. *toohuud*, def.pl. *tihuuda* ‘thunder’, *huudaa* ‘to thunder’ (Wd) = Am *húud*, *hoot* ‘thunder’ (Star) = *huud* m., pl. *hiid* ‘Donnerschlag, Donnern’, *hída* f. Gekrach; Donner’, *huud di* v.1 ‘donnern’ (Re) = *huud* f. ‘Donner’ (Al) = *te’hud* id. (Mu) = *to hût* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ti *hədūd* ‘thunder’, *hadda* ‘to thunder’ (LH 26), related to Ar *hadd* ‘destruction’, *hadda*, *hudda* ‘crash of ruin’ (Wahrmund I.2: 1104; Sg 1167).

híd’a and *héd’a* f. ‘Versteck, Höhle, Räuberlager’ (Re)
Borrowed from EtSe, cf. Gz *ḫəzʔat* and *ḫəzʔat* ‘hiding place, den, lair, retreat, enclosure’, Ti *ḥazʔat* ‘reserved pasture’ (Leslau 1987: 252). Bilin *hedʔát* ‘Räuberlager’ (Re) is of the same origin.

hadíid m. ‘ferro’ (Ci); cf. *haddaadiib* m., def.sg. *whaddaadi*, def.pl. *yhaddaadi* ‘blacksmith’ (Wd)
Undoubtedly connected with TiBA *ḥadi:dat* ‘iron’ (Nakano and Tsuge). Cf. also Beja *haddáad* m. ‘fabbro’ (Ci) < Ar *ḥaddād* ‘blacksmith’ (Sg 266). The other information, see *endi* ‘iron’ (HuB).

hidim f. ‘light rain’ (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *hadma* ‘light rain’ (Sg 1169).

hafiir m., def.sg. *whafiir*, def.pl. *yhafiira* ‘well, water’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ḥafīr* ‘pit, cavity’ (Sg 287).

hog m. ‘lower land to which water flows, depth descent’ (HuB)
Cu: (E) Som *hog* ‘Grube, Loch, Höhle’ (Re) = ‘hole in the ground’ (Luling).

hagir m. ‘pool of water, shallow well’ (HuB) = *u hagir*, indet. *hàgraab*, pl. *i hagire*^{h} ‘Tümpel im Wâdī-Bette’ (Hs) = Suakin *o-hăgĭr* ‘pool’ (Th)

hagaay m., def.sg. *whagaayi* 'summer time', *hagiya* 'to spend the hot season' (Wd) = *haɡáay* m. 'Sommer, heißeste und trockene Jahreszeit' (Re) = *haggai* (with art.) 'the past summer', (without art.) 'the coming summer', *măhagay* m. 'summer' (HuB) = *məhagay* m. 'the hot season in May and June', *imhagay* 'in summer', cf. v.1 *hagi* 'to spend the hot weather' (Rp)
Cu: (C) Bilin *ħagay* 'dry season' (Ap) = *hagáay* 'die trockene Jahreszeit, Sommer' (Re), Khamir *ħiya*, besides *aya* 'Sommer, trockene Jahreszeit' (Re), Khamta *ḥagáay* id. (Re) || (E) **ḥagay-* 'rainy/dry season' (Sasse 1982: 89) > Saho *ḥagay*, Afar *ḥaagay* 'summer', Som *ḥagaa* 'dry season'; Oromo *hagay-y-a* 'wet season (June-July)' = SOromo (*h*)*agaya* '(season of the short) rains (Oct-Nov)', D'irayta *haakay-t*; Dullay: Harso, Dobase *ḥakay-te*, Gollango *ḥakay-té* 'Regenzeit' (AMS), Tsamakko *haq̣ay-te* 'month after the rain season' (Savà); Burji *hagáy-ee* 'second rainy season; short rains (April)', Had *hagey-y-ee* 'rainy season' (HG), Kamb *haguu*(*ha*) 'dry season' (HG);
EtSe: Gz *ḥagāy* ~ *ḫagāy* 'summer, dry season (Jan-March)', *ḥagaya* 'dry season', Ti, Ty *ḥagay* 'dry season', Amh (*h*)*agay* (Leslau 1987: 228).
The presence of the initial *ħ-* in Agaw indicates a borrowing from Ethio-Semitic (Appleyard 2006: 58). The absence of any cognates to the Ethio-Semitic words in other Semitic languages can also mean their foreign origin, probably from East Cushitic. The Beja forms can represent a common Cushitic heritage, but a borrowing via Tigre cannot also be excluded.

hójar m. 'period of the day from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.', cf. *hojar* v.2 'to set off in the heat of noontide' (Rp)
Borrowed from a source of the type Ar *haǧīr* 'Mittagshitze' (Wehr 905) or *haǧīra* 'hottest mid-day' (Sg 1167)?

u hakib, pl. *i hakbäʰ* 'Stufe, abfallende Stelle in der Strasse' (Hs)

(*w*)*hal* m. 'mud' (HuB)
?Cu: (E) Oromo *hola* 'hole in ground, ditch' (Sasse; Stroomer); Burji *hóoloo* 'ditch' (Sasse 1982: 100).

hɛlɛidiigwát f., pl. *-a* 'rainbow' (Rp)
Lit. 'hare's messenger'.

halham m. 'sandy foreshore' (Rp)
Is it connected with (*w*)*hal* m. 'mud' (HuB)?

hélla, *hílla* f. 'Dorf, Ortschaft' (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ḥilla* 'Absteigequartier, Dorf um 100 Zelten, Versammlung, Ort derselben' (Wahrmund I, 1: 540).

haláan adv. ‘jetzt’, *haláan-nee* ‘von jetzt an’ (Re)
Reinisch (1895: 117) derived it from Ar *al-ān* ‘now, at present’ (Sg 70).

héema f. 1. ‘Zelt’; 2. ‘Sternbild der Plejaden’ (Re) = *tehéma* ‘Zelt’ (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *ḫayma* ‘tent’ or EtSe, cf. Gz *ḫaymat* and *ḥaymat* ‘tent, tabernacle’, Ti *ḥaymät* ‘round hut made of ‘ (Leslau 1987: 269).

u ḥomi^{h}, indet. *ḥomiib* ‘Felswand’ (Hs)
There is a suggestive parallel in Hb *ḥômāh* ‘Stadtmauer, mur d’enceinte’ or Qatabanian *ṯḥmy* ‘mur’ (DRS 880), while the corresponding Ar counterpart *ḥāmiya* means ‘die schützende’ (Vergote 1965: 60). The historical circumstances of this connection remain puzzling.

Am *humā-* ‘rainbow of three colors’ (Star)
Could it be adapted from Ar *ḥumm*(*a*) ‘heat of midday’, *ʔaḥamm* ‘white’ etc. (Sg 295)?

hemni f. ‘afternoon’ (HuB) = *hamnii* f. ‘après-midi’ (Vh) = *himni* f. ‘late afternoon’ (Rp) = Am *himni* ‘afternoon’ (Star) = *humniit* f., def.sg. *tuhumni* ‘afternoon’ (Wd) = *húmnay* and *húmne* f. ‘der späte Nachmittag, die Zeit um Asser, Abend’ (Re) = *húmnay* ‘Nachmittags reisen (abreisen)’ (Al) = *hemeni*[*t*] ‘Abend’, *hemenáya* ‘Abends verreisen’ (Mu)
Cu: (E) Macro-Somali **hammeen* (Ehret 1987: #549) or **himmeen* (Heine 1978: 85 reconstructed pSam **hibéèn*) ‘night’ > Som *habeen* ‘night’, Jiddu *hamííŋ* id., Boni *hawéeŋ-ka* ‘this night’, Rendille *ibéen* ‘night’ (He), Bayso *hemeen* id. (HaLb); ?Dullay **ʔawn-e* ‘night’ > Harso-Dobase-Gollango-Gawwada *áwne* id. (AMS); Yaaku *aun* id. Apparently a derivative of **him-* continuing in Elmolo *híme* ‘darkness of a moonless night’ (He); Libido, Hadiyya *hiimo* ‘night, evening’ vs. *heemaca* ‘black’ (Korhonen et al. 1986: 82, 79) = Hadiyya *heemacca* ‘black’ (Hu). The corresponding forms also appear in Dahalo *híímane* ‘tomorrow’ vs. *hííma* ‘night’ (Tosco);
?Om: (N) Kafa *hana* ‘Abend’ (Re); Gimira: She *eehn* ‘notte’ (CR).

hamiis f. ‘Thursday’ (Rp) = *khamiist* f. id. (Wd) = *hamis* f., pl. *-a* ‘Donnerstag’ (Re) = *tamîs* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *ḫamīs* ‘Thursday’ (Sg 341).

hinint f., def.sg. *tuhinin* ‘antimonium’ (Wd)

har’ii adv. ‘after, afterward’, *har’a* postp. ‘end, after’ (Wd) = *harʔi* ‘après’ (Vh) = *har’íi* adv. and prep. ‘behind, after(wards), back’, *har’iinay* ‘that which is behind, hinder most the past’ (Rp) = (*h*)*ar’* adv., prep. and postp. ‘hinter, nach, hinten’,

cf. with the gen. in *-i*: *óo-gaw-hár*'-i 'hinter Hause', with pronom. suffixes: *har'-oo* 'hinter, nach mich', *har'-óok* 'hinter, nach dich' etc. (Re) = *ári*, *áre*, *éri* 'hinter, hinten, nach' (Al) = *erree* id. (Mu) = *arûk* 'hinter dich' (Km); cf. also *har'í* 'poppa' (Ci)
Probably borrowed from Ti *ḥar* 'behind, after that', cf. Soqotri *ḥer-hen* 'behind' etc. (LH 64–65; Leslau 1987: 13).

harbuub m., def.sg. *wharbuub*, def.pl. *yharbuuba* 'edge, riverbank' (Wd) = *harbuub* (~ *helbuub*) m. 'khor, small tributary, ravine' (HuB) is probably identical with *hirbub* m., pl. *hirbib* 'bed of river or khor' (HuB) = *hírba*, *hérbo*, *hárbo* m. 'Flussbett, Bucht, steiler Abhang, Hügel' (Re) = *hérbo* m. 'Einschnitt, kleine Bucht, Flussufer' (Al) = *hirba* m. 'Flussbett, khor' (Kc)
Perhaps related to ECu **ḥirrib-* (Sasse 1982: 105) > Som *ḥirrib* 'corner of the eye', CSom *hirrib* 'eyelid', Jiddu *hereefə* 'lip' (Lb); Oromo *hirrib-a* 'sleep', Konso *hirrip-a*, D'irayta *hirrip-itt*; Yaaku *hereb-an* 'eyebrow'; Burji *imbír-oo* 'eyelid' || Dahalo *ḥírifane*, pl. *ḥirífa* 'eyebrow' (Eh) or SOromo *hirba* 'heel; behind, following' (Stroomer) and Burji *hirba* 'back' (HG), cf. also Beja *hɛrbabam* 'to return, come back' (Rp). The semantic difference between 'shore' and 'edge/corner (of face, mouth, eye etc.)' is not insuperable, cf. Beja *daraag* 1. 'Wange', 2. 'Rand, Seite' (Re).

haruur m. 'hot wind' (HuB) = Am *haror* 'hot wind' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *ḥarūr* 'hot night-wind; heat of the sun' (Sg 274).

hasas m. 'gravel' (HuB)
It is tempting to connect this word with its Semitic counterparts where the closest cognates appear in Aram *ḥăṣăṣā*, Hb *ḥāṣāṣ* 'pebbles, gravel' (see *haš* below).

haš m. 'ground, earth' (HuB) = *haaʃ* 'terre (sol)' (Vh) = (*'u̲*) *haaš*, pl. (*'i̲*) *haš* 'earth' (Do) = *haaš* m., pl. *hăš* 'dust, earth, ground, land, country' (Rp) = *o̲o̲ haaš* 'Staub, zerriebene Erde, unreine Sand' (Hs) = *haaš* m. 'Sand, Staub' (Re) = *haaš* m. 'Staub' (Al) = *o'hash* 'Staub' (Mu) = Am *haš* 'country, ground' (Star) = [*oh*] *haasch* 'Erde' (Kc) = [*wu*]*hásch* (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 129) compared *haaš* with EtSe: Gz *ḫoṣā* 'sand, gravel', Ty *ḥoṣa* 'gravel', Ti *ḥoṣa*, Amh *haṣa* 'resembling coarse white sand' (cf. further Soqotri *ḥáṣaḥáṣihin* 'gravel', Aram *ḫăṣăṣā*, Hb *ḥāṣāṣ* 'pebbles, gravel', Akk *ḫiṣṣu*, see Leslau 1987: 266–267). The difference *š* : *ṣ* indicates that the Beja word is not borrowed from EtSe; it might be a cognate. More convenient cognates probably appear in SCu: Iraqw *hasaŋ*, Qwadza *hasinko* 'sand', Asa *hajat* 'id., earth' (Eh), although the correspondence of the second consonant is not quite clear. In ECu, D'irayta *huss* 'earth' (Bl), although isolated, can be related too. The CCu forms as Kemant and Khamir *ašäwa*, Qwara *ašawa* etc., are probably borrowed from an EtSe source of the type Amh *ašäwa* or Ty *ḥašäwa* 'sand', although they were probably at least in-

fluenced by a Cushitic substratum (cf. Appleyard 1977: 34). Bilin *quša* and Kafa *qaačo*, Bench *qaǰay* 'sand' are of different origin. On the other hand, at least some of the Chadic parallels quoted above (see *isse* 'sand') can be related to Beja *ha*(*a*)š, e.g. Ch: (W) Ankwe *héés*; Ron: Fyer *hós* (JgIb II: 280) || (C) Ngwaxi (Hf) *hashu* 'sand'.

hooš m., def.sg. *whooš*, def.pl. *yhooša* 'fence of thorn, courtyard' (Wd) = *hooš* m., pl. *-a* 'Hof, Hof-Raum um das Gehöfte, mit einem Dornenzaun umgeben' (Re) = *hooš* m. 'Hof' (Al)
Borrowed from Ar *ḥawš* 'enclosure for cattle, fold, farm' (Sg 304).

u hašiimäʰ, indet. *hašiimaab*, pl. *i hašiimäʰ* 'gebrochene, an der Erde liegende Bäume und Sträucher' (Hs)
Borrowed from Ar *hašīma* 'withered tree, piece of dry wood' (Sg 1176), dial. (Central Arabia) *hašīme* (Hs).

Am *howa* 'storm wind' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *huwwa* 'air, atmosphere' (Sg 1185)?

Am *o-hawě* 'stone' (Star)
Probably a variant of *'áwe* m. 'stone' (Rp).

hawaad m., def.sg. *whawaad*, def.pl. *yhawad* 'evening, night', *hawaadiib* adj. 'at night' (Wd) = *hawáad*, pl. *hawád* 'nuit' (Vh) = *haᵘwaad* m., pl. *haᵘwad* 'night', *haᵘwaadi targ̊b* 'midnight' (HuB) = Am *hawaat* 'night' (Star) = *háwaad* 'night, time after sunset' (Do) = *hawad* 'night' (Be) = *ha·wáad* m., pl. *ha·wăd* id. (Rp), cf. *hawid* v.1 'to pass the night, to be benighted' (Rp) = *hawáad* 'der späte Abend, die Nacht', cf. *hawid* 'Abend /Nacht zubringen' (Re) = *hawáad* m., pl. *háwad* 'Nacht, Abend', cf. *háwid* 'des Abends irgendwo sein/machen, dem Abend zubringen' (Al) = *oʾhauad*, pl. *eʾhaued* 'Nacht', cf. *haued* 'den Abend zubringen' (Mu) = [*wu*]*hauåd* 'Nacht' (Se)
Cu: (E) Or Wellega (*h*)*eda* adv. 'last night' (Gg), Konso *aweḍḍ* 'night' (Bl); Burji *yedi* and *hiyedi* (Moreno) = *yédi* 'night' (Sasse 1982: 192), ?Sid *hawado* 'rainy season'; Haberland and Lamberti (1988: 104) compared it with Beja *hawaad*) || Dahalo *hèḏ̲ḏ̲o* 'evening' (Ehret 1980: 270).
Dolgopolsky (1973: 239) also quoted Qwara (CCu) data, in reality Kunama (NS) *awáadaa* 'späte Abend, Nacht' (Re) = *awaada* 'night' (Be) which can be a lw. from Beja.

hawil m., def.sg. *whawil*, def.pl. *yhawla* 'year' (Wd) = *haᵘwil* m., pl. *-g̊* 'year' (HuB) = Am *howil* 'year' (Star) = *hawil* m., pl. *-a* 'year' (Rp) = *hawíl* m., pl. *hawla* 'Jahr', cf. *hawáal* m., pl. *hawål* 'Verwechslung, Täuschung, Betrug, Hinterlist', *hawål* v.2 'verwechseln, täuschen, betriegen' (Re) = *háwil* m., pl. *háula* 'Jahr' (Al) = *haul* id. (Km)

Borrowed from Ar *ḥawl* 'change', pl. *ḥuwūl* 'year' (Sg 305), cf. Ti *ḥäwəl* id. (LH 89).

hooy f., pl. *-a* 'der innere Raum, die innere Seite', *oo-gawíi-hóoyteeb* 'in Innern des Hauses' (Re) = *hooy* adv. 'from it' (Wd) = *hói* 'in esso' (Ci) = *hoi* 'in it, of it/ them' (Rp) = *hoih* 'innerhalb' (Se) = ?Am *haiya* 'area in town' (Star)
Zyhlarz (1932–1933: 169) compared it with Eg (MK) *h3j.t* 'Halle, Vorhalle', in AK written *h.t* (Wb. II: 476); cf. also the sign *h* (Pyr) depicting 'Hof, Halle' (Wb. II: 470). Vycichl (1934: 85) connected *h* with Som *hooy* (ECu) 'Einkehr, Zelt; Haus, wo man die Nacht zubringt; Herberge' (Reinisch 1902: 213) = 'Heim, Haus, Zuhause' (Farah and Heck) = 'home, shelter' (Luling).

hayiikw m., def.sg. *whayiikw*, def.pl. *yhayiikw* 'star' (Wd) = *hajuuk*^{w} 'étoile' (Vh) = *haiyuuk* m., pl. *haiyik* 'star' (HuB) = Ammar'ar *hayúuk*^{w}, pl. *hayik*^{w} (Do) = *hayuk* (Be) = *hayuuk* (Tl) = *hayuuk* m., pl. *hayíkw* 'star' (Rp) = *hayúuk* m., pl. *hayú̱k* 'Stern' (Re) = Halanga *hayóokw* and *hayóob* (sic!), pl. *heykwáa*-b 'stella' (Ci) = *whayok* 'star' (Wt) = *hayúuk* m. (Al) = *wohayonc* (Li) = *yiook* (Lucas) = *o'heyok* (Mu) = *hayúk* (Km) = *iéheiyúk* (Se) = *hai-ek* (Salt) id.
Cu: (E) **ḥizk-/*ḥuzk-* 'star' (Black 1974: 151, 178, 194, 250; Sasse 1975–1976: 138; Id. 1979: 11, 35–37, 39, 57; Id 1982: 129) > Saho *ḥútuk* (We), Afar sglt. *ḥutuukta*, pl. *ḥutuk* (PaHy); Som *xiddig*, Bay (dial. of Som) *hinjin*, Jiddu *ḥaddik* (Nuux and Eh), Boni *hiddé* (He); Arbore coll. *húzzuk* (Hy), Elmolo *húyu-te*, pl. *húyuk* (He), Dasenech *hizi-n-tti* (Ss); Oromo (*h*)*urj-ii* (> Gedeo *urjee*, see HG), Konso *ískitta* (Bl) = *iskiteta* (Sim) = *hikkitta* (On), D'irayta *hískaa* (Bl), Mashile *íska* (Bl), Bussa *hIIsko* (Be), Muusiye *isko* (SLLE); Dullay (all pl.): Harso-Dobase *ḥíske*, Gawwada-Gollango *ḥiske*, Tsamakko *ḥizge* (AMS) = *ḥízge* (Hy); Yaaku *hinso-ni*, pl. *hinso'* (He); Hayward apud Sasse (1982: 98) also speculated about Burji *hísk-a* 'worm, maggot' as a cognate (cf. Konso *isk-itta* 1. 'worm, 2. 'star') assuming the primary semantics 'small, white, pulsating thing' while Sasse preferred to see here the secondary homonymy;
?Om: (S) Galila *hayeka* 'day' (Fl); Hamer *'eezini* 'Venus' (Lydall) can be borrowed from an ECu source of the type Dasenech *hizi-n-tti* 'star'. The Galila and ECu forms are compatible only starting from the common semantic denominator 'celestial light'.

háymo f. 'Welle, Woge' (Re)
It was already Zyhlarz (1933: 169, #55) who mentioned a similarity between the Beja 'wave' and its Eg and Copt counterparts, viz. Eg (NK) *h3nw* and *hynw* 'Welle, Flut' (Wb. II: 481), Demotic *hym*, Copt Sahidic ϩⲟⲉⲓⲙ, ϩⲟⲓⲙⲉ 'vague' (Vycichl 1983: 292). The sign *3* reflects an old liquid, cf. *hrm* 'ein Gewässer' (Wb. II: 501). Roquet (1980, 126-28) proposed a borrowing from a late Egyptian source which can be vocalised as **háymu*.

j

jaziiraat f., def.sg. *tujaziira*, def.pl. *tijaziira* ‘island’ (Wd) = *jadiira* ‘island’ (Nakano and Tsuge 1982: 11) = *jasíre* f. ‘Insel’ (Re), besides *gigiiri* f. id. (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧazīra* ‘island’ (Sg 233); cf. TiBA *jadi:rat* and *jazi:rat* ‘island’ (Nakano and Tsuge).

jihaat f., def.sg. *toojha*, def.pl. *teejha* ‘side, direction’ (Wd) = *jĭha·* f. ‘direction’, *jəhasiire* f. ‘central stick of palm branch’ (Rp)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧiha*, pl. *ǧihāt* ‘side, front, surface, shape, manner; cause; direction’ (Sg 250).

jhur m., def.sg. *oojhur*, def.pl. *ijhura* ‘river’ (Wd)
Probably borrowed from Ar *ǧuḥr* ‘hole, den’ (Sg 219).

jumaa’ and *jimaa’* f. ‘Friday; Friday moontide prayers’ (Rp) = *jim’aat* f., def.sg. *tujim’a*, def.pl. *tijim’a* ‘Friday’ (Wd) = *júm’a* and *jím’a* f. ‘Freitag’ (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧumaʕa* or *ǧumuʕa* id. (Sg 245); cf. also Ti *ǰəmʕat* id. (LH 549). There is the unpalatalized variant *gimą* id. (HuB).

jeméed m., pl. *jémda* ‘Tau, Taufall, leichter feiner Regen’ (Re) = *ēdjeméd* ‘Regenwasser’ (Mu)
Reinisch (1895: 165) correctly connected it with Ar *ǧamad* ‘ice, snow’ (Sg 244); Almkvist (1885: 36), deriving it from *yam* ‘water’, is apparently mistaken.

jinuub m., def.sg. *oojinuub* ‘side’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧanb*, pl. *ǧunūb* ‘side, flank, half of the body’ (Sg 248).

jiir m., pl. *-a* ‘Kalk’ (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧayr* ‘quicklime’ (Sg 256).

jeríf m., pl. *jírfa* ‘Gestade, Ufer, Strand’ (Re) = *jerf* m. ‘Strand, Ufer’ (Al)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧirf* ‘place not reached by a flood’ (Sg 229).

jaw m., def.sg. *oojaw*, def.pl. *ijawa* ‘air, weather’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧaww*, pl. *ǧiwā?* ‘atmosphere; air; sky; wide valley; open pasture-ground’ (Sg 252).

jaaw m., def.sg. *oojaaw* ‘valley’ (Wd), cf. *jaw* m., def.sg. *oojaw*, def.pl. *ijawa* ‘air, weather’ (Wd)

jawhar m., def.sg. *ujawhar*, def.pl. *ijawhara* ‘pearl’ (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *ǧawhar* 'jewel, pearl, precious ore' (Sg 255).

jiwaay postp. 'inside' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ǧaww*, pl. *ǧiwāʔ* 'interior of a house, hall', besides 'atmosphere; air; sky; wide valley; open pasture-ground' (Sg 252).

k

kabhe, *kabbəhe* f. 'buble; fruit of sodom apple' (Rp)

kubis 'storm' (HuB)

kubbul f., pl. *-ạ* 'sand hill, small mountain' (HuB) = *kambuul* m., def.sg. *ukambuul*, def.pl. *ikambuula* 'mountain' (Wd) = *kọnbúul* and *kombúul* m., pl. *kénbel*, *kúmbel* 'Berg, Hügel' (Re) = *to'kónbul*, pl. *te'kenbel* 'Hügel' (Mu)
There are more uncertain parallels:
(1) Cu: (E) Som *gúnbur* and *gúmbur* 'Hügel; Wall, Verschanzung, Erderhöhung die aus der ebenen Fläche hervorragt' (Reinisch 1902: 171). But the difference *k* || *g* and *l* || *r* should be explained.
(2) Borrowed from Ar *qunbūr* 'Buckel' (Wehr 706). Besides the semantic difference again the uncorresponding finals *l* || *r*.
Other solutions presume an old compound where the second member perhaps corresponds to Som *buur* 'mountain, bare-topped hill' (Luling), while the first component is comparable with Am *kim* 'top' (Star) and/or
(3) Cu: (C) Awngi *kán* 'mountain' (Ht) || HECu **kin-* 'stone, rock' > Gedeo *kinjo*, Had *kina*, Kamb *kinu*, Sid *kin-co* (Hudson 1989: 144);
(4) Cu: (C) Bilin *quum* 'Bergrücken, -sattel' || (E) Saho *kooma* 'mountain' ||| Om: (N) Yemsa *kumma* id. (Be);
(5) Cu: (E) Oromo *kobi* 'mountain' (Tu) = Guji *kooba* = Borana *kubi* 'small hill' (LVC); Gedeo *kooba* id. (Be).

kúbre f. 'Schwefel' (Re) = *kwíberi* f. 'sulphur; match' (Rp) = *takkubrem* 'Schwefel' (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *kibrīt* 'sulphur' or EtSe: Gz *kabārit*, *kabrit*, *kəbrit* 'sulphur', Ti *kərbit* 'wood for making fire', Ty *kəbrit*, *kərbit* 'matches' (Leslau 1987: 274).

kạ̊di f. 'piece of ground fit for cultivation' (HuB) = *káda* m. and *kadán* m., pl. *kádna* 'Steppe, Wüste, Prärie' (Re) = *káda* m. 'Steppe' (Al) = *o'kaddai* 'Bergsattel' (Mu)
Connected with Ti *kadan* 'desert, wilderness; outside, out, away', Ty *kadadā* 'weiter Platz, auf dem man Ball spielt' (LH 424) and Bilin *k/gadän* 'die Ebene, weite Fläche, prairie, Wüste' (Re).

ọọ *kḍi*^{h}, indet. *kĕḍiib*, pl. ẹẹ *kḍi*^{h} ‘Felsblock’ (Hs)
?Cu: (E) Burji *kedd-áa*, pl. *-ána* ‘hill’ (Sa).
?Be: (S) Tuareg of Ayr and Iulemmiden *ekăde*, pl. *ikădewan* ‘pierre’ (Alojaly).

kafạ m. ‘cliff’ (HuB) = *kaafá* ‘le rupi, gli scogli’ (Ci) = *kaafa* m. ‘cliff (marine)’ (Rp) = Am *kafa* ‘clift’ (Star)
Is there any relation with Ar *quff*, pl. *qifāf* and *ʔaqfāf* ‘stony hill, stone-heap; hole of the axe’ (Sg 848)?
?Eg *kf* (*k3f*) ‘Obsidian, Silex’ (WPS 277).

kŭhii, *khwii* f. pl. ‘first part of the night (a time approximating to 9 p.m.)’, cf. adv. *akŭhíit* ‘by night’ (Rp)
Is it derived from *kŭh*, *keh*, *khw* ‘on, over, above’ (the part of the night when moon is rising?) or related to Tsamakko (Dullay branch of ECu) *ġayanġáy-hó* ‘night’, *ġayna* ‘tomorrow’ (Hy)?

kalạ f. ‘cold wind’ (HuB)
Is it related with *’akil* m. ‘sharp cold weather’ (Rp)?
?Cu: (E) Oromo of Wellega *qilleensa* ‘wind; climate’ (Gg), Borana *qilleensa* ‘light wind, breeze’ (Stroomer).
Ch: (E) Kwang *ká:l* ‘cold’ (Jg); Kabalai *kàlə* id. (Cp), Lele *kàloo* ‘vent’ (Weibegué and Palayer), Gabri *kal* ‘Wind’, *kaal* ‘kalt’, Nancere *kál* and *kal* id. resp., Dormo *kál* ‘Wind; kalt’ (Lk); Sumray *gále* ‘Wind’ (A. Friedrich), Ndam *gā:l* ‘cold wind’ (Jg), Tumak *gà:l* id. (Cp); see JgIb (II: 81); and further probably EDangla *kùlúuty* ‘cold’ or Dangla *ɔ́ɔ́la*; ?Jegu *’óolân* (Jg), Bidiya *’olgà* (Alio and Jg) id.;
?Eg (Pyr) *ṯ3w* ‘Luft, Wind, Hauch, Atem’, Coptic Sahidic ⲑⲏⲩ ‘vent’ (Wb. V: 350–353; Vycichl 1983: 14, 178).

(*u*) *kilme*^{h}, indet. *kilmọọb*, pl. *kilme* ‘kleiner *duwwār* (Zeltlager) von 2–6 Häusern’ (Hs) = *kilmi* c. ‘a person living in a lonely isolated spot’, m. ‘lone house or hamlet’ (Rp) = *kílmo* m. ‘Gehöft, Dorf’ (Re)
The only etymological attempt, Reinisch’ (1895: 142) comparison with Ar *ḥilm* ‘urbanity’ (Sg 294), is not satisfactory for both semantic and phonological reasons (Ar *ḥ* has been usually substituted by Beja h).

kelentif m. ‘rain that is continuous’ (HuB) = *kulínfe*, *kulűmfe* f. ‘die periodische Regenzeit, langdauernder Regen’ (Re) = *kelönfet* ‘anhaltender Regen’ (Mu)
The *l*-variant (diminutive?) of *kerentif* (HuB) etc.

kalatani f. ‘running water of waterfall’ (HuB) = *kalaatánai* f. ‘small stream; running water’ (Rp)
Could it be related to Som (ECu) *kal*, pl. *kalo* ‘depression full of water’ (Ab)?

Am *kim* 'top' (Star)
Cu: (E) Saho *kooma*, pl. *kooman* 'mountain' (Vergari) = *kooma* 'hill' (Welmers), Afar *kooma*, pl. *koomaami* 'hill, knoll, pass, saddle; island' (PaHy); South Oromo (Orma) *kumma* 'top, climax, old age' (Stroomer).
Om: (N) Yemsa *kumma* id. (Be).
Cf. also Tigrinya *kuma*, *kʷäma* 'hill' (Appleyard 2006: 84 separated it from Geez *qom* 'height' and Bilin *qum* 'small hill'; Leslau (1979: 479) mentioned Gurage Gyeto *qūṃ*, Muher *qum*, *qəm* 'height, size' etc., deriving them from the verb attested in Geez *qomä*, Arabic *qāma* 'to stand').

komberiss m. 'clouds covering the sky' (HuB) = *o comberis* 'les nuages' (Li)
It could be connected (lw.?) with Gz *qobara* 'become black, dark, foggy', *qobār* 'darkness, blackness, fog, mist', Ti *qobar* 'darkenning of the air' (Leslau 1987: 419). Mukarovsky (1987: 128) found remarkable Chadic parallels: (C) Mandara *kúmbà* 'cloud', Glavda *akumba* || (E) Kera *kamrà* id.

kaar m., sg. = pl. 'hillock' (HuB) = *kaar* m., pl. *kar* 'Anhöhe, Hügel' (Re) = *kaar* m., pl. *kăr* 'Hügel, Anhöhe' (Al)
Cu: (E) **ḳar-* > Som *qar* 'hill higher than *kur*' (Re) = 'mountain peak, edge, bank of pond, cliff' (Luling); Oromo *qar-r-ee* 'peak', ?*ṣara* 'tip, top, edge' (>) Burji *ṣár-i* id. (Sasse 1979: 48 and 1982: 46).
?Eg (Pyr) *q3* 'Bezeichnung des Atum mit Bezug auf den Urhügel *q33*, auf dem er entstand', *q33* 'Hügel', later (BD) *q3j* id., also 'der Urhügel in Hermopolis, auf dem der Schöpfer zuerst erschien', in MK also 'der Hügel in dem die Gräber angelegt sind', plus (Pyr) *q3.t* 'hochgelegenes Land', related to *q3.w* 'Höhe' and *q3j* 'hoch (sein)' (both Pyr; Wb. V: 1–6). Takács (EDE I: 212) mentions the alternative comparanda: Ar *q-l-l* I 'heben, stützen', VII 'to be high', X 'to rise', *qulla* 'Berggipfel' ||| Be: (N) Shilh *ɣuli*, hab. *aqqalāi* 'to rise', Qabyle of Zwawa *iɣil*, pl. *iɣallen* 'hill, colline' (R. Basset) ||| Ch: (W) Hausa *ƙoolii*, pl. *ƙooloolwaa* 'top' (Ab).
An alternative solution (borrowing?) is represented by the comparison of Reinisch (1895: 144) with Ar *qāra*, pl. *qār*, *-āt* 'isolated hill; large black stone' (Sg 812).

ọọ kaar 'Gebirgswâdī, Wâdī mit starkem Gefäll' (Hs) = *kaar* m. and f., pl. *kar* 'Niederung, Senkung, Tiefebene' (Re) = *o'kar*, pl. *e'kerr* 'Schlucht, Tal' (Mu). Cf. *karkaar* 'valley, passage, ford' (Wd).
Is it identical with the preceding entry?

u karab, pl. *i karabä*^{h} 'Wald' (Hs) = *kerab* 'small dam round fields' (Star)
Cf. Ti *kərba*, Ty *kurba*, Amh *koräbta* 'hill' (LH 400; Leslau 1982: 44)?

karbuub m., def.sg. *ukarbuub* ‘edge, river bank’ (Wd) = *karbuub* m., pl. *karbuuba* and *karbib* ‘sharp cleft in ground caused by running water’ (Rp)

karkaar m., def.sg. *ukarkaar*, def.pl. *ikarkaara* ‘valley, passage, ford’ (Wd)
Cf. *kaar* ‘Gebirgswâdī, Wâdī mit starkem Gefäll’ (Hs) = *kaar* m. and f., pl. *kar* ‘Niederung, Senkung, Tiefebene’ (Re).

kiruum, *keruum* f. pl. ‘the period immediately preceding dawn’, *kiruumáab* adv. ‘before dawn’ (Rp) = *kruumt* f., def.sg. *tookruum*, def.pl. *teekrum* ‘early morning, dawn’ (Wd) = *kerúum*, pl. *kerím* ‘Dämmerung, Frühmorgen’ is analyzed as nom. act. of *kerim* v.1 ‘das erste Morgengrauen zum vorschein kommen, anbrechen der Tag’ (Re) = *kruum* f., pl. *krŭm* ‘Frühmorgen, Dämmerung’, cf. caus. *sékarim* ‘vor dem Sonnenaufgang aufstehen’ (Al) = *o’krum*, acc. *korumáab*, pl. *e’krum* ‘Morgen’ = *tokroum* ‘morning’ (Bu)
The closest cognate can be found in Dime (SOm) *qɛrəm* ‘tomorrow’ (Be) = *gɪram* id. (Fl). Besides this isolated form there is CCu **k^{w}ar-a* ‘sun’ (Appleyard 2006: 130) > Bilin, Kemant, Kaïliña *k^{w}ara*, Khamir, Khamtanga *k^{w}ära* (Ap) and maybe Som (ECu) *qorrax* ‘sun’ (a contamination of the *q*-form related to Agaw and ECu **ʔorraḥ-* ‘sunshine’ related to Beja *áwri* ‘noon’, see above?).

kerentif (~ *kelentif*) m. ‘rain that is continuous’ (Hu) = *kerínte*, *kerínti* m. ‘die periodische Regenzeit (Juli-Oktober), Winter’ (Re) = *kérinte* m. ‘feiner anhaltender Regen’ (Al)
Borrowed from some EtSe source, cf. Gz *k*(ə)*ramt* ‘rainy season, rains (June-July-Sept), winter, year’, Ty *krämti* ‘rainy season’, Ti *käräm*, Amh *kərämt* etc., and further ultimately related Ar *karuma* ‘was generous, liberal, beneficent’, *kuram* ‘fertile’ (Sg 882), besides numerous Cu parallels borrowed from the same EtSe source: Qwara *keremt* ‘Regenzeit, Winter’ (Flad apud Re) || Saho *karma* ‘rainy season’; Som *keran*; Qabenna *kärmi* etc. (Leslau 1987: 292–293).

kiruur m., def.sg. *ookruur* ‘dam construction, making a dam’ (Wd)

u kärräte^{h}, indet. *kärräteeb*, pl. *i kärräte^{h}* ‘kleineres Gebirgswâdī’ (Hs)
Cf. *o̩o̩ kaar* ‘Gebirgswâdī, Wâdī mit starkem Gefäll’ (Hs).

koriay f. ‘(small) basin’ (HuB)
Cu: (C) **k^{w}ər-a* (Appleyard 2006: 116) > Bilin *k^{w}ərа*, pl. *k^{w}ər* ‘Fluss’, Qwara *k^{w}əra* id., Khamir *aq^{w}al* id. (Re), Khamta *q^{w}ära* ‘flowing water’ (Ap), Kemant *kura*, pl. *kuri* ‘russeau, riviére’ (CR) = *k^{w}əra* (Ap); Harari *kūri* and Gurage and Amh *kure* ‘pond, pool’ (Leslau 1979: 348) can be borrowed from an Agaw source || (E) Had *kireeta* (Ls); Oromo *kurre* ‘laghetto’ (Borello), if it is not borrowed from Amh;
Om: (N) Wolayta *kur-iya* ‘lake’ (Alemayehu 1993: 8);

Ch: (W) Hausa *kwari*, *kware* 'valley, furrow', *kwāra* 'River Niger' (Skinner 1996: 161, 174; Angas *kŭr* 'lake' (Foulkes) || (C) Bacama *gùřèy*, Fali Mucela *gùru* 'lake', Mwulyen *ǵùrò* 'river' etc. (Kr) || (E) Sokoro *kóroo* 'Teich'; Sumray *króoi* 'Fluss', Chire *korai* id. (Lk); Lele *kúryé* 'fleuve' (Weybegué and Player); Jegu *kuuráayé* 'der See' (Jg).
Takács (1996: 117), adds Eg (Pyr) *ṯ3.w* pl. attested in magical formulae as a parallel to *mw* 'water' (Wb. V: 342), perhaps related to late (Gr) *ṯ3r* 'Gewässer im Gau XVII vom Unt. Aeg. (Wb. V: 356).
See also Orel and Stolbova (1995: 372, # 1502) CCu + Oromo + Angas + ECh.

kíšo f. 'kleines Dorf' (Re)
Borrowed from Ti *qišot* 'kleines Gehöft, Weiler, kleines Dorf', Ty id. Bilin (CCu) *qišot* id. (Re) is of the same origin.

tu katọọy, indet. *katọọyt*, pl. *ti katọọye*^{h} 'schwieriger Weg im gebirgigen Gelände' (Hs)

kaw m., pl. *-a* 'dürre, unfruchtbare felsige Erde, Wüstenboden' (Re) = *kau*, *kaw* m., pl. *káwa* 'harter, fester Platz am Boden' (antonym: *luk* 'weicher Ton, Kot') (Al) = *kaw* (*kaya*) '(to be) dry' (Wd)
?Cu: (E) Som *qau* 'steile Felswand, Abgrund, Tiefe' (Re); Burji *ḳayyée* 'highland' (Sasse 1982: 125); Yaaku *qɛɛ* 'mountain' (He).
Reinisch (1895: 152) compared Beja *kaw* with Ar *qawā?*, *qiwā?* 'desolate place, desert, open air' (Sg 861).

kwibriib m., def.sg. *ukwubri*, def.pl. *ikwubriya* 'bridge' (Wd)
Borrowed from Egyptian Arabic *kubrī*, pl. *kabārī* 'bridge' < Turkish *köprü* id. (Wehr 1958: 722).

kwaad (~ *gwaad*) m. 'Seite, Rand', see *gw'ad*.

ọọ k^{w}*aak*^{w}, pl. *ẹẹ k*^{w}*ak*^{w} 'Wasser, das man durch Graben im Sande finden, wenig Wasser in einem Wasserloch im Sande' (Hs)
Cu (E) **ḳoyy-* 'wet' (Sasse 1979: 49) > Som *qoy* 'to make wet, wet dampen, moisten, soak' (Luling); Arbore *ḳuyyá* 'wet' (Hy); Konso *-qoy*^{i} 'wet' (Be);
Om: (N) She *ḳai* 'wet' (Be).
Could also CCu **?aq*^{w}- 'water' (Appleyard 1984: 53) be related?

ọọ k^{w}*u*(*u*)*l*, pl. *k*^{w}*uule*^{h} 'spitzer Kegel in der Ebene' (Hs)
Ar dial. (ʿAbâbde) *kûle*, pl. *kuwal* 'spitzkegel förmige Hügel', (Yemen and Ḥadramaut) *kaula*, pl. *kiyâl* 'Basalthegel', cf. Class. Ar *ʔakwal* 'Erhöhung im Gelände wie ein Berg' (Hess 1919: 215).

kwaan m., def.sg. *ookwan*, def.pl. *eekwan* ‘flood’ (Wd) = *kwaan* m., pl. *kwan* ‘torrent, flood’ (HuB) = *kwaan* m., pl. *kwan* ‘spate’, cf. *kwaan* v.2 ‘to spate (khor)’ (Rp) = *ọọ kʷaan*, pl. *ẹẹ kʷan* ‘Regenflut, Wasser des Wâdī, sêl’ (Hs) = *kwaan*, pl. *kwan* m. ‘Fluss, Giess-, Regenbach’ (Re) = *kʷaan* m., pl. *kʷăn* ‘Strom, Giessbach, Regenbach’ (Al) = *o’kuann*, pl. *e’kuenn* ‘Strom’ (Mu) = *o couan* ‘torrent’ (Li) = [*o*]*kwân* ‘Regenbach’ (Se)
Cu: ?(C) Awngi *kaan* ‘altura; ciglio d’un torrente o d’un fiume’ (CR) = *kaun* ‘erto’ (Waldmeier) || ?(E) Boni **kòón* ‘pond, lake’, cf. also SOr: Waata *kóónó* ‘lake’ (He) = *konnoo* ‘small lake’ (Stroomer);
?Om: (N) Gamo, Dorze, Tsancha *kan-če* ‘river’ (Alemayehu 1993: 9);
Ch: (E) Tumak and Ndam *kwan* ‘riviére’ (GD 1907: 299), but cf. Teda-Daza *kwan* ‘riviére’ (Coeur 1955: 372). Is it a Chadic borrowing penetrating into Saharan or vice versa?

kwiirɛmir’aá m. ‘weather, climate’ (Rp)
Cf. *m’akwaraab* m., def.sg. *um’akwara* ‘cold, cold weather’ (Wd)?

kaiyait ‘clay’ (Tl) = *kayay* f. ‘mud, clay’, esp. for pottery (Rp) = Am *kaiyait* ‘red or grey clay for making pottery’ (Star)
?Cu: (E) Som *qay* ‘puddle’ (Luling).
Cf. Hausa (WCh) *koya* ‘red earth’ (Skinner 1996: 149)?

khamiist f., def.sg. *tukhamiis* ‘Thursday’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *ḫamīs* ‘fifth part; Thursday’ (Sg 341).

khoor m., def.sg. *ookhoor* ‘river bed’ (Wd) = *khoor* ‘khor’ (Vh)
Borrowed from Ar *ḫawr* ‘valley, bay, gulf, river-mouth; mountain-ridge’ (Sg 345).

l

l’a adj. ‘cold, cool; useless’, f. ‘cold, coolness’ (Rp) = *lʔa* ‘froid’ (Vh) = *l’aa* v. ‘to be happy, cool’ (Wd) = *la’* v.2 ‘to cold’, n. act. *la* f., adj. *la’ab* ‘cold, fresh’ (= *l’aabi* ‘cold’ by Tl), cf. *la’annay* f. ‘cold in the head; dew’ (Hu) = *la’* v.2 ‘kalt, kühl sein’, partic. *l’a*, cf. *laa’* f. ‘Kälte’ (Re) = *la’*, *le’a* f. ‘Kälte’, *lé’* v.2 ‘kalt sein/werden’, caus. *lé’as* ‘kalt machen’ (Al) = *la* ‘kalt, Kälte’, *liiye* ‘kalt werden’, caus. *lasie* ‘kalt machen’ (Mu) = [*to*]*la* ‘hot’! (Bu)
?Cu: (C) Qwara *låwā* ‘Tau’ (Re), perhaps a compound, where the second component could be *awŭā* ‘air’ (Re), i.e. ‘cold air’; (E) Afar *lee* (PaHy) = *lay* (Re), Saho *lay* (Vergari) = *lae* (We) ‘water’; Gedeo *lolaʔa* ‘flood, torrent’ (HG); Yaaku *leei* m., pl. *leeimô’*, *leeinin* ‘water, rain, dew’ (He);
?Om: (S) Banna, Hamer *liile* ‘cloud’ (Be and Lydall), Ari and Ubamer *lila* id. (Be and Fl);

Ch: (W) Karekare *leilei* 'cold' (Jg); Ngizim *láyí* id. (Schuh) || (C) Margi *'lililu* 'cold'; Gisiga *leleŋ* id. (Mukarovsky 1987: 129 Beja + Ch), Kola *lìlɛ́ɛ̀ŋ* id. (Schubert); see JgIb (II: 78–81) || (E) ?Mokilko *réèlé* 'kalt' (Lk) and/or Gulei *lel* 'wind' (Lk).
Lit.: Ehret (1987: 75, n. 313) Beja *lil* v. 'to be wet, moist' + Qwara *låwā* 'dew' + Yaaku *leei* 'water, rain, dew').

lo'o(*o*) f., acc. *lo'ot* 'course of stream', cf. adj. *lo'ob* 'rained on, satisfied (thirst)' (Hu)
Probably a *l*-variant of *ro'o* 'tributary khor' (Hu). Cf. also Gedeo (HECu) *lola?a* 'torrent, flood' (HG).

l'eedaab m., def.sg. *ul'eeda*, def.pl. *il'eedi* 'hole' (Wd)

l'ul'oob m., def.sg. *uul'ul'u* 'pearl' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *lu?lu?* 'pearl, jewel' (Sg 932).

lob 'Bachrinne' (Mu)
It is tempting to connect it with Bayso (ECu) *lábu* 'river' (Hy) and Sid *lawó* id. (HG), if the latter form is not a variant of *lagá*, *lagga* id. borrowed from Oromo *laga* id. (see Beja *lagi*). But it was already Almkvist (1885: 43) who saw in *-b* the accusative (object) marker of masculines; in that case it is compatible with *lo'o*(*o*) 'course of stream' (Hu), the *l*-variant (diminutive?) of *ro'o* (see below), cf. the adj. *lo'ob* 'rained on' (Hu). An alternative etymology can perhaps be based on the adj. *la'ab* 'cold, fresh' (HuB).

labassoyɛga m. 'Jupiter' (Rp) = Am *labusaweega* 'Eastern star' (Star)
Derived from *libas* 'to travel by night' (Rp).

lagi f., pl. *-a* 'path, pathway, beaten track' (Rp) = *lagi* 'chemin' (Vh) = *leggi* f., pl. *leggiyạ* 'road, path', cf. *luglug* 'to wander' (HuB) = *lagi* f., pl. *lágya* 'Weg' (Re) = *télegi* m. (!), pl. *télegya* 'kleiner, schmaler Pfad' (Al) = *te'legi*, pl. *te'legia*(*d*) 'Weg' (Mu)
?ECu: Som *laag* 'water-channel' (Luling), Bayso *lága* 'river-bank' (Hy); Oromo Macha *laga* 'river', *lage* 'valley' (LVS) > PHECu **laga* 'river' (Hudson 1989: 124); Konso *lak-a* 'plain, outside', D'irayta *lak* 'place, vacancy, room, space' (Bl), cf. Sasse (1982: 131);
SCu: Qwadza *lagalako* 'path, road' (Eh)
CCh: Wamdiu *làgu*, Margi *lagù*, WMargi *lakù*, Kilba *laakù* 'road' (Kr).
Ehret (1987: #316) compared Beja and Qwadza with CCu **längat-*, translating it 'path, road'. But this reconstruction is based on the words with different meanings: Bilin *längar* 'Handelsreisen machen', Awngi *langad* '?' (Re) = *lingidí* 'foreigner' (Ht); their more promising cognate in Beja can be *lengwi* m. 'messenger', *lenguum* 'to send' (HuB).

ligwoi (~ *lingoi*) m. ‘inlet of sea, secondary branch of tree, pastern of camel’s hind leg’ (HuB)
Perhaps derived from *liig* m. ‘main branch of tree’ (HuB).

Am *lihis* ‘small quantity of liquid’ (Star)

lhayt adv. ‘tomorrow’ (Wd) = *lheejt* adv. ‘demain’ (Vh) = *lạhayt* ‘tomorrow’, *l. baakay* ‘day after tomorrow’, *l. ạ́kwiit* ‘tomorrow night’ (HuB) = *lăhɛ́it*, *ləhɛ́it*, *laahíit* adv. ‘tomorrow’ (Rp) = *léeha* m. ‘Morgen’, *lehá́a-y*(-*t*) ‘am Morgen’ (Re) = *l*(*e*)*híit*, *lahiit*, *elhíit* ‘morgen’ (Al) = *lehéit* ‘morgen, demain’ (Mu) = *laheit* id. (Se)
It suggestively resembles Afar (ECu) *laaʕo* ‘east’, *laaʕyta* ‘early morning after sunrise’ (PaHy). The unexpected *h* instead of *’* in Beja could perhaps be explained by influence of semantically close *meha·* ‘morning; East’ (Rp) etc.

lu̱k m., pl. *lú̱ka* ‘Ton, Lehm’ (Re) = *luk* m. ‘weiches Ton’ (Al) = *lugg* ‘Kot’ (Mu)
SBe: Tuareg of Taitoq *i-luk* ‘boue’ and/or *te-laq* ‘argile’ (Masqueray), Ayr *tălaq* ‘argile, boue’ (Alojaly);
Ch: (W) Hausa *laaka* ‘mud’ (Skinner 1996 184: Beja + Hausa).
Almkvist (1885: 43) compared Beja *luk* with Ti *leqleqe* ‘enduire de boue’, p.p. *lūqlūq* = *laqlaqa* ‘to clean the threshing-floor and to smear water and cow-dung over it’ (LH 36). Regarding the isolated position within Semitic, the Tigre word can be borrowed from Beja rather than vice versa.
Cf. Beja *allak* f. ‘muddy water’ (HuB).

liil-’awe m. ‘granit, esp. where it outcrops into a smooth pillar, boulder or platform’ (Rp) = *liiláaw*, pl. *líílaw* ‘rocher’ (Vh) = *ọọ liilaaw*, pl. *i liilow* ‘Steinblock’ (Hs) = *liilaaw* m., def.sg. *uliilaaw*, def.pl. *iliilaw* ‘stone, small rock’ (Wd)
It represents an apparent compound of *’awe* ‘stone’ and **liil-* which is compatible with:
(1) *liilii* ‘eye’ (Rp);
(2) *liil* ‘to be liquid’ (Rp);
(3) HECu: Sidamo *ilaala* ‘mountain, above’ ||| Om: (N) Bench *niʸeel*; Maji *nialu*, Nao *nʸelu* || (S) Dime *laalᵒ* ‘stone’ (Be) ||| Eg (OK) *ỉnr* and *ỉn* (Wb. I: 97), Demotic *ỉny*, Coptic Sahidic ωνε ‘stone’ (Vycichl 1983: 249–250). Cf. also Akk *alallu*(*m*), *elallu* ‘ein Stein’ < Sumerian *e-le-el-e* or vice versa (AHw 34)?

u lambät ‘ganz feiner Sand’ (Hs)

lamlam m., def.sg. *ulamlam*, def.pl. *ulamlama* ‘salty sand’ (Wd)

loon m., def.sg. *ooloon*, def.pl. *iloona* ‘colour’ (Wd)

Borrowed from Ar *lawn* 'colour; form, shape' etc. (Sg 932).

lendạ 'shade from sun' (HuB) = Am *landab* 'shadow' (Star) = *lénda* 'Schatten' (Re) = élenda id. (Mu); the deviated *enindall* id. (Se) was analysed as a compound of Bi *iin* 'Sonne' and Ar *ḍill* 'shadow' (Almkvist 1885: 18)
CCu: Kemant *lämda* (CR; see alsoAppleyard 2006: 120) = *ləmdá* 'shadow' (Sa), Qwara *lemda* (Re) = *lambda* (Floh) 'Schatten', Dembea *lemda* id. (Re);
HECu: Burji *lemm-óo* 'shadow (of man)' (Sa) < **lemn-* < **lemd-*?
Lit.: Reinisch (1895: 159) Beja + Qwara; Sasse (1982: 134) Beja + Kemant + Burji.

lingoi m. 'inlet of sea, secondary branch of tree, pastern of camel's hind leg' (HuB), see *ligwoi* (HuB)

lasso m. 'thundercloud' (Hu) = *lasaa* 'cloud' (Be) = *léeso* m. 'Wolke' (Re) = *o'lesso*, acc. *lessob*, pl. *é'lesso* id. (Mu)
?Om: (S) Galila *leeca* 'storm' (Fl).

litneent f., def.sg. *tulitneen*, def.pl. *tilitneen* 'Monday' (Wd), see *elitneen* 'Monday' (HuB)

m

[*o*]*ma* 'Süden' (Bu)
There are two alternatives:
(1) The word is identical with *mah* 'Morgen; Osten' (Al) = *mhaab* m., def.sg. *oomha*, def.pl. *eemha* 'morning, dawn; east';
(2) It is shortened from *mhak^{w}al* 'Süd' (Hs).

mi, *mi'* m. (acc. *mɛb*) 'hailstone(s)', f. (acc. *mɛt*) 'stone of fruit' (HuB) = *tóo mi* 'le caillou', *mŏŏt* 'un caillou', pl. *môôt* (Vh) = *mee*, *mii* m. 'Hagel(korn)' (Re) = *mi* m. 'Hagel' (Al) = [*e*]*méh* id. (Se) = *eembi* id. (Mu) = Bi *êbĭ 'hail'* (Tl)
Apparently connected with *mi'* v.2 'to be/become damp' (Rp). It is also in agreement with external cognates:
Ch: (C) Kotoko: Logone *muu* 'Tau' (Nachtigal), Affade *mo* id. (Se), see Sölken (1967: 191).

m'akwaraab m., def.sg. *um'akwara* 'cold, cold weather', *m'akwrooyt* n.act. 'being cold', *m'akweert* f., def.sg. *tum'akweer* 'cold, feeling cold' (Wd); cf. *kwiirɛmir'aá* m. 'weather, climate' (Rp)
Cu: (E) Oromo of Wellega *qorra* v. 'to freeze, become cold', n. 'cold, coldness', *qorraa* adj. 'which feels cold' (Gg); cf. *qorra* 'cold' (Legesse Geleta Koro 2013: 163).

m'amaa and *m'umaa* v. 'to make humid' (Wd), see *mi'* v.2 'to be/become damp' (Rp).
m'araw m., def.sg. *um'araw*, def.pl. *im'araw* 'side' (Wd)
Cf. *aråwa* m. 'Nähe, Seite', *aråwáa-y* 'an der Seite, neben' (Re).

mab'uuyt f., def.sg. *tumab'uuy* 'heat, warmth' (Wd), see *b'i*, *bi'* m., acc. *b'ɛb* 'day (as opposed to night)', with article *imbi'*, *imb'i*, *embi'* (Rp)

maadaat f., def.sg. *tumaada*, def.pl. *timaada* 'pool' (Wd) = *maadạ̊* f. 'deep water (sea)' (HuB)
?Cu: (E) Or Wellega *madda* n. 'water; last drop of water' (Gg), Borana *maddoo* 'spring, oasis', *madda*, *maddita* 'to bubble up (water in a well), to bring forth water or milk continuously' (Stroomer); Burji *madd-* 'to spring up', *máddo* 'spring' may be adapted from Oromo (cf. Sasse 1982: 139).
Alternatively, the Beja (and independently Oromo) forms could represent an adaptation of Ar *madd* 'rising of the water, flood' (Sg 974).

Am *mudaat* and *middat* 'time' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *mudda*, pl. *mudad* 'space of time' (Sg 974).

máadna f. 'Turm, Minaret' (Re) = *temmâ dna* 'Turm' (Mu)
Borrowed from Ar *ma?ḏana* 'Turm, Minaret' (Wahrmund I, 2: 670).

madiinat f., def.sg. *tumadiina*, def.pl. *timadiina* (Wd) = *madiina* f. 'ville' (Vh) = *madíina* f. 'Stadt' (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *madīna* 'town' (Sg 978).

Am *mog* 'wave' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *mawǧ* 'wave' (Sg 1087).

migrab m., def.sg. *umigrab*, def.pl. *imigrab* 'west, sunset' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *maġrib* 'place and time of sunset; west; evening' (Sg 1032).

mágwa f. 'Wolke, Regenwolke' (Re) = *magwạ̊* (~ *mokwạ̊*) m. 'shelter from the rain' (HuB) = *magwaab* m., def.sg. *umagwa*, def.pl. *imagwa* 'basin for cattles' (Wd)
?Om: (N) Wolayta, Kullo *meg-uwa*, Gofa, Gamo, Dirze, C'ancha *meego* 'cool, cold' (Alemayehu 1993: 6), Oyda *meego*, Dache *mee'go* (Be), Malo *me· go* id. (Fl).
Reinisch (1895: 164) compared it with Bilin *bək^{w}ána* 'cloud' (see Beja *bayúk* 'Schnee').

magwal m., def.sg. *umagwal*, def.pl. *imagwala* 'hole for collecting rainwater' (Wd) = *mag^{w}al* 'reservoir' (Vh) = *mugwil* f., pl. *-a* 'shallow well in khor', cf. *mạ̊gwạ̊l* and *makwal* f. 'pool made by scratching in ground' (HuB) = Am *magwal* 'waterhole', *mugwel* 'small well' (Star) = *u mag^{w}el*, pl. *i mag^{w}elä* 'spärliches Wasser in sandi-

gem Gelände des Wâdī, das durch Graben gewonnen wird' (Hs) = *mágwal* m., pl. *magwála* 'hole excavated for collection of rain' (Rp) = *máagwel* m., pl. *máagula* 'die Tränke, Wasserbassin für Viehtränke' (Re)
Reinisch (1895: 164) connected it with Ar *maʔǧal* 'stagnum, piscina' while Hess (1919: 215) found a source in Ar dial. (ʿAbâbde) *maqal*, pl. *měqûl* 'Brunnen, resp. Wasserloch im Mittellauf, resp. dem Sande des Wâdī', Class. Ar. *maql* 'bottom of a well, descending into the water, making water' (Sg 1043).

mhaab m., def.sg. *oomha*, def.pl. *eemha* 'morning, dawn; east', *mhaa* v. 'to spend morning'; *mhagaayeeb* m., def.sg. *umhagaayi* 'dry season, summer' (Wd) = *mha* 'matin' (Vh) = *măḥạ* m. 'dawn, time of morning prayer, east' (HuB) = *meha·* m. 'morning; East', cf. *meh* 'in the morning to be or to do' (Rp) = *ọọ mäh* 'Osten, Morgen', *mähiyaab* 'östlich' (Hs) = Bishari *o-mhón* 'east' (Th) = *mah* and *máha* m. 'der Morgen; Sonnenaufgang, Osten' (Re) = *mah* 'Morgen; Osten', *mahóon* 'im Osten' (Al) = *o'mhi* 'der Morgen', *mehiya* 'Morgen werden' (Mu) = [*u*]*ma* 'Morgen' (Km) = *o mah-oc* 'est' (*-oc* is the 2sg. poss. suff.) (Li)
Cu: (E) Afar *maàḥa* 'early morning' (PaHy), Saho *maḥ-* 'to dawn', *máaḥā* 'time before dawn' (We); Yaaku *imɛhɛ́t* 'tomorrow' (He);
?Eg (OK) *mḥw.t*, (MK) *mḥy.t* 'Nordwind, als kühlender, erquickender Wind', *mḥ.t-j* 'nördlich; Norden' (Wb. II: 125; EDE III: 476), Coptic of Lycopolis ⲙⲛⲅ 'souffle', Sahidic and Bohairic ⲙⲛⲓⲧ 'Nord' > Arabic *maḥwat* 'vent du Nord; pluie' (Vycichl 1983: 130).

măhagay m. 'summer' (HuB) = *məhagay* m. 'the hot season in May and June', *imhagay* 'in summer' (Rp), see *hagáay* m. 'Sommer, heißeste und trockene Jahreszeit' (Re) etc.; cf. also Am *maghib* 'summer' (Star)

mhakwal m., def.sg. *umhakwal* 'western side' (Wd) = *mhak^{w}al* 'Süd; oben, höher gelegen', *-iih* 'südlich von ihm', *-aab* 'südlich' (Hs) = *meháakwel* and *emháakwel* m. 'die weite ebene südlich von Suakin; der Süden' (Re) = *muhak^{w}alóon* 'im Süden' (Al) = *mo acouweg* 'Sud' (Li); cf. also *mehaakwal*, *imhaakwal* (2) 'to be/go upwards, upstream' (Rp) < Ar *maḥqala* 'Saatfeld' (Reinisch 1895: 215; Hess 1919: 215) = *maḥqala* 'arable land, sown field' (Sg 967).

mhalaab m., def.sg. *umhala*, def.pl. *imhala* 'shore' (Wd)
Probably borrowed from Ar *maḥla* 'dry land' (Sg 967).

mehíin m., pl. *-a* 'place', *mehiinwɛr* adv. 'elsewhere', *mehíinaan* adv. 'in this place, here' (Rp) = *mhiin* 'endroit' (Vh) = *mhiin* m., def.sg. *oomhiin*, def.pl. *imhiina* 'place' (Wd) = *mehiin* m. 'place' (HuB) = *mehíin* m., pl. *-a* 'Ort, Stätte', *náa-mhiin*(*-i*) 'wo, wohin, woher' (Re)
From the verb *haan* 'existieren, bleiben, leben', pres. *ee-híin* (Reinisch 1895: 122, 166).

ee-mhay ‘constellation of Orion’ (HuB) = Suakin *e-mhai* ‘Orion’ (Th)
Lit. ‘The Three [Stars]’, cf. *mehay* ‘three’ (HuB).

majal m., def.sg. *umajaal*, def.pl. *imajaala* ‘way, scope’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *maǧāl* ‘road, passage; career; power, capacity, opportunity, possibility’ (Sg 957).

makwạ f. ‘double star in tail of constellation of the Plough’ (HuB)
Is it identical with *nakwạt* ‘double star in handle of Plough’ (HuB)?

malhi ‘the middle one’, *malmalhu* ‘middle one’ (HuB) = *u malha*^{h} ‘die Mitte’, *malhọọy* ‘in der Mitte befindlich’ (Hs) = *malhé* m. ‘centre; midst’ (Rp), prep. *malh* ‘amongst, amidst’ (Rp) = *málho* 1. ‘Zweiheit, Paar’, 2. ‘Mitte, Zwischen’ (Re) = *malh* ‘zwischen’, lit. ‘Mitte’ (Al) = *to malhoy* ‘moyen’ (Li)
Re (1895: 168) compared it with Khamir (CCu) *mäxil* ‘Mitte’ (and Amh *mākhal*) but the medial *-x-* undoubtedly continues some pCCu velar stop, cf. Kemant *mälqi* ‘milieu’ (CR). On the other hand, there is a suggestive etymological solution based on the numeral ‘2’, cf. the form *mahlŏ* (Hu 1964) or *mhaloo-* (Hu 1976). The semantic development is quite natural, cf. English ‘between’ or German ‘zwischen’.

malh m. ‘salt’ (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *milḥ*, pl. *milaḥ*, *milāḥ*, *milḥa* ‘salt’ (Sg 1054).

miilak m., def.sg. *umiilak*, def.pl. *imiilaka* ‘salt’ (Wd) = *miilak* m. ‘salt’ (HuB) = Am *milak* id. (Star) = *miilák* m. ‘salt’ (Rp) = *miláak* m., pl. *milák* ‘salz’ (Re)
See *malh* id.

milik m., def.sg. *oomlik*, def.pl. *imilka* ‘kingdom; sole’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *milk* ‘kingdom, dominion’ (Sg 1057).

malal m. ‘wilderness, desert, khor and surroundings’ (HuB) = *maláal* m., pl. *malăl* ‘khor, country on either side of banks of khor; town’ (Rp) = *u malaal*, pl. *i malel* ‘das Wâdī und seine Ungebung, Wâdīglände’ (Hs) = *maláal* m., pl. *malál* ‘die Wüste, Steppe’ (Re) = *maláal* m., pl. *malál* ‘Wüstental’ (Al) = *melál* ‘Wüste’ (Mu)
Reinisch (1895: 169) and Hess (1919: 215) connected it with Ty *marōr* or *mōrōr* ‘brousse, terrain en friche garenne; essart’ (Coulbeaux and Schreiber).

melauwlaa ‘constellation of the Great Bear’ (HuB)

mamuudạ ‘muddy and slippery place’ (HuB)

miimhạ m. 'direction of Mecca' (HuB) = Suakin *e-mimha* 'east' (Th), cf. *mạhă* m. 'dawn, time of morning prayer, east' (HuB).

minday n.act. 'dripping', *mindaat* f. 'drop, shower of rain' (Wd), see *náda* m. 'dew' (Rp)

mingaay m., def.sg. *umingaay* 'isolation, desert' (Wd) = *mingay* m. 'place without people' (HuB) = *mangai* and *mingai* m., pl. *mangɛi* 'khala, isolation' (Rp) = *u mingaay*, pl. *i mingey* 'Einöde, menschlichenleere Gegend' (= Ar *ḫalā*)' (Hs) = *mánga* and *mínga* m. 'die Wüste, Steppe' (Re) = *miṅgai* m. 'Wüste' (Al) = *mká* 'Wüste' (Km)
Reinisch (1895: 171) connected it with Ar *manğa*(*n*) 'place, esp. on high, where one can escape; rising of the ground' (Sg 1065).

mari 'direction' (Vh)

murdim m. 'star near Orion's belt' (HuB) = Am *mirdam* 'middle star of Orion's belt; after this appears, rainy season begins' (Star)
Could it be adapted from Ar *mirdan* 'spindle' (Sg 985)?

Am *te-marafa* 'Milky Way' (Star)
Could it be adapted from Ar *marfa?* 'anchorage' (Sg 988)?

murjaan m., def.sg. *umurjaan* 'coral' (Wd) = *morgaan* m. 'coral' (HuB) = *murjáan* m., pl. *-a* 'Koralle' (Re) = *mürgjân* id. (Se).
Borrowed from Ar *murğān* 'coral, pearl' (Sg 983), cf. Ti *mərǰān* 'chain of read beads' (LH 116).

meréer, *merár* m., pl. *-a* 'Röte am Himmel', *oo-súbhu meréer* 'Morgenröte', *óo-ngrebi meréer* 'Abendröte' (Re)
Eg (D 18) *m3w.t* 'die Strahlen der Sonne, ihr Glanz', *m3wy* 'bestrahlen, erleuchten' (Wb. II: 28), Coptic Bohayric ⲙⲟⲩⲉ, ⲙⲱⲟⲩⲓ 'lumière, clarté' (Vycichl 1983: 108).

mus m. 'salt', *masiib* 'salty, bitter (not used water)' (HuB) = *mos* f. 'salt water used as condiment' (Rp) = *moos* 'Salz' (Re) = *moos* f. 'Salz', *móosi* 'salzig' (Al) = *omoss* id. (Km) = [*o*]*mous* id. (Bu)
Reinisch (1895: 173) connected it with Ar *ḥamaḍa/ḥamiḍa/ḥamuḍa* 'to be sour' (Sg 297) and further with non-AA counterparts:
Nubian (NS): Mahas *imíid* 'salt' || Kenzi and Dongola *um*(*b*)*ud* id. (Murray 1923: 73) and Tegele (Kordofanian) *múude* id. But the Ar word was apparently borrowed into Beja *hamid* 'sauer' (Re) = *hamíid* id. (Al).

Murray (l.c.) compared it with Coptic (Sahidic) ϥⲙⲟϫ ‘devenir aigre’, itself of Semitic origin (Vycichl 1983: 303), and Eg (MK) *ḥm3.t* ‘Salt’ (Wb. III: 93), continuing in Coptic (Sahidic and Bohayric) ϥⲙⲟϒ id. (Vycichl 1983: 299), evidently unconnected with Beja *mos* and *mus*.

masset f., def.sg. *tumassi*, def.pl. *timassi* ‘year’ (Wd) = *mase* f. ‘year’ (HuB) = Am *masset* id. (Star) = *masse* f. ‘year’, *másí* adv. ‘yet, ever, still’, with neg. ‘never, not yet’ (Rp) = *máase*, *másse* f. 1. ‘Vergangenheit’; 2. ‘Jahr’, *máasi* ‘einst, jemals’, with neg. ‘niemals’ (Re) = *maszét* ‘Jahr’ (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 173) connected it with Ar *māḍī* ‘passed, past (n.)’ (Sg 938), cf. also Gz *maḍaw* ‘season of flowers, spring, season after rains’, *maḍawa* and *maṣawa* ‘to pass the season of *maḍaw*’, Ty *mäṣäw* ‘season of flowers’ etc. (Leslau 1987: 331).

měsi f. ‘act of producing fire by means of twirling stick’ (HuB)
Be ‘fire’: (E) Siwa *tamisih* (Bricchetti-Robecchi) = *temsa* (Cailliaud), see Basset (1890: 56); Ghadames *timsi* (Calassanti-Motylinski) || (N) Kabyl *times*(*s*)*/tim*(*es*)*si* (Dallet) || (W) Zenaga *ṭimši* id. (Nicolas), further see Laoust 1920: 50.

Am *misgas* ‘small canals’ (Star)

mišad m. ‘shallow surface well’ (HuB)
Is it identical with *mašel* ‘trockener Wâdī-Arm’ (Hs)?

mišaḍḍawt f., pl. *mišaḍḍawa* ‘oasis’ (Vh)

(*u*) *mašel*, indet. *mašalaab*, pl. i *mašele*^{h} ‘trockener Wâdī-Arm’ (Hs)

mătir f. ‘lateral boundaries of a valley’ (HuB)

mitway m. ‘rains coming before regular winter rain’ (HuB) = Am *mitwai* ‘summer rain’ (Star) = *mitway* m., pl. *mitwɛy* ‘light spring rains’ (Rp)

ṭọọ mọọy, indet. *mọọyt*, pl. *ti mọọye*^{h} ‘kleiner Berg’ (Hs), probably identical with *moi* m. ‘top of head’ (HuB) = *moi* m., pl. *moi*(*y*)*a* ‘crown of head, top’ (Rp) = Am *o-moi* ‘top’ (Star) = *mooy* ‘onto’ (Wd)
Cu: (E) Afar *moyya* ‘brain, head, skull’ (PaHy);
?Om: (N) Nao *mai* ‘mountain’ (Be);
Ch: (C) Bachama *mwɛy*, Wamdiu *məw*, Kilba *mâ’* ‘mountain’ (Kr).

maiyyam m. ‘ground sloping downwards or low lying’ (HuB)
Derived from *mọọy* f. ‘kleiner Berg’ (Hs) or from *ayam* ‘low’ (HuB)?

n

n'a̰ and *n'ē* f., acc. *neet* 'fire', *na'a* 'hot' (HuB) = *nʔi* 'feu' (Vh) = *n'eet* f., def.sg. *toon'i* 'fire' (Wd) = *n'e* ~ *n'ie* 'fuoco' (Ci) = *n'e* f. id. (Rp) = *n'a* and *n'e* f. 'Feuer, hitziges Fieber' (Re) = *na*, *ne* f. 'Feuer' (Al) = Am *nait* 'fire' (Star) = [*to*]*ney*[*t*] id. (Bu) = *tona* id. (Km) = [*tô*]*n-ih* id. (Se)
?ECu: Afar *niʕna* 'fever, heat', *niʕnà-le* 'to be hot', *niʕinnoowe* 'to become hot' (with variants in *lal*) (PaHy);
SOm: Hamer *nu*(*'*), Kara *no*, Dime *nuun*, Ari *nóhá* and *nɔɔ*, Galila *noḳa* and *loḳa* 'fire' (Bender 1994).

Bi *nê'ed-dôl* 'ash' (Th)
The compound consisting of the acc. of *n'e* 'fire' and *ḍăhálay* 'glowing ember' (Rp).

na'aal f. 'part of constellation of great Bear' (HuB)

nʔeet haaʃ 'cendre' (Vh) = *n'eetehaaš* 'ashes' (Wd) = *n'eet-haaš* m. 'ash(es)' (Rp) = *ne'éet-haaš* m. 'Asche' (Re) = *neet haš* 'ash, cinders' (HuB) = *netháaš* m. 'Asche' (A) = Am *naitaš* id. (Star) = *net hasch* id. (Mu) = *netásch* id. (Se)
Lit. 'fire-dust'. Only Thompson (1910: 165) recorded a deviated form, viz. Bi *nê'ed-dôl* 'ash'.

n'iya and *n'aya* v. 'to be down' (Wd) = *nʔa* 'être en bas' (Vh)

nab'ooyt f., def.sg. *tunab'ooy* 'warmth', *nab'anaayt* f., def.sg. *tunab'anaay*, def.pl. *tinab'anay* 'warmth, heat', from *naba'* adj. 'hot, warm' (Wd)

nabhoob, *nabhiib* m., def.sg. *unabhoob*, *unabhi*, def.pl. *inabhiya* 'afternoon, early' = Am *nabahowb* 'midday' (Star)

nibira v. 'to cool, cool off' (Wd)

náda m. 'dew', *minda* 'raindrop' (Rp) = *náda* 'Tau' (Re) = *enédda* '(der) Tau' (Se); Borrowed from Ar *nadā* 'dew' or Ti *näda* id. (LH 340) = TiBA *nada* 'drop' (Nakano and Tsuge).

nafaay adv. 'afterwards' (Wd)

nageeb m. 'deserted (place)' (HuB) = Am *nagib* 'desert', *nageb* 'oasis' (Star) = *nagɛ* m. (acc. *nagɛb*), pl. *nagia* 'desert, district void of wells', *nagɛti re* 'oasis' (Rp) = *nageet* f., def.sg. *tunagi*, def.pl. *tinagi* 'wilderness' (Wd)

Perhaps borrowed from Ar *naqb* 'hole in the earth or in a wall; tunnel; digging, tilling, cultivation of the ground' (Sg 1140).

naggaal m., def.sg. *unaggaal*, def.pl. *inaggal*(*i*) 'shore, edge' (Wd)

nagaar m, def.sg. *unagaar*, def.pl. *inagar* 'turn, every second day' (Wd) = Am *nagari* 'day after day' (Star)

nagaarạ 'large drum of copper' (HuB) = *niggara* f. 'Kupfer' besides *nakáara* f. 'Trompette, Horn' (Re) = *nakkáara* 'Pauke, Paukchen' (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *naqqāra* 'small kettle-drum, cymbal' (Sg 1140) or Ti *naggārat* 'big drum of the chieftain' (LH 341), cf. Gz *nagārit* 'trumpet, drum' (Leslau 1987: 392), besides Ar *nāqūr* 'Trompette' (Wehr 881), see Almkvist (1885: 50).

nĭ̆ki f. 'ground cracked and dry' (HuB)
Cf. *nika'a* v. 'to crack, explode' (Wd).

nakwạt f. 'double star in handle of Plough' (HuB), see *makwạ* id. (HuB).

Bi *o-nôn* 'summer' (Th)

nóora f. 'Kalk' (Re) = *tennaúwará* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *nawra*, *nūraa*, pl. *nūr* 'lime, chalk' (Sg 1155) or some EtSe source, cf. Gz *norā* 'chalk, lime', Ti *norät*, Ty, Amh, Gurage *nora* id. (Leslau 1979: 460; 1987: 401).

nuur m., def.sg. *oonuur* 'light' (Wd) = *nuur* m., pl. *-a* 'Licht' (Re) = *nuur* m. id. (Al) = Am *o-nur* 'light' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *nūr* '(ray of) light, brightness' (Sg 1155).

tu näsäl, pl. *ti näsälä*^{h} 'Felskuppe ohne Blöcke und Steine' (Hs)
Borrowed from Ar *naṣl* 'Kopf, Kuppe des Hinterkopfes' (Hess 1919: 216).

Am *natila* 'top tributary of a wadi' (Star)

r

re f., pl. *rĭ̆* 'well' (HuB) = *tóo ri* 'le puits', *rĕ̆ĕt* 'un puits', pl. *rêêt* (Vh) = *reet* f., def. sg. *toori*, def.pl. *teeri* 'well, water hole' (Wd) = *re*, *ri* f., pl. *reet* 'well' (Rp) = *tọọ re*^{h}, indet. *rẹẹt*, pl. *tẹẹ re*^{h} 'Brunnen' (Hs) = *re*, rare *ra* m. and f. 'Wassersammlung, Zisterne', *merwi* adj. in *buur mérwi* 'wasserbetränktes Land' (Re) = Am *to-ri*, acc. *red* 'well', further perhaps *ret* 'khor', cf. also *to-rĕ* 'oasis'? (Star) = *re* m. (or f.?) 'Brun-

nen' (Al) = *tore* 'Brunnen' (Mu) = [*to*]*ry* 'spring or source' (Bu) = [*to*]*réh* (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 188) connected it with Se **r-w-y* (Leslau 1987: 478): Gz *raw*(*a*)*ya* 'to drink one's fill; be watered', Ar *rawiya* 'drink one's fill', *marwiyy* 'abundantly watered', Gz *mərwāy* 'place of refreshment' = Beja *merwi*.
?Cu: (E) Bayso *ra* 'hole' (Haberland and Lamberti 1988: 134), which should be probably separated from the homonym *ra* 'path, road' (ibid.) = *raa* 'road' (Hy) = *ra* 'road' (Fleming 1964: 54, who compared it with Som *raʕ-* 'to follow, go with'); ?Elmolo *ráa* 'cave' (He).

ro'o (*lo'o*) f., pl. *rŭ* 'tributary khor' (HuB) = *tóo rʔi* 'le lit d'un oued', *rʔŏŏb* 'un lit d'un oued', pl. *rʔôôb* (Vh) = *r'e* f. 'small subsidiary khor', indef. *r'oot*; m. 'id., somewhat larger' (Rp); cf. *r'oob* m., def.sg. *oor'oob* 'bottom, under side' (Wd)
Cu: (E) Dullay: Harso-Dobase *ráʕʕ-e* f. 'Tal, Schlucht' (AMS).
Note: Beja *r'e* f. 'small subsidiary khor' (Rp) etc. can be identical with *re*^{h} 'Brunnen' (Hs).

ribaab m., def.sg. *oorba*, def.pl. *eerba* 'hill, mountain' (Wd) = *riba* 'montagne' (Vh) = *rĕbạ* m. 'mountain' (HuB) = *rĕba* and *rĭba* m. 'mountain; large group of hills'; f. 'id., smaller group of hills' (Rp) = *ọọ rbe*^{h}, indet. *ribaab*, pl. *ẹẹ rbe*^{h} 'Berg' (Hs) = *réeba* and *ríba* m. 'Berg, Hügel' (Re) = *r*(*é*)*ba* m., with article *úurba* '(der) Berg' (Al) = Am *reba* 'hill', *rebab* 'mountain', ?*rebart* 'small bank of rock', *mirbaay* 'high place' (Star) = *órba* (Kc, Km) = *o'orba*, pl. *e'eerba* (Mu) = [*o*]*rbay* (Bu) = [*o*]*rba* (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 188) and Hess (1919: 216) derived it from Ar *rabw*(*a*)*/ribwa/rubwa*, pl. *rubā* 'hill' (Sg 400), cf. dial. (Yemen) *rabwe* 'Hügel', Tripolis *rabbä* 'collina' (Hess l.c.), probably derived from the verbal root *r-b-w* 'to increase, grow'. Is it also connected with Eg (MK) *w3b.t* 'Anhöhe, hochgelegenes Ackerstück' (Wb. I: 251) and Som *rabaal* 'Hügel, kleiner Berg' (Reinisch 1902: 318)?
Lit.: Takács (EDE I: 104) Eg + Ar + (or >) Beja.

Riif m. 'Egypten', *Rífya* c.g. 'Egypter' (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *ar-Rīf* 'Unterägypten' where *rīf* means 'fruchtbares, bebautes Land; flaches Land' (Wehr 337).

raagw m., pl. *răgw* 'artificial reservoir' (Suakin/Sinkat dial.) (Rp)
?Be: (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *ărụ̀g*, pl. *irụ̀gg̀ən* < *ā-*rahūg* 'vallée' (Prasse 1974: 75).

ọọ rhaab, pl. *ẹẹ rhäb* 'breites Wâdī in der Ebene, das nur durch den grünen Pflanzenwuchs (*ʕöšb*) kenntlich ist, ohne Holzpflanzen' (Hs)

ráka m. 'weite, freie Luft' (Re)
Perhaps borrowed from Ar *ruḫāʔ* 'breeze' (Reinisch 1895: 191; Sg 407).

rěkwia m. ‘depression in ground’ (HuB)

rimiab ‘on heat’ (HuB)
Cu: (E) Afar *rama* ‘hot ashes remaining from a fire’ (PaHy), if it is not borrowed from Ar *ramād* ‘ashes’; Arbore *rómm* (Hy), Elmolo *rôm* ‘ashes’ (He); Yaaku *hroon*, pl. *hroómê’* ‘ashes’ (He); Mashile and D’irayta *room-* ‘red’ (Bl) can also be related (‘colour of glowing ashes’, cf. Ar *ramādiyy* ‘ash-coloured’ vs *ramād* ‘ashes; potash’, see Sg 433). Oromo *ramači* ‘ashes’ (Tu) = *ramaci* ‘cenera calda’ (Borello) is an Amh lw., cf. Amh *rämäṭ* ‘hot ashes, cinder’ (Ls);
Se: Aram *rimṣå* ‘ashes’; Ar *ramaḍa* ‘to roast on stones, heat in the fire’; Gz *rämäḍ* ‘hot ashes, cinders’, Ty *rämäṣ*, Ti *rämäč*, Amh *rämäṭ* id. (Leslau 1979: 526). Ar *ramād* with the different third radical implies the biradical root **r-m*.
In Chadic a possible cognate could be found in the colour-name ‘black’: (W) Kariya *rimína*, Miya *rînní* || (E) Jegu *ráámân*, Mubi *rám* id. (JgIb II: 28–29).

ror m., pl. *-a* ‘potholes in khor’ (Rp)
?Cu: (E) Oromo *raaree* ‘pool’ (Gg); Sid *rirriwá* ‘marsh, swamp’ (HG).

Am *o-rs-eet* ‘south’ (Star)
Eg (Pyr) *rsw*, later *rsj* ‘südlich’, *rsw.t* ‘Süden’ (Wb. II: 452–453), Copt ⲣⲏⲥ id. (Vycichl 1983: 178).

rasáas m. ‘bullets, cartriges’ (Rp) = *resáas* m. coll. ‘Blei’, *tuu-resáas* ‘ein Bleistück, (Blei-/ Schiess)kugel’ (Re) = *rasáas* m. ‘Blei’, n. unit. *tu-rasáas* ‘Bleistück’ (Al) = *orszâs* (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *raṣāṣ* ‘lead, tin’ (Sg 416).

riša f. ‘crest, summit’ (HuB) = *ríiša* f. ‘Berggipfel, -spitze’ (Re) = *te’risha* ‘der Berggipfel’ (Mu)
Borrowed from EtSe: Gz *rəʔs* ‘head, top, summit’, Ti *räʔas*, Ti *rəʔsi* ‘head’, cf. Ar *raʔs* and Soqotri *reš* id. (Leslau 1987: 458).

Am *ruša* ‘rain after bad flood’ (Star)

rošáan m., pl. *rošán* ‘Haus, Palast aus Steinen, Burg, Festung’ (Re) = *rošáan* ‘Haus von Steinen’ (Se)
Perhaps borrowed from Ar (< Pers) *rawšan* and *rawzan* ‘window’ (Wahrmund I, 1: 808–809; Sg 442). This word is widespread in Cushitic, cf. Saho *rosan* (Re) and Som *rosaan* (Reinisch 1902: 326).

Am *to-rtu* ‘thunder’ (Star)

s

saa', *saa'a* f. 'hour' (Rp) = *sa'aat* f., def.sg. *toos'a*, def.pl. *tees'a* (Wd) = *sáa'a* f. 'Zeit, Stunde' (Re) = Am *sa* 'time' (Star) = *tossa* 'Stunde' (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *sāʕa* 'hour, moment, short time' (Sg 474), cf. also Gz *saʕāt* and *sāʕat* 'hour, time, moment, season', Ti, Ty *täʕat* etc. (Leslau 1987: 481).

s'ai 'mist' (HuB) = *s'aay* m., def.sg. *oos'aay* 'dew' (Wd) = *saa'ạ* m. 'dew' (HuB) = *s'ay*, *sə'ay* m. 'mist, fog' (Rp) = *sa'* m., pl. *sá'a* 'Nebelwolke' (Re) = *o'sa* 'Tau' (Mu)
Cu: (C) **səw-a* 'rain' (Appleyard 2006: 113–114; he compared the Agaw forms with Beja *-siiw* 'to spurt') > Bilin, Khamtanga, Khamir, Kemant, Kaïliña *səwa* id.; (S) Iraqw *tsaʔ* 'cold'; Qwadza *tsaʔu-* id.; Maa *sa'á* 'cold; wind' (Ehret 1980: 176).
Ch: (C) Zime-Batna *sóʔó* 'cold' || (E) Sokoro *ósso* id.; Jegu *ʔés* 'cold wind' (JgIb II: 80–81).
Lit.: Ehret (1987: 59, n. 230) Beja 'dew' + CCu 'rain'.

saboo f. 'desert, waterless place' (HuB) = *sabbi* f., acc. *sabbot* 'desert' (Rp) = *sab-boot* f., def.sg. *tusabbu*, def.pl. *tisabbu* 'wilderness' (Wd)
Perhaps connected (lw.?) with Ar *sabsab*, pl. *sabāsib* 'vast plain, desert' or *sabtāʔ* 'desert' (Sg 478, 477).

sibdiạ f. 'basin' (HuB)

sĕbuh m. 'morning' (HuB) = *sebṵ́h* m. 'Morgen', *oo-súbh-i meréer* 'Morgenröte' (Re) = *sbuh* m. 'Morgen' (beginnt eine Viertelstunde vor dem Sonnenaufgang, cf. *kruum*) (Al)
Borrowed from Ar *ṣubḥ* 'dawn, light of the morning' (Sg 578).

sabt f., def.sg. *toosab* 'Saturday' (Wd) = *sabt* f. 'Saturday' (HuB) = *sab* f. id. (Rp) = *saab* and *sabb* f. 'Samstag' (Re) = Am *subt* 'Saturday' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *sabt* 'Saturday' (Sg 477).

sĭd m. 'south' (HuB) = *siid* m. 'Süd' (Re, Al) = *o'sĭd* 'der Süd' (Mu)
Reinisch (1895: 195) derived it from Ar *ṣaʕīd* 'ascensio'.

Sodáan m. 'Sudan' (Re)
Borrowed from *as-Sūdān* 'der Sudan' where *sūdān* represents a plural of *ʔaswad* 'schwarz' (Wehr 401).

siif m., def.sg. *oosiif* 'drizzle, fine rain' (Wd) = *siif* m. 'fine misty rain, drizzle' (Rp)
Derived from *saf* v.2 'to sprinkle' (Rp, HuB).

siifa f. ‘coral rock’ (Rp)
Borrowed from Ar *sīf* ‘sea-coast, shore, river-bank’ (Sg 521).

Suakin *o-sáfil* ‘north’ (Th) = *sáafit* (*-t* instead of *-l*?) m. ‘der Norden’ (Al)
Thompson (1910: 181) assumed a borrowing of Ar *sāfil* ‘lower part, further down’ (Sg 474).

sagi ‘distant’, *sig* ‘to be distant’ (Rp) = *sagi* ‘loin’ (Vh) = *segi* ‘fern, entfernt sein’ (Re) = *sagiib* m., *sagiit* f. ‘distant’, *sagiimhiin* adv. ‘far away, distant’ (Wd) = *ségi* ‘sich entfernen’ (Al) = *ésgi* ‘lang werden, sich entfernen’ (Mu)
Cu: ?(C) Bilin *səŋʷət/səŋut* ‘far, distant’ (Appleyard 2006: 64; Reinisch 1887: 309); (E) **seg-/*sog-* ‘far’ (Sasse 1975: 246; 1979: 54) > Som *seeg* ‘versäumen’; Arbore, Dasenech *seg-* ‘far’, Konso, Dirayta *sek-* id.; Yaaku *sɛkɛ’* id.; (S) **sag-* id. (Ehret 1980: 350) > Iraqw *saw*, Burunge *segiŋ*, Alagwa *sige*, Qwadza *sagumu*, Asa *sanga* id.
Lit.: Reinisch (1887: 309) Beja + Bilin; Ehret (1987: 65, n. 227) PCu **seg-/*sog-* ‘far’ > Beja + Ecu + Scu.

soguud m., pl. *sagud* ‘firebrand’ (HuB) = *sug*(*w*)*uuḍ* m., pl. *sugwíḍ* ‘brand’ (Rp; *ḍ* is ‘an occlusive final consonant’) = *sågŭd* m., pl. *-a* ‘Hitze, Brand’ (Re) = *sogúd* m. ‘Feuerbrand’ (Mu)

sugúm, *segúm* m. ‘Frühling, Zeit nach den periodischen Regen’ (Re)
Reinisch (1895: 196) connected it with Ti (and Ty) *səgm* (‘the ascending’, cf. *sāgama* ‘to ascend, move into highland’, see LH 198) and added Saho *sugúm* ‘Frühling (Mai-Juni)’ (Re) = *sugum* ‘small rainy season’ (Vergari), Afar *sugum* ‘rain which doesn’t amount to much’ (PaHy) and Bilin *sagem* ‘vom Meere, vom Tiefland aus nach dem Hochland ziehen’ (cf. Reinisch 1887: 297). This areal isogloss represents a typical example of the Northeast African *Sprachbund* connecting Beja, Bilin, Saho-Afar and Tigre-Tigray.

sigwonni m. ‘hard white stone, often found in ostriches’ crops’ (HuB)

Am *to-sgunfoy* ‘hail’ (Star)
Perhaps a compound with the first component identical with *sigwonni* m. ‘hard white stone, often found in ostriches’ crops’ (HuB).

săhaab, *saab* m. ‘cloud (cirrus or stratus)’ (Rp) = *shaab* and *saab* ‘nuage’ (Vh) = *saháab* m., pl. *saháb* ‘Wolke’ (Re) = *saháab* ‘Wolke’ (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *saḥāba*, pl. *saḥāb* ‘cloud’ (Sg 482).

tu saahah, indet. *saahaat* ‘ebenes Gelände vor und um den *duwwār*’ (Hs)

Borrowed from Ar *sāḥa* 'weiter Platz vor einem Hause oder um die Wohnungen eines Stammes' (Hs) = *sāḥa*, pl. *sāḥ* 'open place between tents, houses etc.' (Sg 473).

sʾheel 'Stern Canopus and Carinae', cf. *sheelit hidadt* '(in oder nach der) Richtung des Canopus' (Hs) = Am *sihala* 'star to which indicate rains esp. in summer' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar dial. (Central Arabia) *sĕhēl*, Class. Ar *suhayl* id. (Hs; Sg 516).

sikwi f. 'quartz' (HuB) = *sikuauneb* 'Quarzit' (Mu)
Reinisch (1893: 9-10 and 1895: 36) analysed the latter form as the acc. **siku awn-eeb* '*bright (?)stone', identifying the first component with Gz *ṣəḥwa* and *ṣəḫwa* 'to be bright (sky)'. The second component is discussed apud *auwi* 'stone' (HuB).

seel m. 'star' (which?) (HuB) = *sail* 'star in Orion's belt visible in the end of autumn' (Star)
Identical with *sʾheel* 'Stern Canopus and Carinae' (Hs)?

sil f. 'boundary' (HuB)

salal m., def.sg. *usalal*, def.pl. *isalala* 'way, path' (Wd) = *salal* 'chemin' (Vh) = *sallal* m., pl. *sa̰lla̰* ' way, road', *salool* v.2 'to lead' (HuB) = *salal* m., pl. *sál*(ă) 'way, path', *salol* v.2 'to guide, lead camel' (Rp) = *sálla*, pl. *salóol* m. 'Weg', cf. *salool* v.2 'führen, leiten' (Re) = [*o*]*sala* 'route' (Li)
Borrowed from EtSe or from Ar, cf. Ti *səlal* 'winding road, mule-track', Ar *salla* 'to withdraw, pull out' (LH 167; Leslau 1987: 516).

som'a m. 'hillock formed by white ants' (Rp)

simha 'the day that comes after an interval of three days' (Rp) = Am *sinhab* 'after three days' (Star)
Derived from the numeral *məhɛi* (Rp) = *maháy*, *meháy*, *emháy* 'three' (Re).

san m., pl. *sina̰* 'basin' (HuB) = *sánay* f., pl. *sanɛi* 'stream of running water' (Rp)
Cu: (E) SOromo *sona* 'bank of a river, riverside' (Stroomer 1987: 386) || Dahalo *sòòni* 'river' || (S) Maa *sondá* 'valley' (Ehret 1980: 182);
?Ch: (C) Misme of Zime *sina* 'river' (Kr).
Note: SOromo and Dahalo are neighbours; it means that the similarity of the compared words could be caused by their mutual contact.

saanha f. 'col, pass' (Rp) = *tu säänäh*, indet. *säänäht* 'Pass' (Hs)
Perhaps borrowed from the same Arabic root as *sunḥ* 'middle of the road'.

sanaat f., def.sg. *tusana*, def.pl. *tisana* ‘year’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *sana* ‘year’ (Sg 512).

senáy ‘Frühherbst, September and Oktober’ (Re) = *senéei* id. (Mu)
Reinisch (1895: 203) connected it with EtSe: Gz *śane*, *səne* ‘tenth Ethiopian month (8 June-7 Juli), Ty *səne*; Amh *säne* (Leslau 1987: 531 adds HECu forms: Kamb, Tambaro *sanaa*). Afar (ECu) *saaniyya* ‘cold dampness, *saaniyyu* ‘cold west wind’ and the fact that the EtSe words have no cognates outside Ethiopia, can offer a witness to a common Cushitic origin of both Beja and Afar words and a borrowed character of their EtSe counterparts.

suurạ f. ‘watering place’ (HuB) = *suura* f. ‘well, watering-place’ (Rp) = *súura* f. ‘die Tränke, Becken aus Lehm, vor der Zisterne errichtet, zum Tränken der Herden (Re) = *to’sura*, pl. *te’sura* ‘die Tränke’ (Mu)
?Cu: (E) SOromo *sora* (~ *ś-*) ‘season of rains’ (Stroomer);
?Ch: (W) Diri *súwàrú*, Tsagu *zááwà*; Wangday *shar*, Tule, Zaar *zhà* etc. ‘water’ (JgIb II: 340);
Be: (N) Beni Snus *essuur* ‘tränken’ (Zyhlarz 1933–1934: 99, #45 Be + Eg);
Eg (Pyr) *zwr*, (MK) *swj* (Wb. III: 428), Demotic *swr*, Copt Bohairic and Sahidic cω ‘to drink’ (Vycichl 1983: 183; Zyhlarz 1932–1933: 170, #69 Eg + Beja).

sirma ‘the day that comes after an interval of two days’ (Rp) = Am *sirmabi* ‘after two days’ (Star)
Derived from the numeral ‘two’ attested in *asaráama* ‘seven’, lit. ‘growing two [plus five]’ (Re).

suwan m. ‘flint’ (HuB)

š

šaab m. ‘reef, shoal (submerged rock)’ (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *šaʕb* ‘split, cleft’ (Sg 543) > Som *šaʕab* ‘Koralenriff, Klippe’ (Reinisch 1902: 353).

u šabaay, pl. *i šäbey* ‘schwierige, unebene Strasse im gebirgen Gelände’ (Hs)
Perhaps connected (lw.?) with Ar *šiʕb*, pl. *šiʕāb* ‘mountain path, narrow pass, water-course’ (Sg 543).

šafåk m. ‘dusk’ (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *šafaq* ‘evening twilight; ruddy light’ (Sg 547).

šuugạ m. ‘khor between high mountains’ (HuB)

šagiil m. 'hill' (HuB)

šake m. 'precipice' (Rp)
?EtSe: Ti *šīkā* 'field, meadow, walley', Ty *šaḵī* 'frische Weide, Wiese' (LH 222).

šelhatani f. 'precipice, steep place' (Hu) = *u šelhät*, indet. *šelhätaab*, pl. *i šelhätäʰ* 'glatter Felsboden, eben oder abschüssig, auf dem man ausgeleitet' (Hs) = *šelhúutani* m. 'schlüpfriges Terrain (Weg, steiler Abhang, Abgrund)' (Re) = *šelhúutani* m., pl. *-a* 'schlüpfrige Stelle' (Al) = *shelhotenéb* 'Abgrund, Rain' (Mu)
Reinisch (1894: 11, §294 and 1895: 213) analysed it as the derivative (nomen agentis) of the verb *šehaat* 'ausgleiten, glitschen' and connected it with Bilin (CCu) *ǰalhaṭ*, Ty (ʔan)*dälḥaṣä* and *däḥäṣä* 'to slide' etc. (Leslau 1987: 128).

šallag m. 'beach' (HuB) = *e-šalág* 'la costa' (Ci) = *u šelek*, indet. *šelekaab*, *i šeleke*ʰ 'Meeresstrand, Ebene, die sich an dem Meere entlang zieht' (Hs)

*tu šellaalä*ʰ, indet. *šellaalaat*, pl. *šellaalä*ʰ 'blinder Wâdī-Arm, abgetrennter Wâdí -Arm mit Wasser' (Hs)
Borrowed from Ar, cf. dial. (ᶜÕtebic, Sinai, Nubia, Sudan) *šellāl*, *šellāle* 'Katarakt, Wasserfall, Stromschnelle' (Dozy).

šam m. 'cave or crack in the earth' (HuB)

šamburạ f. 'mist, cloud' (HuB)
Could it be a compound of *šaay* 'Wolke'/*šay* v.2 'to float' and *ambúur* 'Flügel' (Re)? Let us mention that Afar *ʕamburre* (PaHy) and Saho *amburre* (We) mean 'cloud'.
Apparently the same word occurs in Qifṭ, the Arabic dial. of the Upper Egypt, viz. šabbūra 'fog, mist' (Nishio 1994: 199) and in Mahas and Kenzi *šabbur/šebuur* 'Nebel' (Lepsius). Are they borrowed from Beja or vice versa?

šan m. 'precipice, flood' (HuB)

šanki 'edge', acc. *šankeb* (Rp) = *šankib* 'seashore' (Hu) = Am *šank* 'bank of a river, side', šankabe 'edge' (Star)

šanti f. 'flat stone for throwing something wrong or out of place' (HuB)

širig m. 'khala' (= country as opposed to town; open solitary spaces), cf. *širgíay* and *šírgitak* 'hillman'; *tak* means 'man' (Rp)

šarik m. ‘east’, *šarikbɛt*(*i*) ‘eastwards’ (Rp) = *šarig* m., def.sg. *ušarig* ‘east’ (Wd) = *šarík* m. ‘Ost, Sonnenaufgang’, pl. *šárka* ‘östlich gelegene Ortschaften oder Länder’ (Re) = *osherk* ‘Ost’ (Bu), but *šerk* m. ‘west’ (HuB)!
Borrowed from Ar *šarīq* ‘rising sun, east’, *šarq* ‘east, sun-rise’, *šarqiyy* ‘eastern, oriental’, *šariqa* ‘rising sun’ (Sg 540, 538).

širmiit f., def.sg. *tuširmi*, def.pl. *tiširmiiya* ‘gap, split’ (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *šarm*, pl. *šurūm* ‘split, gap; precipice, abyss, whirlpool; gulf, bay’ (Sg 539).

šeráar and *seraar* m., pl. *-a* ‘Funke’ (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *šarār*, *širār* ‘spark’ (Sg 534), cf. also *Ti šərarit* id. (LH 211).

šŏwŏw m. ‘cloud’ (HuB)
Om (N): Maoid: Hozo *šaawi*, East Mao *šiiwe* ‘wind, air’ (Fleming 1988: 42, n. 22).
Eg (Pyr) *šw* ‘the air-god Šu’ (Wb. IV: 429).
Note: Takács (1999: 205) connected Maoid + Eg + Berber *ẓ-w-y* ‘to be airy, fresh’.

šiạ f. ‘well that is very shallow, water-hole dug in khor’ (HuB) = Am *šiha* ‘shallow small well’ (Star) = *tọọ šyäh*, indet. šyäht, pl. *ti šịihä*^{h} ‘reichlichliches Wasser, das im Rande des Wâdī-gegraben wird, kann wohl dreißig Kamele im Tage tränken’ (Hs)
?Cu: (C) Awngi *soɣen* ‘wet’ (Hetzron), Kunfäl *sek*^{hw}*an* id. (Cowley) || ?Cu: (S) Mbugu *-síwa* ‘to be wet’, *-sí* ‘to rain’ (Ehret 1980: 175);
Om: (W) She *so* ‘acqua’ (Montadon apud Conti Rossini 1925) = She-Bench *so’* ‘water’ (Be);
Ch: (E) Kujarke (Mubi group) *šia* ‘water’ (Doornbos) and/or PCh **sa/i’-* ‘to drink’ (Stolbova 1996: 58; cf. Stolbova 1987: 180, #326): (W) Hausa *sháá*; Sura *shwaa*; Daffo *shoh*; Kirfi *shé:-wò*; Siri *sáwá*; Guruntum *sai*; Ngizim *sá* || (C) Margi *sàh*; Higi Nkafa *sɛxwì*; Gudu *sa*; Laamang *s*(*u*)-; Wandala *shá*; Sukur *sə̀ván*; Gisiga *she*; Daba *sa*; Gidar *sạ*; Logone *sé*; Zime-Batna *cé/sé* || (E) Kera *sé*; Kabalai *sùwə*; Sumrai *shʌ*; Sokoro *sa*; ?Mokilko *síbè*; Birgid *sáyà*, Mubi *súwà* and *sìyá* etc. (JgIb II: 110–111);
Be ‘to drink’: (E) Siwa *su*, Ghadames *əsuw* || (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *əsu* || (W) Zenaga *ešbi* < **iswi* || (N) Mzab, Wargla *su* etc. (Militarev 1991: 256, #19.1).

šaay m., pl. *šay* ‘Wolke’ (Re)
Probably derived from *šay* v.2 ‘to float’ (HuB).
Dolgopolsky (1973: 193) compared it with NOm counterparts: Wolayta *šara* ‘cloud’, Kullo *šariya*, Male *šaari*, Yemsa *šaaru* id., She *šaar* ‘smoke’ (Be), etc. Their more apparent cognates occur in ECu: Rendille *seréí* ‘sky’; Elmolo *séér* ‘rain cloud’

(He). A common origin with Beja is in principle also possible, cf. Beja *boy* 'blood' (Rp), if related to CCu **bər-* id. ||| Ch **bar-* id., but the internal etymology within Beja looks more convincing.

t

t'ung^{u}a 'south' (Th)

taba 'Torrent', *taba enfeeris* 'Torrentmündung' (Mu)
Probably *aba* 'Fluss, Bach' (Re) with the feminine article.

til m. 'stream' (HuB); *tilt* m., def.sg. *tootil* 'drop' (Wd)
Cf. *til* v.2 'to drop' (HuB) = *til* v.2 'to drip, dribble' (Rp). Perhaps the same root forms the phytonym *til* f. 'Urostigma abutifolium' (Schw).
It could be connected with Ar *tilla* 'humidity' (Sg 184) or Gz *ṭal*(*a*)*a* 'to be moist, humid, wet, covered with dew', *ṭallāt* 'drops of dew, fatness', Ti *ṭälla* 'to be wet' etc. (LH 606; Leslau 1987: 591).

Am *teli* 'charcoal before it is burnt' (Star)
Cf. *talaw* 'blitzen' (Re) = *talawaa* 'to shine' (Wd)?

til'eet f., def.sg. *tootl'i*, def.pl. *titl'iiya* 'hole' (Wd) = *til?ii* 'trou' (Vh)
Probably derived from the verb *tila'a* 'to bore' (Wd).

Am *telij* 'snow' (Star)
Borrowed from Ar *ṭalǧ* 'snow', *ṭaliǧ* 'icy cold' (Sg 208).

taláata f. 'Tuesday' (Rp) = *taláata* f. 'Dienstag' (Re) = *tetalláte* id. (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *ṭalāṭā?/ṭulāṭā?* 'Tuesday' (Sg 207).

talaw m. 'lightning' (HuB) = *tálaw*, pl. *taláawa* m. 'lightning, flash', f. 'blaze', e.g. of fire, *talaw* v.2 'to glimpse, appear', cf. *yíint-talaw* 'sunrise' (Rp) = *taláaw* f., pl. *taláw* 'Blitz', *talaw* v.2 'blitzen' (Re) = *tálau* m. 'Blitz' = *te'telau* id. (Mu) = *ittaláu* id. (Se) = Am *italau* and *talub* 'lightning' (Star); cf. *talawaa* 'to shine' (Wd)
Reinisch (1895: 227) connected it with Ti *talawa bela* 'to flash', cf. *tawləḥ* id. (LH 303, 318) > Bilin *talwah y* id. (Re).
With respect to the idiom *yíint-talaw* 'sunrise' (Rp), it is tempting to compare *tálaw* with SBauchi (WCh) 'sun': Boghom *taal*, Kir *tàl*, Tule *càlí* (JgIb II: 312).

tirig, pl. *tirga*, m. 'month', f. 'moon' (HuB) = *tiríg* f. 'croissant de lune, mois', *tírga* m.pl. 'mois', (Wagar) *?eetirig* 'pleine lune' (Vh) = *teríg* and *terík* c., pl. *tírga*, m. 'Monat', f. Mond' (Re) = *térig*, *tírig* m., pl. *térga* 'month; moon in the first quarter,

crescent moon', *ɛtérig* f. 'moon from seventh day onwards' (Rp) = *terig*, *eterig*, pl. *tírga* 1. 'Mond', 2. 'Monat' (Al) = Am *terig*, pl. *tirga* 'month', *ter'igt* and *to-trik* 'moon' (Star) = [*o*]*tryk* 'heaven' (Bu) = *o'edrik* 'der Mond' (Mu) = [*e*]*trig* 'Monat' vs. [*to*]*trig* 'Mond' (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 231) proposed a connection with Ar *ṭarqa* 'to come at night time', *ṭarq* 'turn, time, once', *ṭāriq* 'night-traveler, morning-star' (Sg 633, 622) and SEtSe forms: a) Amh, Argobba, Harari *č̣äräqa* 'moon' (> Qwara *zärkaa*), Gafat *ṣäräqa* id.; b) Gurage: Zway *ṭərqa*, Goggot *ṭärraqqa*, Soddo *därraqqa*, Chaha, Gyeto *ṭänaqa* id. (Leslau 1979: 632; he follows Cerulli 1936: 243 considering a Cushitic origin of the Gurage 'moon', but Cushitic family is represented only by Beja). Appleyard (1977: 77) also mentioned remarkable parallels in various NS languages of Ethiopia: Kunama and Ilit *teera* ||| Ingassana *turia'*||| Surma: Mursi *tàagì*, Kwegu *tìgèš* etc., all after Bender).
On the other hand, there are suggestive counterparts in almost all Chadic and Berber languages meaning 'moon' and 'star' respectively:
Ch: (W) Sura *tár*; Bokkos *túré*; Karakare *taré*; Jimbin *tírà*; Guruntum *tarri*; Ngizim *tɪra* || (C) Tera *tera*; Higi-Nkafa *tɪrrɛ*; Laamang *trí*; Wandala *tɪrrɛ*; Sukur *tea*; Muktele *tèlá*; Kola *trá*; Gidar *tárạ*; Logone *tèèḍà*; Musgu *tle*; Zime-Batna *tér* || (E) Kera *kí-tír*; Lele *gì-dìrì*; Sumray *dúrù*; Sokoro *dáála*; Mokilko *térè*; Mubi *tírí* (JgIb II: 238–239);
Be: (E) Siwa *iri* (R. Basset) || (S) Tuareg of Ahaggar *atri*, pl. *itran* (Foucauld) || (W) Zenaga *əḏəri* (Nicolas) || (N) Kabyle *itri* (Dallet.
Accepting a common AA origin of this Beja-Chadic-Berber isogloss, there is a tempting etymology proposed by Cohen (1947: # 323) and Hodge (1968: 24):
?Cu: (C) Bilin *tarī* 'die bestimmte Zeit, Reihenfolge', cf. *tart* 'in Reihen stehen', borrowed in (or from?) Ti *tart* and *tartara* id. (Reinisch 1887: 342) || (E) Som *tiri* 'to count', *tiro* 'number', Boni *tér^{e}/téría* 'to count' (Heine 1978: 96);
Eg (Pyr) *tr* 'Zeit', cf. the old form of the plural *ỉtr.w* 'Jahreszeit', Copt Sahidic ⲧⲉ 'temps' (Wb. V: 313–316; Vycichl 1983: 208);
Se: Hb *tōr* 'to turn'; Ar *tāra* (*t-w-r*) 'to go around'; Amh *tära* 'turn, row' (concerning semantics, Cohen (1947: #323) quoted Akk *dūru* and *dūru* 'année' vs. Ar *d-w-r* 'tourner').

tarhag^{u}ad 'north; left-hand' (Th) = *tarha* and *talha* 'left' and *gw'ad* 'side' (Rp).

torni 'charcoal ashes' (Star)

teruus 'earth bank in qash' (Star)

Am *ti-teeta* 'Little Bear' (Star) = *te'ēdíte* (constellation) 'der grosse Bär' (Mu)
Derived from *tiita* 'twin' (Rp) = Am *ti-teet* 'twins' (Star). Apparently a calque for Am *tayman* 'Little Bear' (Star).

Am *tayman* 'Little Bear' (Star)

Borrowed from Ar *at-taymāʔ* 'constellation of the Twins' (Sg 197).

tooyin adv. 'today' (Wd), cf. *yint* f., def.sg. *tooyin*, def.pl. *teeyna* 'day', in sg. also 'sun' (Wd).

ṭ

ṭakwt f., def.sg. *tooṭakw* 'dripping', *ṭakwisa* and *ṭakwiša* 'to drip' (Wd)

ṭeláay f., pl. *ṭeláy* 'Regenbogen' (Re)
Reinisch (1895: 235) connected it with Ar *ṭalāwa/ṭilāwa/ṭulāwa* 'fairness, beauty, elegance, charm', *ṭalwa* 'brightness of dawn' (Sg 640, 642).

ṭiin m., def.sg. *ooṭiin*, def.pl. *iṭiina* 'clay, mud' (Wd) = *ṭiin* m. 'mud, clay, morass' (Rp) = *ọọ ṭiin* 'Erde, Lehm' (Hs) = *ṭiin* ~ *tiin* 'Ton, Lehm, Schlammerde' (Re) = *ṭiin* m. 'Ton' (Al) = Am *ṭin* 'clay, mud' (Star) = *tiin* 'mud' (Tl) = *tîn* 'Lehm, Ton' (Se)
Borrowed from Ar *ṭīn* 'clay, mud, puddle, sealing-earth, red chalk' (Sg 653).

ƫiir 'swamp' (Tl)
?Cu: (E) Afar *ḍarri* 'shale, argil' (PaHy); Sam **ḍeri* 'clay pot' (Heine 1978: 80) > Som *ḍeri* 'cooking pot of clay' (Ab), Boni *ḍerg* (He), Rend *ḍíri* 'clay pot' (He); Arbore *ḍeeré* 'cooking pot (earthenware)' (Hy).

w

wi'i m. and *ye* m. 'winter' (HuB) = *wjaa* 'hiver' (Vh) = Am *wiya* id. (Star) = *wiya* m. 'winter (Nov-Feb), winter rain(s)', ówiiyay 'in winter' (Rp) = *wíya* m 'Regenzeit, Winter' (Re) = *wíya* m. 'Winter' (Al) = *owiha* 'hiver' (Li) = *owie* 'Winter' (Kr) = [*o*]*wiyáh* 'Regenzeit' (Se)
Cu: (E) **waʕ-/*wiʕ-* (Sasse 1982: 186) > Saho-Afar *weʕ* 'flowing water' (Sa); HECu **waʔa* 'water' (Hudson 1989: 164–165) > Burji *waa*, gen. *way-i-n-* (*-y-* is epenthetic glide), Gedeo *wadaʔa* (with puzzling *-d-*), Had *woʔo*, Kamb *waʔa* and *wiʔa*, Sid *waa*. Amh *wəha* 'water' is apparently of Cushitic origin;
?Om: (N) Kafa *yoyo* 'Regenzeit, Winter' (Re).
The semantic difference between 'Winter' = 'Regenzeit' and '(flowing) water' is neglectable.

wagh 'in direction of' (HuB)
Borrowed from Ar *waǧh* 'front, face' (Sg 1201).

wúha m. 'Niederung, Tiefe', *wuháay* 'in der Tiefe; unten, unterhalb, unter' (Re) = *whii* postp. 'under', *whay* postp. 'below, under', *whiinay* adv. 'down, below' (Wd)

= *whi* ‘sous’ (Vh) = *wihi* ‘down, below, under’ (HuB) = (*w*)*uuhii* prep.and adv. ‘underneath’, adj. ‘lower, under’ (Rp) = *úhi*, *wáhi*, *yúih* ‘unten, unter’ (Al) = *uhi* (Km) = *wuhih* ‘unten’ (Se)
Reinisch (1890: 73; 1895: 237) compared it with Saho *baah-aa*, pl. *baah-it* ‘niedrig gelegene Ortlichkeit, Tiefe’, *baahaaraa* ‘Tiefffläche’ and Afar *baah-aa* ‘niedrig gelegener Ort, Tiefe; Elend, Not, Armut’, *baahaaraa* ‘Tiefebene am Meere’, from *baah* ‘niedrig sein’ (Re), cf. *baaḥat* ‘a deep place in the sea; high seas, middle of ocean’, *baḥàri* ‘flat wide plain’ (PaHy). It is in principle possible, accepting the following development in Beja: **u baha* > **uwaha* > **waha* (cf. *wáhi* by Almkvist).

whafa adv. ‘far’ (Wd)

wakit, *wakt* m., def.sg. *uwakit* ‘time, period’ (Wd) = *wåkte* m. 1. ‘Zeit’; 2. ‘Mal, vices’ (Re)
Borrowed from Ar *waqt* ‘time’, cf. also Gz *waqāt* and Ti *wäqt* ‘time, season’ (LH 438; Leslau 1987: 616).

wana adv. ‘this morning’, *wanaaneet* ‘of this morning’ (Wd) = *wana* adv. ‘ce matin (passé)’ (Vh) = *wonno* (?) ‘this morning’ (HuB) = Am *wana* ‘morning’ (Star) = *wána* adv. ‘at dawn, early morning’, *wanaanɛ́* adv. ‘since morning’, *wanaani* adj. ‘matinal, belonging to the early morning’ (Rp)
Reinisch (1895: 20) saw in *w-* the article before the noun *ana* m. ‘Tageslicht, der Morgen’, *woo-án-i* (*deháay*) ‘am Morgen’.
Zyhlarz (1932–1933: 166) compared Beja *wána* with Eg (OK) *wbn* ‘aufgehen (zumeist von der Sonne), glänzen, scheinen’, *wbn.t* ‘erste Tagesstunde’ (Wb. I: 292f). It is in principle possible, accepting the same development as in the case of *wúha* ‘Niederung’, *wáhi* ‘unten’ < **u-wah-* < **u-bah-*, hence **u-wan-* < **u-ban-*. But in this case the form *ana* attested by Reinisch would represent a secondary decomposition.
Finally, there is a possibility that w- belongs to the root, if the Beja word ‘morning’ is related to Koyra (NOm) *wont-* ‘to dawn, become light’ (Hy apud Sasse 1982: 190). Skinner (1996: 292) also finds promising parallels in Chadic: (W) Hausa *wuni* ‘daytime; to pass the day’ (but the variant *yini* is compatible with Beja *yiin* ‘sun; day’, see below); Tangale *wuni* ‘day of 24 hours; to spend night’; Ngizim *wənа* id. || (E) Mokilko *’onny-* ‘passer la nuit, jour, journée’; maybe (C) Gude *wanə* ‘this year’.
And what is the position the Gurage forms: Ennemor, Gyeto *waʔana*, Endegeň *waʔanä*, Eža, Muher *wanna*, Chaha *wana* ‘day (in daylight)’ (Leslau 1979: 640)? A direct Beja-Gurage contact at least in recent times is excluded.

oh-wer ‘Fluss’ (Kc; Almkvist 1885: 68 reconstructed **wer*) = ?Am *orab* ‘stream’ (Star)

Cu: (C) Bilin *wäräbá*, pl. *wärā́f* 'Fluss' (Re) = *wäräba* 'river-course, valley' (Appleyard 2006: 116), Khamir *wirba*, pl. *wirib* 'Fluss' (Re), Khamta *wirva* 'fiume' (CR); cf. Amh *wayb* and Som *webbi* 'grosser Fluss, breiter Strom' (Reinisch 1902: 372) and further Oromo *waraab-* 'to pour, dip, fetch' (Reinisch 1887: 360) < PECu **waraab-* 'to draw water' || (E) **war-* > Som *war* 'pool, pond', Rendille *wor* 'well' (Pillinger and Galboran) or 'river' (Fl); Dasanech *wár*, pl. *warram* 'river' (To), Arbore *wor* (Sasse 1979: 42); Burji *wara* 'marsh, swamp' (HG);
Om: (N) Male *uor* 'fiume' (da Trento 1941: 204).

watan m., def.sg. *uwatan*, def.pl. *iwatana* 'land country' (Wd)
Borrowed from Ar *waṭan* 'permanent dwelling, residence, home, place where the cattle lie down or are tied up, stable' (Sg 1220).

y

yaḍa' adj., m. *yaḍ'aab*, f. *yaḍa't* 'wet, damp', *yiḍa'a* v. 'to be wet, moist', *yiḍ'uuyt* f., def.sg. *tuyḍ'uuyt* 'moisture, being wet, damp' (Wd) = *yáḍă* adj. 'damp', *yiḍ'*(*a*) v. 'to be damp, moist' (Rp) = *yeḍa'* 'feucht, nass, grün, unreif sein', *yíḍ'a* f. 'Nässe, Feuchtigkeit' (Re) = *jáḍa'* 'feucht, nass (sein)' (Al) = *ierdáu* 'feucht' (Se)
Cu: (E) Saho *ceerho*/ʕeeṛo/ 'raw, unripe thing(s)' (Vergari), *'eḷin* 'feucht', *'aḷáa* 'Nässe' (Re), Afar *qeexini*/ʕeeḍini/ 'to be raw, coarse' (PaHy); PSam **ʕaiḍi* 'unripe' (Heine 1978: 99) > Som *ceeydhiin*/ʕeeyḍiin/ adj. 'unripe, raw' (Luling) = *ʕéḍiin* 'roher oder unreifer Zustand'; adj. 'roh, unreif' (Re), Jiddu *eeráan* 'unripe' (Banti and Ibraaw), Boni *eerî* (He), Rendille *ħéédi* 'unripe' (He); Arbore *heeḍḍí* 'raw' (Hayward), Elmolo *énída* 'unreif sein' (He); Oromo of Wellega *ḍeeḍii* adj. 'raw' (Gg) < **t-ʕeeḍ-*; Yaaku *kέ-'έὲ'* 'raw, unripe' (He); (S) **ʕeetl-* (Ehret 1980: 277) > Iraqw *ʕeetl* 'fresh, raw', Gorowa *ʕeetl* 'unripe', Alagwa *ʕeetl* 'to be unripe, be raw' (KM 102); Ma'a *ihlé* 'unripe' (Ehret 1980: 389 adds still Dahalo *?ee?*).
?Egyptian (BD) *ʕḏ* 'ein Gewässer im Jenseits' (Wb. I: 240).
Lit.: Ehret (1980: 389) SCu + Beja; Ehret (1987: n. 494) PCu **ʕ-y-dl-* 'raw, unripe' > Beja + PSom **ʕeeḍ-* + SCu **ʕeetl-*.

yam m., def.pl. *eeyam* 'water', *yaam* m., def.sg. *ooyaam*, def.pl. *eeyaam* 'rains', *yimt* f., def.sg. *tooyma* 'raining' (Wd) = *yam* m. 'water', cf. *ayam* 'low' (HuB) = *jam* 'eau' (Vh) = *yém* 'acqua' (Ci) = *yam* 'water' (Be) = Am *yum* id. (Star) = *yam* m. pl. 'water' (Rp) = *ẹ̣ẹ̣ yäm*, indet. *yäme*^{h} 'Wasser' (Hs) = *yam* m. pl. 'Wasser' (Re) = *yem* 'water' (Wt) = *yoom* m. pl. tantum 'Wasser' (Al) = *e yam* (Li) = *en-àm* (Kc) = *o'yem* (Mu) = *éyam* (Km) = *ayam* (Bu) = *o yum* (Salt) = *êyem* id. (Se)
??Cu: (S) Iraqw *yamu* 'under, below; floor', Gorowa *yamu* 'places; country', Burunge yamu 'place; district; under, below'; Qwadza *hamuko* 'under, below' (Ehret 1980: 315; KM 329); cf. the isolated Jiddu (ECu) *yan* 'earth' (Nuux and Ehret);
Ch 'water': (W) Sura *àm*; Fyer *ham*, Kulere *ʔaàm*; Tangale *am*, Kirfi *amma*; Pa'a

ambi, Jimbin *ìmbí*; ?Boghom, Kir *yip*; Ngizim *âm* || (C) Tera *ʔyim*; Margi *ʔímí*; Fali-Kiria *jiami*; Nzangi *mbii*; Laamang *ímí*; Wandala *jàwè*; Sukur *yâm*; Gisiga *yam*; Daba *yɪm*; Buduma *āmái*; Musgu *yim*; Zime-Batna *ḫì* || (E) Kwang *káam*; Kabalai *kaamə̀*; Sumray pl. *nímī*; Sokoro *mbo*; Migama *àmmì*; Mubi *ʔàm* (JgIb II: 340–341);
Be 'water' (Vycichl 1955: 314; 1957: 143, reconstructed an unattested sg. as **im* or **ymi* resp., while the plural should reflect **i-imē-ĕn* or **i-ymi*(*yu*)*n* resp.): (E) Siwa *aman* pl. (Laoust), Ghadames *āman* m. pl. (Lanfry) || (S) Ayr and Iulemidden *aṃan* m. pl. (Alojaly) || (W) Zenaga *aman* (Basset) || (N) Shilh of Tazerwalt *aman* pl. tantum (Stumme) ||| Guanche *a*(*h*)*emon* 'water' (Woelfel 1965: 513);
Se **yamm-* 'sea' > Ug *ym*, Hb *yām*, pl. *yammī* 'sea, lake; reservoir, large basin', Aram *yammā*, Ar *yamm* 'sea' (Aistleitner 1965: 129; Klein 1987: 259). A Semitic source is evident for Eg (18th Dyn) *ym* 'Meer' (Wb. I: 78), Demotic *ym* id., Copt Sahidic ⲉⲓⲟⲙ, Bohairic ⲓⲟⲙ, Ahminic and Fayyumic ⲓⲁⲙ 'mer; pressoir', pl. Bohairic ⲁⲙⲁⲓⲟⲩ < **yammīy-u* (Vycichl 1983: 63).

yint f., def.sg. *tooyin* 'day; sun (only sg.)', def.pl. *teeyna* 'days'; *yinḍibt* f., def.sg. *tuyinḍib* 'sunset, West', where the second component corresponds to *ḍib* m. 'time, period' and/or *ḍibaa* 'to fall' (Wd) = *yiin* f. 'sun', *yin-ti-dib* 'sunset', *yiin-talaw* 'sunrise' (HuB) = *jiin* 'soleil' (Vh) = Am *yint* 'sun; day', *yindib* 'west' (Star) = *yiin* f., pl. *-a* 'sun, sunlight, heat, day', *tó-yiin-ton* 'today', *yiindibs* m. 'sunrise', *yiinttálaw* m. 'sunrise' (Rp) = *y'enḍib* 'west' (Vh) = (*y*)*iin* f., pl. *-a* 'Sonne, Tag', *too-yíin* 'am Tag, heute', *too-yíin-dib* and *yíiṇ-ḍib* 'Sonnenuntergang, West' (Re) = *yen*, *yin*, *iin* f., pl. *yéena* 'Sonne, Tag', *tó-iin* 'heute', *íin-ḍeb* m. 'Sonnenuntergang, West' (Al) = *êin* 'Sonne', *te'ein dübb* 'Sonnenuntergang, West' (Mu) = *to hi* 'soleil', *o hi* 'jour' (Li) = *toin* 'heute' (Km) = *do-ī* 'Tag', *do-î* 'Sonne', *mallo gina* 'zwei Tage', *sarama gina* 'heute' (Kc) = *iîndêp* 'Westen' (Se)
Reinisch (1895: 241) analyzed (*y*)*iin* as a derivative of *yi'* v.2 'licht, hell sein, glänzen, leuchten' (cf. Id. 1893: §351).
Cu: (E) Gedeo and Sid *yanna* 'time' (HG; Skinner 1996: l.c. HECu + Beja); Yaaku *in* f. id. (He).
Behnk (1928: 138) compared Beja *yiin* with Eg (Pyr) *ỉwnw* 'Heliopolis', Copt ⲱⲛ, cf. *ỉwnw* (NK) 'Beiname des Sonnengottes' (Wb. I: 52).
Vycichl (1934: 83) found cognates in Eg (BD) *in* 'heute' (Wb. I: 92) and Hausa (WCh) *yini*, with variants *wuni* and *'uni* 'period of day, from sunrise to sunset' (Bargery 1934: 1116, 1093; Skinner 1996: 292).

yooyt adv. 'every day' (Wd)

***

Survey of the cognates to the Beja terms describing space, nature, and time in other Cushitic branches

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
'aba[Wd] river, brook, khor	Oromo[Tu] *abã* river	Bilin *ʔäba* well		
áfa[Rp] yesterday evening			*ʔáfiṭeeṭe* shadow	
'eela[Wd] waterhole	**ʕeel-* well			?**ḥaala* waterhole
imáay[Al] late autumn	Som[Lu] *mayay* dawn rain; heavy rain			
amar[Rp] cave				**maraʔiya* cave
amas[Wd] at night				**ʔamasi* night
eŋga[Re] middle		**ʔanq-* inside		
enkhi[Rp] upper *k(e)h*, *khw*[Rp] on, over	**kaʕ-* to get up			Alagwa *yukuhus-* to put load on top of another
'arih [Hs] rock	Saho[Re] *arar* mountain top Som[Ab] *aror* mountain slope	Bilin *ʔərora* hill		
éri, *íri*, *íru*[Rp] yesterday	Arbore *ʔarráw* Elm *arrau* evening Yaaku *mɛ́'ɛ́ri'* id.			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
irra[Rp] vertical bank of khor	Afar [PaHy] *àru* bank of stream and/or Konso[Bl] *írrota* mountain			
'áwe[Rp] stone < **awn*-		**'anb*- mountain		
'aawi[Rp] noon, zenith	Konso and Dirayta *awwe* today; Oromoid **awʕ*- become warm	Awngi *áwá* sun Kunfäl *awi* id.		
áwri[Rp] noon	*(*ʔa*-)*bur*- dawn or **ʔayr*- sun, day		*ɓùrra* morning	
b'i, *bi'*[Rp] day	Dullay **biʕʕ*- white			
[*o*]*bha*[Bu] north	**bidḥ*- left		*ɓiḥíṭa* left	
baal[Rp] cloud	Rend *báal* cloud Arb *boolan* id.			
baar[Re] smell *baráam*[Re] air, wind, weather			*ɓúri* fart	Alagwa *bur*- to fan; Qwadza *bul*- to blow
bire[Rp] rain, sky	Sid[HG] *birr*- to rain a heavy rain			
búur[Do] sandy country, sands	**buur*-/**burr*- sand, dust		*ɓúrune* dust	
bírga[Al] high	Oromo[Tu] *borga* hill			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
barar[Wd] countryside, earth, rivulet = *beréer*, pl. *bérra*[Re] steppe, desert	**barr-*/**berr-* steppe, country	Awngi *bär* open terrain, clearing		Qwadza *balyiko* bare ground
bayúk[Se] snow	**bok*(*k*)- rain	**bəkwan-a* cloud		
di'ɛ[Rp] brand = stick burning at one end; *diiy'e*[Rp] spark	Afar *diyyi* carbon, powdered charcoal, soot; Yaaku *daai*, pl. *daai'* fire-stick			
dabba, *debba*, *dibba*[Rp] m. loose dry soil; mound (of earth soil, sand); bank f. moving sand hill(s)	**diib-*/**duub-* steppe, forest or **ʒib-* uncultivated land	**dəb*[*b*]-*a* hill, mountain or **ʒəb*[*b*]- earth		
deela[Wd] hole, ditch	Som *dalool* hole, opening and/or *deli* pitfall ?Tsamakko *deelo* flat plain			
dangɛr[Rp] stone(s) of suitable size for missiles		**dängwər*/ **dəngwər* large stone, rock		
dar[HuB] edge, bank of khor	?Dirayta *tarr* relatively higher ground	**dar* side, bank, shore		
daráak[Re] cold season, rainy period, winter				Iraqw *daraqi* coolness

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
dirreh [Hs] plastic clay to making cooking pots	**ḍarr-/*ḍeer-* argil/clay pot			
dai[Salt] moon	PSam **záy(y)àḥ* Bayso[Nuuh + Ehret] *diginni* moon			
doi, pl. *doiyą*[HuB] path *doy*[Starkey] road	Som *daw* way, path Burji *daw(w)a* id.			
dayay earth, ground	**diid-* plain	Khamir *dáadaa* steppe, desert		
ḍ'(a)[Rp] to patch, plaster (mud wall) *doo'*[Re] clay	Som[Re] *ḍaaʕ* clay, mud		*dóɗoʔa* mud	
ḍəhálay[Rp] glowing ember	**çilḥ- ~ *çulḥ-* charcoal	Khamir *ẓildena* coal	*ṭíliḥa* embers	
ḍéekwa[Re] plate of clay for bread-baking	**ḍoḳḳ-* mud or	?Qwara *daxwa* clay	*ɗoḳḳe* dust, mud	
ḍom[Rp] adv. downhill, downstream *ḍọọm*[Hs] situated deeper, below, in the north	Gedeo *ḍi'mo* deep (of water), Sid *diime* deep (esp. river)			
giig[Wd] departure, passage	HECu **goog-/*gogg-* road	**gwəg* road		
gos[Rp] bouldery hill	**ge(e)š-* border, edge			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
gw'ad[Rp] side; eye	Som[Re] *gawdi, goodi* edge			Asa *gide?e* ribs Qwadza *ge?elito* Iraqw *gwe?do* buttocks
gwãb[Rp] flat ground *gaab*[Wd] ground flat	**gub(b)*- highland		*gúβa* plains	
hubi[Wd] rainy season *hibe*[Rp] id.	Burji *haburšó*[HG] = *hubúršī*[Sasse] flood			Qwadza *hubuko* rain
hibib and *hubub* foam, froth, pl. *tị húbba*[Do]	**ḥumb*- foam, froth			
hog[HuB] lower land to which water flows	Som *hog* hole in the ground			
hagaay[Wd] summer time	**ḥagay*- rainy/ dry season	?Khamir *aya* summer (Bilin[Ap] *ħagay* Khamir *ħiya* dry season < EtSe < ECu)		
(w)hal[HuB] mud	Oromo *hola* hole in ground, ditch; Burji *hóoloo* ditch			
humni[Wd] afternoon *himni*[Rp] late afternoon	**hi(i)m*- darkness of night **hammeen*[Eh] or **himmeen*[He] night		*hííma* night *híímane* tomorrow	
hírba, hérbo, hárbo[Re] bed of river, bay, steep slope, hill	**ḥirrib*- corner of the eye or mouth			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
haaš[Rp] dust, earth, ground, land, country	?D'irayta *huss* earth			Iraqw *hasaŋ* sand Qwadza *hasinko* id. Asa *hajat* id., earth
hawaad[Wd] evening, night	Or[Gg] (*h*)*eda* last night, Konso *aweḍḍ* night Burji (*h*)*iyedi* night		*hèḏ̲ḏ̲o* evening	
hooy[Re] inside	Som *hooy*[Lu] home, shelter			
hayuuk[Rp] star	**ḥizk-/*ḥuzk-* star			
kambuul[Wd] mountain *kọ̲nbúul*[Re] hill, mountain	HECu **kin-* stone, rock + Som *buur* mountain, bare-topped hill	Awngi *kán* mountain		
kĕḍi[Hs] block of rock	Burji *keddáa* hill			
kŭhii, *khwii*[Rp] pl. first part of the night *akŭhŭt*[Rp] by night	?Tsaamakko *ġayanġáy-hó* night *ġayna*[Hy] tomorrow			
kalg̣[HuB] cold wind	Or *qilleensa*[Gg] wind; climate			
kalaatánai[Rp] small stream; running water	Som[Ab] *kal*, pl. *kalo* depression full of water			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
kim[Starkey] top	Afar-Saho *kooma* hill; Or (Orma)[Str] *kumma* top, climax, old age			
kaar[HuB] hillock	**ḳar-* mountain peak			
kiruum, keruum-[Rp] the period immediately preceding dawn	?Som *qorraḥ* sun	**kwar-a* sun		
koriay[HuB] (small) basin	Or[Bor] *kurre* small lake; Had[Ls] *kireeta* pond, pool	**kwər-*a river		
kwaakw[Hs] water found through digging in sand	**ḳoyy-* wet			
kwaan[HuB] torrent, flood	Boni **kòón* pond, lake; Waata[Str] *konnoo* small lake	Awngi *kaan* edge of a river or torrent		
kayay[Rp] mud, clay	Som *qay*[Lu] puddle			
l'a[Rp] cold, cool	Afar *lee*, Saho *lay* water; Gedeo *lolaʔa* flood, torrent; Yaaku *leei* water, rain, dew	Qwara *låwā* dew < **la* *cold + *awŭā* air		
lob[Mu] stream channel	Bayso *lábu* river; Sid *lawó* id.			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
lagi[Rp] path, pathway, beaten track	Som *laag* water-channel, Bayso *lága* river-bank; Or Macha *laga* river Konso *laka* plain, outside, D'irayta *lak* place, space			Qwadza *lagalako* path, road
léeha[Re] morning *lhayt*[Wd] tomorrow	Afar *laaʕo* east, *laaʕyta* early morning after sunrise			
lénda[Re] shadow	Burji *lemm-óo* shadow (of man)	**lämd-a* shadow		
m'akwara[Wd] 'cold, cold weather; *kwiirɛmir'aá*[Rp] weather, climate	Or Wellega *qorra*[Gg] to freeze, become cold, *qorraa* adj. which feels cold			
maada[Wd] pool *maadạ̊*[HuB] deep water (sea)	Or Wellega[Gg] *madda* water; last drop of water, Borana[Str] *maddoo* spring, oasis; Burji *máddo* spring			
meha· [Rp] morning; East	Afar *maàḥa* early morning, Saho *maḥ-* to dawn, *máaḥā* time before dawn; Yaaku *imɛhɛí* tomorrow			

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
mọọy[Hs] small mountain *moi*[Rp] crown of head, top	Afar *moyya* brain, head, skull			
n'a and *n'e*[Re] fire, fever *n'a̰* and *n'ē* fire, *na'a*[HuB] hot	Afar *niʕna* fever, heat, *niʕnà-le* to be hot			
re, *ri*[Rp] well *ri*[Wd] well, water hole	Bayso[Hb] *ra* hole Elmolo *ráa* cave			
r'e[Rp] small subsidiary khor	Dullay: Harso-Dobase *ráʕʕe* gorge, ravine, valley			
rimiab[HuB] on heat	Afar *rama* hot ashes remaining from a fire; Arbore *rómm*, Elmolo *rôm* Yaaku *hroon* id.			
ror[Rp] potholes in khor	Or *raaree*[Gg] pool Sid *rirriwá* marsh, swamp			
s'aay[Wd] dew *s'ay*, *sə'ay*[Rp] mist, fog		**səw-a* rain		Iraqw *tsaʔ* cold Qwadza *tsaʔu-* id. Maa *sa'á* cold, wind
sagi[Rp] distant	**seg-*/**sog-* far	Bilin *səŋwət*/ *səŋut* far, distant		Asa *sanga* far Qwadza *sagumu* NWRift **sag-*/ **seg-*
sánay[Rp] stream of running water	SOromo *sona*[Str] bank of a river, riverside		*sòòni* river	Maa *sondá* valley

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
senáy[Re] early autumn	Afar *saaniyya* cold dampness, *saaniyyu* cold west wind			
suura[Rp] well, watering-place	SOr[Str] *sora* (~ *ś*-) season of rains			
šiq̣[HuB] water-hole digged in khor = *šiha*[Star] shallow small well = *šyäh*[Hs] rich water digged in wadi		Awngi *soɣen* wet Kunfäl *sekhwan* id.		Maa *-síwa* to be wet, *-sí* to rain
wi'i and *ye*[HuB] winter *wiya*[Rp] winter rain(s)	**waʕ-*/**wiʕ-* flowing water			
wúha[Re] lowland, valley, depth, úhi, *wáhi*, *yúih*[Al] below, under < **u-bah-*	Afar *baaḥat* deep place in the sea			
wer[Kc] river	**war-* river, pool, marsh; **waraab-* to draw water	**wäräb-*a river-course		
yaḍa'[Wd] wet, damp *yeḍa'*[Re] to be wet, damp, green, unripe	**ʕayḍ-* raw, unripe			NWRift **ʕeetl* fresh, raw, unripe Ma'a *ihlé* unripe

Beja	East Cushitic	Agaw	Dahalo	South Cushitic
yam water, *ayam*^{HuB} low	Jiddu^{Nuux} *yan* earth			Iraqw *yamu* under, below Burunge *yamu* place; district; under, below ?Qwadza *hamuko* under, below
yiin^{Rp} sun, sunlight, heat, day	Sid, Gedeo *yanna* time; Yaaku *in* id.			

Acknowledgements

The list of all linguists who were supportive of the preparation of 'Etymological Dictionary of Beja' would be very long. The following names represent only a limited choice of the most influential ones (in alphabetic order): David Appleyard, Giorgio Banti, Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst, M. Lionel Bender, John Bengtson, Roger Blench, Aaron Dolgopolsky, Chris Ehret, Harold Fleming, Richard Hayward, Bernd Heine, Carlton T. Hodge, Dymitr Ibriszimow, Herrmann Jungraithmayr, Roland Kiessling, Leonid Kogan, Maarten Kossmann, Marcello Lamberti, Wolf Leslau, Alexander Militarev, Maarten Mous, Hans Mukarovsky, Paul Newman, Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Helmut Satzinger, Olga Stolbova, Harry Stroomer, Gábor Takács, Robin Thelwall, Mauro Tosco, Henry Tourneux, Martine Vanhove, Werner Vycichl, Klaus Wedekind, Andrzej Zaborski, and Petr Zemánek. Naturally, the fundamental support is connected with the Humboldt Foundation, thanks to it I could cooperate with most of these scholars.

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
Akk	Akkadian
Am	Amar'ar
Amh	Amhara
Ar	Arabic
Aram	Aramaic
BA	Beni Amer
BD	Book of the Dead (Egyptian)
Be	Berber
Bi	Bisharin
Bib	Biblical
Ch	Chadic
Copt	Coptic
Cu	Cushitic
Dem	Demotic
E	East
Eg	Egyptian (see BD Gr Med MK NK OK Pyr)
EpSAr	Epigraphic South Arabian
Et	Ethiopic
Gr	Greek and Roman period (Egyptian)
Gz	Geez
H	Highland
Had	Hadiyya
Hdd	Hadandiwa
Hb	Hebrew
IE	Indo-European
Kamb	Kambatta
L	Lowland
Med	Medical Texts (Egyptian)
MK	Middle Kingdom (Egyptian)
N	North
NK	New Kingdom (Egyptian)
Nub	Nubian
OK	Old Kingdom (Egyptian)
Om	Omotic
Or	Oromo
p	proto-
Pyr	Pyramid Texts (Egyptian)
Rend	Rendille
S	South
Se	Semitic
Sid	Sidamo
Som	Somali
Sud	Sudan
Syr	Syrian
Ti	Tigre
Ty	Tigrinya
Ug	Ugaritic
W	West

Abbreviations of authors

Ab	Abraham
Ae	Abebe
Al	Almkvist
AMS	Amborn, Minker, and Sasse
Ap	Appleyard
Ba	Barth
Be	Bender
BG	Bechhaus-Gerst
Bk	Beke
Bl	Black
Bs	Bliese
Bu	Burckhardt
Ce	Cerulli
Ci	Cifoletti
Cp	Caprile
CR	Conti Rossini
Cw	Cowley
Do	Dolgopolsky
Ds	Doornbos
Eb	Ebert
EG	Erman and Grapow
Eh	Ehret
El	Elderkin
Fc	Foucauld
Fl	Fleming
Fr	Freytag
GD	Gaudefroy-Demombynes
Gg	Gragg
GP	Galboran and Pillinger
Gr	Greenberg
Gt	Grottanelli
Hb	Haberland
He	Heine
Hf	Hoffmann
HG	Grover Hudson
Hs	Hess

Ht	Hetzron	Nw	Newman
HuB	Hudson's Beja field notes rewritten by Blench	On	Ongaye Oda
		Pa	Parker
Hy	Hayward	Pl	Palmer
Ib	Ibriszimow	RB	René Basset
Jg	Jungraithmayr	Re	Reinisch
JgIb	Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow 1994	Rn	Renisio
		Rp	Roper
Jh	Johnstone	Sa	Sasse
Kc	Krockow	Sb	Seignobos
Ki	Kiessling	Se	Seetzen
Km	Kremer	Sg	Steingass
KM	Kiessling and Mous	Sk	Skinner
La	Laoust	St	Strumpell
Lb	Lamberti	Star	Starkey
Lf	Lanfry	Th	Thompson
Lg	Lafarge	Tl	Thelwall
LH	Littmann and Höfner	Tn	Thiene
Lk	Lukas	To	Tosco
Lo	Loubignac	Tu	Tutschek
Lp	Lepsius	Tx	Tourneux
Lr	Larajasse	Ve	Venturino
Ls	Leslau	Vh	Vanhove
LVC	Leus, Van de Loo, and Cotter	Vi	Viterbo
Mc	Mouchet	Wb.	Erman and Grapow
Me	Meinhof	Wd	Wedekind (K. Wedekind, Ch. Wedekind, and Abuzeinab Musa)
Mo	Moreno		
Mq	Masqueray	We	Welmers
Ms	Mous	WPS	Hannig and Vomberg
Mt	Morton	Wr	Wehr
Mu	Munzinger	Wt	Watson
Ng	Nachtigal	ZL	Zelealem Leyew
Nk	Nakano		

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.

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.

Alemayehu, Abebe. 1993. 'Ometo Dialect Survey: A Pilot Survey Report'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 4: 1–10.

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.

Almkvist, Herman. 1881–1885. *Die Bischari-Sprache Tū-Beḍāwie in Nordost-Afrika*. 2 vols. Uppsala: Druck der Akademischen Buchdruckerei, Edv. Berling.

Amborn, Hermann, Gunter Minker, and Hans-Jürgen Sasse. 1980. *Das Dullay*. Berlin: Reimer.

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. Mukarovsky, 2: 13–28. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 41. Wien: Afro-Pub.

Appleyard, David L. 2006. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Agaw Languages*. Köln: Köppe.

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 Auelimmiden*. Gotha: Perthes, 673–714.

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 zènaga. 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).

Behnk, Frida. 1928. 'Über die Beziehung des Ägyptischen zu den hamitischen Sprachen'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 82: 136–141.

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 vocalism afroasiatique: quelques correspondances égypto-sémitiques'. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by Hans G. Mukarovsky, 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.

Biarnay, Samuel. 1908. *Dialecte berbère (Ouargla)*. Paris: Leroux.

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. 1989. 'Omotic Lexicon in Afroasiatic Perspective: Body Parts Cognates'. Paper presented at the *2nd International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Turin, 16–18 November 1989.

Blažek, Václav. 1989a. '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 Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by Hans G. Mukarovsky, 2: 29–44. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 41. 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. Serie Etiopica 6. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Blažek, Václav. 2003a. 'Fauna in Beja Lexicon'. In *Orientalia*: *Trudy Instituta vostočnyx kul'tur. III: Studia Semitica* (*Fs. A. Militarev*), edited by Leonid Kogan, 230–294. Moscow: Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj gumanitarnyj univerzitet.

Blažek, Václav. 2003b. 'Beja Kinship and Social Terminology'. In *Das alte Ägypten und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Helmut Satzinger*, edited by Monika R.M. Hasitzka, Johannes Diethart and Günther Dembski, 307–340. Krems: Österreichisches Literaturforum.

Blažek, Václav. 2003c. 'Beja language'. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, 1: 519–521. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Blažek, Václav. 2005. '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. 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, 10–12 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 *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.
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.
Bynon, James. 1984. 'Berber and Chadic: The Lexical Evidence'. In *Current Progress in Afroasiatic Linguistics*, edited by James Bynon, 241–290. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Calice, Franz. 1936. *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wörtvergleichung*. 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 Giangerò 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.
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.
Cohen, Marcel. 1947. *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*. Paris: Champion.

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 Kunfäl People and Their Language'. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 9: 99–106.
Cyffer, Norbert. 1994. *English-Kanuri Dictionary*. Köln: Köppe.
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. 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. 2001. *A Historical-Comparative Reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan*. Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika 12. Köln: 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.
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.
Wb. = Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. 1971. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (1st ed.: Leipzig 1928–1931).
Faulkner, Raymond O. 1981. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute (reprint, orig. 1962).
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, Ubamer*. 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 August 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.
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.
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 nelUollega 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 [*xɨmra*] and Their Language [*xɨmt'aŋa*]'. *Survey of Little-Known Languages of Ethiopia: Linguistic Reports* 23: 1–8.
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. 1975. 'Notes on the Yaaku Language (Kenya)'. *Afrika und Übersee* 58: 27–61, 119–38.
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. 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 Gesammtgebiete der Geographie* 6: 326–358.
Hodge, Carleton T. 1968. 'Some Afroasiatic Etymologies'. *Anthropological Linguistics* 10 (3): 19–29.
Hodge, Carleton T. 1976. 'An Egypto-Semitic Comparison'. *Folia Orientalia* 17: 5–28.
Hoffmann, Carl. 1963. *A Grammar of the Margi Language*. London: Oxford University Press.
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.
Jaggar, 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 Notizien'. 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 Ibriszimow. 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: Köppe.
Jungraithmayr, Herrmann, and Dymitr Ibriszimow. 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: Köppe.
Klein, Ernest. 1987. *A Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*. New York-London: Macmillan.
Kossmann, Maarten. 1999. *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère*. Köln: 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: 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: Köppe.
Lane, Edward William. 1863–1893. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. London and Edinburg: 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.
Legesse Geleta Koro. 2013. *English – Afan Oromo – Amharic Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Addis Ababa: Aster Nega 2013, 163.
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 Geʿez (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 Geʿez vocabulary: Geʿez 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 Zeït: Bole Press.
Linant de Bellefonds Bey, L.M.A. 1868. *L'Etbaye, 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.
Meinhof, Carl. 1912. *Die Sprache der Hamiten*. Hamburg: Friedrichsen.
Meinhof, Carl. 1919. 'Sprachstudien im egyptischen Sudan. D. Eine Hamitensprache: 44. Bedauye'. *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, and Leonid Kogan. 2000. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. I: Anatomy of Man and Animals*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
Morton, John. 1988. 'Beja Kinship Terminology'. *Northeast African Studies* 10: 140–149.
Calassanti-Motylinski, Adolphe de. 1904. *Le dialecte berbère de R'edamès*. Paris: E. Leroux.
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.
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, Walter W. 1975. 'Beiträge zur hamito-semitischen Wortvergleichung'. In *Hamito-Semitica: 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.
Nehlil, Mohammad. 1909. *Étude sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris: E. Leroux.
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 Qifṭ*. 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.
Parker, Enid M., and Richard J. Hayward. 1985. *An Afar-English-French Dictionary*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
Pillinger, Steve, and Letiwa Galboran. 1999. *A Rendille Dictionary: Including a Grammatical Outline and an English-Rendille Index*. Köln: 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. Á propos de l'origine de h *touareg (tăhăggart)*. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 43,3. København: Munksgaard.
Prasse, Karl-G. 1972–1974. *Manuel de grammaire touaregue* (tăhăggart). 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. *Wörtebuch 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 Beḍauye-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. II. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 128,7. Wien: Gerold.
Reinisch, Leo. 1894. *Die Beḍauye-Sprache in Nordost-Afrika*. Vol. III. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 130,7. Wien: Gerold.
Reinisch, Leo. 1895. *Wörterbuch der Beḍauye-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.

Roper, E.-M. 1928. *Tū Beḍawiɛ: 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. 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.

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. 'Pflanzennamen der Bega-Sprache zwischen Suekin und Berber'. *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 4: 334–339.

SED = Militarev, Alexander, and Leonid Kogan. 2000. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. I: Anatomy of Man and Animals*. 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 Morgenländische 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: 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.

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: Köppe.

Stroomer, Harry. 2001. *A Concise Vocabulary of Orma Oromo (Kenya): Orma – English, English – Orma*. Köln: Köppe.

Strümpell, F. 1911. 'Vergleichendes Wörterverzeichnis des Heidensprachen Adamauas'. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 42: 444–488.

Strümpell, F. 1923. 'Wörterverzeichnisse der Heidensprachen des Mandara-Gebirges (Adamaua)'. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 13: 47–75, 109–149.

Stumme, Hans. 1899. *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Takács, Gábor. 1996. 'Aegyptio-Afroasiatica V'. *Discussions in Egyptology* 34: 39–44.

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: 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.

da Trento, Gabriele. 1941. 'Vocaboli in lingue dell'etiopia meridionale'. *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 1 (2): 203–207.

Tutschek, Charles. 1844–1845. *Dictionary of the Galla Language*. München: Lorenz Tutschek.

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. 1955. 'Der Umlaut in den Berbersprachen Nordafrikas. Eine Einführung in die berberische Sprachgeschichte'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 52: 304–325.

Vycichl, Werner. 1957. 'L'article défini du berbère'. In *Mémorial A. Basset*, 139–146. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Vycichl, Werner. 1958. 'Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung'. *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-Omotic: 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. 'Die Palatalisierung von *q* im Berberischen'. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 63 (1–3): 39–44.

Vycichl, Werner. 1992. 'Die pharyngalen Laute ʿAyin und Ḥaʾ 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: Libraire Liban, 1985).
Watson, Charles Moore. 1888. *Languages Spoken at Suakin*: *Arabic*, *Hadendoa*, *Beni-Amer*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
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: 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.
Woelfel, Dominik Josef. 1965. *Monumenta Linguae Canariae*. Graz: Akademische Verlag.
Yilmu, 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, ed. 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. Mukarovsky 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.
Zelealem Leyew 1998. *Kemant Wordlist.* Ms.
Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1933. 'Ursprung und Sprachcharakter des Altägyptischen'. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 23: 25–45, 81–110, 161–194.
Zyhlarz, Ernst. 1956. 'Die Fiktion der "kuschitischen" Völker'. *Kush* 4: 19–37.

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148429

Reviews

Lohwasser, Angelika, und Anne Sörgel. 2020. *Ein Zeugnis des frühen kuschitischen Königtums. Die Stele SNM 1851 vom Jebel Barkal*. Mit einem Beitrag von Finnja Buttermann. Meroitica 28. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. X, 248 S. ISBN 978-3-447-11563-6.

Die hier zu besprechende Publikation widmet sich der ägyptischen Sandsteinstele SNM 1851, die heute im National Museum Khartum aufbewahrt wird. Der Inhalt des Bandes baut auf den folgenden Bestandteilen auf:

In 1. wird das Objekt selbst näher vorgestellt. Die Stele stand ursprünglich im großen Amun-Tempel von Jebel Barkal, wo sie 1920 entdeckt wurde (1). Die Originalhöhe der Stele kann nicht mehr ermittelt werden, da der untere Teil fehlt (3). Die obere Hälfte des heute erhaltenen Fragmentes weist eine Darstellung in erhabenem Relief sowie 24 Textkolumnen auf (4). In der unteren Hälfte sind 6 unterschiedlich erhaltene Textzeilen zu beobachten (4).

In 2 wird die Forschungsgeschichte nachgezeichnet. Die erste Publikation der Stele fand 1921 durch Reisner statt (5).

In 3 wird die Darstellung im Giebelfeld beschrieben. Das Giebelfeld zeigt eine Opferszene, der 24 Textkolumnen und drei frei im Raum schwebende Kolumnen beigefügt sind (8). Die Opferempfänger bestehen aus dem widderköpfigen Gott Amun-Re, der Göttin Mut und dem Gott Chons (9–10). Die Fläche rechts von der Triade nimmt ein sekundär ergänzter König ein, der ein Pektoral und eine Kette emporhält (11).

In 4 wird der Text der Stele präsentiert. Das Material wird in Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar zugänglich gemacht. Das „Lebenszeichen“ im Namen des Königs Pi(anch)y könnte die nichtägyptische Wurzel „pi“ „leben“ ent-

© 2023 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.

halten (45). Der überwiegende Teil des Textes ordnet die Zeichen zu Schriftquadraten an, es fallen aber auch ungewöhnliche Proportionen auf (56). Die meisten Zeichen der Stele sind nur in den Umrisslinien markiert (56). Die Paläographie fasst die Zeichen auf der Sandsteinstele nach ihrer Häufigkeit und Verwendungsart – Logogramm, Determinativ, Phonogramm – zusammen. Die Katimala-Inschrift, Triumpfstele Pi(anch)y, Stele Kopenhagen AEIN 1707, Stele Khartum 2678, Stele Kopenhagen AEIN 1712, Stele Khartum 2679, Stele Kopenhagen 1713, Stele Kairo JE 48840, Stele Kairo JE 38269 und Traumstele werden als Vergleich herangezogen. Die kreisförmigen Zeichen wurden z. T. promiscue gebraucht (83). Die Götterrede lehnt sich sprachlich an das Mittelägyptische an (99). Die Markierung femininer und neutrischer Bezugswörter in Genitivverbindungen und Relativformen richtet sich nach keinem einheitlichen Schema (99). Die Verben IIIae inf. lassen eine inkonsequente Verbalmorphologie erkennen (100). Die Königsrede greift auf das Neuägyptische zurück (100). Der erhaltene Haupttext der Stele wird größtenteils von der Titulatur des Herrschers und dessen Epitheta eingenommen (101). In der Sandsteinstele sind keine demotischen Einflüsse zu sehen (103). Die Entstehungszeit der Steleninschrift kann zwischen die Katimala-Inschrift aus der 21./22. Dynastie und der Triumpfstele des Pi(anch)y datiert werden (107).

In 5 wird das Schicksal der Sandsteinstele zu rekonstruieren versucht. Der ursprüngliche Stelenherr könnte ein bisher noch unbekannter König sein (126). Der Doppeluräus deutet auf die kuschitische Königsideologie hin (127). Die Sandsteinstele hat u. a. Tilgungen beim Offizianten und den Namen in den Kartuschen erfahren (130). Der sekundäre Nutzer der Stele ist vielleicht in Pi(anch)y oder Aspelta zu suchen (142).

In 6 werden die historischen Zusammenhänge interpretiert. Die vielleicht zunächst nur nominelle kuschitische Oberhoheit über Oberägypten bis mindestens in die Thebais wurde unter Pi(anch)y politisch und militärisch erweitert (146). Der Übergang zwischen der Herrschaft der Familie des Osorkon II. und den Kuschiten lief wohl friedlich ab (146).

In 7 wird die kulturhistorische Einordnung durchgeführt. Die sprachlichen und phraseologischen Details legen eine Datierung vor der 25. Dynastie nahe (160). Die Gottessohnschaft und die pränatale Designation des zukünftigen Herrschers spielen in der Rede des Amun eine wichtige Rolle (160). Der zentrale Aspekt der Stele wird von der Herrschaftsübergabe verkörpert (162). Die drei erhaltenen Namen der Königstitulatur ahmen das Vorbild des Thutmosis III. nach (170).

Die Bibliografie (183–200) schließt sich als nächstes an. Die Abkürzungen (201–202) und Indices (203–208) folgen als nächstes. Die Abbildungen (211–248) werden ans Ende gesetzt.

Die anschließenden Punkt seien kurz angemerkt:
46: die Übersetzung „versehen mit Königtum wie Re im Himmel“ von „w3ḥ nśw. yt mi Rʿ(.w) m p.t“ muss zu „dauerhaft an Königtum wie Re im Himmel“ korri-

giert werden; die Übersetzung „prächtig an Kronen“ von „ḏśr ḫʿ(.w) muss richtig „abgeschirmt an Kronen“ lauten,
49: Die Entscheidung für „3tf = f nśw iri.w m tp = f“ durch „(mit) seiner königlichen Atefkrone, die man gab auf seinen Kopf“ ist wohl aus mehreren Gründen abzulehnen. Die richtige Lösung ergibt sich vielleicht mit einer kleinen Wortumstellung: „3tf = f iri = w św m tp = f“ „seine Atefkrone, man gibt sie an seinen Kopf“,
50: Die Lesung „wśr bi3.w m ḳm3 n(j) iti = f“ „reich an Wundern als Schöpfung seines Vaters“ ist durch „wśr bi3.w m ḳm3.tn iti = f“ „reich an Wundern in dem, was sein Vater geschaffen hat“ zu ersetzen.

Der Rezensent hält folgende Bewertung für legitim: Der Gesamteindruck des Buches stellt sich als gut dar. Die Argumentation wirkt in sich durchaus schlüssig. Die Übersetzungen können mit geringen Ausnahmen als korrekt gelten. Die an zwei Stellen untergebrachte Paläographie hätte man straffen können.

Stefan Bojowald https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6947-1685
University of Bonn, Germany | stefan.bojowald@t-online.de

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148430

Gill, Ann-Katrin, und Mark Smith. 2023. *Transforming the Dead in Graeco-Roman Egypt: The Spells of P. Louvre N. 3122 and P. Berlin P. 3162*. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde – Beihefte 16. Berlin und Boston: De Gruyter. V–VII, 1–139 S., Pl. 1–17A. ISBN 978-3-11-107983-7.

Die Publikation widmet sich den ägyptischen Handschriften P. Louvre N. 3122 und P. Berlin P. 3162, die zur Gattung der Bücher mit Verwandlungssprüchen gehören. Der Inhalt des Werkes lässt sich folgendermaßen beschreiben:

In 1 werden die Handschriften kurz vorgestellt. P. Louvre N. 3122 wird heute in der Abteilung für Ägyptische Altertümer des Louvre aufbewahrt, während sich P. Berlin P. 3162 in der Kollektion des Ägyptischen Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin befindet (1).

In 2 werden Hintergrundinformationen zu den Handschriften bekannt gemacht. Die jetzige Höhe von P. Louvre N. 3122 beträgt 21, 2cm, während die Länge 147cm erreicht (2). Die Papyrusrolle setzt sich aus 10 Blättern zusammen (2). Die Höhe von P. Berlin P. 3162 beläuft sich auf 15cm bei einer Länge von 175cm (4).

In 3 wird in Schrift und Layout der Papyri eingeführt. Der Schreiber von P. Louvre N. 3122 trennte die sieben Kolumnen des Textes anhand der Kolleseis voneinander ab (8). Die obere Hälfte der Handschrift nehmen Vignetten ein (8). Der Text ist in *scriptio continua* und mit dem Kalamos geschrieben (8). Text und Vignetten sind in schwarzer Farbe gehalten (8). Das Verso wurde wohl leer gelassen (8). In den ersten vier Kolumnen wird die hieratische Schrift benutzt, in der fünften Kolumne eine Mischung aus hieratischer/hieroglyphischer Schrift und in der sechsten und siebten Kolumne rein hieroglyphische Schrift (8). Der Text von P. Berlin P. 3162 besteht aus acht Kolumnen, von denen nur die vierte die Kollesis berücksichtigt (8). Die obere Hälfte der Handschrift enthält Vignetten (8). Die *scriptio continua* und der Gebrauch des Kalamos ist auch hier zu beobachten (8). Die Kolumnen sind fast komplett hieratisch geschrieben, nur einzelne Wörter oder Zeichen sind hieroglyphisch abgefasst (9). Das Verso blieb offenbar auch hier leer (9).

© 2023 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 4 wird der Schreiber von P. Louvre N. 3122 und P. Berlin P. 3162 porträtiert. Die beiden Manuskripte wurden wohl vom gleichen Schreiber angefertigt (10). Die Vignetten wurden von einem anderen Künstler hinzugefügt (14).

In 5 wird zu Herkunft und Alter der Manuskripte Stellung genommen. Die beiden Manuskripte haben eine thebanische Provenienz (16). Die Manuskripte lassen sich paläographisch in die Römerzeit datieren (17).

In 6 werden prosopographische Daten erhoben. Die Besitzerin von P. Louvre N. 3122 ist eine Frau namens 3ś.t-wr.t, die den Titel „iḫii.t n Imn-rʿ“ „Sistrumspielerin des Amun-Re“ trägt (17). Der Eigentümer von P. Berlin P. 3162 ist ein Mann namens Ḏḥw.ti-ii, für den keine Titel vorliegen (17). Die Mutter hört auf den Namen „Mw.t mni.t“ „Mut ist der Oberschenkel“, was eine Anspielung auf die Position des Kindes beim Stillen sein könnte (17–18).

In 7 wird über den Inhalt der Papyri gehandelt. P. Louvre N. 3122 besteht aus zwei Teilen. Die ersten vier Kolumnen bieten Sprüche für die jenseitige Verwandlung in ein nichtmenschliches Wesen, während die fünfte Kolumne auf Libationen, die sechste Kolumne auf die körperliche Unversehrtheit und die siebte Kolumne tägliche Anrufungen Bezug nehmen (19). Der P. Berlin P. 3162 zerfällt ebenfalls in zwei Teile. Kolumne 1 thematisiert den Schutz durch den Sonnengott, Kolumne 2 Handlungen der Götter für den Verstorbenen und Kolumne 3 bestimmte Feste, während die restlichen 5 Kolumnen die Verwandlung des Verstorbenen in nichtmenschliche Wesen betreffen (20–21).

In 8 wird die postmortale Verwandlung im ägyptischen Denken diskutiert. Die Vorstellung der Verwandlung des Verstorbenen in nichtmenschliche Wesen ist vom Alten Reich bis in die griechisch-römische Zeit belegt (27). Der Ba des Verstorbenen spielt dabei die Hauptrolle (27). Die Entwicklung ganzer literarischer Kompositionen zu jenem Aspekt fängt erst in der griechisch-römischen Zeit an (27).

In 9 wird auf die Verwendung der Papyri eingegangen. P. Louvre N. 3122 könnte als Amulett gedient haben (30). P. Berlin P. 3162 wurde dem Verstorbenen wohl ebenfalls mit ins Grab gegeben (32).

In 10 wird die Orthografie in die Betrachtung einbezogen. P. Louvre N. 3122 zeigt eine Reihe von Erscheinungen, die für hieratische Texte der griechisch-römischen Zeit typisch sind, darunter die Schreibung von „nb“ „Herr/alles“ als „nb.t“ (33). Die Vielfalt der Schreibung des femininen Suffixpronomens 2. Pers. Sing. fällt zusätzlich auf (34). Die zuerst genannte orthographische Besonderheit gilt auch für P. Berlin P. 3162 (34).

In 11 wird die Grammatik besprochen. P, Louvre N. 3122 gebraucht das Mittelägyptische, in das jüngere Einsprengsel gemischt sind (37). Das Gleiche lässt sich für P. Berlin P. 3162 sagen (38).

In 12 wird die Edition erstellt. Die Transliteration und Übersetzung werden nebeneinander abgedruckt. Der Kommentar folgt mit der Erläuterung der philologischen Details.

In 13 schließt sich das Glossar an.

Die Bibliografie (129–135) und Indices (137–139) runden das Programm zusätzlich ab.

Der Tafelteil (1–17A) nimmt den letzten Platz ein. Die Papyri werden in farbiger Photographie und hieroglyphischer Abschrift wiedergegeben.

Die folgenden Bemerkungen sind vielleicht für das Verständnis von Nutzen:
17–18: zu säugenden Göttinnen in Kindernamen vgl. zuletzt: Bojowald, Stefan. 2022. „Ein neuer Anlauf zur Erklärung des Personennamens im ägyptischen pBM EA 9964“. *Ägypten und Levante* 32: 41–45.
72: die Übersetzung „when he has entered the western mountains“ von „ḫnm. n=f m3nw“ muss in „when he has united with the western mountain“ geändert werden.
76: die Übersetzung von „mn.ti wśr.ti“ muss von „remaining powerfull“ in „while you are enduring and powerfull“ geändert werden.

In der Gesamtbewertung kann dem Buch ein guter Eindruck attestiert werden. Die Übersetzung ist mit ein paar kleineren Ausnahmen korrekt. Die Transkription ist so weit in Ordnung. In einigen Fällen sind unnötige Redundanzen zu verzeichnen, wie z. B. bei den Bemerkungen zur Anordnung der Texte (20/28).

Stefan Bojowald https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6947-1685
University of Bonn, Germany | stefan.bojowald@t-online.de

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148431

Bawardi, Basilius. 2019. *The Magazine Shiʿr and the Poetics of Modern Arabic Poetry: A Textual Study*. Studies in Oriental Culture and Literature 5. Berlin: Peter Lang. 322 pp. ISBN 978-3-631-77563-9.[1]

The book reviewed here is one of two (along with Creswell 2019) seminal publications on modernism in Lebanon and on the magazine Šiʿr ('Poetry'), which were released in the same year. Bawardi's book is based (as mentioned, p. 9) on his PhD thesis (Bawardi 2003). His 2012 paper also comprises some of the book's theses. The research corpus includes translated and original poems, as well as essays of literary criticism from Šiʿr (published between 1957–1964 and 1967–1969), one of the most important contemporary Arabic literary magazines.

The 'Preface' begins with the keyword 'modernism' (p. 13). Its equivalent in Arabic, *al-ḥadāṯa*, is as ambiguous and polysemantic notion as it is for term *al-nahḍa* '(literary) awakening' in the Arab world. In their notorious manifestos, modernisms customarily tend to undermine the thematic and/or formal foundations of the past. Obviously, as the author explains, this relation between past and present is usually more complex. Let us mention the words of Wilhelm Apollinaris Kostrowicki, whose eight 'pioneering' poems (as Bawardi terms them) translated by Šawqī ʾAbī Šaqrā, were published in *Šiʿr* (see Appendix of the translated works: 1964, Nov 29/30). This renowned poet of Polish origin, known commonly as Guillaume Apollinaire, inventor of the neologism 'surrealism', and one of the precursors of this trend, remarks in 'La Phalange Nouvelle':

[1] First published in Hebrew in the journal of the Middle-East and Islamic Studies Association in Israel (MEISAI): 2021. *Hamizrah Hehadash* 60: 268–272.

© 2023 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.

> Quelle serait la caractéristique d'une tradition, sinon la continuité? [...] les maîtres que nous aimons, que nous voulons continuer en conservant notre personnalité, [...] ils existent, ils vivent, ils sont en plein travail, en pleine gloire.[2] (Apollinaire 1909: 134)

Bawardi discusses the various and changing attitudes of Šiʿr towards Arab literary tradition. He lets us understand why the authors of the magazine played a delicate game with an Arab audience, sensitive to their literary legacy and to the fluctuant socio-political context. He also analyses a rare selection of politically engaged poems in the magazine (see for example, the author's observations on the Algerian Revolution, p. 38, and his remarks on the magazine's subtle policy during the Nasserist Pan-Arab project in Egypt, p. 59).

But modernism in Lebanon also raises the question of the impact of European and American cultures on Lebanese poets. The author gives us exhaustive answers on this topic. He refers, *inter alia*, to the theoretical background of André Lefevere's and Susan Bassnett's scientific works (p. 61 ff.), inspired by renowned Israeli researcher Even-Zohar Itamar. We see how in Šiʿr, new Arabic translations, in their overwhelming majority in prose, resemble palimpsests by hiding under a visible layer literary forms, patterns and cultural connotations, heavily loaded with linguistic characteristics of their original languages.

But there is a flipside of the coin here. Adonis, many years later after his publications in Šiʿr, perversely makes us look for true modernism in ancient Arab poetry, and offers harsh remarks, pointing to the meanderings of youthful searching for new patterns and for new topoi in distant beautiful lands: 'This has led us to concoct an illusory, specious modernity which is embodied on [...] the level of poetry in plagiarizing forms of expression from languages whose particular genius is intrinsically different from that of Arabic.' (Adonis 2003: n.p.). These words complement Bassnett's observations, as she remarks in the preface to the third edition of her important work *Translation Studies*: 'For just as the model of colonialism was based on the notion of a superior culture taking possession of an inferior one, so an original was always seen as superior to its "copy"' (Bassnett 2002: 5).

Bawardi offers an interesting explanation for some heterogeneous approaches of the magazine's authors to the forms of the poem (first of all *prose-poem*), to the variability of literary patterns, motifs, and terms, to the form of the language itself (i.e. standard Arabic versus Lebanese Arabic dialects), and to a different perception of intellectual Arab elites. His analysis, solid and richly layered, is supplemented by interesting excerpts from his interviews with Adonis. Let me add here two less known facts about Yūsuf al-Ḫāl and Adonis, the most important authors in Šiʿr.

---

[2] 'What would be the characteristic of a tradition, if not continuity? [...] the masters that we love, that we want to continue while preserving our personality, [...] they exist, they live, they are at full work, in full glory.'

Yūsuf al-Ḫāl enabled the young Maurice ʿAwwād (1934–2018), one of the greatest poets writing in the Lebanese dialect, to publish his first book of poems, entitled ʾAġnār (feminine proper name) in 1963. Adonis, on the contrary, tried to dissuade ʿAwwād from writing poetry in Lebanese after the publication of the same book (my personal conversation with ʿAwwād, Kfar Shima, 30 September 2018).

Bawardi describes the creative richness of the research corpus, testifying to valuable cosmopolitan, intellectual life in the Middle Eastern *melting pot* (a well-known expression propagated in another context by Israel Zangwill, and frequently used, among others, in popular and scientific productions for describing Beirut). This intensive vitality, this vibrant creativity during 1950s and 1960s (obviously wider than the magazine itself) take place in the shadow of a dormant volcano: the magazine had stopped publication six years before the destructive conflicts, euphemistically called *al-ḥawādiṯ* ('incidents').

The book structure is well organised. The final conclusions are instructive and helpful. They summarise well the book's most important theses. One finds also here three valuable appendixes: 1) of the translated works (pp. 205–243), 2) of the Arabic works (pp. 244–283) and 3) of critical articles (pp. 284–300). The bibliography is extensive, though one observes here some minor mistakes, mainly in transcription of some titles. Neither of the author's aforementioned publications (Bawardi 2003, 2012) are not included in it. I think that at least two theses in Arabic, both with rich bibliography and directly connected to the subject of the book, could have been taken into consideration: 'ʾAṭar mağallat (Šiʿr) al-lubnāniyya fī ḥadāṯat al-kitāba al-šiʿriyya' (Malīkī 2015) and 'ʿAnāṣir taḥdīṯ al-naṣṣ al-šiʿrī fī mağallat Šiʿr' (Munā 2006).

It is my duty to mention some minor errors (partly misprints) mainly in Arabic transcription: p. 22 *ḥadāṯa* (and not *hadāṯa*) 'modernism', *ibid. namūḏağ* (and not *namūṯağ*) 'model', p. 23 *mafhūmuhā* (and not *mafhūmahā*) 'its concept', p. 26 *muġāyira* (and not *muġāyīra*, correctly p. 44) 'different [point of view]', p. 72, n. a [*ʾayyām*] *ʾayyār* '[The Days] of March' [correctly 'of May'], p. 121 *muḥāwalāt* (and not *muāwalāt*) 'attempts', p. 124, n. 250, p. 141, n. 289 *taškīliyya* (and not *taškīliya*) translated here 'plastic' [art], p. 141, n. 289 *graphī* (transcription? *-ph*) 'graphic', p. 176, n. 372 *taždīd* (and not *tždīd*) 'renewal', p. 310 *poème* (and not *poèm*) 'poem'.

Notation of human proper names: p. 24 and p. 29 [*ʾAnṭūn*] *Saʿāda* (and not *Saʿādi*), p. 26 *Fāḍil* (and not *Fādil*), p. 26 *Kanafānī* (and *Kanafanī*), p. 28 *Ḫaḍrāʾ* (and not *Ḫadrāʾ*), p. 28 *Raḥbānī* (and not *Raḥabānī*), p. 33, p. 34, n. 38 *al-ʿAẓmī* (and not *al-ʿAẓmi*), p. 55, n. 99 *ʿAlī* (and not *Alī*), p. 56, n. 99(d) *ʿAbd* (and not *ʾAbd*), p. 74 [*Henri*] *Michaux* [and not *Michau*], p. 76, n. 137 [*André*] *du Bouchet* (and not *de Bouché*), p. 213 *Birtūld* (and not *Britūld*) 'Bertold', p. 226 *Šiksbīr* (and not *Šaisbīr*) 'Shakespeare', p. 310 *Baudelaire* (and not *baudelaire*).

Notation of *ʿayn* and *hamza*: p. 18, p. 124 *ruʾyā*, and variant with short *-a*: p. 124, n. 250 *ruʾya* (and not *ruʿyā/ruʿya*) 'vision', p. 124, n. 250 *ʿarabī* (and not

ʾarabī) ‘Arabic’, p. 165, n. 342 *ʿāṣifa* (and not *ʾāṣifa*) without translation, *ibid.* *warāʾ* (and not *warāʿ*) ‘behind’, p. 174 *ʿāmmatan* (and not *ʾāmmatan*) ‘in general’, *ibid.* *ʿašar* (and not *ʾašar*) in: *tāsiʿʾašar* ‘the Nineteenth’, p. 177 *ʿāmmiyya* (and not *ʾāmmiyya*, correctly noted elsewhere) ‘colloquial language’.

Etymology of the word *Sīmūrg* should be nuanced, p. 183, n. 383.

Despite these mainly technical shortcomings, I warmly recommend Bawardi’s book which makes a significant contribution to our better understanding of the history of the ideas in Lebanon and the history of literary trends in the Middle East. Undoubtedly, it will be a reference for researchers of various fields.

References

Adonis. 2003. *An Introduction to Arab Poetics*. Translated by Catherine Cobham. London: Saqi Books.

Apollinaire, Guillaume. 1909. ‘La Phalange Nouvelle’. In *La poésie symboliste: trois entretiens sur les temps héroïques, période symboliste au Salon des Artistes indépendants 1908*, by P.-N. Roinard, 129–242. Paris: L’Édition.

Bassnett, Susan. 2002. *Translation Studies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bawardi, Basilius. 2003. ‘*Mağallat Šiʿr* wa-l-ḥadāṯa al-šiʿriyya al-ʿarabiyya’. PhD thesis, Haifa: Haifa University.

Bawardi, Basilius. 2012. ‘The Ethics of Nazīh ʾAbū ʿAfash, A Self-styled “Christian Atheist”’. In *Monotheism & Ethics: Historical and Contemporary Intersections Among Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, edited by Y. Tzvi Langermann, 257–268. Studies on the Children of Abraham 2. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Creswell, Robyn. 2019. *City of Beginnings: Poetic Modernism in Beirut*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Malīkī, al-ʿAyd. 2015. ‘ʾAṯar mağallat (Šiʿr) al-lubnāniyya fī ḥadāṯat al-kitāba al-šiʿriyya’. PhD thesis, Wahrān: Ǧāmiʿat Wahrān.

Munā, ʿAllām. 2006. ‘ʿAnāṣir taḥdīṯ al-naṣṣ al-šiʿrī fī mağallat Šiʿr’. PhD thesis, Ǧāmiʿat al-Ǧazāʾir: Al-Ǧazāʾir.

Arkadiusz Płonka https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5403-3364
Jagiellonian University, Poland | arkadiusz.plonka@uj.edu.pl

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148432

Nader El-Bizri. 2022. *On Being and Time: The Section on Heidegger in Charles Malik's 1937 Harvard Thesis*. Beiruter Texte und Studien 143. Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut. 178 pp. ISBN 978-3-95650-985-8.

Above all philosophy is a lesson of life, living, and freedom writes French philosopher and public intellectual Michel Onfray (b. 1959). In other words, philosophy is a quest to study, evaluate, scrutinize, and understand man, nature, reality, existence, humanity, and the human condition. Even in its etymological sense, philosophy is 'love of wisdom', ergo 'love of knowledge' and a quest for knowing and understanding 'being and time'.

Prefacing with Michel Onfray a review of a study on 'Charles Malik's Heidegger' is, I thought, not only appropriate, but indeed righteous. This is so given both Onfray and Malik's approach to philosophy not merely as a 'quest for knowing and understanding' in the arcane academic sense, but indeed 'knowing and understanding' at the popular level, on the plane of 'philosophy for the masses' as a massive, accessible, popular endeavour, all-encompassing and intelligible to the 'common man'; in sum, an 'unaffected and unconscious "love of men and subject matter"' as revealed in a description of Heidegger attributed to Malik (p. 20). And although Charles Malik the thinker—let us say his interpretation of Heidegger—might have been 'accessible', Heidegger himself, and his philosophy according to Michel Onfray, were anything but. Relying on the description of one of Heidegger's former students, Onfray relays a portrait of the man as follows:

> A brilliant teacher, [Heidegger] was nevertheless impenetrable… I remember distinctly that I understood very little of his commentaries [in the classroom.] I would intently follow his train of thought for a moment, then lose track of what he was saying. Yet, what I never lost track of was that what he was saying must have been of import, even if I was unable to understand a word of it… He was a sombre man of small physical stature, who was quite at ease ensorcelling his interlocutor. The basic technique of his courses consisted of erecting complex scaffoldings upon which his ideas would be lain, only to subsequently dismantle the entire structure

© 2023 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.

> leaving his students utterly dumbfounded, stunned, bewildered by the enigma that lay before them. This artistry of the sorcerer's apprentice, carrying with it great risk, attracted a breed of disciples that cannot be described as anything but a breed 'deranged' followers. Indeed, one of Heidegger's female students chose suicide three years into her course with him [presumably out of despair]. (Onfray 2015)

In sum, Heidegger was impenetrable; puzzling; but he mattered. What he said might have been unintelligible, but it was important. How then could he have been a 'brilliant teacher' had he been inaccessible to his charges? This contradiction was never resolved, until perhaps Charles Malik came along, breaking the Heideggerian spell, resolving the enigma that he was to those who still admired and valorised him. This is precisely what Nader El-Bizri's learned intellectual biography of Charles Malik reveals.

A doctoral student at Harvard University since 1932, with a stint in Germany beginning in 1935 where he studied under Martin Heidegger, Charles Malik became over the course of his career a notable essayist, diplomat, political thinker, historian, academic, and one of the principal authors of the United Nation's 1947 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Early twentieth-century Lebanese journalist and politician Georges Naccache described Malik in a 1948 essay as a 'simple neo-Thomist teacher from Koura who, on a bank of the River Hudson, presided over the debates of 108 nations'.[1] Malik's life's work intruded on many disciplines spanning History, Theology, Sociology, Political Thought, Political Science, and of course Philosophy. As a teacher and public intellectual who held for many decades a professorship at the American University of Beirut,[2] Malik's concerns were those of Humanity and Man as a whole; in other words 'being and time'. Nader El-Bizri's annotated intellectual biography of Malik's is (perhaps to a fault) a fastidious and exhaustive confirmation of the preceding profile of Charles Malik the Humanist; that as pertains to 'being and time' nothing was beyond the pale for Charles Malik; that he was naturally curious about all preoccupations pertaining to Humanity and Man; that like Paul Valéry's *Eupalinos* (1921: 58–59), Malik avidly sought out all thoughts and actions relating to Man; thoughts that questioned and answered one another with alacrity and clarity. Even 'questions of war and peace would continue to leave a mark on Malik's

---

[1] Naccache refers here to Malik's presiding over the thirteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1958. Prior to that, Malik was Lebanon's representative at the 1945 San Francisco conference at which the UN was founded. In 1948 he would become one of the eight drafters of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, succeeding Eleanor Roosevelt as the Human Rights Commission's Chair. See Naccache (1983: 49–50).

[2] Malik also held concomitant professorships at Harvard, Dartmouth College, the American University in DC, Indiana's University of Notre Dame in addition to other elite institutions around the world.

thinking' notes El-Bizri, stressing that to Malik '[…] the life of action is superior to and more complete than the life of thinking. A General or a prophet is superior to a poet or a philosopher' (p. 35).

In sum, Malik's 'primary concern was the truth', he would write in 1982, that

> […] the truth of man, history, and destiny is not only complex but multi-layered […that] there is truth and truth, and [that] the truth to be sought […] should be such as to govern all truths, including the operations of politics and diplomacy and the vagaries of the will. Truth alone liberates and saves. (Malik 1983: 2)

Born in 1906 in the Koura district of the Ottoman Vilayet of Beirut (present-day Lebanon), lulled between ebbs and flows of Mediterranean and the rootedness of snow-capped Mount-Lebanon, Malik was perhaps destined by these natural surroundings to wed his 'Christian onto-theology' to Heideggerian theological interpretations of 'being and time' (p. 14). El-Bizri notes that 'Malik described himself as '*a Christian thinker* who seeks to "Heideggerize theology" or "theologize Heidegger"' (p. 19). Like his great-uncle, Lebanese Christian author and polymath Farah Antun (1874–1922), and oddly enough *unlike* his famous great-nephew-by-marriage Edward Said (1935–2003), Charles Malik was at ease shying away from approaching knowledge strictly 'from the point of view of the *saecularis*'—which is to say the purely temporal and profane (Malik 1982: 109). In that sense, his approach to 'time and being' stemmed from an almost religious (not to say Christian) 'curiosity about *all* being' and *all* things related to man and being; a fearless quest for knowledge in the Greek sense; knowledge *in toto* (Malik 1982: 18–19). To this point, he notes that it is interesting that non-Western (and therefore non-Christian) seekers of knowledge may 'enter Freiburg University or the Sorbonne or Oxford or Harvard… and specialize and earn a universally respected academic degree in their own [*native* non-Western, non-Christian] culture', whereas no Westerner may enter a non-Western university expecting to 'specialize and earn a universally respected academic degree' in his own Western culture (Malik 1982: 18). This is how Malik viewed and decorticated Heidegger. Rather than depicting him as an indecipherable enigma as did his students, Malik saw his teacher simply as a deconstructionist of Western tradition who was still deeply indebted to Judeo-Christian tradition, ergo Western tradition, even if he did not discern or acknowledge that debt to Christian values (p. 21).

A humanist at heart, who might have ignored Heidegger's Nazi proclivities, Malik was a vocal opponent of resentful nationalisms, Arab nationalism in particular, which he viewed as a calque from German Romantic ideas that might have led to organic national movements such as Nazism. Like his ancestor Farah Antun, who rejected the idea of the Near East as a uniform Arab-defined preserve, Malik believed the region—with his native Lebanon at its forefront—to be 'an entity apart', unassimilable, immune to absorption by larger monolithic

pan-movements, or fusion into dominant entities extrinsic to its humanist nature (Malik 1983: 4–5). 'The future does not belong to oppression but to liberation' he wrote in 1983,

> The future will not bring about a contraction of existing freedom but a widening of its scope. The future will not conduce to the enlargement and grounding of slavery but to diminishing its sway and getting rid of it altogether. The future does not belong to discriminating against the religious minorities [of the Near East] but to these minorities themselves winning complete equality in their responsibilities, rights and obligations. The future does not belong to the realm of darkness but to the realm of light which shone and continues to shine in Lebanon. (Malik 1983: 17)

Obviously much has changed in the forty years since Malik penned that confident text. Freedoms are contracting and their converse are expanding, but it remains that Malik's indictments of despotism and valorisation of humanism are sentiments he draws from a deep reservoir of Christian faith, as values worth conserving, defending, and aspiring to. What is more, Malik's time at Harvard, and later Germany during the 1930s, confirmed his confidence in the power of 'hope' (p. 27). 'Malik sensed since 1933', writes El-Bizri, 'that the time ahead was that of days of moral trial in Europe; yet he believed that the essence of humanity was to be found in hope as manifesting its highest expression in the love of God' (p. 27).

In these times, when 'the time ahead [seems to be] that of trial in Europe', *indeed* trial in the world and for humanity as a whole, rereading Charles Malik's Heidegger under Nader El-Bizri's pen seems not only imperative and opportune, but indeed salutary. Nader El-Bizri's *On Being and Time; The section on Heidegger in Charles Malik's 1937 Harvard Thesis* is certainly *not* an easy book; but it is a crucial book. Learned, meticulous, exhaustive, didactic (half of the book's text is footnotes, so the reader is struck from the first pages with the author's fastidiousness and devotion to his subject) this is a welcome guidebook of a Humanist assisting humanity on the path where a novel and ominous 'transhumanism' lurks; a veritable *tour de force* that not only 'democratizes Malik on Heidegger', but which also brings back to life a major (but occulted) figure of the Near East's twentieth century intellectual history.

References

Malik, Charles. 1982. *A Christian Critique of the University*. Illinois: InterVarsity Press.

Malik, Charles. 1983. 'Lebanon and the World'. In *Lebanon and the World in the 1980s*, 1–23. College Park, MD: Center for International Development, University of Maryland.

Naccache, Georges. 1983. *Un rêve libanais 1943–1972*. Paris: Éditions FMA.

Onfray, Michel. 2015. 'La pensée post-Nazie (2)'. *Contre-histoire de la philosophie* 24 (1). 1 September 2015. Accessed 7 September 2023. https://youtube.com/watch?v=eId9sR3QTFY.

Valéry, Paul. 1921. *Eupalinos ou l'Architecte*. Paris: Éditions de la nouvelle Revue française.

Franck Salameh https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8415-5146
Boston College, United States of America | franck.salameh@bc.edu

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148433

Bobzin, Katharina. 2022. *Arabisch – Schritt für Schritt: Sprachkurs für das moderne Standard-Arabisch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. XVI, 200 S. ISBN 978-3-447-11919-1.

Katharina Bobzin hat im Harrassowitz Verlag ein Lehrwerk *Arabisch – Schritt für Schritt: Sprachkurs für das moderne Standard-Arabisch* vorgelegt. Das Buch baut auf dem im Jahr 1997 erschienenen Lehrbuch *Arabisch Grundkurs* (mit einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Laut- und Schriftlehre) vom selben Verfasserin auf. Bei dem zu besprechenden Werk handelt es sich um den im Vorwort (S. XII) genannten „Aufbaukurs (in Vorbereitung)", der eine „systematische Behandlung von Satz- und Formlehre" bringen soll. Es beruht auf langjähriger Unterrichtserfahrung der Verfasserin.

Bobzin setzt es sich zum Ziel, dem Leser „solide Grundkenntnisse in der modernen arabischen Standardsprache, dem sog. ‚Hocharabisch'" (S. XI) zu vermitteln. Auf regionale Varianten wurde nicht eingegangen.

Das Buch besteht aus zwei Teilen. Die vierteilige Einleitung „Schrift und Aussprache" (S. 1–40) und ein Lektionsteil (S. 41–160). Der erste Teil „Schrift und Aussprache" besteht aus vier Einheiten, in denen alle arabischen Laute und deren Umschrift mit Gruppierungen eingeführt werden. Die Präsentationen sind logisch strukturiert, und die zahlreichen Schreibmustern umfassen ausführliche Hinweise, die die Lernenden helfen sollen, die schwierigen Laute zu erkennen und sie zu schreiben. Jeder Buchstabe wird in seinen verschiedenen Formen dargestellt.

In den 12 Lektionen werden Regeln der Grammatik des modernen Hocharabisch dargestellt. Jede Einheit folgt einem einheitlichen Format: Sie beginnt mit einer Liste von wortschatzlicher Präsentation, gefolgt von einer Lesepassage mit Übersetzung. Auf die beiden folgenden Seiten werden die Grundzüge der arabischen Grammatik sowie Sprachgebrauch vermittelt. Nach jedem Text oder jedem Grammatikziel werden Übungen in zunehmender Komplexität vorgestellt, um den Stoff zu verinnerlichen.

Im Anhang (S. 161–197) finden sich Schlüssel zu allen Übungen sowie vollständig vokalisierte Übersichtstafeln zu den wesentlichen arabischen Verbalformen. Außerdem umfasst das dreigeteilte Register (Personen- und Sachregister,

© 2023 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.

Grammatik- und Sprachregister und Geographisches Register) alle wesentlichen Termini, die Verwendung finden, und soll es dem Lernenden erleichtern, die entsprechenden Stellen zu finden. Das arabisch-deutsche Vokabelverzeichnis umfasst Einträge mit Angabe zum erstmaligen Vorkommen und ist alphabetisch geordnet.

Das von einem Muttersprachler eingesprochene Audiomaterial umfasst alle Beispielswörter, Wortgruppen und Sätze aus dem Teil „Schrift und Sprache" sowie aus den 12 Lektionen. Es bietet ein intensives Hörtraining, das den Zugang zur arabischen Sprache anstrebt und die Fertigkeiten des Sprechens, Hörens, Schreibens und Lesens trainiert. Besonders hervorzuheben sind hier die zwei Aussprachmöglichkeiten des Vokabulars: Zunächst werden die Kontextformen oder Langformen gesprochen und sollen den Lernenden den „späteren Einstieg ins Literarische bzw. klassische Arabisch erleichtern". Danach sind die Wörter noch einmal in Pausalformen oder Kurzformen zu hören und stehen dann der dialektalen Umgangssprache nahe. Im gesamten Lehrbuch wird neben der arabischen Schrift die in der orientalistischen Fachliteratur üblichen Umschrift verwendet, dadurch werden sämtliche Laute inklusiv Vokale wiedergegeben und die Transkription lässt sich bei wenig Zeit „auch zum schnellen Wiederholen nutzen" (S. XII).

Mit den in dem Buch vermittelten hochsprachlichen Grundkenntnissen sollte es den Lernenden möglich sein, „sich relativ schnell in jeden der zahlreichen regionalen bzw. lokalen Dialekte einzuarbeiten" (vgl. S. XI). Hierzu den Hinweis auf die unterschiedlichen Aussprachen bestimmter Laute in manchen Dialekten. So wird /q/ durch Hamza ersetzt in einer Reihe von Dialekten, z.B. *yā ʾalbī* (statt: *ya qalbī)* „oh mein Herz" (S. 25). Ebenfalls wurde auf die Aussprache von /ǧ/ wie dt. *g* in Ägypten hingewiesen (S. 31). Erwähnt wurde auch die Aussprache von Fremdwörter-Nichtarabischer Namen (Wiedergabe von /g/ gewöhnlich als *ġayn*, nur in Ägypten – gemäß der dortigen Aussprache – ist *ǧim* üblich, z.B. غوتة „Goethe", in Ägypten جوتة). Gelegentlich wurde auf Parallelen bzw. Unterschiede im Alltagswortschatz durch die Angabe von zwei Bezeichnungen für eine Sache eingegangen etwa *bāsun – ḥāfilatun* „Omnibus, Bus" (S. 106); *baṭāṭā – baṭāṭis* (koll. ägy.) (S. 101); *hātifun – tilifōn* „Telefon" (S. 42). Ebenfalls wurde im Bereich der Morphologie auf die Umschreibung der Genitivverbindungen in der mündlich gebrauchten Standartsprache hingewiesen (S. 114).

Zwar wurden die Lernenden auf das Nebeneinander von Hochsprache und Dialekt in der arabischen Welt hingewiesen. Es wurde jedoch nicht konsequent auf regionale und dialektale Unterschiede eingegangen. Unerwähnt bleibt zum Beispiel der Zusammenfall der Laute /ḍ/ und /ẓ/ in einem einzigen Interdental.

Da es in einem modernen Arabischlehrbuch wichtigen didaktische Grundprinzipien berücksichtigt werden sollen. Steht in diesem Lehrbuch im Mittelpunkt der Sprachvermittlung primär die Vermittlung des grammatischen Systems des Arabischen (S. XI). Aus diesem Grund wurde das Prinzip der Progression, in dem die sprachlichen Strukturen in Form von Texten, Wortschatzlisten, ausführliche

Übungen, sowie integrative grammatische Regeln befolgt. Die wichtigen grammatischen Grundstrukturen des Standard-Arabischen wurden integrativ vermittelt. Die Sprachstrukturen wurden nach ihren grammatischen Formen und sprachlicher Funktion sowie auch nach ihrem Schwierigkeitsgrad dargestellt.

Die Verfasserin hat die Beschreibung der arabischen Grammatik in zwei Teile gegliedert.

Am Beginn jeder Lektion steht die Einführung in die neue Grammatik und Sprachgebrauch. Der erste Teil behandelt neue wichtige Grammatikstrukturen. Im zweiten Teil kommt der Sprachgebrauch. Bei der Vermittlung neuer grammatischer Erscheinungen wurde eine induktive Methode, d.h. vom Sprachmaterial (Text) zur Regel gewählt. Ausgehend vom Lektionstext konnten die Gesetzmäßigkeiten anhand zahlreicher Übersichtstabellen zu Deklination und Konjugation analysiert und anschließend geübt werden.

Die Texte und Dialoge weisen einen starken Praxisbezug auf. Beispielsweise wurde für die Verneinung der Perfektform die in der Umgangssprache verwendete Form *mā* + Perfekt (statt die in der modernen Schriftsprache verwendete Form *lam* + Apokopat) verwendet. Darüber hinaus wurde auch ein kompliziertes grammatisches Thema wie Zahlen früh aufgenommen. Bereits in der Lektion 2 werden die Kardinalzahlen 1–10 vorgestellt. In Lektion 5 wird der Gebrauch der Grundzahlen behandelt und im Übungsteil weiter vertieft (etwa bei Fragen nach dem Alter sowie Fragen nach einem Preis).

Insgesamt ist das Material reichhaltig und variabel und dient den in der Einleitung aufgeführten Zielen. Es gibt jedoch noch andere Bereiche für Verbesserungen. Die Grammatik ist zwar gut geklärt, jedoch kurzgehalten. Das Buch sollte außerdem tiefer in die erlernten Grammatikstrukturen eingehen. Zumal die Übungen vor allem dem praktischen Anwenden und der Aussprache gewidmet sind.

Das Buch ist sehr gut redigiert, einige kleineren Flüchtigkeitsfehlern sind jedoch aufgefallen, z. B.:
S. 68: wurde der Imperfektpräfix *ta-* für 2. Per. Pl durch *tu-* ersetzt: هَلْ تُذْكُرْنَ;
S. 77: أَمَامَ هَذَا الفُنْدُقُ statt الفُنْدُقِ;
S. 100: liest man عَطْشَانُ und جَوْعَانُ wobei beide Adjektive als Prädikatnomen von *kāna* im Satz vorkommen und entsprechend im Akkusativ stehen müssen, also richtig in arabischer Schrift wäre عَطْشَانَ und جَوْعَانَ (Doppelsetzung des den Kasusvokal anzeigenden Vokalzeichens).

Korrekturbedürftig wären viele Vokalisationszeichen, z. B.: هذاً (S. 67); لَدَيْنَا (s. 86); وَضَعَ حَطّاً statt وَضَعَ خَطّاً (S. 101); خِنْزِيرًا (S. 101); فِي أَيِّ فَصْلٍ (S. 107); اِسْمُهِا (S. 108); نَحْتِاجُ (S. 118).

Insgesamt ist der Verfasserin ein zuverlässiges gut strukturiertes Lehrbuch gelungen. Das vorliegende Buch ist ein perfektes Hilfsmittel für alle, die sich näher mit dem Arabischen beschäftigen möchten. Für alle die hochsprachlichen fundierten Grundkenntnisse des Arabischen erwerben möchten sowie für Audiodidaktisch Lernende, ist es sehr empfehlenswert.

Es wurde zwar hauptsächlich für „den Selbstunterricht konzipiert“ (S. XII), lässt sich jedoch als ergänzendes Buch im Unterricht selbst verwenden aufgrund seiner praktischen Übungen sowie seinen Wortschatz.

Emna Labidi https://orcid.org/0009-0002-0164-6797
Heidelberg University, Germany | emna.labidi@uni-heidelberg.de

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148434

Shachmon, Ori. 2022. *Tēmōnit: The Jewish Varieties of Yemeni Arabic*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. XX, 250 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-11912-2.

Ori Shachmon's book is a completely novel and original study on Jewish Arabic, covering a huge gap in previous research on the subject.

While Jewish dialects have a special position in Arabic dialectology, there has been too little research to answer what is constitutive of them. Today, a large proportion of Jewish dialects is extinct. When most of their speakers migrated to Israel in the aftermath of Arab-Israeli wars that followed the formation of the Jewish state in 1948, they had to learn modern Hebrew, which became the national language. Arabic dialects no longer fulfilled their primary role of communication and their users stopped to pass them on to the next generation. Those that remained are now critically endangered.

It has been only in recent years that researchers, also outside Israel, have become increasingly interested in Jewish Arabic and tried to save it from oblivion. Many Jewish dialects have been recorded in sound and film as part of the project 'Leshon ha-bayit' (https://lashon.org/) supervised by Yehudit Henshke of the University of Haifa, but research on Jewish Arabic can be listed in just a few lines. Such work has so far been conducted, among others, by Werner Arnold (Hatay), Assaf Bar Moshe (Iraq), Haim Blanc (Iraq), Joshua Blau (Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic), David Cohen (Tunisia), Luca D'Anna (Libya), Felipe Benjamin Francisco (Morocco), Aharon Geva-Kleinberger (Palestine, Sudan), Wiktor Gębski (Tunisia), Jeffrey Heath (Morocco), Otto Jastrow (Iraq), Jacob Mansour (Baghdad Jewish Arabic), Gabriel M. Rosenbaum (Egypt), Lucienne Saada (Tunisia), Jonas Sibony (Morocco) or Sumikazu Yoda (Libya).

This makes Shachmon's book particularly noteworthy as it is the first such study[1] on the Jewish dialects of Yemen.

Shachmon is a professor of Arabic dialectology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, head of the Department of Arabic Language and Literature, who is

[1] I omit here such an obvious work as the dictionary by Ratzaby (1978).

© 2023 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.

well recognised among Arabic dialectologists especially for her earlier studies on Palestinian dialects (e.g. Shachmon 2011; 2013a; 2017).

It is the study of Yemeni Jewish dialects, however, that has been the main axis of her research career. She has dealt with the subject in both her master's and a doctoral thesis (Shachmon 1999; 2007) and in her encyclopaedic article published several years later (Shachmon 2013b). It took a longer while to see her research in English finally published in late 2022, but I can say with full conviction that this book was worth waiting for.

Shachmon's work consists of five chapters. They are not of equal length, and it is definitely the last one that is the main focus of the book. The chapters are preceded by 'Foreword' and 'Acknowledgments'. It was somewhat surprising that the author described her field research only briefly in the 'Foreword' instead of a separate introductory chapter, as we would expect from a field researcher. Generally, very little has been written about field research and methodology in Arabic dialectology. Field data acquisition is one of the most complex, if not the most difficult, stages in dialectological research, so describing one's own field research and reflections on what went on during fieldwork cannot be overlooked. I have to admit, however, that Shachmon, in the six pages of her 'Foreword', does speak about the various stages of her work in some detail. In my opinion, however, this should have been included in the main body of the book, if it is based on the material collected during the field research.

Shachmon has been studying Yemeni dialects in Israel for almost 25 years, teaching classes on them at the Hebrew University since 2009 and working with Tom Fogel and Naama Ben-David on collecting data in Lower Yemeni dialects since 2016. In 2018, she started a project funded by the Israel Science Foundation. Her research team visited some 70 villages in Israel. Shachmon also included two texts (text 23 and 25) from the Ephraim Yaakov's archive and one written transcript in Hebrew from Shlomo Dov Goitein's archive, which she then edited into a scholarly transcription and included in her book (text 21).

The first three chapters of Shachmon's work are concisely written and range from seven to nine pages. In the first one, 'The Jewish varieties in their indigenous context', Shachmon addresses three issues: (1) geographical distribution and demography, (2) linguistic typology and (3) dialectal diversity and historical reconstruction. It is interesting to learn that Jews resided in some 1,300 settlements primarily in rural areas, and only about 15% lived in Yemeni cities, mainly Ṣanʿāʾ, and their distribution across the country was uneven. They often moved from one place to another, although as Shachmon points out this was quite limited (p. 4–5)—which is also reflected in the language situation.

The Jewish dialects are classified among the peripheral 'sedentary' varieties of Arabia, whose characteristics are the 3 f.sg. verb form CVCVCVt (*katabat*), the 2 f.sg. pronominal suffix *-iš* or *-ič*, and the optional infix *-nn-* between an active participle and a pronominal object. In addition to this, Jewish dialects have fea-

tures that are customarily considered 'Bedouin', such as interdental fricatives or the Form IV.

In chapter two, 'Yemeni Arabic in Israel', Shachmon outlines the migration of Jews from Yemen to, primarily, Israel based on material she has obtained from some 70 locations where the newcomers had settled. She discusses 'heritage language', written forms of Yemeni Arabic, and how Yemeni Jews quickly adopted Israeli Hebrew as their language of communication immediately upon arrival. The chapter also includes some considerations on the author's field research.

The third chapter, 'Communal dialects in Yemen: Jewish and Muslim varieties', focuses on the indigenous Hebrew component and the contact with Modern Hebrew after the arrival of Yemeni Jews in Israel. Interestingly, this is a process that is still taking place. For example, there is an emergence of compounds that have a Hebrew base but Arabic suffixes, e.g. in verbs. Shachmon also describes in this section the ways in which the language is camouflaged and the methods used to warn, for example, of incoming Muslims. She shows concrete examples from recorded texts, field research and earlier literature.

In the fourth chapter, the author undertakes to characterise selected 'Grammatical features of the Jewish varieties' and includes references to many of the issues discussed in the next, most comprehensive chapter, with recorded texts. This makes this part of the work easier to understand and allows the author's considerations to be grasped in a broader exemplification context. Shachmon begins this chapter with phonological issues, in which she discusses selected consonants, vowels, pausal phenomena and stress patterns.

Thus, for example, the Old Arabic (OA) consonant *ǧ* is realised as a velar stop *g* (the southwest part of Yemen), a post-alveolar affricate *ǧ* (the central mountains and the high plateau) and a palatalised consonant g^y (the northern villages of the province of Ṣaʿdah; to some extent also in the eastern communities of Ḥabbān, Bēḥān and il-Bayḍāʾ). As for the OA consonant *q*, on the other hand, it is realised as a voiceless uvular stop *q* in the southern mountain range and Aden, while it is realised by the other communities as a velar stop *g* or *k*, which are allophones can alter even in the same speaker. A similar alternation also applies to OA *ṭ*, which can be realised as either a voiceless consonant *ṭ* or a voiced consonant *ṭ̬* (close to the consonant *ḍ*).

The vowel system basically counts three short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) and three long vowels (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) or two additional vowels (*ē*, *ō*) if there is monophthongisation of diphthongs in a particular dialect. However, it is not entirely clear to me how a vowel such as *ē*, resulting from the raising of the vowel *ā* to *ē*, for example, functions in the vowel system, while at the same time the diphthongs are preserved in the dialect. I can surmise that it is an allophone of the vowel *ā*.

I would like to show here two interesting and very similar cases, which Shachmon classifies as separate phenomena. In the Jewish dialect of Ṣanʿā, any final vowel *ā* is realised precisely as *ē*. This is unlike the case in the Muslim dia-

lect, where it occurs only in a *pausa* (not in a context). The author considers that the vowels from the Muslim dialect have been 'generalised' in the Jewish variant. It is worth emphasising, therefore, that in the Jewish dialect of Ṣanʿā, the long vowel *ā* should never appear in a coda (its short counterpart *a* also does not occur in this position). However, such examples appear in the texts, e.g. *nigrā* (1:7), *w-ṭumʿūnā. ṭumʿūnā* (2:9), *fāṣūlyā* (1:13). I suspect that this is purely a typo in the transcription. Also in this dialect, the particle *mā* (not *mē*) is transcribed with the long vowel *ā*, which is in opposition to the assumptions made by the author. Perhaps *mā* should be transcribed with the short vowel *a*, or it does not apply to monosyllabic words. The second case is encountered in other dialects, where, as the author writes, there may be no 'generalisation', but simply an *ʾimāla* appearing there in the final open syllable -Cā, e.g. *gʸalasnē* 'we sat' (p. 35), but not surrounded by gutturals and the consonant *r*.

Regarding vowels, the following forms from the rural area around Ibb still caught my attention: *ḍarabū* 'they (m.) hit' and 'they (m.) hit him', *absarkī* 'you (f.sg.) saw' and 'you (f.sg.) saw her' (p. 36). Are these really homonyms and is there no difference in the realisation of these words? If we also assume that there are forms such as *ḍarabo* 'he hit him' and *ḍarabe* 'he hit her' (p. 36), then we should include both short vowels *o* and *e* in the vowel system of at least the dialects from which the data comes.

Pausal forms are one of the characteristic phenomena occurring in Yemeni Arabic dialects, among those appearing in Jewish dialects are: vowel raising, glottalisation, diphthongisation, devoicing, stress shifts and silent final sonorants (*l*, *m*, *n*, *r*). Regarding the latter type of pausal forms, particularly little attention has been paid in the literature to date. It is not only sonorants, because in some dialects, e.g. Syrian, other consonants can also undergo a phenomenon I refer to as 'pausal apocope'. When describing the stress, Shachmon emphasises that 'a noticeable feature of Yemeni stress is its instability', hence in transcribed texts it is often marked over the stressed vowel.

In the remainder of this chapter, the author devotes a little more space to the discussion of verbs. In addition to the basic paradigm of the verb *kataba* in the perfect in five dialects (Sidum, Sāgēn, Raǧūyah, ʿUṯmah, Aden) we also have here a small compilation of the basic patterns of Form I in 7 dialects (Ṣanʿāʾ, Āl Šalīl, Baraṭ, Amlaḥ, Ibb, Ḥugariyyah, Aden), which perfectly illustrates the verb variety. The author then moves on to discuss the *t*-perfect and *k*-perfect, as well as the 3 f.sg. ending in the perfect. Thus, there are dialects in which, on the one hand, the endings *-at* and *-it* are preserved, while on the other hand the feminine ending has the form *-a* or corresponds with a stem vowel, but without the final consonant *-h*—as is the case with Behnstedt (2016: 198), who reports the ending *-ah* and *-ih* in his language atlas of Yemen. The description of the verbs concludes with a discussion of vowel prefixes in the imperfect and grammaticalised verbs: *kān*, *ʿād*, *ǧāw*, *zid* and *zaʿm*, supported by examples of use in sentences.

Later in this chapter, the author discusses independent and suffixed pronouns, independent pronouns as suffixes (e.g. *gad-anā*, *gad-ant*, *gad-antī* etc.) and then moves on to nouns, where she directs her attention to nominal feminine endings, gender-neutral participles and adjectives, as well as the singulative *-ī*.

Chapter four concludes with comments on syntax, pragmatics and discourse. In Jewish dialects, as in some of the Yemeni dialects described earlier, there is also a genitive exponent (*ḥaqq/ḥaqq*) that can precede a noun, e.g. *aṭraḥih fi-ḥagg ummwī almaxmadih* 'I would place [the grapes] in my mother's basket' (p. 61, 92). One characteristic idiomatic expression in northern dialects is the compounding of the demonstrative *ḏā/ḏih/tih* with *ʿind/ʿand* + a pronominal suffix (p. 63), which can be translated as 'just imagine'. Jewish dialects also use the infix *-(i)nn-* before a pronominal object. Shachmon describes two types of constructions for Jewish dialects: (1) active participle + *nn* + pronominal object and (2) verb + *nn* + pronominal object.

The final and most comprehensive chapter of the book contains forty texts recorded in Jewish dialects that focus on the daily life of local communities. The texts are grouped according to the five regions that were inhabited by Jews, which is well illustrated by the general map 1 (p. 71). The chapter is divided into five subchapters, each with a very valuable and clear map indicating the different localities and texts coming from them, by which Shachmon introduces more precise divisions of dialects. Subchapter one is devoted to 'Central communities—Upper Yemen and the central high plateau'. Shachmon here distinguishes eight dialectal subgroups, for each of which she provides at least one example of a text in transcription and English translation supplemented by information on the speaker, place and sometimes some dialectal features. In the first subchapter, she includes 13 texts. The schema of the subsequent subchapters is identical, which makes the book exceptionally easy to read. Subchapter two provides information on the dialects of the northern communities and distinguishes four dialectal subgroups. The third subchapter deals with the southern communities (five dialectal subgroups), while the fourth with the eastern communities (three dialectal subgroups), and the fifth, the shortest one, discusses the dialect of Aden communities. The legend of the maps is not always consistent with the titles of the sections as, for example, in the legend to map 3 one can read '5.2.1 Villages around Ṣaʿdah' (p. 121), while the title of the section nevertheless reads '5.2.1 Ṣaʿdah and Ḥaydān aššām' (p. 122). This introduces unnecessary confusion.

While reading the earlier chapters, I thought that map 1 should appear at the beginning of the book, as I often had to check the geographical location of individual dialects or localities. It would also definitely be useful to have a comprehensive classification of all dialects in the form of a list with the individual localities that are mentioned on the maps 2–6.

Regarding other comments, for example, Vanhove (2009) is cited on pp. 31, 43, 75, 146 etc., but this publication is not in the bibliography. I must also men-

tion that the notation of Hebrew phonemes using the Hebrew alphabet can cause some confusion, as I cannot always be sure exactly which sound is meant. In addition to this, it is not clear to me why the titles of some Hebrew books are given only in English. It takes an unnecessarily long time to find a Hebrew book by the English title under which it was never published.

In conclusion, the book by Shachmon cannot go unnoticed by researchers of Arabic as well as other Semitic languages. It is simply a wonderful scholarly book and a must-read not only for dialectologists of Arabic and Semitists, but also for Jewish scholars, Hebraists and researchers with a special interest in Yemen. It fills one of the biggest gaps in the study of Jewish Arabic so far, adds to the knowledge of Yemeni Arabic dialects, brings a lot of interesting new data and opens up many topics for further discussion.

Last but not least: written in a splendid style, it is a great pleasure to read.

References

Behnstedt, Peter. 2016. *Dialect Atlas of North Yemen and Adjacent Areas*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Ratzabi, Yehuda. 1978. *ʾOṣar lešon ha-qodeš še-li-vne Teman.* Tel-Aviv: s.n.

Shachmon, Ori. 1999. ‘Ṭeqṣṭim u-glosar min ha-lahag ha-ʿaravi ha-medubar be-fi yehude ṣfon Teman’. Master’s thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Shachmon, Ori. 2007. ‘Teʾur lešoni šel lahage ha-ʿaravit ha-medubarim be-fi ʿolim mi-ṣfon Teman’. PhD thesis, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Shachmon, Ori. 2011. ‘Pausal Final *imāla* in Central Palestinian Dialects’. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 38: 145–162.

Shachmon, Ori. 2013a. ‘*ʿala fūk rōsi* – “on top of my head”: The Shift of *ā* > *ō* in a Palestinian Dialect’. In *Nicht nur mit Engelszungen: Beiträge zur semitischen Dialektologie: Festschrift für Werner Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Renaud Kuty, Ulrich Seeger, and Shabo Talay, 323–332. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Shachmon, Ori. 2013b. ‘Judeo-Arabic, Yemen, Hebrew Component In’. In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by Geoffrey Khan. Accessed 23 November 2022. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-4241_ehll_EHLL_COM_00000770.

Shachmon, Ori. 2017. ‘Ḥalabi Arabic as a Contact Dialect in Jerusalem’. *Journal of Jewish Languages* 5: 49–80.

Vanhove, Martine. 2009. ‘Yemen’. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 4: 750–758. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Maciej Klimiuk https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4936-350X
Free University of Berlin, Germany | klimiuk.maciej@gmail.com

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148435

Jastrow, Otto. 2022. *Der arabische Dialekt der Christen von Kaʿbīye (Diyarbakir)*. Semitica Viva 60. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. XVII, 310 pp. ISBN 978-3447-11753-1.

Mesopotamian Arabic can be divided into two major groups, which are native to what is now Iraq, southeastern Turkey, parts of northern Syria and southwestern Iran. The dialects of Turkey are considered the best researched. After the shibboleth word for 'I said' (OA *qultu*), Mesopotamian Arabic distinguishes between the so-called *qəltu* and *gilit* dialects. The distinction between these two dialect types is particularly relevant for Iraq.

qəltu-Arabic, as the older language layer, is mainly the dialect of the non-Muslim language communities that meanwhile largely or completely have emigrated. The Arabic (and Aramaic) dialects of the Jews from Iraq can therefore usually only be studied outside of their original homelands. If there are still speakers, they are mostly very old—in the best-case scenario—fluent speakers. Iraq's Christian Arab and Yazidi communities have suffered from displacement in recent decades. At least the northern Iraqi Aramaic Christian communities in the autonomous region of Kurdistan are still alive.

The language situation in central and southern Iraq is historically different due to the Mongol invasions. The dialect of Baghdad, as spoken by Muslims, has now become a prestige language and is understood throughout the country. Overall, research on the Bedouin *gilit*-dialects of Mesopotamia is less extensive than *qəltu*-research.

Jastrow divides the *qəltu* dialects into four groups according to geographical aspects: in addition to the Anatolian group, these are the Tigris group, the Euphrates group and a group of Jewish dialects of Iraqi Kurdistan, which he added to the classification after their discovery (Jastrow 1990).

The volume of language material that Jastrow was able to collect during his field research in Mesopotamia between 1967 and 1970 is considerable and groundbreaking for modern Arabic dialectology. This applies in particular to the dialects of Anatolia. In Jastrow (1978), the description of the Mardin region and the surrounding area is given special consideration.

© 2023 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.

Jastrow presents a study on the dialect of the Christians of Kaʿbīye with the monograph under review, which can be considered a supplement to his previous publications on *qəltu*-Arabic in Anatolia. He now gives all the material he has available on the group of Diyarbakır dialects, including a sketch of the dialect of the city of Diyarbakır proper.

The *qəltu* speakers of the Diyarbakır group are exclusively Jews and Christians. The Christians lived in Diyarbakır city and in the surrounding villages of Kaʿbīye (today with Turkish name *Bağıvar*), Qarabāš (today *Karabaş*), Čārūxīye (today *Çarıklı*), Qətərbel (today *Yukarıkılıçtaşı*) and Təlġāz (today *Doğu Çanakçı*). Jews inhabited Diyarbakır city, Urfa, Siverek and Çermik. The dialects of the Diyarbakır group are now considered extinct.

The grammatical description is based on interviews which Jastrow conducted in spring 1968 in Diyarbakır with older women who were forced to leave Kaʿbīye in their youth. Some texts were recorded in Beirut. One speaker (Sayde) lived in Kaʿbīye until the age of twelve and speaks a mixture of the dialects of Kaʿbīye and Diyarbakır (p. 12–13). This means that the language community had ceased to exist for more than fifty years at the time of the recording in the late 1960s. The same applies to the Jewish language community of Diyarbakır. The Jewish population left the area during the Ottoman period or moved to the state of Israel after its founding, as mentioned in texts 17.4.2 and 17.4.3 (p. 134, 136).

Jastrow writes the grammar description with an introduction (p. 1–21). The fate of the Arabic-speaking Christians in Diyarbakır and the nearby villages is discussed. The historical background is based on first-hand information on persecutions, expulsions and massacres of parts of the Christian population from 1915 onwards (p. 1–2). Jastrow presents the circumstances and scope of his field research in some detail (p. 2–6). A section on the language of the texts, their genres and language style as well as data on his informants follows (p. 6–11). The language samples are mostly pure Kaʿbīye Arabic (p. 13–14).

The author proposes a new classification of the Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects, based on the concept of peripherality, centered around the conservative dialect of Mardin (p. 15–21). In this model, the geographic periphery is largely correlated with the structural. Jastrow considers a reorganization necessary due to the new discovery of *qəltu*-dialects in southeastern Anatolia in the last twenty years. Noteworthy are new data from the locations Sine and Nōṛšēn. The peripheral dialects of Kaʿbīye and Sine in the west thus contrast the dialects of the Sason-Muş group with Hasköy and Nōṛšēn on the eastern periphery and share linguistic features not found in the central dialect of Mardin, Āzəx (which is now considered a separate dialect) and Siirt (p. 16–18). In addition, Jastrow points out some features that can be used to contrast the Anatolian and Iraqi *qəltu*-dialects (p. 19). A hallmark distinguishing feature is the isogloss in the pronouns and flexional suffixes 2/3 c.pl. While Anatolian dialects have *n*-forms, Iraqi have *m*-forms throughout: *hənne* (Mardin, Kaʿbīye) vs. *həmmi* (Jewish-Baghdadi) ‘they’, *baytən* (Mardin), *bayten* (Kaʿbīye)

vs. *bētəm* (Jewish-Baghdadi) 'their house', *ǧītən* (Mardin), *ǧīten* (Kaᶜbīye) vs. *ǧītəm* (Jewish-Baghdadi) 'you (pl.) came'. Other characteristic features are the *verbum existentiae* (among the Anatolian dialects only Āzəx has *(k)īkū* 'there is', *māku* 'there is not', corresponding with Iraqi *aku/māku*; on the other hand Kaᶜbīye p. 300/4 *fīnu* or p. 158/52 *fī*, negated p. 158/52 *māfī*, p. 154/41 *mā fīnu*, past p. 146/20 *kāfī*, p. 150/30 *kāfīnu* 'there was'), the pronominal suffix of the 3 m.sg. *-nu*, which in Anatolia occurs only in the peripheral dialects of Nōṛšēn and Kaᶜbīye (generalized after all vowels, see below) and the indefinite article (Kaᶜbīye p. 164/15 *faqed maṛa xətyāre* 'an old woman', Diyarbakır *faqad*, Christian-Baghdadi *faġəd*). Following the concept of the 'Mesopotamian-Levantine dialect continuum' introduced by Talay (2014), the Diyarbakır dialects which are considered the western reaches of this dialect area, according to Jastrow, represent the transition from the Mesopotamian to the Levantine language type (p. 21). Its most striking feature is the shifting of the interdental spirants to plosives and the short imperfect (in Kaᶜbīye in addition to the short form there is an unstressed long form p. 292/27 *yə́ḍḥakōn w yədṛ́bo čāl̦ġi* 'they laugh and make music').

The presentation of the phonology and morphology of the dialect of Kaᶜbīye is clear and concise, as Jastrow has consistently demonstrated. In addition to phonology (p. 25–44), nominal and verbal morphology (p. 45–95) are dealt with in detail; a smaller section is devoted to syntax (p. 114–120).

Special features of the *qəltu*-dialects of Diyarbakır include: the mentioned shift of the interdental spirants to the plosive sounds (p. 264/12 (**bᶜṯ*) *ana tabᶜatki* 'I will send you (f.)', p. 150/28 (**ḏṛb*) *kāyəḍṛə́ben* 'he kept hitting them', p. 304/7 (**kḏb*) *təgdeb* 'you (m.sg.) cheat') and changes in the distribution of *ə* (< **i*, **u*) and *a* (p. 30–31; 43). In unstressed final syllables of the type -CVC, *ə* is realised as [e], which also affects the anaptyctic vowel (p. 264/14 *əben* 'son'). The consequences are also visible in the vowelism of the verbal stems, where the vowel sequence is *a* - *e* in the perfects of patterns II (*sakken*, *ysakken* 'wait'), III (*dēxel*, *ydēxel* 'bring in, let enter'), V (*tᶜallem*, *yətᶜallem* 'learn'), VI (*tqātel*, *yətqātel* 'quarrel, fight'), and X (*staġber*, *yəstaġber* 'enquire, ask') (p. 56–61). Also, in patterns VII and VIII there is a uniform inflection basis for perfect and imperfect in Kaᶜbīye with *a* in the second syllable (VII *nqatal*, *yənqátal* 'be killed', VIII *ftaham*, *yəftáham* 'understand'). In this respect, this dialect differs from all Anatolian *qəltu*-dialects, where two different inflectional bases predominate.

In addition, the following features are also characteristic of Kaᶜbīye Arabic: the neutralisation of the opposition ᶜ : *ḥ* in the final syllable and before an unvoiced consonant (p. 35–36; 41, 64: **ṭləᶜtu* → *ṭlaḥtu* 'I went out', **bāᶜ* → *bāḥ* 'he sold', *wəqeḥ* 'he fell', *wqaḥtu* 'I fell', *wəqᶜo* 'they fell'). In the verb 'give', *ḥ* has generalised from a contact form: p. 178/12 *ḥṭawli* 'give me!', p. 276/2 *yəḥṭi* 'he gives' → p. 304/3 *ḥaṭa* 'he gave'. The pronominal suffix of the 3 m.sg. is *-nu* after a vowel, otherwise *-u* (p. 288/11 *ḍarsu* 'his tooth', but p. 292/28 *abūnu* 'his father', p. 254/6 *axadtūnu* 'I took it', p. 286/9 *tīwaddawnu* 'that they bring him', p.

280/6 *ʿanaynu* ‘his eyes’, p. 266/17 *kībānu* ‘his stomach’, p. 276/2 *ywaddīnu* ‘he carries him away’). It is the result of a faulty parsing or reinterpretation of plural forms like p. 302/10 *yədbaḥūnu* ‘they slaughter him’.

Kaʿbīye shares with the other Mesopotamian *qəltu*-dialects the *umlaut* from *ā* to *ē*, which is conditioned by an *i* or *ī* in the following or preceding syllable (e.g. in the broken plurals of the type CCēC, CCēCīC/CwēCīC and CCēyer/CCēCi such as p. 262/7 **kilāb* → *klēb* ‘dogs’, p. 142/11 *rğēl* ‘men’, p. 172/6 *ḥ(ə)ğēyer* ‘stones’, p. 176/7 *skēkīn* ‘knives’; or else p. 286/8 *ğēhel* ‘young’, p. 290/21 *wēḥed* ‘one’, etc., but p. 166/19 *ʾmwāḍīḥ* ‘places’, p. 290/20 *snādīq* ‘trunks’) as well as the suffix of the 2 f.sg. *-ki* (p. 172/9 *kəbaqālki* ‘it is left for you’, p. 176/10 *šā-ḥmētki* ‘for your mother-in-law’, p. 294/31 *īdki* ‘your hand’, p. 294/32 *ādānīki* ‘your ears’, etc.). According to Jastrow, the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are ‘generally preserved’ in Kaʿbīye (p. 31-32), while monophthongized in some lexemes (p. 272/33 *faṛasayn* ‘two horses’, p. 294/29 *ʾltaqayta* ‘you met her’, but p. 294/30 *kēf* ‘merry goings-on’, p. 272/5 *mōḍaḥ* ‘place’).

The copula of the 3rd sg. shows no gender distinction in Kaʿbīye, unlike in Mardin (m. *-we*, f. *-ye*; e.g. *bəntu-ye* ‘she is his daughter’) or Āzəx (m. *-u/-we*, f. *-i/-ye*). In Kaʿbīye Arabic the forms *-ye* (after a vowel) and *-we* (after *-u*) are gender-indifferent positional variants (*āġa-ye* ‘he is an agha’, *əxtu-we* ‘she is his sister’, p. 46–47; also note p. 210/44 *bōrg-ye* ‘it is clear’, p. 296/37 *ʿaš-ʾsnīn-ye* ‘it is ten years’, p. 244/3 *xayr-we* ‘it is good’, p. 244/7 *ayš-ye* ‘what is it?’). Total assimilation usually occurs with a preceding consonant: p. 274/6 *ġalīṭ-ṭe* ‘it is fat’, p. 276/1 *ṭayyeb-be* ‘that would be good’, p. 294/31 *əndaḥ-ḥe* ‘where is she?’, p. 300/3 *xatan-ne* ‘he is a bridegroom’, p. 302/1 *laḥḥad-de* ‘it is Sunday’.

Interesting is a verb derived from the expression *šī sawa* ‘he made something’ (p. 69), which takes inflectional prefixes in the imperfect tense and is used as a *passe-partout* word: p. 248/6 *yšīsawawnu* ‘they make him something (i.e. honour him)’, p. 300/6 *tətšīsay* ‘that you (m.sg.) do something’. However, a juxtaposition with the unfused form is still encountered: p. 154/40 *mā … šínsayk* ‘we are not allowed to harm you’, p. 278/8 *w šī tsayen* ‘she kisses them’, p. 302/9 *šī tīsawnu* ‘they will do him something’. For this verb and contaminated forms such as (**ʾkl*) *ntakal*, *yəntákal* ‘be eaten, be edible’ (p. 200/17 *mā yəntaklo* ‘one cannot eat them’) and (**rwḥ*) **istarāḥa* → *staraḥ*, *yəstáraḥ* ‘recover, get well’ (p. 246/10 *tīstáraḥ* ‘he will get well’, p. 280/6 *tīstarḥo ʿanaynu* ‘so that his eyes will get well’) Jastrow employs the term ‘hybrid verb’ (p. 63, 65).

A list of ‘smaller word classes’ (prepositions, adverbs and others, p. 103–113) proves to be helpful. Etymological information is not given here, but can be found elsewhere (*gōra* ‘quite, fairly’ according to p. 208 fn. 2 < Turkish *göre*).

Typing errors are insignificant. They appear more frequently in chapter 17 ‘Der Dialekt von Diyarbakır (The Dialect of Diyarbakır)’ (p. 121–138, others see below). This latter is to be understood as an annex: Jastrow outlines the related

dialect of the city of Diyarbakır based on tape recordings that he made with three speakers during his field research in the region.

Diyarbakır Arabic turns out to be a 'rather urban dialect' which shares some similarities with the Mardin dialect (p. 121–123), but also with a number of affinities with Kaʿbīye as distinct from the Mardin dialect (p. 124–125). Some unique features of Diyarbakır compared to the dialects of Kaʿbīye and Mardin are: the interrogative pronoun 'which?' *ayman*, the verb modifier for current present *wə-*, verb modifier past *kən- ~ kān*, the *verbum existentiae* in the past *kənfī ~ kān fīyu*, the invariable indeterminate article *faqad* (indetermination is unmarked in Mardin, Āzəx and Siirt) and the adverbs *awəl* 'earlier, before' and *áyšṭōr ~ áyšṭawm* 'how?' (p. 126–127). The strategy of forming a future tense using the verb 'want' is not uncommon in terms of language typology. The 'intentional future tense' (p. 127) in Diyarbakır, formed with the prefix *ard-* (**rwd*), which puts a stronger emphasis on intention, fits this pattern well.

The twenty-one texts from Kaʿbīye comprise more than half of the monograph (p. 140–307). A part of the extensive collection of texts, with explanations, has already been published in Jastrow (1981: 316–371), including the four-part report on the 'fall of Kaʿbīye' ('Der Untergang von Kaʿbīye', here p. 140–181), which is an important contemporary document. However, the larger part of the corpus is made up of newly published texts from Kaʿbīye. According to Jastrow, the textual material on Kaʿbīye has thus tripled (p. 5). In detail, these are the texts: VI 'Erinnerung und Gegenwart (Memory and present)' (p. 194–215), VII 'Hochzeit in Kaʿbīye (Wedding in Kaʿbīye)' (p. 214–219), VIII 'Einheimische Lebensmittel (Local food)' (p. 220–225) and various, shorter text samples under IX 'Was könnte ich dir noch erzählen? (What else could I tell you?)' (p. 226–237). In the chapter 'Saydes Erzählungen (Sayde's stories)' the texts X to XIV (p. 240–272) are new, as well as XVI 'Ein guter Anfang oder ein gutes Ende (A good beginning or a good end)' (p. 276–279), XVIII 'Es gibt schlechte und gute Frauen (There are bad and good women)' (p. 284–298), XIX 'Handwerk hat einen goldenen Boden (Trades are gold in every land)' (p. 298–302) and XXI 'Späte Gerechtigkeit (Late justice)' (p. 304–307).

The text samples in the dialect of Diyarbakır city are significantly smaller in number (p. 130–138). They are based on 70 minutes of audio material and are valuable in that the dialect has not been previously described. Here we learn about the Jewish population of Diyarbakır, whose Arabic dialect is said to have hardly differed from that of the Christians of Diyarbakır. Their language is little, if at all, documented, the same applies to the dialects of the Jewish communities in the cities of Çermik, Siverek (Arabic *Swērák*) and Urfa. Since Jastrow was not able to work through the new Kaʿbīye and Diyarbakır texts on site with native speakers, they contain some uncertain transcriptions and translations. Also note that text 1 on the 'fall of Kaʿbīye' (p. 140–159) was pieced together by the author and partly reassembled. It contains fragments from more than one recording.

However, the fact that forty years later the bulk of the text corpus can be reprinted almost without any changes attests to the quality of Jastrow's previous work.

Since the commentary apparatus was retained, it would have made sense to place the Diyarbakır texts after the Kaʿbīye texts. Thus word explanations would already be given at the first occurrence (e.g. p. 134/6 *sōṇa* 'besides, moreover', which is only commented on p. 152; similarly p. 144/17 *zāṭán* 'anyway, in any case', commented p. 226; or p. 150/31 *dạ̄hạ̄* 'more, yet more; already; (with negation) not again, not anymore', glossed p. 156 and 196; and p. 246/11 *fə-daxlek-ana* 'I plead with you', which is only annotated in *fə-daxlek* 'please!' p. 282/10).

The bibliography (p. 309–310) contains the relevant titles in the field of *qəltu*-Arabic dialects. Curiously, Sasse's Munich thesis from 1971 'Linguistische Analyse des arabischen Dialekts der Mḥallamīye in der Provinz Mardin (Südosttürkei) (Linguistic analysis of the Arabic dialect of the Mḥallamīye in the province of Mardin)' is not included.

Jastrow's work invites further investigations in the area of language contact. As mentioned in the introduction (p. 7–8), the influence of Turkish and Kurdish is high. In addition to the obvious word borrowings, some of which are explained in the commentary, the Arabic texts from Kaʿbīye, due to the proximity to the city of Diyarbakır, have numerous verbs, phrases and also syntactic structures that suggest a borrowing from Turkish. This includes a number of smaller words that are very common, such as *hala* 'doch' (to reinforce the imperative) < Turkish *hele*, or *hənīye* ~ *hanī* ~ *hənī* (p. 188/16, 250/8, 306/6) < Turkish *hani* 'where?; well then' and probably also *yāho* ~ *yāhu*, which adds mood to a statement like *yahu* in spoken Turkish (ultimately of Arabic origin, at the beginning of direct speech p. 146/19, 148/25, 150/30, 184/7, 186/14, 260/5, 274/9, 294/28, 298/1, 304/7). The particle *wāy* 'lo and behold' (p. 116, 140/1) functions as a presentative, not unlike Turkish *vay* 'you don't say!'. Kaʿbīye Arabic *waḥḥ* 'how so?, oho!' (p. 250/9, 288/17, 292/23) resembles Turkish *vah*, *eyvah* 'oh, oh dear', just as the onomatopoeia for barking is similar (p. 262/7 *haw haw haw* 'woof woof', Turkish *hav hav*). Echo word formation with the onset *m-* appears to be an areal linguistic phenomenon which has its origin in Turkish as is commonly believed (p. 190/22 *ḍayʿāwīye mayʿāwīye* 'villagers and the like', p. 208/41 *taxtāyāt maxtāyāt* 'wooden boards and so on', p. 210/50 *qāzāx māzāx* 'sweaters and so on', p. 274/5 *ʿūdayn mūdayn* 'wood and such', etc.).

The newly formed Arabic verbs *razzel/yrazzel* (p. 216/5 'embarrass' < Turk. *rezil etmek*), *sargen/ysargen* (p. 140/1 'banish, deport' < Turk. *sürgün etmek*) or *sakter/ysakter* (p. 150/28 'wish sb. in hell' < Turk. *siktir etmek*) are a consequence of language contact, an explanation that most likely also applies to the following passages from the published texts:

p. 130/1 *šī lē kəğā fə-ṛāsna* 'what happened to us' < Turkish *başına gelmek*,
p. 130/4 *ōrūč kān kəmasku* 'they were fasting' < Turkish *oruç tutmak*,
p. 138/14 *ṣṣəra šānna ğā* 'it's our turn' < Turkish *birine sıra gelmek*,

p. 140/4 *yəġi mbāli* and 290/20 *yəġi l-ʾmbālek* ‘come to one’s mind’, cf. Turkish *aklına gelmek*,
p. 142/7 *ayš ṣāro!* ‘what trouble they had (literally: what they became)’ < Turkish *nasıl oldular*,
p. 148/24 *sāġ salīm* ‘safe and sound’ < Turkish *sağ selim*,
p. 150/26 *aḷḷa yġīb šəġlek w šəġlu ṛ-ṛās* ‘God let your and his work succeed’ < Turkish *Allah işini rast getirsin*,
p. 166/21 *šī lē kaṛayna hīč nēs mā kaṛānu* ‘what we have experienced, nobody has experienced before’, cf. Turkish syntax,
p. 194/2 + 3 *qəsmən mō yṣīr* and 212/54 *mā kəsār qəsmən* ‘be bestowed on, be in one’s destiny’ < Turkish *kısmet olmak*,
p. 206/34 *mən masa* ‘the previous evening’ < Turkish *akşamdan* lit. ‘from the evening’,
p. 206/37 *čənki nēs fī təqaḥ nēs fī mō təqaḥ* ‘because it works for some people, it doesn’t work for some people’, cf. Turkish *düşmek*,
p. 208/41 *yaʿni mən ġbayz fərən dāḥā ṭayyəb ysīr* ‘it tastes better than the bread from the bakery’, cf. Turkish syntax,
p. 244/3 and 246/9 *xayr-we (āge)?* ‘what’s the matter, what is it?’ < Turkish *hayırdır?*,
p. 244/7 *ənt dardek ayš-ye?* ‘what’s the matter with you?’ < Turkish *derdin ne?*,
p. 252/1 *yatīm baqa* ‘become an orphan, be orphaned’ < Turkish *yetim kalmak*,
p. 252/3 *akal māl lē abūy* ‘he has appropriated my father’s property’ < Turkish *malını yemek*,
p. 260/6 *īdu mō twaddi tīqtála* ‘he cannot bring himself to kill her’ < Turkish *eli varma(ma)k* ‘manage, be able to do’,
p. 272/5 *ṣānǧi yəmsága* ‘she was gripped by birth pangs’ < Turkish *sancısı tutmak*,
p. 280/2 *šəġli mō yəġi ṛ-ṛās* ‘I do not succeed’, see above,
p. 286/7 *təqaḥ mbālu* ‘occur to’, cf. Turkish *aklına düşmek*,
p. 286/8 *ana mō-ḍreb īdi* ‘I can’t touch him’ and 294/31 *ḍrəbi īdki* ‘put your hand in’ < Turkish *elini vurma(ma)k*.

Finally, here are some notes on errata and corrigenda, including a few suggestions. The typos found usually do not go beyond the absence of a háček or macron in the transcriptions. They cannot diminish the value of this accomplished and important contribution to Arabic dialectology:
p. 19 reference ‘0.2.2.1’, correct: 0.3.2.1,
p. 59 ‘2. sg.c. *ḍrabna*, *nəkser*’, correct: 1. pl.c.,
p. 78 ‘Plusquamprāteritum’, correct: Plusquamperfekt,
p. 128 ‘sie sammelten, pflegten zu machen (they collected, used to make)’, correct: ‘pflegten zu sammeln’,
p. 129 reference ‘17.4.3,4’, correct: 17.4.2,4,
p. 146/19 *cūt kāno*, correct: *čūt kāno* ‘there were two’,
p. 146/20 *kāyūlūlu*, correct: *kāyqūlūlu* ‘he was called’,
p. 148/25 *cūt*, correct: *čūt* ‘two’,

p. 151/28 ‘Er gab schikanierte sie (he gave bullied them)’, correct: ‘Er gab ihnen keine Lebensmittel (he gave them no food)’,
p. 156/48 (fn. 5) *ḥarči* ‘all sorts’ of unknown etymology, cf. Persian *har-či* ‘whatever, everything’,
p. 176/10 *ḥtaynu*, correct: *ḥṭaynu* ‘give it’,
p. 192/27 *taʿdda*, correct: *taʿadda* ‘assault sb.’,
p. 196/8 (fn. 3) *ṣalča* is certainly Turkish *salça* ‘tomato/pepper paste’, not ‘sauce’,
p. 206/33 *w aqʿad āge w aftaḥ āge żġār żġār, maḥ yōxlāwi (?)* ‘then I sit down and open very small dumplings with (?)’ is < Turkish *hamur açmak* ‘roll out dough’, uncertain form *yōxlāwi* probably is Turkish *oklava* ‘rolling pin’,
p. 208/41 (fn. 1) *čōp*: Surely Turk. *çöp* is meant as ‘blade of grass, stick’ instead of ‘garbage, waste’ here,
p. 208/43 *ṣuf*, correct: *ṣūf* ‘wool’,
p. 208/43 *ʿas nōṭāt*, correct: *ʿaš nōṭāt* ‘ten lira’,
p. 242/2 *qāl əmkān māfi* ‘she said: Absolutely.’, correct: ‘he said: No way!’ < Turkish *imkânı yok* ‘impossible! no way!’,
p. 248/3 (fn. 4) *yazlam pozulmáz* is not Turkish *yazmam bozulmaz* ‘my document cannot be annulled’, but rather *yazılan bozulmaz* ‘what is written (= fated) cannot be annulled’, as the speaker glosses in Arabic *ktībe lē nkatbet dāḥā mō təxṛeb*,
p. 250/8 *səġel*, correct: *šəġel* ‘work’,
p. 256/15 *cīplāx*, correct: *čīplāx* ‘naked’,
p. 260/5 *sī mā*, correct: *šī mā*,
p. 262/9 *ḷale*, correct: *ḷāle* ‘dumb’,
p. 294/32 (fn. 3) *čēz* < **ğhēz* < *ğihāz* ‘dowry’, alternatively < Turkish *çeyiz*?,
p. 304/5 *qāmo ṛaḥo*, correct: *ṛāḥo* ‘they went’.

References

Jastrow, Otto. 1978. *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen* qəltu-*Dialekte. I: Phonologie und Morphologie*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Jastrow, Otto. 1981. *Die mesopotamisch-arabischen* qəltu-*Dialekte. II: Volkskundliche Texte in elf Dialekten*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Jastrow, Otto. 1990. *Der arabische Dialekt der Juden von ʿAqra und Arbīl*. Semitica Viva 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Sasse. Hans-Jürgen. 1971. ‘Linguistische Analyse des arabischen Dialekts der Mḥallamīye in der Provinz Mardin (Südosttürkei)’. PhD thesis, München: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München.

Talay, Shabo. 2014. ‘The Mesopotamian-Levantine Dialect Continuum’. In *From Tur Abdin to Hadramawt. Semitic Studies Festschrift in Honour of Bo Isakssonon the Occasion of His Retirement*, edited by Tal Davidovich, Ablahad Lahdo, and Torkel Lindquist, 179–188. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Volkan Bozkurt https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8734-5631
Heidelberg University, Germany | volkan.bozkurt@ts.uni-heidelberg.de

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148436

Seeger, Ulrich. 2022. *Wörterbuch Palästinensisch – Deutsch: Teil 1: ʔ – Š, Teil 2: Ṣ – Y*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. XVII, 1348 pp. ISBN 978-3-447-11841-5.

Ulrich Seeger's two-volume dictionary of Palestinian dialects published in late 2022 is the largest and most comprehensive of its kind, preceded, for example, by Leonhard Bauer's work in German (1957) and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Barġūṯī's in Arabic (2001). Apart from these, the most important achievement in the lexicography of Syrian and Palestinian dialects, although referential primarily to Damascus, is Adrien Barthélemy's French dictionary (1935), collecting lexis also from the dialect of Jerusalem.

Seeger is a German linguist and Arabist who is very well recognised among dialectologists of Arabic, yet I will still outline his scientific profile for readers outside the dialectological community who may be unfamiliar with him. Seeger has been associated with the Department of Semitic Studies at Heidelberg University throughout his academic career. There he completed his master's degree in Semitic studies with a thesis on the Arabic dialect of al-Xalīl (Hebron) (Seeger 1996). In 1996, conducted field research in the eastern Iranian region of Khorasan, where he became the first to confirm and record the existence of Arabic dialects.

However, it is Palestinian dialects to which he has committed himself in his dialectological work. As part of his doctoral project, he conducted long-term field research on the rural dialects around Ramallah and published his findings in two volumes. The first one was with a glossary preceded by transcriptions of the texts and the second contained a grammatical description (Seeger 2009; 2012). Seeger has taught Palestinian dialects at Heidelberg University for years and based on his experience also prepared a textbook for the study of the dialect of Jerusalem (Seeger 2013), which contains an eminently clear consolidated grammatical description of this Palestinian variety in 30 lessons. His recent publications are partly an aftermath of the dictionary reviewed here, as he has also published four books in 2023 with proverbs, animal and plant names, borrowings and verb types in Palestinian Arabic (Seeger 2023a; 2023b; 2023c; 2023d).

© 2023 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.

Seeger's dictionary is unquestionably the largest work of its kind in the field of Palestinian lexicography. It collects vocabulary in Palestinian Arabic translated into German. On 1,348 pages, he has arranged the entire vocabulary in approximately 9,000 roots and there are more than 30,000 lexical entities. In addition to individual entries, the dictionary contains approximately 11,000 examples. The dictionary is preceded by five-page 'Instructions for use', 'Hinweise zur Benutzung' (p. VII–XI), which, for example, besides a discussion on the arrangement of entries, includes information on how to cite lexicographical data (entries or their translations) from earlier publications. It should be emphasised that when compiling the dictionary in the second phase of his work, the author made use of earlier sources, which he very scrupulously notes next to each dictionary entry. This was done in order to complete the missing entries. He lists all quoted literature immediately after the 'Instructions for use' (p. XII–XIV), and in the 'Alphabetical list of abbreviations', 'Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Sigel', he provides all abbreviations implied with more than 57,000 citations. Seeger cites earlier sources extremely accurately and clearly, as the following example of one of the entries illustrates:

TRYN *trēn / -āt* Zug, Eisenbahn, ₍z₎ Straßenbahn [LB5,292,43] (frz. train, engl. train)
• ₍z₎ *trēn ʕafš* Güterzug [LB5,145,-36]
• ₍z₎ *trēn iksbrēs* Schnellzug [LB5,263,-15] (p. 147)

The author inserts the letter ₍z₎ in the subscript before each quoted part, whether of the whole entry or its translation. Then, after the quotation in the superscript, he gives the exact bibliographical data, e.g. [LB5,145,-36], where LB5 stands for Bauer's dictionary (1957), page 145 and line 36 counting from the bottom of the page. Although the dictionary is saturated with citations, so that they appear quite frequently, they are nevertheless discreetly placed, so they do not disrupt the dictionary's readability. The citation system is also neatly outlined in the 'Instructions for use'.

Seeger's dictionary originates from his 2009 work, in which he included a dictionary of villages around Ramallah. It was for this publication that he began collecting vocabulary during his field research, which he continued in the following years while staying in Palestine. It was definitely the first stage in the compilation of his dictionary and at the same time his evident core of work. He collaborated with a number of speakers in this regard, although he was most assisted by three consultants: Rāmi il-ʿArabi, Laṭīfe Abu l-ʿAsal and Taḥsīn ʿAlāwnih. Their contributions to the dictionary are also noted on the cover and title page as collaborations. It is noteworthy that the consultants not only collaborated with Seeger in the development of new entries, but also collected for him vocabulary used on a daily basis, and then also checked and discussed data from earlier publications and sources.

As far as transcription is concerned, the author is remarkably consistent in this respect. I refer here again to 'Hinweise zur Benutzung', in which he describes in detail at the very beginning how the various transcription characters are realised. Seeger points out, for example, that despite the notation of the interdental consonants *ṯ*, *ḏ* and *ḏ̣*, it should be borne in mind that in urban dialects they are realised as *t*, *d* and *ḍ*. Although he uses the sign *q* consistently in his dictionary, in urban dialects this sign corresponds to the phoneme /ʾ/, while in Bedouin and rural dialects of southern Palestine **q* is realised as /g/, in rural dialects of central Palestine as /k/, while in the north as /ḳ/. There are many more such introductory notes on transcription and pronunciation, hence it is worth reading them in detail before using the dictionary.

The entries are arranged by roots, following the order of the Arabic alphabet, so Seeger follows the well-established principles used in Arabic lexicography in this respect. It can sometimes be problematic to find borrowings, mainly from English, French, Turkish or Italian. These are arranged according to 'roots', in which the first root consonant is usually followed by a weak consonant *w* or *y* which is equivalent to the second root consonant. For example, the word *Rezept* 'prescription' in as many as six variants: *rōšitta*, *rōšētta*, *rušētta*, *rošitta*, *rušetta*, *rušēta* (p. 475) should be looked for under the root RWŠTY, and not, for example, RŠT. When using the dictionary for the first time, it takes a little more time to find some borrowings. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile not to give up too quickly, because Seeger's dictionary is likely to have the borrowing the reader is looking for (cf. Seeger 2023b).

In the case of borrowings, Seeger also provides the etymology of the words in question, which is primarily morphological, looking for attestations of the word in, for example, another older registered Semitic language. Seeger thus follows the paths set by other Semitists, and in terms of recent lexicographical work, the same has been done, for example, by Werner Arnold (2019) in his dictionary of Western Neo-Aramaic. However, Seeger is not always faithful to the rule applied and sometimes also tries to take into account the individual history of a word. For example, he places the word *ṣabāba* under the stem ṢBBY rather than ṢBB and gives its Hebrew equivalent סבבה as the etymology (ʾEven-Šošan 2003 4: 1256).

In terms of the arrangement of the dictionary, what seems to be different from the previous rules is the placement of all words with the suffix *-ǧi* at the consonant Ǧ, rather than the individual roots. As a result, the dictionary contains a five-page list of words with the suffix *-ǧi* (p. 171–175). So, once again, I urge dictionary users to read the guidelines carefully.

A great advantage of the dictionary is the inclusion of different variants of a given word in individual entries, avoiding being limited to one form of a given word in any particular dialect, such as urban. This uniquely enriches the collected lexis as much as does the inclusion of an old traditional lexicon—today perhaps unknown even to most Palestinians. This makes the material even richer, more interesting and encourages in-depth reading of the dictionary.

In summary, Seeger has done an enormous amount of work. It is not without reason that I am writing that his *magnum opus* is now the most important lexicographical source for the Palestinian Arabic dialects. Thanks to his work, the Palestinian varieties are undoubtedly now among the best compiled Arabic dialects in terms of the vocabulary collected so far. Any new publications in Arabic dialectology on Palestinian lexicography will probably only slightly complement Seeger's masterpiece.

Although German translations are of a very high linguistic standard, I hold out hope that the dictionary will be used much more widely than just among researchers who know the language.

References

Arnold, Werner. 2019. *Das Neuwestaramäische: VI. Wörterbuch: Neuwestaramäisch–Deutsch*. Semitica Viva 4/6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

al-Barġūṯī, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. 2001. *Al-Qāmūs al-ʿarabī aš-šaʿbī al-filasṭīnī: Al-Lahğa al-filasṭīnīya ad-dāriğa*. Rām ʾAllāh and Al-Bīra: s.n.

Barthélemy, Adrien. 1935. *Dictionnaire arabe-français. Dialectes de Syrie : Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Bauer, Leonhard, and Anton Spitaler. 1957. *Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch der Umgangssprache in Palaestina und im Libanon*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

ʾEven-Šošan, ʾAvraham. 2003. *Milon ʾEven-Šošan: Meḥudaš u-meʿudkan li-šnot ha-ʾalpayim*. 6 vols. Jerusalem: Ha-milon he-ḥadaš.

Seeger, Ulrich. 1996. 'Der Arabische Dialekt von Il-Xalīl (Hebron)'. Master's thesis, Karlsruhe: Heidelberg University.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2009. *Der arabische Dialekt der Dörfer um Ramallah. Teil 1: Texte. Teil 2: Glossar*. Semitica Viva 44/1; 44/2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2012. *Der arabische Dialekt der Dörfer um Ramallah. Teil 3: Grammatik*. Semitica Viva 44/3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2013. *Lehrbuch des palästinensischen Arabisch. Der Dialekt der Städter*. Semitica Viva – Series Didactica 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2023a. *Die Verbtypen des palästinensischen Arabisch*. Studien zum palästinensischen Arabisch 4. Ahrensburg: Tredition.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2023b. *Lehnwörter im palästinensischen Arabisch*. Studien zum palästinensischen Arabisch 1. Ahrensburg: Tredition.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2023c. *Palästinensische Sprichwörter*. Studien zum palästinensischen Arabisch 3. Ahrensburg: Tredition.

Seeger, Ulrich. 2023d. *Tier- und Pflanzennamen des palästinensischen Arabisch*. Studien zum palästinensischen Arabisch 2. Ahrensburg: Tredition.

Maciej Klimiuk https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4936-350X
Free University of Berlin, Germany | klimiuk.maciej@gmail.com

FOLIA ORIENTALIA 60 (2023)
DOI 10.24425/for.2023.148437

Newman, Paul. 2022. *Comprehensive Bibliography of Chadic and Hausa Linguistics*. 5th ed. Bloomington: IUScholarWorks. IV, 274 pp. DOI 10.5967/5q3g-t220.

Chadicists and others must thank the author for having ventured into this new effort to offer scholars a useful online tool which is now in its fifth edition. Since the first paper (Newman 1996), this bibliographic work has been an indispensable tool for professional Africanist scholars. I had already reviewed the first edition (Baldi 1997) and limit myself here to making some personal observations without any intention of criticising the enormous effort that the author has undertaken for years. *Absit iniuria verbis*, as the Romans used to say! Having been the first, as reported by the author, to prepare an extensive bibliography of the Hausa language in the form of a Master of Arts thesis, presented at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh in 1975 (Baldi 1975), I know very well how onerous it is to prepare such a work. Even today, the tools at our disposal, particularly the Internet, can make things more complex despite their greater convenience.

Compiling a bibliography means rendering a useful service which is indispensable to scholars, unfortunately though, it is also an easy subject of criticism for possible errors, omissions, or other mistakes. All of this is in its nature, and, in this short review of the work, I would like to discuss some points that I consider important for the future.

In primis, the various editions, published over time, have gradually become increasingly substantial due to the inclusion of information that had not been present in previous editions, such as the 'Book Review Author Index', a section which appeared in the third edition. This latest edition is also made even more captivating because of its graphics, thanks to the work of Newman's wife, Roxana Ma, who improved the cover.

The information provided in this work is manifold: publications, alphabetically ordered by author, a list of reviews received by various authors and finally a list of obituaries of various scholars, published by distinguished colleagues.

A new addition in this latest version is the inclusion of some theses, written in Nigeria, but which are unknown to most scholars: '[a]mong the theses are

© 2023 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.

quite a number presented at different universities in Nigeria, particularly Bayero University, Kano', on which I had the opportunity of advising the author by sending him a couple of files of Nigerian theses which I had received from Professor Hafizu Miko Yakasai on my trip to Kano. In fact, it is a real shame and a loss that these theses by Nigerian students—and not only those—are often completely unknown outside the local context, since they often contain first-hand information useful to international scholars. I had occasion sometimes to use them in my work on Arabic loans, thanks to some sent to me by the late Professor Conrad Max Benedict Brann.

In this regard, I hope that those in Nigerian universities who are reading these brief considerations of mine will be encouraged to disseminate the works written in their universities and can put them online, as is the case for most European and American universities.

The interest in the theses, however, should be all-round, including, systematically, also those discussed in European and American universities and available in the various repositories; to cite an example, one that is omitted in the current bibliography is Moore (1968).

Another aspect that should not be underestimated concerns online journals, which publish many articles, and which cannot be ignored in a bibliography, see Sambo (2016), which is not reported.

Another source to consult is undoubtedly the 'Index Islamicus', which often contains linguistic material not present in other resources.

A phrase that struck me in the introduction about obituaries (p. ii): 'A project for the future could be to expand the number and scope of these entries, ideally with the addition of photographs', which I fully agree with, thus making better use of the medium by inserting the photograph where possible next to the work cited in the bibliography. Where present the Internet link might also be inserted! It might sound like science fiction, but the achievements of recent years do not place limits on our imagination.

A final suggestion concerns my personal conception of a bibliography of such importance, *apertis verbis*, which should meet all the expectations of the scientific world. When I prepared my master's thesis I spent sleepless hours, fortunately during the exam period, in most of the libraries of American universities, which can also be used at night. I classified the material I consulted according to a certain thematic order which I had learned from an exceptional Swahili bibliography by Professor Alberto Mioni (1967). The alphabetical order of the authors often makes it impossible to find the material one is looking for.

Firstly, a bibliography should be a useful and practical instrument for all users: if all works are listed in alphabetical order according to author's names, a quick overview of special topics becomes difficult—why was a section not provided with a subject index of topics at the end (such as dialectology, grammars, orthography, phonology, proverbs, etc.)?

Going through this bibliography I realised that the work was essentially on Hausa and Chadic. But what is published in Hausa and Chadic, unless there are journals or proceedings of congresses, do not seem to be included (I may, though, not have understood the criteria adopted) as I wrote in my previous review (Baldi 1997). Sorry, but *repetita iuvant*! In fact, the author quotes, for example, Yusufu Yunusa, 'Yanayin yaɗuwar Hausa a duniya' (1993), but not his *Hausa a dunƙule* (1977); Charles Whitting, *Hausa-English Sentences* (1929), but not *Hausa and Fulani Proverbs* (1940). For A. H. M. Kirk-Greene many of his works are mentioned, but not *Hausa ba dabo ba ne: A Collection of 500 Proverbs* (1966). The suspicion may arise that the author has a particular attitude towards proverbs!

Ending these brief considerations on the bibliography, I would like to stress once again the utility, the complexity and the carefulness of this work. I hope that someone might take over the responsibilities of keeping on with an up-to-date bibliography of Hausa linguistic and literary material including Chadic as a whole.

References

Baldi, Sergio. 1975. 'Systematic Hausa Bibliography'. MA dissertation, Pittsburgh: Duquesne University (Istituto Italo-Africano. Collana di Studi Africani 3. Roma: Tip. Pioda, 1977).

Baldi, Sergio. 1997. '*Addenda* to Newman's Hausa and Chadic Bibliography'. *Annali. Istituto Universitario orientale di Napoli* 57 (3–4): 549–573.

Kirk-Greene, A. H. M. 1966. *Hausa ba dabo ba ne: A Collection of 500 Proverbs*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press.

Mioni, Alberto. 1967. 'La bibliographie de la langue swahili. Remarques et supplément à la *Swahili Bibliography* de M. Van Spaandonck'. *Cahiers d'Études africaines* 7 (27): 485–532.

Moore, Mary Jo. 1968. 'The Ideophone in Hausa'. MA dissertation, Michigan State University.

Newman, Paul. 1996. *Hausa and the Chadic Language Family: A Bibliography*. African Linguistic Bibliographies 6. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Sambo, Almustapha Wali. 2016. 'Canonical Shape Analysis of Hausa and Bole Ideophones'. *Macrolinguistics* 4 (5): 65–79.

Whitting, Charles. 1929. *Hausa-English Sentences*. Nigeria, Northern Provinces: Education Department.

Whitting, Charles. 1940. *Hausa and Fulani Proverbs*. Lagos: Government Printer.

Yunusa, Yusufa. 1977. *Hausa a dunƙule*. Zaria: The Northern Nigerian Publishing Company.

Yunusa, Yusufa. 1993. 'Yanayin yaɗuwar Hausa a duniya'. In *Nazari a kan Harshe da Adabi da Al'adu na Hausa*, edited by Abba Rufa'i, Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya, and Abdu Yahya Bichi, 32–38. Kano: CSNL, Bayero University.

Sergio Baldi https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4099-1497
University of Naples 'L'Orientale', Italy | sbaldi@unior.it